SCMITZ AND ZUMPT'S
CLASSICAL SERIES.

LIVY
SCHMITZ & ZUMPT'S
CLASSICAL SERIES FOR SCHOOLS.

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The object of this publication is to present a series of elementary works suited to the wants of the beginner, as well as accurate texts of the more prominent ancient writers, revised in accordance with the latest investigations and MSS., and the most approved principles of modern criticism.—These are accompanied with notes and illustrations introduced sparingly, avoiding on the one hand the error of overburdening the work with commentary, and on the other that of leaving the student entirely to his own resources. The main object has been to awaken the scholar's mind to a sense of the beauties and peculiarities of his author, to assist him where assistance is necessary, and to lead him to think and to investigate for himself. For this purpose maps and other engravings are given wherever useful, and each author is accompanied with a biographical and critical sketch. The form in which the volumes are printed is neat and convenient, while it admits of their being sold at prices unprecedentedly low, thus placing them within the reach of many to whom the cost of classical works has hitherto proved a bar to this department of study. It will be seen, therefore, that the series combines the following advantages:

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The numerous advantages which this series possesses have secured for it the unqualified approbation of almost every one to whom it has been submitted. From among several hundred recommendations, with which they have been favored, the publishers present a few from the following eminent scholars and practical teachers.
Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From Prof. J. F. Richardson, Madison University, Oct. 27, 1849.
I gave the Grammar at once a very careful examination, and have no hesitation in saying that, for the use of school and college classes, I consider the work superior to any other Latin Grammar in our language with which I am acquainted. I have already directed one of my classes to purchase copies of it. I shall also introduce in the course of the year your edition of Virgil and probably also that of Caesar, both of which I prefer to any others as text books for our classes.

From Prof. J. J. Owen, Free Academy, New York, Aug. 31, 1849.
I am highly pleased with your excellent publications of the above series, and as an evidence of the estimation in which I hold them, on my recommendation, your Virgil has been adopted as a text-book in the Free Academy in this city. I shall be happy to commend your series to all with whom I may have any influence.

From Prof. J. B. Hudson, Oberlin College, O., Oct. 12, 1850.
I have examined the series of Elementary Classics published by Lea & Blanchard, and take great pleasure in saying that I regard them as admirably adapted to secure the object proposed. The text is a highly approved one and the typography has been rarely excelled in works of this sort for clearness and beauty. I have detected fewer mistakes in the printing and punctuation of these books than in almost any works of a similar character that I have seen. The maps too are a great help—an indispensable one indeed to the great majority of students who have no ancient atlas—in understanding the geographical allusions contained in the text. The selection of notes is judicious; and the whole design and execution of the series commend it to the notice of those who wish to become independent and self-relying scholars.

From Prof. J. Packard, Theological Seminary, Fairfax county, Virginia, March 23, 1850.
The size of the volume, the beauty and correctness of the text, and the judicious notes, not too copious to supersede the industry of the pupil, seem to me to leave nothing to be desired. I doubt not your enterprise will be rewarded by your editions taking the place of others now in use, to which there are many objections, and I will do what in me lies to promote their circulation.

From Prof. J. S. Bonsall, Frederick College, Md., March 18, 1850.
Having used the first three volumes of the series for more than a year, I am free to say, that I prefer them to any school editions of the same authors with which I am acquainted.

From Prof. J. Forsyth, College of New Jersey, March 19, 1850.
I am happy in being able to say that every successive volume has confirmed me in the judgment formed on those first issued, and renews my delight that you have resolved to place the whole of this admirable series of classical authors within the reach of American students. The Grammar is already in use in this college; and I shall cordially recommend our students to procure your editions of such authors as we read.

From T. J. Sawyer, Esq., Clinton Liberal Institute, March 28, 1850.
We have paid them the compliment of making them our text-books and introducing them at once into this institute. In size and price, in design and execution, they seem to me better fitted for schools of this class than any others that have fallen under my observation. A neat and accurate text, and brief, but explicit notes, constitute the principal characteristics of a good classical school book. These distinguish your series, and give them a claim to general diffusion.

From the Rev. J. J. Smyth, A. M., Sussex Court House, Va., April 6, 1850.
While at the head of the Petersburg Classical Institute, I introduced your Caesar, Virgil and Sallust, as being in my judgment the best school editions of these works that I have seen. Since I have been in my present pastoral charge, I have been the means of having the Cesar and Sallust introduced into two schools in this county. These works are a happy medium between the mere text and the overloaded annotations which render some editions but the clandestine refuge of idle school-boys.

From President Manly, University of Alabama, March 29, 1850.
So far as I may be consulted, or have influence, I shall seek to recommend the use of this well-edited and cheap series, in all the preparatory schools of our region.
Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From A. W. Pike, Esq., Kennebunk, Me., December 14, 1849.

I have examined with much care and high satisfaction, the first five volumes of your edition of Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt's classical series. The plan and execution of the series are excellent. The notes appended to the several authors evince fully the sound judgment and accurate criticism of the learned editors. They are sufficiently copious to meet the wants of the student, without, at the same time, by their fulness, encouraging habits of indolence. I have, for more than thirty years, been constantly engaged in teaching the classics, and I have not seen any edition of the Latin authors, usually read in our academies, which I could commend so confidently, as the one you are publishing.

From E. Everett, Esq., New Orleans, December 14, 1849.

All these publications are valuable acquisitions to our classical and school libraries. I am particularly pleased with the Virgil; the notes are a store of learning; they furnish the student with such hints on the manners and customs of the Romans as cannot fail to serve as important aids to the study of Roman history, at the same time that they throw new light on the text of the great poet. They seem to me to be model notes: they are neither so copious as to enable the student to dispense with the exercise of judgment and taste, nor so meagre as to leave difficult passages unexplained.


I take great pleasure in recommending the various volumes of Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series, which have appeared in this country, as admirably adapted for the use of schools. The character of the editors is a guarantee of the accuracy of the text and the correctness of the annotations. The notes are prepared with careful scholarship and nice discrimination, and the amount of information given on historical and grammatical points is sufficient to satisfy the wants of the learner, while it is not so great as to be prejudicial to his habits of study. We have introduced the editions of Caesar and of Virgil, comprised in this series, into the High School in this city.

From R. B. Tschudi, Esq., Norfolk Academy, May 31, 1849.

I received the fourth volume of your classical series and take great pleasure in informing you they have been the text-books recommended in this school since their first appearance. I have found the text and typographical execution equal, and in many respects superior to any other editions that I have seen. But their cheapness is destined to make them take the place of all other school editions. Of course it will take time to assume the place of works already in use, but I believe fully, at no distant day these will be the sole editions in general use.

From A. Morse, Esq., Nantucket High School, July 20, 1849.

After a somewhat minute examination of the same, in which I have compared them, line by line, with other editions, edited by different gentlemen, which my classes are now reading, I have no hesitation in giving to the series, edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt, a decided preference to any with which I am acquainted.

From R. H. Ball, Esq., Northumberland Academy, November 23, 1849.

This edition of the classics, so far, I greatly prefer to any other I have seen, for the use of schools. It combines the advantages of textual correctness, cheapness, and pre-eminent ability in the annotations, three things especially desirable in school books. I have adopted this series, as far as issued, to the exclusion of all others.

From the Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, Episcopal High School of Virginia, November 27, 1849.

I have examined them with some care, and have pleasure in stating that they are judiciously and carefully prepared for the use of schools and colleges. The notes are to the point, and what notes to classical authors should be, not so full as to amount to a translation of the text, or so meagre as to give no satisfactory information to the student. As the best evidence of my approval, I would state that it is my purpose to introduce them, as occasion may arise, into the institution under my direction.

From Z. D. T. Kingsley, Esq., West Point, N. Y., November 6, 1848.

I am very much pleased with the Caesar and Virgil, and presume I shall be equally so with the Sallust. I shall adopt these Latin books for my school.

From Prof. A. F. Ross, Bethany College, Virginia, December 7, 1848.

My opinion of the Caesar you have already had expressed, and I will only add that my interest in the completion of the series has been enhanced by the volumes which you have forwarded me. I shall recommend them for adoption as the standard course in this institution.
Schmitz and Zumpt’s Classical Series—Continued.

From J. S. Bonsall, Esq., Frederick College, Md., Feb. 5, 1849.
I have examined them, and find them on all points what the reputation of the eminent editors led me to expect from them, and what they design the books to be.
I know not that I can give you a better proof of the estimation in which I hold them, than by simply saying that I am already using Caesar and Virgil of the series in my classes, and expect very soon to introduce Sallust.

From Prof. N. L. Lindsley, Cumberland University, Tenn., Nov. 22, 1848.
I am very favourably impressed with the merits of Schnutz and Zumpt’s classical series. So far as my engagements have permitted me to examine the “Virgil” and “Sallust,” I am induced to believe that they are superior to the other editions in common use.
I shall take pleasure in recommending them to teachers and students in this vicinity.

From Prof. Gessner Harrison, University of Virginia, Nov. 3, 1848.
I very decidedly approve of the plan of publishing cheap editions of the classics, with brief notes, for the use of schools, and shall recommend this edition to my friends, as suitable for this object.

From Prof. W. S. Tyler, Amherst College, Mass., Dec. 25, 1848.
The notes are pertinent and pithy, as well as accurate and learned, and contrast to great advantage with some whose chief recommendation is, that they are designed to atone for the indolence of the student by the supererogatory works of the editor.

I have examined, with much satisfaction, your editions of Virgil and Sallust, being continuations of your reprint of Schmutz and Zumpt’s classical series, and take pleasure in renewing the recommendation which I gave to the plan of the series on the appearance of Caesar. The notes are admirably adapted to the precise wants of the learner, giving in small space all the necessary facilities, without superseding the necessity of diligent and accurate study.

From C. W. Everest, Esq., Rectory School, Hamden, Ct., Dec. 7, 1848.
From the brief examination I have been able to give them, I feel very much pleased with them, both as regards the execution of your own part of the plan, and also that of your able editors. Such text-books are much needed. Instead of them, we have been inundated with editions, too often wretchedly printed, and more frequently ruined by a multiplicity of notes. Accept my thanks for your kindness in sending me the works, and be sure I shall be happy to adopt them as text-books in my school.

From Wm. B. Potts, Orwigsburg, Pa., Nov. 28, 1848.
I have devoted sufficient time to the examination of your editions of Caesar, Virgil, and Sallust, to enable me to form an estimate of their respective merits. I do not hesitate to say that the uniformity and cheapness of the works, with the notes of the learned editors, sufficiently illustrative of the style and sentiments of the authors, and yet not so voluminous as to obviate the necessity of careful study on the part of the student, must recommend them to the favourable consideration of those engaged in teaching this interesting branch of literature. We shall certainly adopt this series in the academy.

From Wm. Garnett, Esq., Norfolk, Va., Nov. 29, 1848.
I return you my thanks for the copies of Virgil and Sallust sent to me. The professor of languages in the Norfolk academy has introduced them to this school, and we think they will be used in all schools, as soon as known to them. I shall recommend them to all the teachers of my acquaintance.

From Wm. Dennis, Esq., Wilmington, Del., Nov. 11, 1848.
I have received the Caesar and Virgil of the classical series now in course of publication by you, and have for some time been using the Caesar with a class. I am satisfied that these are better school editions of those authors than any others that I have ever seen.

I shall be happy to recommend them as the best and most accurate editions of the works I have ever seen.
Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From Prof. A. S. Packard, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., March 8, 1849.

I cannot refrain longer from communicating to you the highly favourable impression which they have made upon me. I see nothing to desire in the general style of these editions. I know of no others, which for neatness and cheapness, and sufficient helps for the student, surpass them. I am exceedingly pleased with the good taste, clear and precise statements, and sound scholarship, which distinguish the notes. As school classes, I regard them as models.


I am happy to say that in my judgment the testimonials to the excellence of the series that you have already received are fully deserved. The cheapness and convenient form of these volumes, and especially the character of the notes, make them precisely the kind of text book which I should put into the hand of the young classical student. I shall recommend the students of this college to procure your edition of such of the Latin authors as we are accustomed to read. You have my best wishes for your success in your praiseworthy enterprise.


The accuracy of the text, and the judiciousness of the notes, as well as the cheapness of the volumes, render this edition of the classics most deserving of public attention.

From N. Bishop, Esq., Supt. of Public Schools, and Principal of High School, Providence, R. I., Nov. 29, 1848.

I have had the honour of receiving the three first volumes of your "Classical Series." I am much pleased with the size of the books, and their cheapness; the correctness of the text, and the character of the notes. I mean, of course, the comparative correctness of the text, as perfect accuracy is rarely attained among us, even in our own language, much less in that of others. I shall take pleasure in recommending your "Classical Series" to all the schools in the vicinity of this city, and shall introduce them into the Classical Departments of our High School at the earliest opportunity for changes in text-books.

From Prof. John Wheeler, Asbury University, Greenscastle, Ja., Dec. 8, 1848.

As far as I have examined, I am well pleased with them. The notes appear to be what they ought, explanations of difficult passages, and not extended translations, so common and so detrimental to classical attainment. The modest remarks of the editors on disputed passages are worthy of notice and imitation. In these remarks, I refer principally to the edition of Virgil, which I have examined more than the others, and which I consider far superior to any other edition extant in our country. The cheapness of the series is a valuable consideration; and the publishers deserve and doubtless will receive a harvest of thanks from many a student whose intellect and desire of knowledge are superior to his purse.

From A. Campbell, President of Bethany College, Va., Nov. 22, 1848.

I have just glanced, with much pleasure, over your edition of Virgil, being the second volume of Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series.

This is just the thing I have long desired to see—a neat, handsome, correct, and cheap edition of the Latin Classics, relieved from the extraneous and unwieldy lore of prosing doctors. The addenda or notes in the margin of this handsome volume are just such as the student needs. The series will doubtless meet with very general favour from all teachers and learners, because of its clear, accurate, and beautiful typography, its general good taste, its cheapness, and its judicious adaptation to the genius and wants of the age.

From Charles Wheeler, Pres. of Rector College, Taylor Cy., Va., Dec. 1, 1843.

The neatness and beauty, and, as far as I have examined, the correctness of execution, together with the lucid arrangement of the notes, must, I think, commend your editions to public patronage. I am delighted to see Virgil, my favourite poet, so handsomely executed. I have recommended your series to our students, as I esteem them worthy of a decided preference.


The high character of the gentlemen who superintend the publication, for deep and varied erudition, is a sufficient guarantee for the correctness of the text. The brief notes are suggestive, rather than translated, and much better than the labored expositions which carry the student along, instead of pointing out the way. The cheapness and convenient size of the books, to say nothing of their literary merit, cannot fail to bring them into general use.
Schmitz and Zumpt's Classical Series—Continued.

From Prof. John Wilson, Prop. Dep. Dickinson College, Carlisle, Dec. 8, 1848.

I have examined the three volumes with considerable care, and can give them my unqualified approbation. The plan is judicious, and the execution worthy of all praise. The notes comprise all that a student needs, and all that he should have; and their position at the foot of the page is just what it should be.

From Prof. E. E. Wiley, Emory and Henry College, Va., Nov. 30, 1848.

From the cursory examination given them, I must say that I have been highly gratified. Such a series as you propose giving to the public, is certainly a great desideratum. Our classical text-books have heretofore been rendered entirely too expensive, by the costly dresses in which they have appeared, and by the extensive display of notes appended; many of which, though learned, are of little worth to the student in elucidating the text. It will afford me pleasure to introduce into my department such books of your series as may be in our course.


The notes seem to me very accurate, and are not so numerous as to do for the student what he ought to do for himself. I can with safety, therefore, recommend it to my pupils.

From Prof. M. M. Campbell, Principal of the Grammar School, Indiana University, Nov. 6, 1848.

I like the plan of your series. I feel sure it will succeed, and thus displace some of the learned lumber of our schools. The notes, short, plain, and apposite, are placed where they ought to be, and furnish the learner just about help enough.

From Philip Lindsley, D. D., Pres. of the University of Nashville, Nov. 27, 1848.

The classical series, edited by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt, has already acquired a high and well-merited reputation on both sides of the Atlantic. I have carefully examined your editions of Caesar and Virgil. I think them admirable text-books for schools, and preferable to all others. I shall avail myself of every suitable occasion to recommend them.


I have examined, with considerable care; both the Caesar and the Virgil, and am much pleased with the plan and execution of the series thus far. I am particularly gratified with the propriety and judgment displayed by the editors in the preparation of the notes; avoiding, as I think, the prolixity and pretentiousness of some of our classical works, and, at the same time, the barrenness and deficiency of others; giving a body of annotations better suited to aid the teacher in imparting a knowledge of the language, than is to be found in any edition heretofore in use.

From Prof. Sturgess, Hanover College, Indiana, Dec. 30, 1848.

The mere name of the editors is a sufficient and most ample guarantee of the accuracy of the text, the judicious choice of various readings, and the conformity of those adopted to the latest investigations of MSS., and the results of the most enlightened criticism. The notes I have not examined very carefully, except those of the Virgil. They are admirable, extremely condensed, and conveying a great deal of most valuable criticism in the brevtest possible way. They are particularly valuable for their esthetic remarks, and the frequent references to parallel passages in the same author. The preliminary life is excellent, and of great value to the student. The Sallust appears to be of the same noble character, and the notes to furnish just such help as the diligent student really needs. I think that in bringing out such a course at a cheap rate you are conferring a great boon on the country, and additional honour on your press, already so distinguished for the value of its issues.


I am much pleased with the general character of these works. The text in its general character is highly satisfactory; the notes are really illustrative, and admirably calculated to assist the student in acquiring a knowledge of the matter in the text, the manners and customs of the times, and the history and characters of the actors in the scenes. The typography and external appearance of the works are such as please the eye and improve the taste. You certainly deserve encouragement, and we shall do what lies in our power to extend the circulation of the works.
KALTSCHMIDT'S LATIN DICTIONARY FOR SCHOOLS.

A SCHOOL DICTIONARY OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE,
IN TWO PARTS, LATIN-ENGLISH AND ENGLISH-LATIN.

BY DR. KALTSCHMIDT.

Forming one large royal 18mo. volume of 850 pages, closely printed in double columns, and strongly bound.—Price, $1.25.

Also, Part I. Latin English, in one handsome volume, strongly bound, of nearly 500 pages.—Price, 90 cts.

Part II. English-Latin, nearly 400 pages, bound to match.—Price, 75 cts.

While several valuable and copious Latin Lexicons have within a few years been published in this country, a want has long been felt and acknowledged of a good School Dictionary, which within reasonable compass and at a moderate price should present to the student all the information requisite for his purposes, as elucidated by the most recent investigations, and at the same time unencumbered with erudition useful only to the advanced scholar, and increasing the size and cost of the work beyond the reach of a large portion of the community. It is with this view especially that the present work has been prepared, and the names of its distinguished authors are a sufficient guarantee that this intention has been skilfully and accurately carried out.

The present volume has been compiled by Dr. Kaltschmidt, the well-known German Lexicographer, from the best Latin Dictionaries now in use throughout Europe, and has been carefully revised by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. Learned discussions and disquisitions could not be introduced, as incompatible with the objects for which the Dictionary is intended, and because they would have swelled considerably the bulk of the volume. On the other hand, it has been thought advisable to give, as far as possible, the etymology of each word, not only tracing it to its Latin or Greek root, but to roots or kindred forms of words occurring in the cognate languages of the great Indo-Germanic family. This feature, which distinguishes the present Dictionary from all others, cannot fail to awaken the learner to the interesting fact of the radical identity of many apparently heterogeneous languages, and prepare him at an early stage for the delightful study of comparative philology.

The aim of the publishers has been to carry out the author's views as far as possible by the form and arrangement of the volume. The type, though clear and well printed, is small, and the size of the page such as to present an immense amount of matter in the compass of a single handsome 18mo. volume, furnished at a price far below what is usual with such works, and thus placing within the reach of the poorest student a neat, convenient, and complete Lexicon, embodying the investigations of the most distinguished scholars of the age.

From D. H. Temple, Esq., Chicago, October, 1849.

At my recommendation a class in Sallust provided themselves with Schmitz's edition of this author, and are just completing the work. The judiciousness of the annotations both in amount and character, have been so evident, that I shall recommend the book to future classes above every other edition I know of. I am inclined to the same opinion concerning the Commentaries of Caesar, and shall test this as soon as possible in the schoolroom. The Grammar has pleased me exceedingly, and I shall, as soon as possible, introduce it, to the exclusion of others, except for occasional reference. The extreme neatness of these works, notwithstanding their cheapness, is a consideration of no little importance, and should, as it doubtless will, add to the favor which they will be received.

From Prof. Roche, Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., March 31, 1849.

Whatever influence my position may give me, shall be most cheerfully employed in bringing into general use in the West these very valuable works. I trust that you will prosecute to a close the proposed series, and that the execution of those that remain to complete a Latin Curriculum may be as neat and in all respects as unexceptionable as that of those already published.
LIVY
(T. LIVII PATAVINI)

HISTORIARUM

LIBRI I, II, XXI, XXII

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA AND BLANCHARD.
1851.
The text of this edition of the first, second, twenty-first, and twenty-second books of Livy is founded on Immanuel Bekker's 'Recension' (Berlin. 1829. 3 vols. 8vo.); and in every case of importance where a reading different from his is given, both the variation and the reasons for it are stated in the notes. Bekker's text is founded generally, and particularly in these books, not on recently-discovered or newly-used manuscripts, but on the materials afforded by the great edition of Arn. Drakenborch (Amsterdam and Leyden, 1738-46. 7 vols. 4to.), which contains a digest of the labours of all preceding editors; and was reprinted at Stuttgart (1820-28. 15 vols. 8vo.), enriched in the two last decades with new readings from manuscripts. Since the publication of Bekker's 'Recension,' new and important materials, especially in these books, have been brought to light by Mr. Alschefski in his critical edition of Livy (vol. i. containing books i.—v. Berlin, 1841; vol. ii., books vi.—x. 1843; vol. iii., books xxii.—xxiii. 1846). Mr. Alschefski for the first decade has compared anew the celebrated 'Codex Mediceus,' and has found many things which had been previously overlooked. He has also consulted the 'Codex Parisinus,' No. 5725 of the Paris Library; and for the third decade, compared with greater care than was ever done before, the oldest manuscript of Livy in Paris—namely, the 'Codex Puteanus,' another 'Codex Parisinus,' No. 5731, and another 'Mediceus.' By this praiseworthy diligence the reading in many passages has been corrected, and it is not without sincere sorrow that we nevertheless have felt ourselves obliged to differ in opinion from Mr. Alschefski still more frequently than from Bekker; but the truth is, that from his over-fidelity to the manuscripts, and at the same time his eagerness to alter readings, he has made the text of Livy incorrect, and fre-
quently unintelligible. We have, according to our best judgment, kept a middle course between over-innovation and over-adherence to present readings; and confidently believe that the text now presented is very much more accurate than that in common use.

Our notes are intended to explain the difficulties of the language, which present themselves not only to the beginner, but also to the more advanced student; and by the illustration of allusions to ancient customs, and the occasional collation of the statements of other historians, to elucidate the exact meaning and connection. In the first two books it was frequently necessary to enter into a criticism upon the traditional nature of the early history of Rome; and in doing this, we have endeavoured, on the one hand, to treat with due regard the ingenious and poetical legends with which that history abounds; and on the other, to extract from them germs of truth, and state the real origin of the Roman state, and of its wondrous development.

With regard to orthography, we refer to our Grammar, where we have stated the results found by a careful comparison of the forms and rules given by the ancient grammarians with the practice in the most trustworthy manuscripts. When a reference is made merely to Gram., Dr. Schmitz's Latin Grammar, prepared for the present series, is the one alluded to.

Livy's whole work consisted of one hundred and forty-two books, divided—whether by the author himself or his transcribers we know not—into decades, or sections of ten books each. The great size of the work rendered complete copies of it very rare, and consequently very dear, in the later ages of antiquity; and to this circumstance we may chiefly attribute the disappearance of such copies. No single manuscript of Livy in existence contains even all those books which we possess. The first half of the fifth decade (books xli.—xlvi.) is found only in one manuscript, which was discovered in the Benedictine Monastery at Lorsch near Worms ('Codex Laurishameusis'), and is now deposited in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The fourth decade, too—a manuscript of Mainz being lost—is found, the greater part of it at least (books xxxi.—xxxviii.), only in a Bamberg manuscript. Of the first two existing decades (books i.—x. and xxi.—xxx.) there is a considerable number of manuscripts, few of them, however, old and good. The best manuscripts of the first decade are one at Florence ('Codex Mediceus'), one at Paris (No. 5725), and one at Oxford ('Codex Harleianus'). The text of the third decade depends principally upon the Paris manuscript, which belonged to the learned Du Puy, and was hence called 'Codex Puteanns;' upon the 'Codex Colbertinus,' No. 5731 of
the Paris Library; and upon a 'Codex Mediceus, at Florence, different from that which contains the first decade. Ever since these or similar manuscripts, now lost, were made use of by the early editors, the text of Livy has by degrees been greatly improved both in regard to completeness and accuracy. As, however, even the best manuscripts are disfigured by numerous and varied errors, the text of our author presented, and still presents to the learned, a rich field for the exercise and display of their knowledge, both of history and of language, in acute conjectures.* The great edition of Livy, into which all the discoveries and corrections made previous to the time of its publication (1735–16) were incorporated, is that of Arnold Drakenborch. There are in it, besides the careful and excellent notes of Drakenborch himself, the remarks of the former critics, particularly C. Sigonius and J. F. Gronow (Gronovius). A part of the work, too, is occupied by the supplements of John Freinsheim. These were intended to supply the place of the lost books of Livy, and were composed in Latin, according to those epitomae of all the books which have come down to us under the name of the historian Florus, the materials being collected with uncommon diligence from other ancient writers. During the century which has elapsed since the publication of Drakenborch's most meritorious edition, very many corrections of the text of Livy have been made by modern critics, such as Stroth, Walch, Kreyssig, Bekker, and Alscheski.

In the year 1773 there was discovered in the Vatican Library

* In some manuscripts of the first decade, particularly in the 'Codex Mediceus,' there is subscribed at the end of each book, 'I, Nicomachus, have at Henna (in Sicily) corrected (emendari) these books according to an older copy.' In all probability this Nicomachus lived about the end of the fourth century after Christ. Besides this note there is added, 'I, Victorianus, have corrected (emendabam) these books for the domini Symmachi' (a father and son, who flourished about the year 400 after Christ). Though these notes have come into the existing manuscripts only by transcription from the more ancient one, still they give us sufficiently certain evidence of the fact that the text was corrected. Emendation, before the invention of printing, was in the highest degree necessary, and was effected either by professed grammarians, or at least by men of learning, the more transcription being executed by scribes or calligraphers, who worked mechanically, without troubling their brains about what they were writing. A manuscript which had not been corrected was of course disfigured by many lapsus of the copyist, even though he had faithfully followed his original, or at least had not intentionally diverged from it. The celebrated 'Codex Puteanus' is a manuscript of this kind, beautifully written, but not revised by a learned reader. It is therefore justly considered to be faithful, but at the same time by no means free from errors.
at Rome a fragment of the ninety-first book, containing an account of the events of the war in Spain during the year 76 B.C.; and little more than a year ago there was found in Berlin a fragment of the ninety-eighth book, which, it is to be lamented, consists of but a few mutilated lines.* The frequently excited hope, of finding a complete copy of Livy’s work, either in Latin or in an Oriental translation, has not as yet been fulfilled.

C. G. ZUMPT.

Berlin, March, 1849.

* A parchment on which these lines occur, is a leaf of a lost manuscript of Livy, covered with another writing of a later date, and had been brought from Spain to Berlin.
the Roman historian, was born, according to Jerome's translation of the 'Chronicle of Eusebius,' in the second year of the 180th Olympiad—that is, 59 B.C., the same year in which the orator Messalla Corvinus was born; and died Olymp. 199, 1—that is, A.D. 17, in which year also the poet Ovid died. Livy's native city was Patavium (now Padua), an ancient and considerable town of the Veneti, situated in Upper Italy, near the mouth of the river Padus (Po). The Veneti had been for a long time allies of the Roman people, and were confirmed in their fidelity to them by their common fear of the Gauls (in Gallia Cisalpina). In reward for this constancy they received, on the occasion of the Marcis or Social war, the Roman franchise. The law by which this privilege was conferred upon them was brought forward by the consul, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompey the Great, and was consequently called lex Pompeia. It may be remarked that the Latin language was then already in use among the Veneti, particularly in their chief town, Patavium; and afterwards acquired such an ascendancy, that no information of the existence of a native Venetian language has come down to us. Livy was therefore born a Roman citizen, and educated in Latin. It may be a doubtful question whether the family of Livy had emigrated from Rome, where there was an ancient plebeian gens of that name, often mentioned in history, or whether a native Patavian family had assumed the Roman gentile name of 'Livius:' we believe the latter supposition to be the true one, since it was very common for such peregrini (persons not Roman citizens) as received the franchise to take the name of a Roman gens; and we know nothing of the settlement of a Roman colony in the ancient territory of the Veneti.

Livy, as every allusion leads us to believe, was born of an equestrian family; that is, of a family which belonged to the class holding the middle station between the senators and the common people; not possessing the prerogatives of the former, but distinguished from the latter by opulence and free birth for three generations. After finishing his studies in rhetoric and philosophy, he might either have entered into public life at Rome, by plunging into a poli-
tical career, or become a teacher of rhetoric. But we know nothing of his devoting himself to either the one profession or the other. He seems rather, being possessed of an easy independence, to have remained in a private station, busied with his own studies; to have married, and become the father of a family; and to have lived principally at Rome, on terms of intimacy with the most accomplished men of that capital. He himself was a much-prized member of the small but brilliant circle that Augustus had drawn around him; and it was his counsel which induced the emperor's grandson, Claudius—who was afterwards emperor—to apply his attention to the writing of historical works. Livy's first literary productions were philosophical treatises, which were highly valued. His 'Dialogi' also, occupying a middle position between philosophy and history, were held in much esteem. He earned immortality, however, by the execution of a great and comprehensive work on the history of the Roman people, from the building of the city till the year 9 B.C., in which year Claudius Drusus—the stepson of Augustus—after making a successful campaign against the Germans, and penetrating further into their country than any other Roman general had done, died on his march back into Gaul. The period, therefore, at which the history closed was one when the Roman eagles were still soaring triumphantly, and when the state was entirely free from intestine commotions, the constitution being well balanced between monarchical despotism and republican licentiousness. He might, perhaps, have carried on his history further—for instance, till the death of Augustus, A.D. 14—but, besides other reasons to us unknown, by which he may have been induced to close it earlier, had he continued it to this point, he would then have had to describe a dark period, comprehending the failure of the plans formed by the Romans for the subjugation of Germany, and many sad presages of the coming reign of despotism at home. Whatever were his reasons, it is certain that he resolved to finish his work in 142 books,* with the year 9 B.C., though he lived till the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius; when he died at Patavium, his native city, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Livy did not enter on the composition of his colossal history till he had reached the middle period of life, for there is a passage in the 19th chapter of book i. which plainly refers to the closing of the temple of Janus by Augustus in 29 B.C., when Livy was thirty years of age. We can, moreover, fix the writing of this book before 25 B.C., because in that year the temple was again shut for a second time in the reign of Augustus; and yet Livy, in the passage already mentioned, speaks of its having been closed only once after the Actian war. From the time when Livy commenced his history, he no doubt laboured constantly at its composition. It was probably published in parts, as each book or decade was finished; and whilst the work was proceeding, the author's fame gradually spread over the world. An instance of Livy's celebrity is mentioned by Pliny (Epist. ii. 3), who tells us that a Spaniard travelled from Gades

* Niebuhr (Lectures on Rom. Hist., vol. iii., p. Iviii., 2d ed. Schmitz) expresses it as his opinion that, as there is an evident want of symmetry in Livy's work being comprehended in 142 books, the author probably intended to complete fifteen decades, but died before he could accomplish his object.
INTRODUCTION.

(Cadiz) to Rome solely for the purpose of seeing the author of the great history, and returned as soon as he had satisfied his curiosity. Livy's work is an admirable digest of all the materials existing for a history of Rome. His purpose in undertaking it (and this very purpose shows us his own beautiful and amiable character) was to draw, with all the charms which his artistic skill and delicate taste could give, a complete picture of the history of the Roman people, and of the laudable or blameworthy peculiarities of its prominent personages, that thereby he might inflame the patriotic feelings of his countrymen, and contribute to the instruction and entertainment of the world at large. Livy generally looks at a historical event or character from a moral point of view: he wishes to excite our admiration of the great, love of the good, and hatred of the bad; he feels a proud pleasure in describing the power of the Romans, or the purity of manners by which they were at first distinguished; and the history of the early ages of the state seems to have consoled him for the wickedness and wretchedness which he had seen and felt during the time of the civil wars, when the republic was overthrown. In consequence of such feelings, he was in principle a republican; but, restrained by law and habit, he was a decided conservative, and therefore could not look without sorrow even upon the happy results which had followed the dictator Caesar's demolition of the antiquated aristocratic constitution of the republic. It was on this ground that Augustus reproachfully called him a Pompeian, without, however, withdrawing from him his esteem and favour.* This conservatism, and habitual admiration of the olden times above the modern, merely because they were the olden times, are exhibited by Livy in the early parts of his work, especially in his description of the contests between the patricians and the plebeians—that is, particularly in books ii.—vi. Livy's partiality to the patricians in this part of the history may be blamed with more justice than his liking for Pompey, the defender of the old republic against the monarchy which Caesar was threatening. His conservatism, however, never led him to wink at cruelty or baseness, or to conceal or mis-state facts. History, as he obtained it from the various sources to which he resorted, was to him a sacred thing. He was by no means a searcher into history, though he does not scruple, on occasion, to tell his readers of his assiduity in this respect. For a thorough inquisition into historical points he was naturally unfitted, being possessed neither of the restless activity of a Cato nor of the deep antiquarian spirit of a Varro. His sources were not the documents of the olden time, which were preserved in the Italian cities, among those tribes which are now extinct, but the works of the Roman annalists, Fabius Pictor. M. Cato, Calpurnius Piso, Sempronius Tuditanus, Cn. Gellius, Valerius Antias, and Licinius Macer. From these he chose his materials, and their diversities of statement he endeavoured to settle, exercising indeed the judgment of a man of sense, but no strict and independent criticism. Whatever presented itself to him as a correct statement of a fact, he received, even though doubts of its truth might arise. To this we must attribute his mention every year of the prodigies which had been reported and set down in the annals of the pontifex maximus.

* Tacitus, Annal. iv. 34.
Implicit belief in these was a characteristic feature of the early ages, but a sensible and active-minded historian would have passed them over with silent contempt. A doubt of the truth of the early history of Rome, according to the ordinary traditions, seems never to have occurred to him. The first sketch of great events in Roman history by a cotemporary was made so late as the Punic wars; and the history of the kings, and of the early ages of the republic, resting merely on oral tradition and popular belief, was grossly falsified through the conviction entertained by the Romans of their invincibility and greatness. By this prejudice Livy was as much enchained as his predecessors, the annalists. This part of his history, and indeed the history of Rome in general, have therefore afforded to acute critics rich fields for conjectures and corrections. Livy's great desire seems to be, to bring out clearly what he considers to be the characteristics of great and leading men. For this end the speeches which he puts in the mouths of statesmen and generals are particularly useful. According to the judgment of antiquity, he displays in these orations at once considerable insight into the characters of public men and political measures, and a remarkable power of eloquent and vigorous expression.* It must here be observed, however, that in the early periods Livy does not give way to his liking for speech-making. In this respect he is very favourably distinguished from the Greek historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who makes Romulus and Numa deliver long harangues, exhibiting all the art and skill of the most polished rhetoric, and who thereby shows to his readers merely his own want of discretion. Far from attributing such absurdity to Livy, we say this in his praise, that even when he leaves the mists which envelop the history of the first three centuries, he imposes considerable restraint upon his oratory. He brings out in his speeches the political creeds of statesmen as gathered from their actions; and it is indubitable that, in all cases where it was possible, he, like Sallust and Tacitus, consulted the actual published orations of these men, and founded his own upon theirs, endeavoured also to give as much as possible of their style and turn of thought.

Livy made use of the works of such Greeks as wrote on Roman history or events connected with it. Polybius, in particular, was his great authority for the history of the period from the outbreak of the second Punic war, 218 B.C., till the destruction of Corinth and Carthage, 146 B.C. In all the great transactions of that memorable and eventful period, Livy depended principally on him, not, however, without frequently amplifying details from Roman annalists, and sometimes, in cases of discrepancy, preferring the authority of an annalist to that of Polybius. In cases of this kind occurring in books xxi. and xxii. we have given in our notes the statement of Polybius.

The best part of Livy's work, considered merely as a literary effort, was doubtless the history of the period from the Gracchi till the death of Caesar; for here there were few historical doubts to solve, all being plain and open. Great deeds and mighty events lay scattered in rich abundance, and the sentiments and characters

* Quintilian (x. i.) calls Livy in contionibus supra quan narrare potest eloquentem.
of the leading men were to be seen vividly impressed upon their published speeches and literary productions, or were at least described in detail in the historical works of their cotemporaries. Here a historian skilled in rhetoric and philosophy could bring all his powers of description and narration into full play. There can be no doubt that Quintilian, in ascribing to Livy a lactea ubertas—that is, a rich fulness of beautiful narrative—had reference principally to that part of the history which we have mentioned. Three-fourths of Livy’s work, however, including all the books after the forty-fifth, are lost. Even the first forty-five books, comprehending the period from the building of the city till the conquest of Perseus, king of Macedonia, and the triumph of Æmilius Paullus, 167 B.C., have not come down to us complete, for the second decade (books xi.—xx.), which embraced the time from the termination of the Samnite wars till the commencement of the second Punic, is wanting. But even from what we have, we can perceive the truth of the ancient critic’s remark on Livy; we can see the purity of his character in his appreciation of the noble and the base, the fluency, and, frequently, in the description of accessory circumstances, the over-copiousness of his narrative, his correct taste and scrupulous avoidance of all affectation in style. Livy’s style is founded on Ciceron’s in the same manner as that of Tacitus on Sallust’s. Livy’s period is expanded, whereas Sallust’s is broken up into single short sentences. Livy carries on his periods by the introduction of all kinds of additional circumstances in the form of accessory sentences, through means of conjunctions with their dependent verbs, and participles in the case of the subjects, and as ablative absolute. Livy’s period is quite peculiar; Ciceron’s being oratorical, is much more animated and varied. Livy’s expands into a quiet, broad, transparent stream, so that in translating into modern languages, which do not make such extensive use of accessory clauses as the Latin, one of his periods must be broken up into three or four moderately-sized sentences. In reference to his employment of particular words, their meanings, and constructions, Livy for the most part followed the general usage of the language. His language, therefore, approaches nearer to that of Ciceron than Sallust’s does, though the latter was about thirty years older than Livy, and almost a contemporary of the great pater patriae. Sallust formed his style and chose his words according to the earlier Latinity: Livy kept to the language of his contemporaries, as it had been improved by the orators of the Ciceronian period, and modified and polished by the rhetoricians and poets of the Augustan age. This difference between Livy and Sallust, in their views of style is shown also by statements which we find in ancient writers. Quintilian (x. 1) relates that Livy, in a letter to his son, commanded him to read principally Demosthenes and Cicero, and other authors only in the degree of their resemblance to these; and Seneca (Controv. 24, 59) mentions that Livy had a poor opinion of Sallust’s studied brevity and affectation of archaism. The discrepancy which exists between the styles of Livy and Cicero, independently of the natural difference of narrative and representation between the historian and the orator, is worthy of remark. This difference is principally to be found in Livy’s frequent introduction of poetical words and constructions into his prose: e. g. tempestas for tempus, mortales for homines, letum
for _ne_ for _vivere_, or _agere vitam_, _que-que_ for _et-ct_; further, in the use of the mere ablative without the preposition _in_, to express place 'where'; in the pleonastic employment of adverbs, with compound verbs, to strengthen the meaning of the preposition contained in the verb; e.g. _prius praecipere_, _ante praecoccupare_, _retro repetere_, _rursus repetere_, _retro redire_, _pergere porro_, _inducere exercitum in agrum hostium_; in collective nouns in the singular being connected with a predicate in the plural: e.g. _omnis multitudo abeunt_; _ingens turba circumfusi fremebant_; _ clamor concursusque populi_, _mirantium quid rei esset_; _Romanorum minus mille interfecti_; and lastly, in the use of _quam_ for _magis quam_; e.g. _ipsorum quam_ Hannibalis interess. There are other variations between the language of Livy and that of Cicero, which, however, must be attributed to, and are indeed proofs of, the progressive development of Latin syntax. We may mention, as one of these, the use of the future participle active in a hypothetical sense; for example (_xxiii. 44_) _dediiuris se Hannibali non fuisse arcessendum Romanum prasidium_; that is, 'if they had been intending to give themselves up to Hannibal,' &c.

Quintilian (i. 9) tells us that Asinius Pollio, the celebrated orator, historian, and poet of the Augustan age, reproached Livy with Patavinitas—that is, a provincial mode of expression in use at Patavium, as distinguished from the standard style of the capital. It is vain for us now to inquire in what this consisted; for though we may be able to state the difference between the style of one author and that of another, we are not in a position to recognise slight dialectic varieties, perhaps merely of pronunciation. Besides, Asinius Pollio, having rather too high an idea of his own abilities, was considerably addicted to speaking slightingly of other distinguished authors. Quintilian informs us (_xii. 1, § 23_) that he even ventured to depreciate Cicero's style. The Patavinity, therefore, may be nothing but a petty spiteful invention.
PRAEFATIO.

Facturusne operae pretium sim,1 si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vulgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid allatus eros se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturas credunt. Utunque erit,2 juvabit tamen rerum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte, et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscurto sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini omissi, consoler. Res est praeferendae et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum

1 Quintilian (Instit. Orat. ix. 4) mentions that the first words of Livy's work form the beginning of a hexameter, the syllable ne being elided by the following vowel. He adds that this arrangement is better than that found as an emendation in some copies, facturusne sim operae pretium. It is remarkable that this ancient correction appears in the existing manuscripts, and we should have been compelled to edit this reading, had not the evidence of the learned critic, who wrote only a century after Livy, been so definite. The sense is, 'whether I am about to do a thing which will reward me for my labour.' Pretium operaet means 'recompense, reward for labour.' This can refer here only to praise or public gratitude: it is therefore equivalent to 'whether my labours shall be acknowledged or received with thanks.'

2 Rem, the favourite Latin expression for a pronoun, 'it,' 'this. See Zumpt, § 678. By res here is meant the writing of history. This is old and common, whilst in it every new writer hopes to excel his predecessors.

3 That is, 'whether my labours shall be gratefully received or not'

4 'So far as a single man can do it.' This is the power of the expression, qualifying and diminishing, not strengthening.

5 Res, 'the matter;' that is, the history of Rome, and the narra-
repetatur, et quae ab exiguis proecta initiis eo creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque hand dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinatibus ad haec nova, quibus jam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae consciunt. Ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum, et si non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen officere possit. Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem1 poeticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitat$, ut miscendo humanaa divinis primordia urbiurn augustiora faciat. Et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea bell$ i gloria est2 populo Romano, ut cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiuntur aequo animo, quam imperiam patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia utcunque animadversa aut existimata erunt,3 haud in magno equidem ponam discrimin$. Ad illa mihi$ pro se quisque aceret intendent animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit. Labente deinde paulatim disciplina, velut desidentes$ primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec temporat, quibus nec vitia

tion of it. As the sentence proceeds, however, this word res assumes the meaning of the ‘state’ (res publica) whose history is related. This is to be accounted for by the generality, indeed we may say the universality, of this noun’s signification.

1 That is, ‘before the building of the city; nay, before any idea of building it was entertained.’ The usual expression is ante conditam urbem; but the author, by adding condendamve, leads us to think of a period even farther back.

2 A lively rhetorical mode of connecting the apodosis with the protasis. The regular construction would have been, si cui populo licere oportet, certe populo Romano propter eximiam bell$ i glorian licet, &c.

3 ‘In whatever light these and similar stories may be looked upon,’ whether as actual truths, or as truths adorned by poetry, or as absolute unmitigated fictions.

4 An ethical dative, intimating that this was an advice in which he felt a particular interest.

5 Desidere, said of a building which totters, and threatens to fall. Velut introduces and points out the figure.
PRAEFATIO.

nosta nec remedia\(^1\) pati possimus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta\(^2\) in illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae, quod imitere, capias; inde, foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam res publica nec major nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditoris fuit, nec in quam civilitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit. Adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidine in perund\(^3\) perdendique omnia invexere. Sed querelae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantae ordiendae rei absint. Cum bonis potius omnibus votisque et precatioribus deorum dearumque, si ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis\(^4\) tanti operis successus prosperos darent.

\(^1\) This refers to the measures which Augustus took to restore the respect for the ancient religion, and to improve the public morals, particularly by discouraging celibacy, which was at that time very common. Such regulations are in no circumstances effectual, and were hateful to the ancients.

\(^2\) *Documenta* are here events from which instruction is drawn. *Omnis exempli*, 'good or bad examples.'

\(^3\) 'The eager desire to ruin themselves by debauchery and licentiousness.' This is a strong expression, for the eager desire of course is for the enjoyment, not the ruin. 'The meaning, however, is, that though they know the inevitable and immediate consequences of their conduct, still they pursue their pleasures with as much zeal as if they were really anxious for their own destruction.

\(^4\) *Orsis*, from *orsa*, *orsorum*, a substantive derived from the participle *orsus-a-um*, and signifying 'a beginning.'
LIBER I.

(1–2) Arrival of Aeneas in Italy, and his exploits there. (3) Reign of Ascanius and of the Silvii at Alba. (4–5) The daughter of Numitor becomes, by Mars, the mother of Romulus and Remus; murder of Amulius. (6–8) Building of Rome and formation of the senate. (9) Rape of the Sabine women, and war with the Sabines. (10–13) Spolia Opima offered to Jupiter Feretrius. Division of the people into curiae. (14–15) Conquest of the Veientes and Fidenates. (16) Deification of Romulus, after a reign of 37 years. (17) The interregnum. (18–21) Numa Pompilius institutes the religious ceremonies, and builds the temple of Janus, the gate of which he closes, there being peace with all the tribes about Rome. He pretends to have nightly interviews with Egeria, and directs the warlike spirit of his subjects to the observance of religious duties. His reign lasts 43 years. (22–23) Tullus Hostilius attacks Alba. (24–25) Fight of the Horatii and Curatii. (26–27) Trial and acquittal of Horatius. (28) Punishment of Mettus Fufetius. (29–30) Destruction of Alba. The Albans are incorporated with the Roman state, and war is declared against the Sabines. (31) Tullus Hostilius is killed by lightning, after a reign of 32 years. (32) Ancus Marcius revives the religious institutions of Numa, and declares war against the Latins. (33) After the conquest of the Latins, and their incorporation with the Roman state, he assigns to them the Aventine. Destruction of Politorium. Building of a wooden bridge across the Tiber. Addition of the Janiculum to the city and foundation of Ostia. (34) In his reign, which lasts 24 years, Lucumo, a son of the Corinthian Damaratus, migrates to Rome from Tarquinii; he wins the friendship of Ancus, assumes the name of Tarquinius Priscus, and after the death of Ancus, succeeds to the throne. (35) He increases the number of senators by one hundred, subdues the Latins, marks out the space of the Circus, and exhibits great public games. (36) Being attacked by the Sabines, he increases the centuries of equites. Opposition of Attus Navius. (37–39) He defeats the Sabines, builds the great sewers, and begins surrounding the city with walls. He is slain by the sons of Ancus, after a reign of 38 years. (40–43) He is succeeded by Servius Tullius, who routs the Veientes and Etruscans. His census and division of the people into classes and centuries. (44) The Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Hills are added to the city, which is fortified by a wall, a mound, and a ditch. The Pomerium is extended. (45) Temple of Diana on the Aventine. (46–48) Servius is murdered by P. Tarquinius Superbus, after a reign of 44
years. (49) Tarquinius puts to death the leading men of the state, surrounds himself with a body-guard, and forms connections among the Latins. (50—52) His treacherous treatment of Turnus Herdonius. (53—54) War with the Volscians and with Gabii, which is taken by treachery. (55) Building of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. (56) L. Junius Brutus and the embassy to Delphi. (57—58) War against Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli. Outrage on Lucretia. (59—60) Expulsion of the tyrant, after a reign of 25 years, and establishment of the republic under two annual consuls.

Jam primum omnium satis constat Troja capta in ceteros saevitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Aeneae Antenorique, et vetusti jure hospitiis, et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerant, omne jus belli Achivos abstinuisset.\(^1\) Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum,\(^2\) qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem, rege Pylaemene ad Trojan amissos, quarebant, venisse in minimum Hadriatici maris sinum; Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsis, Enetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primum egressi sunt locum, Troja vocatur, pagoque inde Trojanon nomen est: gens universa Veneti appellati. Aenean ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad majora rerum initia ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse;\(^3\) Troja\(^4\) et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Trojani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves superessent,\(^5\)

\(^1\) The ordinary construction would have been *a duobus, Aeneae Antenoreque—abstinuisset*. The dative, which is in the manuscript reading, must be considered as a *dativus commodi*, 'for the good of two Trojans.' The author probably intended to close the sentence with the verb *pepercisset*, for which, however, he substituted an expression of similar import but different construction.

\(^2\) For *Enetorum*. The *Eetrai* appear in Homer as a nation on the south coast of the Pontus Euxinus, and as allied with the Trojans. Their king, Pylaemenes, was slain by Menelaus.

\(^3\) *Tenere locum*, or *tenere ad locum*, means 'to steer for a place.' See note, xxii. 49.

\(^4\) Some editions read *Trojae*, which is equally correct; for proper names may take either the same case as *nomen*, or, being attracted by the person or place named, the dative.

\(^5\) The best manuscripts read *superessent* instead of *superesset*, which latter is certainly the proper and logical construction. The number of the verb seems to be attracted by the substantives standing next it, and the words *nihil praeter* are in reality nothing but *solum, tantum*, 'only.'
cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendum vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est. Alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde affinitatem junxisse tradunt: alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad colloquium; percunctatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Trojanos esse, ducem Aeneam filium Anchisae et Veneris; cremata patria et domo profugos sedem condendaque urbi locum quaerere; et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextra data fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus iunctum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam. Aeneam apud Latium fuisset in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adjunxisse foedus, filia Aeneae in matrimonium data. Ea utique res Trojanis spem affirmat tandem stabilis certaque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt; Aeneas ab nomine uxoritis Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirps quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fut, cui Ascanium parentes dixerit nomen.

2. Bello deinde Aborigines Trojanique petiti. Turnus, rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre patiens, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abit: victi Rutuli; victores Aborigines Trojanique ducem

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1 According to the best manuscripts, Livy employs both the Greek form Αἰενεάς and the Latin Aeneam. In other editions Aenean is given throughout.

2 This, the first seat of the Trojans in Italy, was, in the flourishing times of Rome, a city of the Latins. It was situated near the sea-coast, and not far from Laurentum, where King Latinus resided. At a later period of Roman history, when both Lavinium and Laurentum were decayed, they were formed into one city, under the name of Lauro-Lavinium. The district is now in a wretched state with regard both to cultivation and population. It is remarkable that the name Lavinium was in the middle ages transferred to the inland city of Lamyvium, it being now called Civita Lavinja. The original Lavinium is now called Frattica.

3 Accusative, in apposition to nomen. Other editions read Ascanio. See note 4 on preceding page.

4 The town of the Rutulians was Ardea, situated on a steep isolated hill, a geographical mile to the south of Lavinium, and at some distance from the sea. It is now an insignificant village. Between Ardea and Lavinium flowed the Numicus or Numicus, now called, from its winding course, Rio Torto.

3. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius, Aeneae filius, erat, tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolumi mansit. Tantisper tutela muliebri (tanta indoles in Lavinia erat) res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud nihil ambigam, (quis enim rem tam veterem pro certa affirmet?) hicine fuerit Ascanius, an major quam hic, Creusa matre, Ilio incolumi, natus, comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Julia gens auctorem nominis sui nun-

1 Caere, situated twenty-six mília (more than five geographical miles) from Rome, and one geographical mile from the sea, is now called Cervetri (that is, ‘old Caere,’ a new Ceri having sprung up in the neighbourhood). This is a celebrated town, originally Pelasgian, then Etruscan, and often mentioned in early Roman history. The Romans obtained a great many of their religious ceremonies from Caere.

2 ‘Whatever it is right and pious for him to be called.’ This is a parenthetical allusion to the ancient superstition, which named Aeneas a local god (Greek, θεὸς Χαίνιος) on the place where he was said to be buried.

3 ‘Stood safely,’ or ‘was preserved to him,’ equivalent to incolume mansit in the previous sentence.

4 Haud nihil ambiga, equal to aliquantulum dubito. It is remarkable that nihil is wanting in all the manuscripts. The word, however, being absolutely necessary for the sense, this is merely a proof of the fact, that even our best codices are by no means perfect. As to hicine, see Gram. § 113, note 1. The interrogative particle ne is subjoined to the full old forms hice, haecce, hocce, for which, in the later language, the abbreviated hic, haec, hoc were used.

5 Ascanius was also or at the same time, called Iulus, and from
cupat. Is Ascanius, ubicunque et quacunque matre gentius (certe natum Aenea constat), abundante Lavinii multitudine, florentem jam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri sen novercae reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano moute condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniwm deductam triginta ferme interfusere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant, maxime fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae, nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni, movere arma aut Mezentius Etrusciue aut ulla alli accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset.

Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii filius, casu quodam in silvis natus. Is Aeneae Silvium creat; is deinde Latinum Silviwm. Ab eo coloniwm aliquot deductae, Prisci Latini appellati.\(^1\) Mansit Silviwm postea omnibus cognomen qui Albam regnarunt. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetum, Capeto Tiberinus, qui in trajectu Albulae amnis summersus celebre ad posteros nomen\(^2\) fluminii dedit. Agrippa inde, Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius a patre accepto imperio regnat. Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per

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1 At the time when Rome assumed authority over Latium, the Latin towns were divided into 'old' and 'new.' The former were thirty in number, and formed a confederation. New Latium (novum Latium) consisted of a number of townships on the borders of old Latium, which were subdued by the Romans, or by them in conjunction with the old Latins, and placed in the same relation to Rome as old Latium. According to Livy, these old Latins were originally colonists from Lavinium and Alba; in the opinion of other ancient historians they were not colonists, but merely recognised the pre-emminence of Alba. Aricia, Tusculum, Praeneste, Lanuvium, and Tibur, were among these old Latin towns.

2 'A name celebrated down to posterity;' that is, 'celebrated down to latest ages.' The names and succession of the Alban kings

4. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maxime secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Vi compressa Vestalís cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec díi nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant: sacerdos vineta in custodiam datur; pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet. Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad justi currsum poterat amnis, et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima alluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est (Romularem vocatam serum),

seem to have been invented by the annalists, or collected from old legends, in order to supply the place of authentic information. The derivation of the name Tiberis from Tiberinus is equally unworthy of credit, for ordinary etymology would lead us to suppose that the name of the river (with which is connected the name of the town Tibur) originated the name of the man, rather than vice versa.

1 A phrase expressing immediate succession. It is equivalent to the Greek ἐκ ὀροφος ἐκχει; that is, 'he had an immediate successor.

2 'Respect for (greater) age.'

5 This allusion is explained by the description given in i. 20 of the office and rules of the vestal virgins. This institution was extremely old at Alba, and was introduced into Rome by the good king Numa Pompilius.

4 Debeo aliiui. 'I owe to some one,' or 'I have to thank some one for something.' The passive is here used, because the subject which feels the gratitude is very indefinite; thus we may translate debebatur by 'the world, or mankind, had to thank.' The imperfect refers us to the time when Rome was building, or when the Fates were bringing about the train of events which resulted in its being built. The gratitude is conceived as having been felt then.

5 Livy supposes either that the vestal was herself deceived, or that she told an intentional falsehood. He has evidently no belief in the miracle.

6 Chance itself is looked upon as under the control of the Gods. In Greek, forte quadam divinitus would be expressed by Σεια των τοὐχν.

7 Livy intimates that the tree, which in his day was standing
pueros expouunt. Vastae tum in iis locis solitudines erant. Tenet faina, cum fluinantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus, qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam summissas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris inveniret. Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt. Ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxorii educandos latos. Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam puetut; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum. Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragrare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto, jam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere, et cum his, crescente in dies grege juvenum, seria ac jocos celebrare.

5. Jam tum in Palatio monte Lupercale hoc fuisse ludi

from the Comitium, was originally called Romularis, and afterwards, by a change of pronunciation, Ruminalis. The more correct view is, that ruminalis is derived from rumen, ruminis—that is, mamma.

1 Fama tenet or obtinet, 'the story is preserved.' We may either regard the verb as used intrasitively, or, if transitively, supply se, or give the following sentence as its object. Compare ii. 3, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit, 'continued;' see also note, xxi. 46. The story was preserved by means of a monument exhibiting a she-wolf suckling two boys, which was erected on the spot, and of which we still have copies.

2 A very profane explanation of the popular story. A much more natural interpretation is afforded by the fact, that the wolf was believed to be the animal sacred to Mars.

3 The omission of etiam with sed after non modo, non solum, non tantum, is very common in Livy. See Zumpt, § 724.

4 Hoc means 'the festival which on the day of the Lupercalia (February 15th in the Julian Calendar) is still kept up.' This old Italian festival of the shepherds, in which a dog was solemnly slaughtered, and Luperci ran half naked round the Palatium, was connected, as in the text, with the pastoral character of the founders of Rome.

5 'A long time before,' or many ages before.' Tempestas is here used simply for tempus, perhaps for the sake of effect. At least tempestas, being an old, and, in this sense, properly a poetical word, is calculated to lead our minds back to the pastoral district of Arcadia, and to times long gone by; for Evander lived three generations before Aeneas and the destruction of Troy.
Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam curreunt; quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludico, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse, ultro accusantes.\textsuperscript{1} Criminis maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetum fieri; inde eos, collecta juvenum manu, hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. Jam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari: nam et expositos jussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere. Sed rem immaturam, nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem, aperi in noluerat: necessitas prior venit. Ita metu subactus\textsuperscript{2} Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsum minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo juvenum (nec enim erat ad apertam vim par) sed aliis alio itinere jussi certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus, ad regem\textsuperscript{3} impetum facit; et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adjuvat Remus. Ita regem obturcant.

6. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem præsidio armisque\textsuperscript{4} obtinendum avocasset, postquam juvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque ejus auctorem ostendit. Juvenes per medium contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutasset, seusta ex omni multitudo consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi effect.

Ita Numitori Albane re permissa, Romulum Remumque cupidio cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes

\textsuperscript{1} Ultro, `of their own accord,’ here appears to express the extreme impudence of the robbers. Though, in being forced to give up all their ill-gotten booty, they had only received their desert, they still were impudent enough to accuse young Remus.

\textsuperscript{2} For coactus, rare and antique.

\textsuperscript{3} `Upon the king, his house, and his family.’ Had the king alone been meant, we should have had in regem.

\textsuperscript{4} A common Latin ev qui évoiv, equivalent to praesidio armato. Compare Zumpt, § 741.
facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae
ea urbe, quae condiderunt, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogita-
tionibus avitum malum, regni cupidum, atque inde foedum
certamen cooptum a saitis miti principio. Quoniam gemini
essent nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii,
quorum tutelae ea loca essent,\(^1\) auguriis legereunt qui nomen
novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium
Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templam ca-
piant.\(^2\)

7. Priori Remo augurium venisse furtur, sex vultures;
jamque nunzianto augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se
ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat.
Tempore illi praecipso, at hi numero avium regnum trahen-
bant.\(^3\) Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum
ad caedem vertuntur: ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit.
Vulgator fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse
muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque incre-
pitanus adjecisset \(^4\) Sic deinde\(^5\) quicunque alius transiliet
moenia mea,\(^6\) interfactus. Ita solus potitus imperio Ro-
mulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.\(^7\)

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit;
sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Evandro
instituta erant, facit.\(^8\) Herculem in ea loca, Geryone in-

\(^{1}\) 'Under whose protection these places were.' The phrase \textit{in tutela esse} is also used in the same sense.

\(^{2}\) 'As consecrated places for observing the heavens.' \textit{Templum} means originally a place from which the heavens are observed (with regard to omens, &c.), and from it, in this sense, is derived the verb \textit{contemplari}. \textit{Inaugurare}, equivalent to \textit{augurium copere}, and there-
fore, with an accusative, to \textit{consecrare}.

\(^{3}\) That is, \textit{sibi ac suis partibus vindicabant}, 'claimed for them-
selves and their party.'

\(^{4}\) Supply \textit{pereat}, or \textit{eveniat ei}.

\(^{5}\) The name \textit{Roma} is thus derived from \textit{Romulus}, though the name of
the man, from its form, evidently comes from that of the town.
The story of the fratricide is very old, and was perhaps originated
by the feuds of the early inhabitants of Rome. The localities, too
-Palatium and \textit{Mons Aventinus}-which are assigned to the quarrel
seem to refer to the two seats of the patricians and plebeians-the
Aventine, as the hill of the \textit{plebs}, being opposite, and, as it were,
hosile to the Palatine.

\(^{6}\) The fact that sacrifices were offered, according to the Greek
form, on the ancient \textit{ara maxima}, at the foot of the Palatine, in what
was afterwards called the ' ox-market' (\textit{forum boarium}), and the le-
gends of the priests regarding the origin of this ceremony, gave the
Roman annalists an opportunity of inventing the settlement of a
Greek colony on the banks of the Tiber, though the district is at
terempto, boves mira specie abegisse memorant,¹ ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens naudo tra-
jecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto resiceret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. Ibi cum eum cibo vinque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola ejus loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum, cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quae erant,² aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine,³ causis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus, cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem absesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia fierent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi⁴ ex loco infesto agere porro armentum occipit. Inde cum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relicitarum mugissent, redita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem cum vadem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava, fidem pastorum nequicquam invocans, morte occubuit. Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quam imperio regebant loca, venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum,⁵ rei novae inter rules artium homines, venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae eae gentes fuerant. Is tum Evander concursu pastorum trepidantium circa ad-
venam manifestae reum caedis excitus, postquam facinus facinorosque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri ali-

the same time described as waste and uncultivated. Livy, without settling the historical value of these stories, connects them with the religious institutions of Romulus.

¹ In the Greek mythology, the tenth labour imposed on Hercules by Eurystheus was to bring the cattle of the triple-bodied Geryon from the island of Erythea, on the west coast of Spain.

² Would have led: the imperfect indicative of the periphrastic conjugation, in the hypothetical sense of deduxissent.

³ Not all the oxen, but only some of them, according to their beauty, 'all those remarkable for their beauty.' This is the force of the partitive pronoun quisque with a superlative, or, as here, an adjective having the power of a superlative. Instead of the appo-
sition boves, we might have had the genitive partitive boum, eximium quemque boum.

⁴ For animo, a use of the genitive rare in the earlier prose, but frequently found in the poets, and the prose writers after Cicero.

⁵ Written characters.' According to this tradition, then, Evander brought the alphabet from Greece, where Cadmus had introduced it from Phoenicia.
quantum\(^1\) ampliorem Augustioremque humana inuens, rogat qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accept, 'Jove nate, Hercules, salve,' inquit. 'Te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum coelestium numerum cecinit; tibiqve aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximi vocet tuoque ritu colat.' Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata, ara condita ac dicata,\(^2\) ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de gree sacrum Hercului, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime inclitae ea loca incobebant, factum. Forte ita evenit ut Potiti ad tempus praesto essent hisque exta\(^3\) apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum munisi, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potiti ab Evandro edoci antistites sacrj ejus per multas aetates fuerunt, donec, tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio, genus omne Potitiiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepi, jam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

8. Rebus divinis rite perpetratis, vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nullae praeter quam legibus poterat, jura dedit: quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se Augustiorem,

\(^1\) Or aliquanto, 'somewhat,' 'considerably.' Aliquanto and aliquanto increase the power of the word with which they are connected, whereas paulum and paulo lessen it.

\(^2\) By this clause in the ablative absolute, the building of the altar is attributed to Hercules himself. It is said, too, ix. 34, that this service or ceremony was the only one which any god had instituted for himself. Ovid in his 'Fasti,' i. 582, corroborates this by the words—

Constituitque sibi, quae maxima dicitur, aram.

Other authors, however, give different accounts; some stating that Evander erected the altar to Hercules, and others that Hercules built it to Jupiter Inventor.

\(^3\) The exta—that is, the more important inwards of the animal offered in sacrifice—the heart, lungs, liver, and kidneys—were placed upon a dish on the altar, examined according to the Etruscan arus-picina, and afterwards eaten by the priests and attendants, whilst the remainder was given to the person who appointed the sacrifice, and to the guests whom he invited. The families of the Potiti and Pinarii officiated, even in historical times, at the sacrifices to Hercules on the Ara Maxima. In the year 310 B.C., the whole family of the Potiti, consisting of thirty male adults, died out, on account of the neglect or careless performance of their duty.—See Livy, ix. 29.
tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant. Me hand poenitet1 eorum sententiae esse, quibus et apparitores et hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella eurulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita habuisse Etruseos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint. Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis, quam ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde ne vana urbis magnitudine esset, adjiciendae multitudinis causa, vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi prolem emente-bantur,2 locum qui nunc septus descendentibus inter duos lucos est,3 asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, auida novarum rerum perfugit; idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris4 fuit. Cum jam virium haud poeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari Patres possent. Patres certe ab honore, Patriciique progenies eorum appellati.5

1 'I decidedly coincide in opinion with those who,' &c. *Me poenitet* not only means 'I repent,' but may also be used generally of the feeling of disappointment, of discontent; *non (haud) me poenitet*, 'I am content.' The opinion that the *apparitores*, and particularly that class of them called *lictores*, along with the rest of the insignia of power, were derived from the Etruscans, is supported by other Roman historians, as well as by Livy. Some of them think that there were no *apparitores* till the time of the Tarquins.

2 'Who fabled.' Deucalion and Cadmus are instances.

3 'A place which is now enclosed, and will be found by those who come down from the *arx* (the north-eastern peak of the Capitoline Hill) between the two groves.' The place was in the time of Livy not an asylum, but, being looked upon as a sacred spot, was carefully enclosed. The right of sanctuary was not recognised at Rome, as it was in the Greek states. The whole story of the asylum of Romulus probably arose from the fact, that Rome was looked upon as the home of all unfortunates, since there the peculiar regulation was in force that slaves, when set free by Roman masters, became Roman citizens by that very act.

4 'The first powerful addition.'

5 *Patricius* is simply derived from *pater*. by annexing the adjective termination *cius*. Livy, therefore, is mistaken when, in another passage, x. 8, he says that those were called patricians *qui patrem ciere possent*, as if every one else had been *spurius*, 'illegitimate.' *Patricii* is synonymous with *patres*. 
9. Jam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis connubia essent. Tum ex consilio Patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem connubiumque novo populo penterent: Urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo na-ci; dein quas sua virtus ac dix juvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere. Satis seire origini Romanae et deos auisse et non defuturam virtutem. Proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere. Nuaquam benigne legatio audita est: adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi et posteris suis metuebant. Aplerisque rogitantibus dimissi, quod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent? id enim demum compar connubium fore. Aegre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industria parat Neptuno equestri soUemnes: Con-

1 From Consus, the name of a god whose altar was discovered below ground in the place between the Palatine and the Aventine, where, afterwards, was the Circus Maximus. This god, otherwise unknown, was identified with Neptune.

2 'Thereto,' 'to it'; the adverb.

3 When a Roman bride was conducted from her father's house to her husband's, her companions shouted Talassio! The meaning and derivation of this word are doubtful. The interjection id cer-
parentes virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus, deumque invocantes, cujus ad sollemne Indosque per fas ac fidem decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumibat, docebatque patrum id superbia factum, qui con-
nubium finitimitis negassent: illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et quo nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore. Mollirent modo iras, et quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Saepe ex injuria postmodum gratiam ortam; eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod annisurus pro se quisque sit, ut cum suam vicem functus officio sit,\(^2\) parentium etiam patriaeque ex-
pleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum, factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad mu-
liebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

10. Jam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at rap-
tarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querelis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indigna-
nationes continebant,\(^3\) sed congregabantur undique ad T. Tatium, regem Sabinorum; et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatri nomen in his regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeni-
nenses Crustinumine et Antemnates erant, ad quos ejus injuriae pars pertinebat.\(^4\) Lente agere his Tatii Sabinique
visi sunt: ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustinumini quidem atque Antemnates pro
ardore iraque Caeninensi satis se impigre movent. Ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum\(^5\) in agrum Romanum impe-

\(^1\) Properly, violatum hospitii foedus. Similarly, in the first chap-
ter, majora rerum initia, for majorum rerum initia.

\(^2\) 'When, in his place, he had done the duty of a husband.' The
accusative suam vicem is used adverbiai/y for sua vice, according to a
peculiar use of vicem, 'in the stead of,' with a genitive or a pos-
sessive pronoun. Vice, however, is also used, as in i. 25.

\(^3\) 'They preserved,' 'kept hot.' In another sense, iram or indig-
nationes contineere might mean, 'to restrain or moderate anger.'

\(^4\) Caeninenses etc. erant, ad quos pars pertinebat, a rare circumlo-
cution for the simple ad Caeninenses, etc. pars pertinebat.

\(^5\) For populus Caeninensis, the example of nomen Latinum being
here followed; not, however, quite properly, for nomen means 'a
people' only in so far as the inhabitants of several distinct places
are comprehended under one general appellation. In the case of

\(3^*\)
tum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obivis cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur; regem in proelio obtuucat et spoliat; duce hostium occiso, urbem primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reduci, ipse cum factis vir magnificum tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit; ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram depeusisset, simul cum dono designavit templum Jovis fines, cognomenque addidit deo. 'Juppiter Feretri' inquit, 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spoliis, quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesi, me auctorem sequentes, posteri ferent.' Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae sacram est. Ita deinde diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua latroeo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine compositum ejus doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris fuit.

11. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antennatum exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem fecit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palatos

the Latins, therefore, the word was properly applied; but not so in that of the inhabitants of the single town of Caenina. With the same irregularity, the Albans are called nomen Albanum, i. 23. Caenina was situated at a greater distance from Rome than either Antemnae or Crustumurium, being 18 milia to the north-east. Its modern name is St. Angelo.

'1 Illustrious by his deeds, and at the same time not slow to trumpet them forth, and boast of them.'

2 This cognomen, Feretrius, is to be found in the speech which follows. In the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, on the Capitoline Hill, the armour of such leaders of hostile armies as were slain in single combat by a Roman general was hung up as a trophy (tropaeum). Such spoils were called spolia opima, and, after Romulus, were obtained only twice: once by A. Cornelius Cossus, who slew the Etruscan Tolumnius in the year 437 B.C. (see Livy, iv. 19), and once by M. Claudius Marcellus, who killed Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, 222 B.C.

3 'Within these bounds.'

4 Equivalent to dixit, but implying solemnity.

5 'The good fortune to gain this distinction.'

6 Legio here is not used in the sense of a particular division of the Roman army, but generally for exercitus; though some writers, in order to carry back the peculiar signification of legio even to the earliest times of Rome, declare that the original number of citizens under Romulus was the same as that of a legion afterwards. Compare i. 28, where legio Romana is used for exercitus; and a little after, for the same army, the plural legiones.

Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit: nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum priusquam intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpejus Romanae praeerat arci. Hujus filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat. Aquam forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat. Accepti³ obrutam armis necaveere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabulae, quod vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevos gennatosque magna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo² scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi quod in

¹ According to this narrative, then, the citizens of Antemnae and Crustumerium received the rights of Roman citizenship; and at the same time, by the settlement of Roman citizens in these towns, they were placed in the relation of colonies. Colonisation and extension of the franchise, however—the two features in the character of the Roman state which mainly contributed to its greatness—probably were not begun till a later period. Antemnae lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, and does not appear again as an independent town; but Crustumerium is named in i. 38 as one of the Latin cities, and is there mentioned as not having been incorporated with the Roman state till the time of Tarquinius Priscus. Nomen dare, 'to give in one's name,' sometimes to be put on the list of soldiers discharged, but here to be placed in the roll of those wishing to be settled in a colony.

² Nothing has previously been mentioned of an arx in Rome, or of a separate fortification; but the Capitoline Hill bore this name. The story of Tarpeia and her treachery seems to have been founded on the name—rupes Tarpeia—of the steepest cliff of the Capitoline. The Romans, and ancients in general, were much addicted to inventing fanciful explanations of the names of places.

³ Namely, in arcem, 'after being admitted into the citadel.

⁴ 'Rings set with stones of great brilliancy.'

⁵ As frequently, equivalent to ideo 'therefore.'
sinistris manibus esset, directo arma petisse dicant, et fraudem visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.  


1 This version of the story rescues Tarpeia's patriotism from reproach, and, as we learn from other sources, was an invention of the annalist Piso.  
2 Tamen has reference to a clause understood—namely, however this may be; that is, whether Tarpeia was actuated by a treacherous or a patriotic motive—it is nevertheless certain that the Sabines were masters of the citadel.  
3 The best manuscripts read Hostius, others Hostus. This was an old praenomen, given to those who were born among foreigners (apud hostes, according to the ancient expression).  
4 To thee as Jupiter the stayer, or supporter, Romulus here gave Jupiter the cognomen of Stator, as on a former occasion he had given him that of Feretrius. We may again remark here, that the incidents of the narrative are connected with the explanation of the names of ancient localities in the city, or rather, indeed, that the whole story is but a collection of such explanations. Thus, in the valley at the foot of the Palatine there was for a long time a bog known as the lacus Curtius, which was afterwards filled up. Its name was variously explained, being by some derived from Mettius Curtius, a Sabine warrior mentioned in this chapter; by others from M. Curtius, a Roman knight, who is said to have leaped into it (361 B. C.) because the abyss could not otherwise be filled up.—See Livy, vii. 6.

13. Tum Sabinae mulieres, quorum ex injuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo malis muliebre pavor ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto dirimere³ insta acies dirimere iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partius suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum⁴ progeniem. "Si affinitatis inter vos, si connubii piget, in nos vertite iras. Nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac caediam viros ac parentibus sumus. Melius peribimus quam siue alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus." Movet res cum multitudinem tum duces: silen- tium et repentina fit quiues. Inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt: nec pacem modo sed⁶ civitatem unam ex duabus

¹ Trepidare is used here, as frequently, of a hasty and unsteady motion. Compare i. 7, Concursus trepidantium pastorum.
² 'Having received new courage from the favour shown towards him by the multitude.'
³ Tum... dirimere. the descriptive (historical) infinitive, for which might have been used either the imperfect tum... dirimebant, or the historical present tum... dirimunt.
⁴ The genitivus epexegeticus, explanatory or definitive genitive; 'a progeny, consisting for the one party of grandchildren, and for the other of children.' This is a use of the genitive in Latin, for which modern languages more logically employ apposition; 'a progeny, for the one party grandchildren, for the other children.' See Gram. § 274.
⁵ Deprived of their husbands, viduae; of their fathers, orbae. Orbus is either 'one deprived of his children,' or 'one deprived of his parents.' Viduae aut orbae, therefore, might mean either 'widowed or childless,' or 'widowed or fatherless;' but here, from the sense of the passage, the latter is meant.
⁶ The manuscripts read merely sed, most of the editions sed et; but Livy is fond of the omission of et or etiam in cases such as this. In English, too, we frequently omit the 'also.' Thus here, 'they not only make peace, but [also] unite the two states into one.'
faciunt; regnum consociant, imperum omne conuerunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum ejus pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equus Curtium in vadum statuit, Curtium lacum appellarent.

Ex bello tam tristi laeta repeute pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus major hoc mulierum fuerit; ætate ædignitiatibus suis viorum vel an sorte lectae sint, quae nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt. Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati. Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est.

14. Inde non modo commune, sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit. Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tati legatos Laurentium pulsant; cumque Laurentes jure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit: nam Lavini,

1 From Livy's narrative we might be led to believe that the whole nation of the Sabines ceased at this time to have an independent existence, and became Roman. Such, however, was not the case till a much later period, when Rome had made herself the mistress of a great part of Italy. All the truth that can be gathered from this tradition is probably this, that at a very early period in Roman history a strong body of Sabines was added to the original population, which consisted principally of Latins. The Roman people were called in legal language Quirites; and if we admit that this word is of Sabine origin, and derived either from the name of the Sabine town Cures, or from the Sabine word quiris—' a spear,' or ' lance,—we may naturally infer that the Sabines either formed the principal element in the early population of Rome, or were at least the most warlike citizens.

2 ' On firm ground,' 'ground on which he could tread,' (in quo vadere poterat). This place, says Livy, and not the marsh or bog itself, was called lacus Curtius. The bog did not exist in Livy's time, but the name was still given to a part of the Forum.

3 Another explanation of ancient names, which, however, is not admitted by other authors. Of the names of the thirty curiae, but few are known to us: Titia, Faucia, Rapia (which may have been the names of women); but Foniensis, Veliensis, and Tifata, appear to be of topographical origin.

4 The order is cum numerus mulierum haud dubie fuerit aliquanto major hoc (numero curiarum).

5 Livy omits to mention that the earliest Roman population was divided into three tribus, to which these three centuriae equitum were attached. These centuries of knights probably consisted of patricians.

6 This story shows us that even at that time the towns of Laurentum and Lavinium were very closely allied. See note i. 1.
cum: ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto interficitur. Eam rem minus aegre, quam dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob insidiam societatem regni, seu quia haud injuria caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit: ut tamen expiarentur legatorum injuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.

Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat: aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates\(^1\) nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, príusquam tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Juventute armata immissa, vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est. Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumul tusque repens ex agris in urbem illatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus Romulus (neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat) exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum\(^2\) locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto, egressus omnibus copiis partem militum locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris\(^3\) subsidere in insidiis jussit; cum parte majore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quærebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae, adequando ipsis prope portis, hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum, velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium.

\(1\) Wars between Rome and Fidenae are frequently mentioned in the early books of Livy. These came to a close, however, in the year 426 B.C. (Livy, iv. 34), when the Fidenates were subdued, and their city destroyed. After this, we hear of Fidenae only as an insignificant village. It was situated about six miles from Rome, near the junction of the Anio and Tiber. It was principally inhabited by Etruscans, and was in constant alliance with the wealthy and powerful Etruscan city of Veii, situated very near the Roman territory.

\(2\) That is, a Roman mile; for a passus equalled five Roman feet, being as much as a man could span with his legs extended. Mille passus might have been used instead of mille passuum.

\(3\) The explanation of these words is difficult. If nothing is altered, the translation is, 'he ordered a part of his soldiers to lie down in ambush in dark (shadowy) places round about thick overgrown brushwood.' We might correct thus, locis circa denso obsitis virgulto; 'in places darkened all around about by being overgrown with thick brushwood.' Livy uses only the form virgultum of the second declension, not virgulta of the first; otherwise the only change necessary would have been obsessa into obsitis, thus putting densa virgulta in the ablative singular. The conjectural reading locis circa denso obsitis virgulto et obscuris is decidedly to be approved of so far as regards the sense, but varies too far from the manuscripts.

15. Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium animi et consanguninitate (nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt), et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat, in fines Romanos excurrerunt, populabundi magis quam justi more belli. Itaque non castris postis, non expectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris praedam poitantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae intentusque Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audire, obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quam inclusi de tectis moenibusque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte adjutis, tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit; persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes, urbe valida muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit, agros rediens vastat, ulescendii magis quam praelae studio. Eaque clade, haud minus quam adversa pugna, subacti Veientes pacem petiunt oratores.

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1 'Moving about hesitatingly,' as if undecided whether to fight or flee.
2 'As the Roman line retired.' Impulsa seems here to have the sense of the Greek middle se impellente, rather than that of a Fidenatis impulsa.
3 The ablative, 'because in true flight,' or 'because actually fleeing.' This clause with quippe is abbreviated for quippe qui vera fuga urbem repetereunt, exactly as in English. Simulantes, accusative governed by secuti, refers to the Romans, and requires the supplement of fugam from the preceding clause.
4 Thus Fidenae was taken, and, as Livy incidentally mentions (i. 27), it was made a Roman colony. This, however—even if the statement can be depended on, which is very doubtful—did not in the least abate the hostile feeling of the inhabitants towards the Romans.
5 'Not assisted by any trick (ruse de guerre),' as was the case in the war with the Fidenates.
Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum annos induitiae datae.\(^1\)

Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condenda urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae.\(^2\) Ab illo enim profectu viribus datis tantum valuit,\(^3\) ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam Patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militia animis. Trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit.

16. His immortalibus editis operibus, cum ad exercitum recensendam continentem in campo\(^4\) ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magnó fragore tontribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum ejus continentiae absuliterit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes, sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbado die serena et tranquilla lux redit, ubi vacanm sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat Patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta\(^5\) maestum aliquandiu silentiun obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto, Deum Deo natum, regem parentemque

\(^1\) It was an Etruscan custom to make a peace for a specified number of years, as we shall often see in the continuation of Livy's history. This peace, however, at least according to Livy, did not last so long as was agreed to; for (i. 27) we find Tullus Hostilius, the third king of Rome, engaged in a war with the Veientes; unless, indeed, we assume that in that war, as well as in one mentioned in chapter 30, the state of Veii was not concerned, but only a number of citizens who acted independently of the government. The tradition on which Livy's story is founded leads us to think that the youthful city of Rome acquired strength and power at the expense of the wealthy Veientes, and that all the territory which the Romans at this time possessed on the north of the Tiber had been taken from Veii. This point is of some importance for the filling up of the story of Porsenna.

\(^2\) Livy says that all the actions attributed to Romulus were in harmony with the supposition that he was the son of a god; and with this remark he introduces the story of the circumstances under which the monarch's life terminated, and of his recognition as a divinity.

\(^3\) From this favourable advance the state grew so powerful, ' & c. Profectus is 'a step forward.' Under Romulus the state began and made its first step to greatness.

\(^4\) Understand Martio.

\(^5\) Equivalent to percussa, 'struck.' Compare v. 21, velut repentino icti furore; and xxvii. 9, nova re consules icti.

17. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupidio versabat. Necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat: factionibus inter ordines cer-

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¹ They shouted salve deus, salve Romule! a sign that they recognised him as an immortal, and consequently as still alive. Had they believed him to be absolutely dead, they would have uttered the sad cry of vale! The word pacem in the next clause has the force of gratiam, tutelam, ut ipsis benignus sit.

² Haec fama manavit, 'this report has gone abroad,' or 'become current'—namely, the report that Romulus was murdered by the Fathers. Livy seems to think this story not an improbable one. In the tradition of the translation of Romulus into heaven, we find only an attempt to account for the popular belief that he had become a god, and, as Quirinus, watched over the city which he had founded.

³ Pavor, 'fear,' probably of the Fathers, towards whom the common people had no friendly feelings, and who, they must instinctively have thought, had killed their king. The pavor might also be explained as the natural consequence of the great tempest which had lately burst over them.

⁴ 'A highly-trustworthy authority for any story, however incredible it might seem' (literally, 'for a thing however great'). Quamvis, used adverbially, equivalent here to quantumvis. Compare ii. 54, nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deereat.

⁵ That is, 'to look him in the face.' When prayer was made to a god, the suppliant usually directed his eyes towards the ground.

⁶ The most ancient manuscripts have fides, and it is not improbable that Livy may have written so; for the genitive singular of the fifth declension ended originally in eis—thus fideis, contracted either into fides or into the ordinary form fidei. See Gram. § 73, note 2.
tabatur.\footnote{The striving for the government (\textit{certamen regni}) had not yet gone so far as single persons' (that is, the question was not whether this or that leading man should be made king), 'the struggle was rather by factions between the orders' — that is, the dispute was rather whether the king should be chosen from the order or body (\textit{ordo, corpus}) of the Sabines, or from that of the original Latin Romans. The manuscripts read \textit{a singulis}, but \textit{ad singulos}, a conjecture of Graevius, is unquestionably the correct reading.} Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tatii mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequa possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum regem asperrabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari\footnote{\textit{Regnari}, 'that there should be a king,' or 'that the government should be monarchical,' \textit{Expertus}, the participle of a deponent verb, is used here passively. Compare i. 34, \textit{ad fin.}} tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum experta. Timor deinde Patres incessit,\footnote{\textit{Incedere} governs either the accusative or the dative. In Livy the former construction is the more common, particularly when the subject is a feeling or emotion of the mind, and the verb may be translated 'to seize, take possession of,' as here. The dative, however, even in a case of this kind, occurs in iv. 57, \textit{gravior cura Patribus incessit.} See Zumpt, § 387.} ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatum irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum Patres, decem decurii factis, singulisque in singulas dec(urias) creatis,\footnote{\textit{\textit{decuria}}. \textit{In}, used distributively, as \textit{per.}} qui summae rerum praeescent, consociant. Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annuumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen,\footnote{\textit{Even now (in the time of the republic) the name is in use:' for during the republic an \textit{interrex} was sometimes named by the senate, when by any chance there was no ordinary curule magistrate in the state; when, for instance, the elections were obstructed, and the time of one magistrate expired before a successor was appointed. Such an \textit{interrex}, like those mentioned by Livy here, held office for five days.} \textit{Decreverunt}} interregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem, et ab ipsis creatum, videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri Patres, offerendum ulto rati quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt, summa potestate populo permissa, ut non plus darent juris, quam retinerent.\footnote{Most of the manuscripts read \textit{detinerent}, but this compound ('to hinder') does not seem very suitable.}
enim, ut, cum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si Patres auctores\(^1\) fierent. Hodieque\(^2\) in legibus magistribusque rogandis usurpatur idem jus, vi adempta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum Patres auctores fiunt.\(^3\) Tum interrex, contione advocata, 'Quod bonum, faustum felixque sit\(^4\) inquit, 'Quirites, regem create: ita Patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si diguum qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur crearris, auctores fiunt.' Adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio videretur, id modo sciscerent juberentque, ut senatus decernet, quin Romae regnaret.


\(^{1}\) Auctor is not only one who first mentions or produces anything, but also one who confirms and ratifies a thing, and thereby makes it take effect. Compare ii. 56, note.

\(^{2}\) And (still) at the present time. Many manuscripts read hodie quaque, but a conjunction seems necessary for the connection.

\(^{3}\) This was an ordinance of the lex Publilia. passed in the year 339 b.c. (Livy, viii. 12, ad fin). That law took away a great portion of the influence which the senate exercised over the democratic element of the constitution, the senate being made to give its formal assent to the resolutions of the comitia before they were passed. Here was the usus, all vis being taken away.

\(^{4}\) A common formal introduction to a legal document or set speech, similar to our 'In the name of God, amen,' or to another Latin phrase in frequent use, quod bene vertat. In quod bonum, faustum, \&c. observe the tautology, 'good, health (prosperity)-bringing, and fortunate.' Such pleonasms are frequent in legal formulae: another occurs in the next sentence, seiscerent juberentque. The conjunction in such cases is very often omitted. Compare Zumpt, §742, ad fin.

\(^{5}\) Equivalent to peritissimus, the usual expression juris (jure) consultus being here made use of.

\(^{6}\) Formed clubs of the youths who emulated (followed, adopted) his views. The school of Pythagoras was distinguished by this peculiarity, that his disciples adopted not only his philosophical tenets, but also his political and moral principles, and were formed into clubs, which exerted themselves to gain political influence in the Greek states of Southern Italy, and thereby drew upon themselves political persecution. Livy justly discredits the statement of some old annalists, that the renowned wisdom of Numa was derived from Pythagoras. Its nature was not philosophical, but purely religious, and derived from constant intercourse with the wise priests of his nation.
quibus locis, etsi ejusdem aetatis fuisset, qua fama in Sabinos aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excississet? quove praesidio unius per tot gentes dissolvas sermonem moribusque pervenisset? Suopte igitur ingenio temperatura animum virtutibus suisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus, quam disciplina tetricae ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. Audito nomine Numae Patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos, rege inde sumpto, videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique Patrum aut civium quemquam praefere illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pomp.lio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli jussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem in lapide ad meridiem versus conscit. Augur ad laevam ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo adun-cum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus, regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quo longissime

1 'By what fame reac ing to the Sabines.'
2 'Gloomy.' Tetricus is said by the ancients to be a Sabine word, though it may perhaps be connected with the Latin adjective tacter. Genus, in the following clause, is equivalent to gens, notio.
3 An adverb, or rather an ablative absolute, derived from the participle, and signifying 'after the auguries had been observed'; that is, 'with the approval of the gods.'
4 Livy refers the opinion universally held by the Romans, that the office of an augur was a public priesthood, and to be held for life, to this incident. The cause of his doing so is to be found in that natural propensity which we have to attribute all old political arrangements to some particular occasion and individual. The ceremony, described as having been gone through by the augur in this case, was the common one in after-days. Honoris ergo, equivalent to honoris causa. Ergo, in this sense, is ordinarily used only in legal formulae; for example, miles virtutis ergo donatus.
5 The augur—as we are expressly told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was a contemporary of Livy, and wrote in Greek a history of Rome from the earliest times up to the Punic wars—had his face turned to the east. It is therefore quite plain how, when he drew the line on the heavens over his head from east to west, the south side of the sky was on his right, and the north on his left. The left side was with the Romans the lucky one, and therefore sinister, as an augural term, was equivalent to faustum. On this account the Latin etymologists derived sinister from the verb sinere, because an omen on the left hand 'permitted' (sineret) something to be done.
conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit, tum lituo in laevam manum translato, dextra in caput Numae imposita, precatus ita est. 'Juppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cujus ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa acclarassisset inter eos fines, quos feci.' Tum peregit verbis auspiciis, quae mitti vellet. Quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

19. Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, jure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella assuescere videret non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Janum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde

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1 He fixed in his mind the sign opposite, as far as he could see; that is, he made up his mind and prepared himself to seek for a sign in the quarter of the heavens opposite to him, and at the extreme point of vision. The augur therefore directed his attention solely to a part of the heavens in which an omen would be favourable, and did not at all observe the unlucky side. Those who take advantage of the superstitious feelings of others generally know very well how to suit their dicta to the wishes and likings of the credulous. Such was certainly the system in the later ages of Rome, but it may be doubted whether it was really in practice so early as the time of Numa, when in all probability the augurs themselves believed in the truth of their art, and the observation of the heavens was consequently more than a mere form.

2 Equivalent to clara feceris. Acclarassisset is an old form of a rare verb which is only used in this technical sense. Regarding the form of the perfect subjunctive in assim-is-it for averim-is-it, see Gram. § 146, 6. The uti (ut) depends upon precor understood. Acclarassisset, being in the perfect for the present tense, expresses a wish for speedy completion or fulfilment, exactly as the future-perfect indicative when used for the future. See Gram. § 338, note 3.

3 He enumerated those appearances in the sky which he wished to be sent.'

4 'From the consecrated place of observation.' See i. 6.

5 This pronoun being used here for the sake of emphasis, has the sense of eandem. See Zumpt, § 744, prope fin.

6 See p. 36, note 3.

7 The name of a part of the lower city near the Tiber, and afterwards called Forum Olitorium. The Janus was a gate, with a statue of the god Janus in a niche, which connected two very busy parts of the city, and the shutting of which greatly interrupted traffic. Regarding this gate the belief arose that it could be shut only when the Romans were at peace with all the world. It was therefore shut very seldom, and only for short periods. Numa's whole reign was peaceful. This was considered to be an historical fact, which was commonly expressed thus, 'During his whole reign the Janus was shut.' Now as all institutions relating to religion
post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Maulio consule,¹ post Punicum primum perfectum bellum; iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt utvideremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto, pace terramarique parta. Claudio eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus junxisset animos, positis externorum periculum curis, ne luxuriarent² otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuaret, omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum inijiciendum ratus est.³ Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse: ejus se monitu, quae acceptissima⁴ diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficerent. Atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim mensibus descriptum annum⁵ quem, quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitialia circumagitur orbe, intercalares menses interponendo ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo anno⁶ ad metam eandem solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum spatis dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi⁷ utile futurum erat.

and peace, whose actual origin was unknown, were attributed to Numa, the annalists invented the story that Numa erected the Janus, and made the regulations regarding it.

¹ In the year 235 B.C., when the Sardinians were subdued. This conquest, however, was not permanent.

² Other editions read luxuriarentur, but the active form, which is generally speaking, the more common, is better here.

³ A strange view of the case, showing that Livy, and those whose statements he followed, looked upon religion as merely a political institution.

⁴ Equivalent to gratissima, ‘most agreeable.’

⁵ Before the time of Numa, the year had been divided into ten months of various lengths, probably according to the rising of the constellations which regulated agriculture. Traces of this old division were to be seen in the names of Quintilis (July), Sextilis (August), and still exist in September, October, November, December. These names are plainly derived from the Latin numerals, the numbering being made from March, which was the first month. Numa divided the year into twelve months, adding Januarius and Februarius, with the latter of which he closed it. These twelve months were lunar, of twenty-eight days each, and therefore, in order to adjust the year to the course of the sun, a whole lunar month additional had to be inserted every few years. These inserted months were called menses intercalares.

⁶ This is the reading of the manuscripts; the more modern editions read quarto et vicesimo quoque anno. This, however, is not necessary for the adjustment of the lunar to the solar year.

⁷ Courts and popular assemblies, in the latter of which cum populo
20. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adjecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime, quae nunc ad Dialæm flaminem\(^1\) pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosæ plures Romuli quam Numæ similis reges putatabat fore, iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae viciss\(^2\) desererentur, flaminem Jovi assiduum sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella\(^3\) adornavit. His duos flamines adjecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino. Virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris\(^4\) hand alienum. His, ut assiduæae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit; virginitate alisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit, et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen; coelestiaque arma,\(^5\) quae ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis\(^6\) sollemnique saltatu jussit. Pontificem deinde Numam Marciem,\(^7\) Marci filium, ex Patriibus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur.\(^8\) Cetera quoque omnia pub-

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\(^1\) The same who is called in the following sentence sacerdos Jovis. He was obliged to remain constantly at Rome (to be assidus). Flamen was the name given to the peculiar priest of a divinity in early times, whilst sacerdos is applied generally to any one invested with a priestly office; for example, to an augur or a pontifex. Sacerdos is also the proper designation of the peculiar priest of any of the more modern gods; that is, of one not deified in the early or ante-historic times.

\(^2\) To which it was the king's duty to attend; equivalent to regii munerus.

\(^3\) Sella curulis, 'chair of office,' or 'of state,' probably from cura. The higher magistrates had the privilege of sitting upon a finely-adorned chair whilst hearing and deciding causes.

\(^4\) The gens of Romulus was that of the Silvii, and Rea Silvia, his mother, had been a vestal.

\(^5\) Arma means here 'shields,' and indeed generally the word has principal reference to them. One of these ancilia was said to have fallen from heaven, and was regarded as a pledge of divine assistance. In order to prevent its being stolen, eleven others were made exactly like it, to which of course no virtue was attached. So say Dionysius, and Plutarch in his life of Numa.

\(^6\) Tripudium means 'a stamping tread with the feet,' and is derived from terram pavere.

\(^7\) Son-in-law of King Numa, and father of Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of Rome. See i. 32.

\(^8\) The pontifex maximus, therefore, had what we may call the rent-
roll of the gods, the list of their revenues, which were derived principally from landed property, and were devoted to defraying the expenses of sacrifices, &c. The college of pontifices, with the pontifex maximus at its head, had full authority from the state to superintend and manage everything connected with the worship of the gods. Their duties included also the performance of funeral rites, and the preservation of public documents.

1 That the plebs might have a place to which they could go and apply for advice.

2 Visus, properly ' a seeing; ' here, as frequently, ' a thing seen, an appearance; ' suscipere, ' to take up as, ' to regard as. ' Compare xliii. 13, duo non suscepta prodigia sunt. Curare or procurare, ' to take care of; ' that is ' to perform such religious ceremonies as might make the best of a prodigy, preparing the way for the reception of any good which was prognosticated, and averting as far as possible any threatened calamity.

3 Like the fear of law and punishment. ' Propior, proximus, proprius, and proxime, being derived from the preposition prope, ' near, ' may govern the accusative. The manuscripts read proximo metu, and proxime metum is merely a conjecture of Muretus. This conjecture, however, is preferable to the manuscript reading, because, according to the latter, the metus legum ac poenarum, though not so influential as the fides ac jusjurandum, still exists and operates; whereas the former implies that the metus, not being necessary for the preservation of social order, is entirely gone, and that a strong religious feeling has come in its place.

4 Unicus refers not to number, but to excellence, ' pre-eminent in its kind. ' Compare xxii. 14.

5 Ante is here not the preposition, as its position before castra might lead us to think, but an adverb, equivalent to antea.
versam deorum violari ducentem nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua; quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deae inferebat, Camenis\(^1\) eum lucum sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum conjuge sua Egeria essent. Et soli Fidei\(^2\) sollemnem instituit. Ad id sacarium flamines bigis, curru arcato,\(^3\) vehi jussit, maneque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam sedemque ejus etiam in dextris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit: omnium tamen maximum ejus operum fuit tutela, per omne regui tempus, haud minor pacis quam regui.\(^4\)

Ita duo dieinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regni annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum\(^5\) valida, tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.


\(^1\) The Camenae were singing and prophetic goddesses, who were identified with the Greek Muses. Their name seems to be derived from Carmen; and Carmenta, the prophetic mother of Evander (Livy, i. 7), was nothing but a Camena. The cave near Rome, called the Grotto of Egeria, can scarcely have been in the ancient grove of the Camenae, which was probably situated nearer the city.

\(^2\) 'To Fides for herself alone,' separatim, distinguishing this from the consecration of the grove to all the Camenae.

\(^3\) 'In a chariot with two horses yoked in the form of a bow.'

\(^4\) That is, he preserved peace, and at the same time maintained the royal dignity and power.

\(^5\) All the manuscripts read properly cum-tum, the editions erroneously tum-tum.

\(^6\) See note, i. 17.

\(^7\) That is, without violating treaties, which were protected by the gods. Livy himself, to judge from his narrative, seems not to have been quite satisfied with this formal fear of the gods, which was only a colour for selfishness.
indici posse. Albanis socordius res acta: excepti hospitio 
ab Tullo blande ac benignè, comiter regis convivium cele-
brant. Tantisper\(^1\) Romani et res repetiverant priores, et 
eganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. 
Haec renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potes-
tatem, quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi omnium ignari 
primum purgando terunt tempus: Se invitam quiquam quod 
minus placeat Tullo dicturos, sed imperio subigi: res repeti-
tum se venisse; ni reddantur, bellum indicere jussos. Ad 
haec Tullus 'Nuntiate,' inquit, 'regi vestro regem Roma-
um deos facere testes: uter prius populus res repetentes 
legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant\(^2\) 
hujusce clades belli.\(^3\)

23. Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque 
summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter 
parentes natosque, Trojanam utramque prolem, cum Lavi-
nium ab Troja, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe 
regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus tamen belli minus 
miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quod nec acie certatum est, 
et tectis modo dirutis alterius urbis duo populi in unum con-
fusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Ro-
manum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quin-
què milia passuum locant, fossa circumdant: fossa Cluilia ab 
nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est, donec eum 
re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit.\(^4\) In his castris Cluilius 
Albanus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium 
creat. Interim Tullus ferox, praecipue morte regis, mag-
numque deorum numen ab ipso capite orsum in omne 
nomen Albanum\(^5\) expetitum poenas ob bellum impium 
dictitans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris, infesto exercitu 
in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Met-
tium: ducit qua proxime ad hostem potest;\(^6\) inde legatum

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\(^1\) 'So much the sooner.' Tantisper is here applied to a short period 
of time. This sense, however, is not in the word itself, for in i. 3 
(ad iuvit.) it expresses a much longer period.

\(^2\) Expetere should properly be construed with ab, but in with the 
accusative occurs also in the next chapter, numen . . . . in omne 
nomen Albanum expetitum poenas. The idea which leads to the 
use of this construction is, that the gods, according to an eternal 
necessity, bring punishments upon (that is, against, in) particular 
mortals.

\(^3\) From abolesco, which is intransitive, 'I go out of existence:' 
aboleo is transitive, 'I annihilate,' or 'send out of existence.'

\(^4\) See i. 10, note.

\(^5\) 'By the nearest way.' The manuscripts read quam, and qua is 
merely a conjecture of Gronovius. The sense given by qua, how-
ever, seems to us preferable to the other.

1 'Although the message of the ambassador had nothing tangible in it,' since he did not state any plan for settling the differences without a war.

2 'Begins,' namely, to speak. Infic, a third person singular, is not unfrequently used by poets and by Livy in this sense, though this is a grammatical irregularity, fio being properly used as the passive of facio.

3 Prae se tulisse must be supplied from the following prae te ferre: 'I think I have heard that, on the one hand, our king Cluilius put forward wrongs, &c. as the cause of this war, and I have no doubt that you, Tullus, on the other, put forward the same things.' Mihi videor, or simply videor, 'I think,' or 'it appears to me that.'

4 A conjectural reading was necessary here. The manuscripts have quo proprior es Volscis, but as the Volscians have nothing to do with the Etruscans, some have proposed to read Veis, others Tuscis. Our reading, we think, is simpler, and at the same time gives a very good sense: 'the nearer you are, the better thou knowest.' The use of the plural vos [estis] in the one clause, and of the singular scis in the next, need not startle us, for scis means 'yourself and your people.'

5 'Throw' (of the dice), used figuratively for discrimen, 'decision.'

6 'A plan or an arrangement is entered into.'

1 Error means here not ‘a mistake,’ but ‘an uncertainty.’
2 We may translate this by ‘pull both ways,’ since the phrase seems to be taken from horses in a carriage pulling different ways, and thus drawing the vehicle sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other. The meaning here is, that some authors make the Horatii, Romans, others Albans, and the same with the Curiatii. The expression utroque trahunt is concise: alii alio trahunt would mean nearly the same thing; not, however, implying, as the other does that there were but two parties.
3 Properly ubi, but we may say ab hac parte victoria est or stat.
4 Properly cujuscunque; nay, we ought perhaps to correct the reading so. Quandoque frequently occurs in Livy for quandoque; for example, i. 31, quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur. Compare Zumpt, § 288, note.
5 This modus is described by Livy according to the most ancient example. The observance of the formalities required at the conclusion of a treaty was committed in the Roman state to the charge of a college of priests called Fetiales. At any transaction of this kind the college delegated three of its members to attend. the chief of whom was called pater patratus; that is, the father charged with the duty of completing (patrare) the business. A particular kind of grass herbs (sagmina) from the Capitol was necessary at the sacrifice. These were called verbenae, or sacrificial herbs, the word being probably derived from verber, verberare, because these herbs were used at the slaughter of the victim. The rest of the formula (carmen) is given by Livy.
6 Supply herbam. The king gives orders to bring that which the fetialis, well acquainted with the ceremony, had ready.
7 ‘Furniture,’ everything belonging to them, which was by this formality placed under the protection of the rights of ambassage.
mitesque meos?" Rex respondit "Quod sine fraude mea populiique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio." Petialis erat M. Valerius; is patrem patratum Sp. Fusium fecit, verbis caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad jusjurandum patram- duum, id est sauciendum fit foedus; multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis, "Audi" inquit, Juppiter; audi. pater patrate populi Albani; audi tu, populus Albanus. Ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo, utique\(^5\) ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt. illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defecit\(^6\) publico consilio, dolo malo, tum illo die, Juppiter. populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tautoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque.\(^5\) Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani nunque jusjurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

25. Foedere icto trigemi, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, fercoses et suope ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus, perieuli magis praesentis quam curae expertes: quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo\(^7\) erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur. Datur siguum, infestisque armis velut acies terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecisset. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit; et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus, cum

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1 'Without any detriment to myself.' This was a part of the usual formula, expressing a wish that, in treating with another party, no detriment may be sustained by one's own interests.

2 'It is not worth while.'

3 As to this ancient use of the nominative for the vocative, see Gram. § 311, note.

4 'The first and the last, from the beginning to the end.' Prima postrema have here, as is common in legal and religious formulae, no conjunction connecting them. Compare i. 17, note.

5 Not the verb utique, but et uti or et ut.

6 Ancient form for defecerit. Compare i. 18, note on arclarassis.

7 A tautology, which occurs also in Terence, and in several other passages of Livy.

26. Priusquam inde digredentur, rogant Domito, ex fœdere ictu quid imperaret, imperaret Tullus, uti juventutem in armis habeat: usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veien-
tibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat, trigemina¹ spolia prae se gerens; cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiaitiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam² fuit; cognitoque super humeros fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines, et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Movet³ feroci juveni animum comploratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans, transfigit puellam. 'Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum,' inquit, 'oblita fratrum mortuorum vivque, oblita patriae. Sic eat, quaecumque Romana lungebit hostem.'⁴ Atrox visum id facinus Patriibus plebique; sed recens meritum facto obstat: tamen raptus in jus ad regem. Rex ne ipse tam tristis ingratique ad vulgus judicii ac⁵ secundum judicium supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato, 'Duumviros,' inquit, 'qui Horatio perduellionem judicent,⁶ secundum legem facio.' Lex horrendi carminis⁷ erat: 'Duumviri perduellionem judicent. Si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato. Si vincent,⁸ caput obnubito; inselici arbori reste suspendito;⁹ verberato vel intra pomoerium vel extra pomoerium.' Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege, ne innoxium quidem, posse,⁹ cum con-

¹ The adjective *trigeminus* is here used in the sense of 'belonging to the *trigemini*.' In the same manner we might say *mors trigemina*, by poetical license, for *mors trigeminarum*.

²This gate was on the road to Capua, and received its name from that circumstance.

³Enrages,' not 'touches;' we must therefore mentally supply *ira*.

⁴The manuscripts read *ad*, which must be changed either into *aut* or *ac*. We prefer *ac*, because, as is plain from what follows, the king had no doubt as to the condemnation of Horatius.

⁵This strange construction must be explained by supposing the meaning to be something like this, 'who shall bring home *perduellio* to Horatius;' that is, shall examine into the circumstances, and shall then declare Horatius to be guilty of the crime of *perduellio*. *Perduellio* is an act of open hostility, being derived from *duellum*, equivalent to *bellum*.

⁶Compare i. 24, note.

⁷Seil. *apud populum*, or in *contione*. The meaning, therefore, is, if the judgment of the *duumviri*, that *perduellio* has been committed, shall be confirmed by the people.

⁸Arbori, an old form for *arbore*. Any wild barren tree might be called *inflexis arbor*, but the reference in this law is to that *arborum infeliciissima*, the gibbet. The imperative in the law refers to the judge, 'he shall hang him;' that is, 'cause him to be hanged.'

⁹Because the law said nothing of *malice prepensa*, or the circumstances connected with the murder, but mentioned merely the act itself.
demnassent, tum alter ex his 'P. Horati, tibi perduellionem judico,' inquit: 'lictor, colliga manus.' Accesserat lictor, injiciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, 'Provoco' inquit. Ita de provocatione certatum ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in eo judicio maxime P. Horatio patre proclamante, se filiam jure caesam judicare: ni ita esset, patrio jure in filium animadversum fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent. Inter haec senex juvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur, ostentans, 'Huncine,' ajebat, 'quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incendentem vidistis, Quirites, eum' sub furca vincunt inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent. I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis hujus; arbore infelici suspende; verbera vel intra pomoerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomoerium, modo inter sepulera Curiatiorum. Quo enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent? Non tuli populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum; absolveruntque admiracione magis virtutis quam jure causae. Itaque ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piacem lucretur, imperatum patri, ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificii factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto velut sub jugum misit juvenem. Id hodie quoque publice sem-

1 In the law as quoted by Livy the expression is simply provocatio certato. We have here de provocatione, which must be taken in the same sense 'regarding the appeal,' whether it should be favourably or unfavourably received.

2 The name of Pila Horatia (pila being the plural of pilum, but used in the sense of pila-ae, 'a pillar') was given to an ancient trophy in the Roman forum. This trophy, supposed by some to have consisted of three poles or columns on one pedestal, was connected by tradition with the Alban War and the Horatii.

3 'This same man can you see;' a lively repetition of the pronoun. See i. 19, note.

4 The expenses of the expiatory sacrifices were therefore paid out of the public treasury.

5 'Which from that time were kept up by the gens Horatia.'

6 'With his head covered,' equivalent to operto; for ad merely expresses the fact, that the covering now put on was in addition to his ordinary cap.
per refectum manet: sororium tigillum\(^1\) vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

27. Nec diu pax Albanæ mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, valum ingenium dictatoris corrupti; et quoniam recta consilia hand bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto\(^2\) gerundum alios concitat populos, suis per speciem societatis priditionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consiliis assumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum\(^3\) ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Cum Fidenae aperte descensent, Tullus, Mettio exercituque ejus ab Alba accito, contra hostes ducit; ubi Anienem transit, ad confluentes collocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu; in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistent. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem dirigat suos, Albanos contra legionem\(^4\) Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei: nec manere ergo nec transire aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est,\(^5\) erigit totam aciem, fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordinés explicat. Consilium erat, qua fortuna rem daret,\(^6\) ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu sensorunt; inde eques citato equo nuntiab regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida duodecim votit Salios\(^7\) fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equitem clara increpans.

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\(^1\) There was a plank laid from one house to another in a lane which led from the Forum to the street Curinae. This fact was connected by tradition with the murder of Horatia by her brother.

\(^2\) `In consequence of a proclamation;' that is, `after declaring war,' equivalent to \textit{ut bellum indictum gerant}.

\(^3\) `Upon the assurance or agreement that the Albans would come over to their party.'

\(^4\) See i. 11, note on \textit{legio}.

\(^5\) `When he thought he had ascended far enough (not to be pursued).'

\(^6\) \textit{Fortuna rem dat}, `Fortune gives a favourable settlement of the matter.' \textit{Qua—ea}, `on which side—on that side;' \textit{quo—eo} might also have been used here.

\(^7\) Here we have another college of \textit{Salii} founded, different from that mentioned in i. 19. For the sake of distinction, the earlier \textit{Salii} were called \textit{Salii Tulasini}, from the situation of their curia; the latter \textit{Salii Agonales}, or, from the \textit{Collis Quirinalis}, \textit{Collini}.

28. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur; contra Mettium Tullus beneficium alloquentur. Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris jungere jubet; sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Ubi illuxit, paratis omnibus vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum jubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi primos excurrite Albanos. Hi novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum contio nantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex compo sito armata circumdata Romana legio: centurionibus datum negotium erat, ut sine mora imperia exequerentur. Tum ita Tullus inquit: Romani, si unquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit quod primum diis immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam, quae dimicatio major atque periculosior est, cum prditione ac perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat; in jussu

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1 Idem is the usual reading, referring to the king; eidem is the horseman who had brought the information.
2 The city of Fidenae (see i. 14, with note) had been made a Romani colony by Romulus.
3 Grotulor tibi victoria, de victoria, victoriam, or, with the addition of a participle, victori um reportatam, quod victoriam reportasti, te victoriam reportasse, are synonymous expressions. See Zumpt, § 629, note, ad fin.
4 Compare i. 17, note.
5 ‘Beginning from those stationed furthest out.’
6 See i. 23, note on inquit.
7 Est quod with the subjunctive, ‘there is reason that.’
meo Albani subiere ad montes; nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit, ut nec vobis igno-
rantibus deseri vos averteretur a certamine animus, et hos-
tibus circumveniri se ab tergo rats ror ac fuga inji-
ceretur. Nec ea culpa, quam arguo, omnium Albanorum 
est: ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen 
decimare voluisset, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor iterinis 
hujus, Mettius idem hujs machinator belli, Mettius foederis 
Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi 
in hunc insigne jam documentum mortalis dedero.' 
Centuriones armati Mettium circumstunt. Rex cetera, ut 
orsus erat, peragit. 'Quod bonum, faustum felixque sit 
populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani, populum omnem 
Albanum Romam traducere in animo est; civitatem dare 
plebi, primores in Patres legere; unam urbem, unam rem 
publicam facere. Ut ex uno quondam in duos populos 
divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in unum redate.' Ad haec 
Albana pubes, inermis ab armatis septa, in variis volun-
tatibus, communi tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. 
Tum Tullus 'Metti Fufeti,' inquit, 'si ipse discere posses 
fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhi-
bita esset. Nunc quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, 
at tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere, 
qua e te violata sunt. Ut igitur paulo ante animum inter 
Fidenatem Romanamque rem anciptem gessisti, ita jam 
corpus passim distrahebatur dabis.' Exinde duabus ad-
notis quadrigis, in currus earum distentum illigat Mettium; 
deinde in diversum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque 
currus corpus, qua inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes. 
Avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate spectaculi oculos. Primum 
ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum 
memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet nulli 
gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

29. Inter haec jam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui 
multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae
ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fluit tumulus ille nec pavor, quals captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris, aut arce vi capta, clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armarorum omnia ferro flammmaque miscet: sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitig ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu oblii, quid reliquarent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio, rogantiesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud\textsuperscript{1} visuri, pervagarentur. Ut vero jam equitum clamor exire jubentium instabat, jam fragor tectorum, quae diruebantur, ultimis urbibus partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis,\textsuperscript{2} cum larem ac penates tectae, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, reliquentes exirent, jam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et conspectus alienorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas. Vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templae augusta praeterirent ac velut captos reliquerent deos. Egressis urbem Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit. Templos tamen deum (ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat) temperatum est.

30. Roma interim crescit Alae ruinis. Duplicatur civium numeros. Caelius\textsuperscript{3} additur urbi monis; et quo frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit, ibique habitavit. Principes Albanorum in Patres, ut ea quoque pars rei publicae cresceret, legit, Tullios,\textsuperscript{4} Servilios, Quintios, Geganios, Curati, Cloelios; templumque\textsuperscript{5} ordini ab se

\textsuperscript{1} Ultimum illud, 'now for the last time.' In the same manner hoc primum, 'now for the first time,' illud being used in the former case because introduced in a narrative of past events.

\textsuperscript{2} This is a contracted construction, of a rare kind, for raptim elatis iis, quae quisque poterat efferre. The omission of the infinitive is not unusual; the retention of the nominative quisque in a clause in the ablative absolute is quite according to rule: the only thing uncommon is, that the relative quae is attracted to the case of the omitted demonstrative pronoun iis. We find the same thing, however, in iv. 39, quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum. Compare Zumpt, § 774.

\textsuperscript{3} This name is also written Coelius, but the spelling with the dipthong ae is better authenticated.

\textsuperscript{4} Dionysius mentions Julii instead of Tullii, but Livy has already (chap. 16) spoken of a Proculus Julius as a man of some importance in Rome.

\textsuperscript{5} 'He built the Curia as a temple;' templum meaning generally
The Sabini, the principal temple of Feronia, was consecrated at Terracina. The temple was mentioned here, near which markets were held, was situated in the territory belonging to the Etruscan town of Capena, at the foot of the mountain Soracte, not far from the Tiber, and twenty-nine miles to the north of Rome. This temple of Feronia must not be confounded with another which was situated on the via Appia, near Terracina.

1 Feronia was the name of an old Italian goddess. The temple mentioned here, near which markets were held, was situated in the territory belonging to the Etruscan town of Capena, at the foot of the mountain Soracte, not far from the Tiber, and twenty-nine miles to the north of Rome. This temple of Feronia must not be confounded with another which was situated on the via Appia, near Terracina.

2 This must mean some sacred grove in Rome or its neighbourhood, to which Sabines had fled, from fear of being maltreated.

3 'Not too little,' equivalent to satis.

4 Res vertitur in aliqua re, 'a matter hinges or depends on something.' The figure is taken from a door, which turns on, and is supported by, its hinges. If they give way, the door falls immediately. The expression cardo rei is also used in Latin for 'the turning or most important point of any matter.' The adjective 'cardinal,' too, in English, is employed in the sense of 'principal;' thus 'the cardinal points of the compass,' 'the cardinal numbers,' &c.
ceterum\textsuperscript{1} equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repente invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum; nec pugna deinde illis constare, nec fuga explicari sine magna caede potuit.

31. Devictis Sabinis, cum in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi Patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluvisse.\textsuperscript{2} Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu, haud aliter quam cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere coelo lapides. Visi etiam audire\textsuperscript{3} vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae velut diis quoque simul cum patria relicitis oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant, aut fortunae, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant deum. Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiae sacrum publice susceperunt est,\textsuperscript{4} seu voce coelesti ex Albano monte missa (nam id quoque traditur) seu baruspicum monitu. Mansit certe sollemne ut, quandoque\textsuperscript{5} idem prodigium nuntiare tur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.

Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Unde cum pigritia militandi oraretur,\textsuperscript{6} nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur a bellico rege, salubriora\textsuperscript{7} etiam credente militiae quam domi juvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquus morbo est implicitus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi ferores, ut qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret,\textsuperscript{8} religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Vulgo jam

\textsuperscript{1} Et quidem—ceterum, another form of expression for cum—tum praecipue, 'on the one hand indeed—but especially.' Ceterum for sed is frequently used in prose after Cicero's time.

\textsuperscript{2} Or pluvisse, for either form may be used; but in this passage the authenticity of pluvisse is attested by the ancient grammarian Priscian. We may say, too, either lapides or lapidibus pluit; namely, deus, coelum, or, in English, the indefinite 'it.'

\textsuperscript{3} 'They thought also that they heard.' See i. 23, note.

\textsuperscript{4} 'In consequence of this prodigy, a nine-days' sacrifice was undertaken.' This is another instance of what we have several times mentioned before, that the annalists are fond of referring the origin of any old custom to some particular person and occasion, both of them probably imaginary.

\textsuperscript{5} For quandoconque; see i. 24, note.

\textsuperscript{6} Or oriretur, for both forms are used. See Gram., § 169, note.

\textsuperscript{7} 'More healthy,' equivalent to saniara; for saluber, besides its meaning of 'salutary,' has sometimes also that of 'healthy.'

\textsuperscript{8} Equivalent to ageret vitam. Degere is used, generally speaking, only by poets.
homines, eum statum rerum, qui sub Numa rege fuerat, requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relinquam, si pax veniaque ab diis impetrata esset, credebat. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam octulsa sollemnia sacrificia Jovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum1 his sacris se abdisisse; sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solam nullam ei oblatam coelestium speciem, sed ira Jovis sollicitati prava religionem fulmine ietum cum domo conflagrassc. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

32. Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum jam inde ab initio erat, ad Patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverat. Quo comitia habente Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; Patres suere auctores. Numae Pomplili regis nepos, filia ortus, Ancus Marcius erat.2 Qui ut regnare coepit, et avitae gloriae memor, et quia proximum regnum, cetera3 egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus aut prave cultis, longe antiquissimum ratus sacra publica, ut ab Numa instituta erant, facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem in album4 relata proponere in publico jubet. Inde et civibus otiie cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes, in avi mores atque instituta regem abiurum. Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ietum foedus erat, sustulerant animos; et cum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli memor; et praeterquam quod avi regno magis necessarum fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam, quod illi contigisset otium, sine injuria5 id se haud facile habiiturum: temptari patientiam et temptatam contenti, temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numae. Ut tamen,

1 The supine. Operari is the proper word for the performance of religious rites, equivalent to sacra facere.
2 See i. 20. The fact here mentioned is not unimportant; for we see that the four first kings of Rome were chosen alternately from the original Latin population and from the Sabines, who were afterwards added.
3 Equivalent to in ceteris. The accusatives cetera and reliqua are used abverbially in the sense of quod ad cetera attinet, 'in other respects.' This peculiarity in the use of the accusative case is found in a few expressions. See Gram., § 259, 2, note 2.
4 Album, 'a whitened tablet,' on which was written whatever was to be made publicly known, therefore generally 'a published list.'
5 'Without damage.' Injuria is here used in a passive sense, 'injustice to be borne.'
quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae caerimoniae proderuntur, nec gererentur solum sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, jus ab antiqua gente Aequicolis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit,1 quo res repetuntur. Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo (laeae velamen est) ‘Audi, Juppiter,’ inquit; ‘audite fines’ (cujuscunque gentis sunt, nominat); ‘audiat fas. Ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani: juste piae legatus venio, verbisque meis hides sit.’ Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Jovem testem facit. ‘Si ego injuste impieque illos homines illasque res dedier2 populo Romano nihiique exposco, tum patriae compotem me nunquam siris esse.’ Haec, cum fines suprascandit, haec, quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis concipiendique jurisjurandi mutatis, peragit. Si non deductur quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta (tot enim sollemnes3 sunt) peractis bellum ita indicit. ‘Audi Juppiter et tu Juno, Quirine, dique omnes coelestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni audite. Ego vos testor, populum illum’ (quicumque est, nominat) ‘injustum esse neque jus persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria majores natu4 consulemus, quo pacto jus nostrum adipsacamur.’ Cum his nuntius Romam ad consulendum redivit. Confestim rex his ferme verbis Patres consulebat. ‘Quarum rerum, litium, causarum condixit5 pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri

1 King Ancus Marcius completed the institution of the *jus fetiale*, or *Fetialium*, so that the committal of its rules to writing is attributed to him, though the *jus* itself had been followed by the former king. See i. 26. This *jus* is said to have been derived from the Aequicoli or Aequi, who inhabited the mountainous district towards the source of the Anio. This was an old tradition, perhaps founded merely on the name of *Aequi*. The *jus* referred, so far as we can now see, merely to formalities, because the *Fetiales* had nothing to do with the justice or injustice of the complaints and counter-complaints.

2 The old lengthened form of the present infinitive passive, quoted from the old formula (*carmen*). So also *siris* for *siveris*.

3 *Usual.*

4 *The elders’* is the expression in the formula, but probably the Roman state is meant.

5 A legal expression: *hujus rei tibi condico*, ‘I make a claim upon thee in regard to this thing;’ and from this meaning of the word a particular kind of action in Roman law was called *condictio*. Such an accumulation of terms as *rerum, litium, causarum*, is peculiar to old and legal formulae. In this place we find, instead of the name of the people being left blank as above, a definite tribe mentioned, against whom the king actually declared war according to the *jus fetiale*. As to the *Prisci Latini*, see i. 3, p. 20, note 1.
patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res dari, fieri, solvi oportuit, quas res nec dederunt nec fecerunt nec solverunt, dic,' inquit ei, quem primum sententiam rogabat, 'quid censes?' Tum ille' 'puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo, itaque consentio consciscoque.' Inde ordine alii rogabantur; quandoque pars major eorum, qui aderant, in eaedium sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum.2 Fieri solitum ut felifalis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praemustam ad fines eorum ferret, et non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus dixeret 'Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis jussit esse, senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populus Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indicum facioque.' Id ubi dixisset,3 hastam in fines eorum emittestbat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitaes ac bellum indicatum; moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

33. Ancus, demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacerdotibusque alis, exercitu novo conscripto prosectus, Poltorium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit; secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit. Et eum circa Palatum, sedem veterum Romanorum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem Albani impessent, Aventinum4 novae multitutini datum. Additi eodem hauit ita

1 'Thereupon he said.' But of course he could only say what is here put into his mouth, if the demands made seemed to him just, and the war therefore unavoidable.

2 'The war was agreed to.' Bellum erat consensum is an unusual expression used here by Livy, in all probability, merely because he was quoting from some old document. The ordinary construction would have been consensus erat de b allo, or consensus decre tum erat de b allo. The expression senatus consensit bellum, in Livy, viii. 6, must also be considered as a quotation from an ancient formula, for properly consentire is not transitive. In this passage some editions read bellum erat consensu, contrary, however, to the authority of the best manuscripts.

3 The subjunctive of repeated action; for Livy is here describing what was the regular course of proceeding whenever the Romans declared war.

4 The neuter form Aventinum for Aveni nus (mons) occurs twice in this chapter, and in iii. 67. The cities mentioned here, as taken from the Latins, do not exist in historical times. Their territories were incorporated with the a ger Romanus, and their inhabitants transplanted to Rome. In those new Romans the historian finds
multo post, Tellenis Ficanaque captis, novi eives. Politorium
inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum occupaverant
Prisci Latini. Eaque causa diruendae urbis ejus fuit Ro-
manus, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremo
omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, aliquamdiu ibi Marte
incerto, varia victoria pugnatum est: nam et urbs tuta
munitionibus praesidioque firmata valido erat, et castris in
aperto positis aliquoteis exercitus Latinus comminus cum
Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copiis con-
nisus Ancus acer primum vincit; inde ingenti praedia potens
Romam redit, tum quoque multis milibus Latinorum in
civitatem acceptis, quibus, ut jungeretur Palatio Aventinum,
ad Murciae\textsuperscript{1} datae sedes. Janiculum quoque adjectum, non
inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non
muro solum, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sub-
licio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, conjungi urbi placuit.\textsuperscript{2}
Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a pla-
nioribus aditu locis,\textsuperscript{3} Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento
rebus auctis, cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine
recte an perperam facti\textsuperscript{4} confuso, facinora clandestina sierent,
carcer ad terremore increscentis audaciae media urbe, im-
minens foro aedificatur. Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit,
sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Maesia Veientibus adempta,
usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia
urbs condita; salinae circa factae, egregieque rebus bello
gestis aedis\textsuperscript{5} Jovis Feretrii amplificata.

the first of that class which had peculiarly, or at least \textit{καιρ' ἐξων},
the name of \textit{plebs}.

\textsuperscript{1} Supply \textit{aedem}, which is frequently omitted with the names of
divinities. This \textit{Murcia} is said to have been a \textit{Venus Myrtea}, her
name being a corruption of the latter word. The temple was situ-
ated in the valley between the Palatine and the Aventine.

\textsuperscript{2} The boundary walls of Janiculum, which was situated on the
north side of the river, and was of a triangular form, with the bank
of the Tiber as its base, were brought down to the water's edge.
From the place where the walls came down to the river a wooden
bridge was built, connecting the Janiculum with the Aventine,
which was immediately opposite. \textit{Sublicius}, from \textit{sublica}, 'a post
or stake.' It was a religious law that this bridge was not to be of
stone; nay, was to be so entirely of timber, that not even iron nails
or fastenings were to be used in its construction.

\textsuperscript{3} 'On those places (on the side) which had a plain and easy en-
trance: \textit{quaæ, quad ad aditum attinet}, planiora erant ceteris.

\textsuperscript{4} 'That is, \textit{utrum quid recte on perperam factum esset}: the bound-
ary line between right and wrong, instead of being firm and sure,
had become unsettled; so that laws, trials, and punishments, were
necessary.

\textsuperscript{5} Another form for \textit{aedes}. Several dissyllabic substantives in \textit{es},
34. Anco regiante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit, cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris cujus, adpiscendi Tarquiniis (nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat) facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius crat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta dnos filios genuit. Noma h.s Lucumo atque Aruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri, honorum omnium heres; Aruns prior quam pater moritur, uxore gravida relieta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui cum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferie, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem honorum nato1 ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra, omnium heredi honorum, cum divitiae jam animos facerent, auxit2 ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata, et quae hauad facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora sinister ea, quae innupsisset.3 Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, obitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissima visa:4 in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum; accessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus; et Ancum Sabina matre ortem nobilemque una imagine5 Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum, et cui

which do not increase in the genitive, have also sometimes the form is in the nominative; such are caedes, clades, feles, vulpes. Regarding the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, see i. 10.

1 Without any share of property falling to him. Sors is the appointed share which falls to a person.

2 Supply animos from the preceding clause: his marriage with Tanaquil increased his aspiration or ambition.

3 The family into which she had married. The neuter of the pronoun is here used, indefinitely instead of a definite substantive quam gentem; for which might grammatically be used also in quam gentem or cui genti. Enubo, 'I go out by marriage'; innubo, 'I enter by marriage.' The manuscripts read erroneously cum for quae, the abbreviations of these words being easily and frequently confounded.

4 Rome seemed to her best suited for her purpose; properly, 'most eligible,' for as the adverbs potius and potissime are used of choice, so also the superlative in the adjective form potissimus, a, um. expresses that which, in making a choice, seems best.

5 For uni us Numae regia dignitate illustrem. The author here expresses himself in language derived from a Roman custom, which probably did not arise till a later period. The custom we speak of was that of families preserving busts of such of their members as obtained high offices in the state.
Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant<sup>1</sup> Romam. Ad Janiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento<sup>2</sup> sedenti cum uxore aquila, suspensus demissa leniter alis, pileum aufert; superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans, rursus, velut ministerio divinitus missa,<sup>3</sup> capiti apte reponit; inde sublimis abiit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusi, coelestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum jubet: eam alitem ea regione coeli et ejus<sup>4</sup> dei nuttiam venisse; circa summum culmen hominis auspicium fecisse;<sup>5</sup> levasse humano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet. Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinium Priscum<sup>6</sup> edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiaeque faciebant; et ipse fortunam benigno alloquio, comitate invitandi, beneficiisque, quos poterat, sibi conciliando, adjuvabat, donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est. Notitiamque eam brevi apud regem liberaliter dextreque obeundo officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique<sup>7</sup> interestet, et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam libris regis testamento institueretur.

35. Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorem regnum bellii pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Jain filii prope puberem acetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinii instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem

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<sup>1</sup> Such is the reading of the manuscripts, though this compound is an ἄναξ λεγόμενον. Some editions read commigrant.<br><sup>2</sup> The mere ablative for in carpento, which is the ordinary prose construction.<br><sup>3</sup> As if sent by the gods (or 'by divine arrangement') expressly for this service.' The adverbs in itus take often quite the place of ab with the substantive; here, for instance, divinitus is equivalent to a diis.<br><sup>4</sup> The triple repetition of the pronoun gives a decided impressiveness to the expression. In the same manner in i. 28, Mettius is thrice repeated. Compare i. 26, note on eum.<br><sup>5</sup> The summum culmen hominis is the head, and from this Tanaquil concludes that her husband is to attain to high dignity in the Roman state.<br><sup>6</sup> See i. 1, note on nomen.<br><sup>7</sup> In this connection the genitive bellii is more common, and in other editions this is the reading here. The best manuscripts, however, read bello (equivalent to in bello), which is also found in ix. 26, res domi belloque gestae.
dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam: cum se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum affectet: et Tatium non ex peregrino solum sed etiam ex hoste regem factum; et Numam ignarum urbis, non petentem in regnum ultra accitum. Se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; majorem partem aetatis ejus, qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae se quam in vetere patria vixissse. Domi militiaeque sub hand poenitendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se jura, Romanos ritus ululicisse. Obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse. Haec eum haud falsa memoranatem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare jussit. Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor, centum in Paties legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis, cujus beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apiolas vi cepit; praedaeque inde majore,

1 The author intended to say, cum se non rem novam petere—tum se jompridem Romam migrasse, et majorem partem aetatis Romae vixisse, 'that, on the one hand, he was aiming at no new thing; and, on the other, that he was a Roman in everything but birth.' Livy, however, from the length of the intervening sentence, forgets that he has begun with cum; and therefore, instead of going on with tum, he adopts a different mode of connection. The accusatives with the infinitive contain the substance of the speech delivered by Tarquinius, and are governed by the idea of dixit, which is contained in orationem.

2 From the time when he became his own master.'

3 Under a teacher, cujus neminem poenitere debeat, whom nobody can think unfit. Poenitet me, as already (p. 27. note 1) remarked, is frequently said of the feeling of discontent. Regarding the existing participles of impersonal verbs, see Gram. § 188.

4 Thus, according to the tradition, Tarquinius the immigrant raised himself by his own merits to be king of Rome. It seems probable, however, judging from many scattered traces, that he came to Rome at the head of a great band of Etruscans, and thus obtained power in the city; and that with him there began a period in the regal government at Rome of greater external prosperity and splendour, but of internal discomfort and commotion.

5 They and their descendants were called Patres minorum gentium; but the greater and less gentes could in after-times not be distinguished. It appears, indeed, that they gradually coalesced into one body.

6 This Latin town, like those said to have been taken by Ancus Marcius, did not exist in historical times; and Livy himself, by the

36. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, cum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea sub.ta res fuit, ut prius Anienem transirent hostes, quam obiam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus possent. Itaque trepidatum Romae est. Et primo dubia victoria magna utrimque caede pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copis, datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum. Tarquinium equitum maxime suis deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes, Titientes, Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripterat, addere alias constituit, suoque insignes reliquere nomine. Id quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, 'Agedum' inquit, 'divine tu, inauguras, fierine possit, quod nunc ego mente concipio.' Cum ille in augurio rem expertus pro-

following clause, in which he insinuates that the fame of the war was not very great, intimates that the place soon disappeared.

1 This is the proper expression for the passages leading through the various concentric rows of standing or sitting places from which the games were seen (spectacula).

2 Furcae; that is, beams supported on each side by others, and therefore, from the form, called 'forks,' raised the places twelve feet from the ground; such a height being necessary for the safety of the spectators from the horses and chariots, and in later times also from wild beasts and gladiators.

3 Equivalent to augurato (see p. 41, note 3), as in the next sentence inaugurata for the simple augura. The in here is not negative, but expressive of the influence which the augury has upon a place or institution.

4 We may remark that, when a negative main verb (here negare) is followed by subdivisions, these are also negatively expressed nequenete); so that this is an exception from the rule, 'two negatives are equal to an affirmative.' The same is the ease with nequidem after a negative leading proposition. Compare Zumpt, § 754, note. In modern languages the negative principal verb must be translated as if it were positive; 'the augur said (declared) that neither—nor.'

37. Hae parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulo etiam additum dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa jacentem, ardentem in flumen conjicerent; ventoque juvante accensa ligna, et pleraque in ratibus impacta sublicis cum haererent, pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pigna terorem attulit Sabinis. Et fuisit eadem fugam impediit, multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periere; quorum fluitantia arma

1 Namely, a razor and a whetstone which Tarquinius offered the augur.
2 A story invented to account for an ancient statue which was long carefully preserved, but did not exist in the time of Livy, as we learn from the perfect fuit. The old curia itself, beside which the statue had stood, was not then in existence. The story is connected by Livy with the respect due to the observance of the auspices—an institution which came originally from Etruria.
3 Exercitus vocati are, according to an ancient expression, the comitia centuriata, the institution of which is attributed to the following king—Servius Tullius. The people were summoned to these comitia according to the divisions of the army. Summa rerum, equivalent to summae res, ‘the most important affairs,’ the neuter plural of the adjective being joined with the genitive of the substantive.
4 Some of the manuscripts read octingenti, others ccc; all, however, et, not, as in some editions, ac. The true number is 1200, for Tullus Hostilius (see i. 30) had instituted ten turmae of knights from among the Albans; and thus—a turma consisting of thirty men—the original number of Roman equites, 300, was doubled.
5 As most of the burning logs on rafts were driven upon the beams (of the bridge), and stuck fast. Pleraque in ratibus are to be taken together, most of the logs being put upon floats, in order that they might not pass between the beams of the bridge, but might be entangled.
ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius pene, quam nuntiari posset, insignem victoriam fecere.\(^{1}\) Eo proelio praecipua equium gloria fuit. Utrunque ab cornibus positos, cum jam pellere-tur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, praedae captivisque Romam missis, spolii hostium (id votum Vulcano erat) in-genti cumulo accessit, pergit porro in agrum Sabinum exer-citum inducere; et quamquam male gesta res erat, nec ges-turos\(^{2}\) melius sperare poterant, tamen quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iure obviam Sabini tumultuario milite:\(^{3}\) iterum-que ibi fusi, perditis jam prope rebus, pacem petiere.

38. Collatia,\(^{4}\) et quicquid citra Collatiam agri erat, Sabinis ademptum; Egerius (fratris hic filius erat regis) Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio, eamque dedicationis formulam esse. Rex interrogavit \(^{5}\) Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Collatino, ut vos populumque Collatinum dederetis? \(^{6}\) Sumus.\(^{7}\) Est populus Collatinus in sua potestate? \(^{8}\) Est.\(^{9}\) Estisne vos populumque Collatiniurn, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia, in meam populique Romani dicio-nem? \(^{10}\) Dedimus.\(^{11}\) At ego recipio.

Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam redit. Inde Priscis Latinis\(^{12}\) bellum fecit. Ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem ventum est, ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus. Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomen-tum,\(^{13}\) haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta.

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1 'Made the victory conspicuous,' or 'easily known;' that is, 'clearly showed it.'
2 Supply se, an omission with the infinitive which in Livy is not unfrequent, but is rare in Cicero.
3 'With soldiers hastily drawn together,' in opposition to an army regularly levied and organised.
4 A town not now in existence, below Tibur, on the Anio.
5 That is, 'Is the town of Collatia independent, so that it can dispose of itself?'
6 See p. 20, note 1; and regarding the expression nomen Latinum, which occurs in the next sentence, see p. 29, note 5.
7 All these places were situated beyond the Anio, between Rome and the Sabine territory; defecerant, therefore, is applied to Sabines who had deserted to the Latin league. Nomentum is the most im-portant of these towns, and is mentioned by Livy at a later period.
Majore inde animo pacis opera inchoata, quam quanta mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset, quam militiae fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cujus exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, qua nundum numerat, cingere parat; et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interjectas collibus couvalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evhebant aquas, cloacis e fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccat; et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Jovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, jam praesagiente animo futurum olim amplitudinem loci, occupat fundamentis.  


in the history as a Latin town still independent. Its modern name is Mentana, abbreviated from (Civitas) Nomentana.

1 The subject to evhebant must be loca, but this construction gives a somewhat clumsy sense. The sentence is considerably improved, however, if we translate urbis loca by 'streets,' or 'lanes,' which is, in fact, the meaning; 'the low streets about the Forum and other valleys between the hills could not easily carry away the water from the flat parts of the city.'

2 ' He takes (before-hand) a flat open place for the temple, by laying a foundation; 'that is, 'by laying foundation walls, he prepares a flat place.' &c. It appears that from the nature of the hill a foundation had to be laid very deep, in order to obtain a proper site for building.

3 'The royal pair,' regem et reginam, the masculine gender predominating. In the same manner Virgil (Aen. ii. 457) uses soceri for socer cum socru. See Gram. § 240, 6.

4 Eam is a conjecture of Gronovius. The manuscripts read jam. Even if we retain the jam, we must supply eam.

5 For videsne, as ain for aisne. See Gram. § 180, note, and Zumpt, § 24, 1, note.

6 'As a child;' liberum, as frequently, for liberorum.

7 'To such a manner of life (outward demeanour) as is proper for
quae reretur gener Tarquinii, quisquam Romanae juvenitatis ulla arte conferri potuit; filiamque ei suam rex despondit. Hic quacunque de causa tans illi honos habitus credere prohibet, serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum. quii Corniculno capto Ser. Tullii, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquias captivas cognita esset, ob uniam nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam serunt servitio partum Romae edidisse, Prisci Tarquinii domo. Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem actum et puerum, ut in domo a parvo educum, in caritate atque honore fuisset; fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur fecisse.

40. Duodequadragésimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare cooperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo sed apud Patres plebenque longe maximo honore Ser. Tullius erat. Tum Ancus filii duo, etsi anteae semper pro dignissimo habuerant, se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, high rank.' Cultus is the whole outward conduct or mode of life, particularly with regard to dress and domestic arrangements. Fortunae is here a subjective, not an objective genitive, the sense being, 'the conduct which high rank requires,' not 'the cultivation or eager seeking after high rank.'

1 'Distinguished.' See i. 21. p. 45. note 4.

2 'Kept free from slavery.' for prohibere is used with the accusative of the person as well as that of the thing; in the passive, therefore, we can say either prohiber servitute, which is the construction here, or servitus prohibetur a me.

3 Regularly in domo.

4 The popular belief that Servius Tullius had been raised by fortune from the position of a slave to that of a king, kept its ground, notwithstanding all the improvements and embellishments which were attempted on the tradition. It appears, however, more probable, according to information which we have from Etruscan sources, that Servius emigrated to Rome from Etruria at the head of a large band of fugitives. We derive this information—which, as we have mentioned, came originally, no doubt, from an Etruscan source—from a speech of the Emperor Claudius, still preserved on a tablet at Lyons. This speech is a full copy of that of which Tacitus (Annal. xi. 24) has a digest, and is therefore given in the Commentary to all the larger modern editions of that author.

5 The use of non modo for non modo non is quite common in Latin. For vicinae other editions, following bad manuscripts, read civicae, which is quite inadmissible, because if Tarquin had been born a citizen, the sons of Ancus would have had no reason to complain. We must also remark that Livy never uses the adjective civicus for civilis.
tum\textsuperscript{1} impensius iis indignatas crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum\textsuperscript{2} quam Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse temerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus serva natus possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis, tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si, Anci regis virili slirpe salva, non modo adventis sed servis etiam regnum Romae pateret. Ferro istitum eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et injuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat; et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus: tum Servio occiso quemunque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredom facturus videbatur. Ob hact ipsi regi insidia parantur. Ex pastoribus duo fercissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis\textsuperscript{3}, in vestibulo regiae, quam potuere tumultuosisse, specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt; inde cum ambo regem appellarent\textsuperscript{4} clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari, et certatim alter alteri obstrepere; coerciti ab lictore et jussi invicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt, unus rem ex composito orditur. Cum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securum in caput dejecit; reliquoque in vulnere telo ambo se foras ejiciunt.

41. Tarquinium moribundum cum qui circa erant excepiissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi, mirantium\textsuperscript{5} quid rei esset. Tana-

\textsuperscript{1}The repetition of the adverb \textit{tum} is justified by the intervention of the long protasis.

\textsuperscript{2}That is, \textit{only about a hundred years after,} the expression \textit{post annum} being equivalent to \textit{anno post}. It was now, in reality, 138 years since the death of Romulus; but in the angry thoughts of the brothers, as depicted by Livy, the interval becomes smaller, and the \textit{fere} excludes a more accurate statement.

\textsuperscript{3}The simple ablative has here the sense of \textit{cum agrestibus ferramentis}. The shepherds, having with them their rustic iron implements, would be overlooked. We make this remark in order that the \textit{agrestibus ferramentis} may not be connected with \textit{delecti ad facinus or convertunt}, but be taken as an ablative absolute.

\textsuperscript{4}\textit{Appellare} in the particular sense of \textit{to appeal to any one,} provocore ad aliquem.

\textsuperscript{5}The construction of the plural \textit{mirantium} with the singular \textit{populi} can easily be explained by the collective meaning of the substantive. It only deserves to be remarked here generally, that Livy is, of all Latin writers, most addicted to this construction of collective substantives in the singular with verbs in the plural. Compare \textit{Gram.} § 244, 1, and Zumpt, § 366.
quam inter tumultum claudi regiam jubet, arbitros ejectit: simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat; simul, si destituat spes; alia prae-sidia molitur. Servio propere accito cum pene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ut mutam mortem soceri, ne soerum inimicus ludibrio esse sinuat. 'Tuum est,' inquit, 'Servi, si vir es, regnum; non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te, deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circum-fuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa coelestis excitet flam-ma; nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus: qui sis,\(^1\) non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia\(^2\) sequere.' Cum clamor impe-tusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in novam viam versas (habitatam enim rex ad Jovis Statoris\(^3\)) populum Tanaquil alloquitur. Jubet bono animo esse: sopitum fuisse regem subitu ictu; ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse; jam ad se redisse; inspectum volnus absero cruore; omnia salubria esse; confidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Ser. Tullio jubere populum dicto audientem esse: eum jura redditurum obituumque alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea\(^4\) et lic-toribus prodit; ac sele regia sedens alia decernit, de alis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum jam exprasset Tarquinium, celata morte, per speciem alienae fungendae vicis\(^5\) suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam factum,\(^6\) et complotione in regia orta, Servius prae-sidio firmo munitus, primus injussu populi, voluntate Patrum regnavit. Anci liberi, jam tum comprehensis sceleris minis-tris, ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servii nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam\(^7\) exulatum ierant.

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\(^{1}\) Who you are; this is, 'what sort of a man you are, how aspiring and daring.' As to qui and quis, see Gram. § 118.

\(^{2}\) This word, which might easily be supplied from the preceding clause, is found in the best manuscripts.

\(^{3}\) As to the omission of aedem, see i. 33, p. 63, note 1.

\(^{4}\) The proper dress of the Roman kings, a loose robe with purple stripes (trabes, beams).

\(^{5}\) See i. 20, p. 44, note 2. The construction shows us that fungor was originally construed with the accusative. See Gram. § 300, note.

\(^{6}\) Others read palam facto, which ablative absolute can very well be explained: 'after it had become known,' supply 'that the king was dead,' regem mortuum esse. But this construction is very rare. See Zumpt, § 648.

\(^{7}\) A town which gave to the district around it the name of Ager Pometinus or Pomptinus (now the Pontine Marshes). Exulatum, the supine, 'to live out of their native country.'
42. Nec jam publicis magis consiliiis Servius quam privatis munire opes.¹ Et ne, qualsis Auci liberum animus adversus Tarquiniun fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquinii liberum esset, duas filias juvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arunti Tarquiniiis, jungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliiis, quin invidia regni ctiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportune ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus (jam enim indutiae exierant) aliiisque Etruscis sumptum.² In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tullii; fnsoque ingenti hostium exercitu, haud dubius rex, seu Patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur,³ Romam redit. Aggrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut, quemadmodum Numa divini auctor juris suisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque aliquid interlucet,⁴ posteri iama ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberriam tanto futuro imperio; ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim, ut ante, sed pro habitu pecuniariu fienter.⁵ Tum classes centuriasque et hune ordinem ex censu descriptis,⁶ vel paci decorum vel bello.

¹ Consilia publica are plans or designs regarding the state, privata, regarding his own domestic relations. Servius strengthened his power by the latter quite as much as the former; for by non magis quam the main stress is thrown upon the second member of the sentence, whereas with non minus quam the reverse is the case.
² 'Very opportunely (that is, at a very opportune time) a war is undertaken,' because a foreign war usually puts a stop to intestine commotions. Suminus quad praebetur, affectur ab aliis, 'we take up the gage of battle.'
³ 'Being now indubitably king, whether he put the sentiments of the patres or the plebs to the proof.' The subjunctive periclitaretur means that if he had tried either the one party or the other, he would have found their sentiments in his favour, but that, as no proof was necessary, he had tried neither.
⁴ 'Founder of the orders by which a certain interval is established between the grades of rank and fortune.' The dignitas refers to the distinction made between the knights and those appointed to serve on foot, the fortuna to the classes instituted by Servius, which were ranged according to fortune. Aliquid interlucet, 'there is some distinction or difference,' as if there were vacant spaces between the gradus dignitatis fortunaeque, through which the sun shone.
⁵ Census, 'an estimate of a fortune,' otherwise a fortune itself. Nania, 'duties;' that is, what each person had to do or to pay. This entire alteration of the system according to which these duties were performed, and the privileges dependent upon them were bestowed, is regarded by Livy as a very salutary measure, considering the greatness to which the state was afterwards to attain. He believes the aristocracy of wealth, which was one main element in the classes of Servius, to be a strong bulwark against democratic licentiousness.
⁶ 'He marked out the order which still exists, or is still preserved.'
43. Ex iis, qui centum milium aeiis aut majorem censum haberent, octoginta confecl centurias, quadragesenas seniores ac juniorum: prima classis omnes appellati. Seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, juvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, loric; omnia ex aere: hae ut tegumenta corporis essent, tela in hostem hastaque et gladius. Additae huii classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia lacerent: datum munus, ut machinas in bello ferrent. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta milium censum instituta; et ex his, senioribus junioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae; arma imperata scutum pro clipeo, et praeter loricam omnia eadem. Tertiae classis infra quinqua- giinta milium censum esse voluit. Totidem centuriae et hae, eodemque discrimine aetatum factae; nec de armis quicquam mutatum, ocreae tantum adempetae. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium, totidem centuriae factae: arma mutata, nihil praeter hastam et verutum datum. Quinta classis aucta, centuriae triginta factae; fundas lapi- desque missiles hi secum gerebant. In his accensi, corni-
cines tubicinesque, in tres centurias distributi. Undecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoec minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit: inde una centuria facta est, immensus militia. Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque, equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo instituit, sub iisdem, quibus inauratae erant, nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dea milia aequis ex publico data; et quibus equos alerent, viduae attributae, quae bina milia aequis in annos singulos penderent.1 Haec omnia in dites a paneribus inclinata onera: deinde est honest additus. Non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritium suffragium eadem vi codemque jure promiscue omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset.2 Equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inmediae classis centuriae primum pedium vocabantur:3 ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut4 secundae classis vocarentur; nec fere unquam infra ita descenderent ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari opertet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est, post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero centuriis

number of centuries, according to Livy, 194, whereas Dionysius reckons 193, having no accensi.

1 The unmarried ladies had to furnish the knights with so much money that each might receive 2000 aseum annually to keep his horse. Grammatically, we must connect viduae attributae, quibus (viduis) equos alerent, the quibus, however, being not exactly 'by means of whom,' but 'by means of whose fortune.' The viduae, who are here both widows and unmarried heiresses, did not pay each the same sum, but made up among them as much as gave 2000 aseum to each knight; so that the distributive bina refers not to the contributors, but to the recipients. Aerus is equivalent to assium, and we must here understand the so-called heavy aseum, grave aes, ten of which made a denarius; so that the sum given for buying the horse amounted to forty gold pieces, and for its yearly maintenance to eight, one gold piece (nummus aureus) being equal to twenty-five denarii of silver money.

2 This was the case, because in the comitia centuriata each century, whatever the number of men who composed it, had but one suffragium, 'vote;' so that a century of the rich, though very much smaller than one of the poor, had an equal vote.

3 The last three words have been omitted in the modern editions, contrary to the authority of the manuscripts. They are, however, not faulty, but merely express more definitely that the centuries of the first class were called first of the infantry.

4 Ut does not depend on any single word, but on the general sense: 'it was so arranged that.' Descenderent, a general expression, 'they (Fr. on, Germ. man) should descend.' The passive descendenter, might have been used impersonally.
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juniormum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Ser. Tullio sum-mam non conveniire.¹ Quadriserias enum urbe divisa re-gionibus collibusque, qui habitabantur,² partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitrur, ab tributo: nam ejus quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est. Neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinuere.³

44. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incen-

¹ 'Does not accord with the whole number as settled by Servius Tullius.' Summa refers not to the sum-total of the centuries, 193 (for, as we learn from Cicero, de republica, ii. 22, it had remained unaltered), but to the number of centuries in each class, particularly the first. Cicero, in the passage just cited, informs us that in his time the number of centuries in the first class was not, as originally, eighty, but seventy. This change, which, however, did not materially alter the principle of the whole system, had taken place 'in consequence of the number of thirty-five tribes being completed, and the doubling of that number (earum—tribuum) by the centuries of the juniors and seniors.' There were, therefore, seventy centuries, seniors and juniors; not, however, as we have already said, of the whole people, but merely of the first class. Thus the division of the people into centuries was connected with that into tribes, and as Livy mentions that the number of tribes had gradually been increased to thirty-five, at which it remained (expletus), he is naturally led to speak of them as they were under Servius.

² According to the inhabited quarters and hills.' Regio is a part of the city with defined boundaries. In these the colles are included, but they are mentioned separately, because three of the four city tribes were named after hills—namely, the Palatina, Esquilina, Collina: the remaining tribe was called Suburraea, and comprised the regio in the valley between the hills which we have mentioned. The passage is usually written and pointed thus, quae habitabantur partes, tribus eas appellavit, but our reading (qui, belonging to collibus as nearest, but also to regionibus) is that of the best manuscripts.

³ Livy speaks only of the division of the city into four regions or tribes, and does not mention the country tribes, though we can have no doubt that they were founded at the same time. He passes them over, because he found conflicting statements regarding them in the annalists, and could not, or would not, decide which was to be depended upon. In ii. 16, he mentions the addition of a new (country) tribe, and in vi. 5, he relates that four new country tribes were formed, and remarks that this completes the number of twenty-five tribes. It appears, therefore, that at the time of Servius Tullius, there were at least sixteen tribus rusticae. Besides the four urbanae; perhaps more, however, supposing that the Roman state had lost a portion of territory between that time and the period when the number of tribes amounted to twenty-five. Since Livy, as we have said, omits the country tribes altogether, and mentions merely those of the city, he adds, 'these (city) tribes had no connection with the division of the whole people into centuries.'

1 He had passed a law, which was in force also at a later period, that every one who did not give in a census of his fortune (incensus = non census) should be imprisoned, and afterwards put to death; and hereby he had brought the business to a speedy termination.
2 As the composition of the word shows, 'the sacrifice of a sow, a sheep, and a bull.'
3 Censendo is the dative of the gerund, which takes the place of a declined infinitive. The word condere in the expression condere lustrum is explained by Livy himself as equivalent to finire, 'to complete.'
4 He was certainly the most ancient Roman historian, for he lived during and for a short time after the second Punic war. Scriptor, however, must here be taken in the limited sense of a prose writer or historian, for otherwise Fabius would not be antiquus simus, Livius Andronicus having published his tragedies twenty years before him.
5 Gronovius wished the ablative Esquilis. Whichever reading we adopt, we find that the collis Esquilinus is from this time a part of the city, which comprehended, besides it and the two others mentioned in the text, the Caelius, the Aventinus, and the two inner hills, Palatinus, and Capitolinus.
6 Now, says Livy, the houses are not only brought up to the city wall without any space being left, but are even built against the wall (conjunguntur) so that it forms the back wall of the house. Dionysius, too, remarks of this wall of Servius, that in later times it was entirely built in, so as to be traced with difficulty.
45. Aucta civitate magnitudine urb. formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consulio angere imperium conatus est simul et aliquid addere urbi decens. Jam tum erat incolitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum: ut communiter a civitatibus Asiae 1 factum fane ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare2 mort Servius inter proceres Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospita amicitiasque de industria junxerat: saepe iterando eadem populi tandem, ut Romae3 fanum Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Roman esse, de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat. Id quamquam omissum jam ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infeliciter tentatum armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis lors dare visa est privato consulio imperii recuperandi.4 Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae diecit miranda magnitudine ac specie: fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat,5 res prodigii loco est; et cecinere vates, cujus civitatis eam dives Dianae immolassent, ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad

1 By Asia we must understand, as usual, Asia Minor, and still more specially the coast which was colonised by Greeks. Ephesus and its temple of Diana formed properly the central point of the Ionian colonies only; these, however, had in those times outstripped the other colonies, Dorian and Aeolian, in the race for distinction and celebrity. The original temple of Diana at Ephesus, which was one of the seven wonders of the world, was not in existence in the time of Livy, for it had been burnt down by the notorious Herodotus on the night when Alexander the Great was born (in September, 356 B.C.).

2 The editions read cum laudaret, but the historical infinitive, which the manuscripts give, can easily be tolerated.

3 On the Aventine. Diana, as goddess of the moon and of the chase, was a leading divinity in Latium, and had a holy grove (nemus) in the district of Aricia, from which has arisen in modern times the little village of Nemi. Many Latins had been forced by the last Roman kings to settle at Rome, and had increased, or, according to a more correct view, founded the plebs. This circumstance probably, more than a recognition of Roman supremacy, was the cause of a temple being erected to Diana in Rome.

4 Livy seems to think that the Sabines stood in the same relation to Rome as the Latins, though at a later period we find them in arms against Rome, and in fact they were not incorporated with the Roman state till 290 B.C., nearly three hundred years after this. In the story, however, told in this chapter by Livy, we see only the explanation of a sacerdotal legend, with the popular and natural, but not very creditable, joy at the sly patriotism of the Roman priest.

5 Livy speaks here as if he were 'all of the olden time,' and had all the credulity of the early ages.

46. Servius quamquam jam usu haud dubium regnum possederat, tumen quia interdum jactari voce a juvene Tarquinio audiebat se injussu populi regnare, consulata pruv voluntate plebis, agro capto ex hostibus virum diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent juberentse se regnare; tantoque consenso, quanto haud quisquam alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem affectandi regni minuit: immo eo impensius, quia de agro plebis adversa Patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servii apud Patres cresecendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse juvenis ardentis animi, et domi uxore Tullia inquestum animum stimulante. Tuit enim et Romana regia see leris tragicis exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset, quod scehere patrum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius (Prisci Tarquinii regis filius ne posse fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim) fratrem habuerat Aruntum Tarquinium, mitis ingenii juvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae

1 *Responsum* is here 'prophecy,' since nothing has been said of any oracle having been consulted.

2 Impurely,' for *caste* in this sense refers particularly to previous purification.

3 In form a question, but, in consequence of the remark which follows, in sense rather a command: 'Why dost thou not do this?' for 'Do it.' See Zumpt, § 542.

4 We, following the most recent critical editor, Mr. Alscchefski, make *extemplo* one word, because thereby the zeal of the Sabine priest is brought directly before us, whereas *ex templu* merely inti mates what is self-evident.

5 'Had taken possession of,' conformably to the original significance of this word, though *possidebat* too might be used in the sense of 'he possessed, was in possession of.' *Velle jubere* (towards the end of the sentence) are here used as one word, and therefore the enclitic *ne* is placed at the end of the expression. Compare i. 17. p. 40, note 4.

6 That is, in the senate, with the senators.

7 'Such as usually occurs only in tragedies.'
Tulliae regis filiae nupserant, et ipsae1 longe disparses moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenta matrimonio jungerentur, fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servii regnum esset constitutique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur sero Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum versa Tarquinium cum mirari, cum virum2 dicere ac regio sanguine utrum; sperne sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia.3 Contrahit celerriter simul tradit. ut ferit fit malum malo aptissimum.4 sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni assuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliosis parcer de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum coelibem futurumuisse contendere, quam cum impari jungi, ut elangueascendum aliena ignavia esset. Sibi eum, quo digna esset, didissent virum, domi se propem diem visum regnumuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celleriter adolescente sua tementiatis impet. L. Tarquinii et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus5 cum donos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, junguntur nuptius, magis non prohibente Servio quam approbante.

47. Tum vero in dies infestior6 Tullii senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Jam enim ab scelere ad alind spectare mulier scelus; nec nocte nec interdui virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita7 praeterita parricidia essent. Non sibi defuisse cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita serviret: defuisse qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquinii filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet. 'Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello: sin minus, eo nunc pejus mutata res est, quod istic8 cum ignavia est scelus. Quum accingeris?

1 'Likewise:' for et ipse is used when two persons have one predicate, whereas idem, idemque is employed when one person has two predicates.
2 That is, vere virum ac vere regio, &c.
3 Had not the boldness which became his wife,' so that the muliebris audacia is not a quality attributed to women generally, but required by this mulier particularly.
4 'As generally one evil fits close in to another;' aptissimum fit, equivalent to aptissime conjungitur.
5 'The funerals (preceded by murders) were close to each other;' the one followed the other almost without any interval of time.
6 'Passively,' insecure,' 'an object of hostility.'
7 'Useless,' 'committed to no purpose.' So in. 37, ne gratuita crudelitas esset.
8 'In thee.' As to iste, with its derivatives, the demonstrative pronoun of the second person, see Gram. § 115, and Zumpt, § 701.
Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquinii, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri 1 necesse est. Dii te penates patriaque, et patris imago, 2 et domus regia, et in domo regale solum, et nomen Tarquinii 3 creavit vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regnum juvenem conspici sinis! Faciesse hinc Tarquinios aut Corinthum; devolvere retro ad stirpeum, fratris simul hor quam patri. 4 His alisque increpando juvenem instigat, nec conquirescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro ac denueceps genero dedisset, ipsa regio sermone orta nullum momentum 5 in dando adimendoque regno faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furris Tarquinii circumire et pressare minorum maxime gentium 6 Patres; admonere paterni benefici, ac pro eo gratiam repetere; alieere donis juvenes; cuin 7 de se ingentia pliciendo, tum regis criminiibus omnibus locis cresceret. Postremo ut jam agendae rei tempius visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum irrupit; inde omnibus perculsis pavore, in regia sede pro curia sedens, Patres in curiam per praecernem ad regem Tarquinium citari jussit. Convenere extemplo, ali jam ante ad hoc praeparati, ali metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti et jam de Servio actum 8 rati. Ibi Tarquinii maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: Servum servaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitis habitus, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus Patriibus, muliebrori dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorum infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divi-
sisse; omnia onera; quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primum civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset, et parata unde, ubi vellet, egentissimus largaretur.

48. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset, trepido nutito excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce 'Quid hoc,' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est! qua tu audacia me vivo vocare ausus es Patres aut in sede considere mea?' Cum ille ferociter ad haec, se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiorem illum regis regni heredem; satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis, clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque, regnatum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate jam ipsa cogeunte ultima audere, multo et actate et viribus validior medium arripit Servium, elatumque e curia in inferiorum partem per gradus deject; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam redit. Fit fuga regis appari- torum atque comitum: ipse prope e suis ab in, qui missi ab Tarquino fugeantem consecuti erant, interfecerunt. Cre- ditur, quia non abhorret a cetero sceleari, admonitu Tulliae id factum: carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta, nec reverita coetum virorum, evocavit virum e curia, regemque prima appellavit. A quo facessere jussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum recuperet, pervenissetque ad sum- mun Cypium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti
carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum, ut in collem Esqui- liarium eveleretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is, qui jumenta agebat, jacentemque dominae Servium trucida- tum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur sceclus, monumentoque locus est: Sceleratun vicum vocant, quo amens, agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse furtur, partemque sanguinis ac

1 Inasmuch as the lowest division of the people was freed both from taxes and military service, as is stated in i. 43. Haece omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera. The assertion that Servius had taken landed property from the nobles can only be true thus far, if the nobles claimed the right of dividing the conquered land among their clients, as was probably the case before the time of Servius.

2 Tarquinius and his family are called domini, 'masters of slaves,' in contrast to the slave Servius.

3 Inferior pars is 'the ground,' solum.

4 The dative flectenti is connected in a somewhat free fashion with the sentence restitit auriga: 'to her as she turned to the right hand into the Urbian street, the driver stopped,' the same as auriga Tulliae flectentis—cum flecteret. Clivus is 'a steep street.' According to Dionysius, the street here mentioned was called originally vicus Orbius, afterwards vicus Sceleratus.
caedis paternae crumento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa resper-
saque, tulisse ad penates suos virique su: quibus transf-
malo regu principio, similus propedem exitus sequeren-
tur.¹

Ser. Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadrinueta, ut
bum etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficulis aemul-
atio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quo
cum illo simul justa ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum
tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia minus
esse, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam audaces sunt,
i nescul us intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitanti inter-
venissent.

49. Inde L. Tarquiniius regnare occupe₂ cui Superbo
cognomen facta indiderunt, quia sociorum gener
prohibuit, Romulum quoque inseptum perisse dierunt,
primoresque Patrum, quos Servii rebus tavisse credebat,
interfecit. Consensus deinde male quaerendi regni ab
se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis cor-
pus circumsepsit. Neque enim ad jus regni quicquam
praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque populii jussu neque
auctoribis Patribus regnaret.³ Eo accedebat ut⁴ in cari-
tate civium nihil spei reponeret, cum regnum tutandum
essen. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones⁵ capita-
lum rerum sine consilis per se solus exercerat; perque
eam causam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multa
poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil
aliud quam prae tem sperare posset. Iea Patrum prae-
cipue numero inimino, statuit nullos in Patres legere,
quo contemplior paucitate ipsa ordo esset, minusque per
se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus tra-
ditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatuni consulendi
solvit; domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit;

¹ Through whose anger (namely, that of the penates) at the
wicked beginning of the reign, a similar end (similar to the begin-
ing) should soon follow.'

² Besides coepi and incipio, we find (more rarely, however, and not
in Cicero occipi and occipio in the same sense.
³ Thus Tarquiniius himself committed the same crime of which
(i. 46) he is said to have accused Servius.
⁴ The proper construction is accedit quod, 'the circumstance is
added that.' Accedit ut, however, is also frequently used. See
Gram. § 352. note 1.
⁵ Cogniscance taken by an ordinary magistrate, whereas judicia are
trials where there are regular judices. The verbs cognoscere and
judicare are used with the same distinction. The following per eam
causam must be taken to mean 'under this form;' that is, by a ma-
gisterial, not a judicial decree.
bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, in suum populi ac senatus, fecit diremique. Latinorum si bi maxime gentem concil abat, ut pererum quaque opibus tutor inter eives esset; neque hospita modo cum primoribus eorum, sed affinitates quaque jugebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano (is atque princeps Latinorum erat, si fames creditum, ab Ulyse deaque Circa’ orundis) et Mamilio filium nuptum dat, quia eas nuptias multis si bi cognatos amicosque ejus conciliat.

50. Jam magna Tarquinii auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, cum in diem certum ut ad lucum Ferentinas conveniant indicit: esse quae agere de rebus communibus velit. Conveniant frequentes prima lucce: ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit sed paulo ante quam sol occideret venit. Multa ibi tota die in concilio varias pactatas sermonebus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aletes feroeciter in absentem Tarquiniun erat inuictus: Haec mirum esse Superbo indicium Romae cognomen (jam enim ita clam quidem cussitantae, vulgo tamen eum appellabant): an quisquam superbus esse quam ludicari sic omne nomen Latum? Principibus longe ab domo exciis, ipsum, qui concilium in iuxerit. non adesse. Temporarii profecto patientiam, ut, si jugum accepterint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non appareire affectare cum imperium in Latinos? quod si sui bene crediderint eives, aut si creditus illud et non raptum patrend o sit, credere et Latinos, quorum ne quidem alenigenae, debere. Sin suos ejus poeniteat, quippe qui alii super ahes truculentur, exulatnm eant, bona amittant, quid spei melioris Latinus portendi? Si se audiant, donum suum quemque inde abituros, neque magis observaturis diem concilii, quam ipse, qui indixerit, observet. Hae atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinosusque homo, hisque artibus opes domi nactus, cum

1 The sorceress Circe, known to us from the Odyssey. The name has here a Latin termination: the usage in this respect is by no means settled. See Gram. § 55, notes 1 and 4. Regarding the origin of Roman and Latin gentes, see I. 3.

2 The fountain and grove of Ferentina were among the Alban mountains, between the modern townships of Albano and Marino: a rivulet flowing from the fountain falls into the Tiber below Rome.

3 His subjects.'

4 Namely, imperium: 'if his own fellow-citizens had conferred it on him in a proper manner.'

5 'The Latins, too, ought to commit it to one, though not to a foreigner.'

6 It is rather remarkable that Livy, himself a detester of Tarquin, calls Turnus 'a seditious and violent man,' because he spoke against
maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit: aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum. Qui silentio facto, monitus a proximis, ut purgaret se, quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se summptum inter patrem et filium, cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse; et quia ea res exemisset illum diem, postero die acturum quae constituisset. Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum serunt. Dixisse enim nullam breviorem esse cognitionem, quam inter patrem et filium, pannique transigi verbis posse: ni paret patri, habiturum infortunium esse.

51. Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto, quam videbatur, aegrius ferens, confessit Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis injiceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corruptit, ut in deversorium ejus vim magnam gladiorum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta esset, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum, quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velit deorum quadam providentia illatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis suisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Aggressurum suisse hesterno die in concilio: dilatam rem esse, quod auctor concilii aferit, quem maxime peteret: inde illam absentis infectionem esse natam, quod morando sper estinuerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin

him. Perhaps he looked at the matter in such a decidedly Roman point of view as this: *We Romans may speak what evil we please of our own tyrants, but we shall not allow any one else to do so.*

1 Equivalent to eo tempore: the accusative id is considered as a sort of Greek construction. Id aetatis, too, is used for ea aetate, See Gram. § 260.

2 Eximere diem is an expression used when in any meeting some man or piece of business occupies the whole day, so that nothing more can be done.

3 Tarquinius tacitum tulit (upon the analogy of impunitum tulit), *he had the satisfaction of hearing nothing said on the subject.*

4 An expression of common life, feres or habebis infortunium, *you will suffer a misfortune,* which, in plain English, means here *a good beating.*

5 By virtue of any official power (which as yet he did not possess over the Latins). Imperium is equivalent to potestas, but expressive of a military power.

6 Quarters,' where Turnus had taken lodgings (deverterat). We must suppose that there was a village near the lucus Ferentinae.
prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum conjuratorum manu armatisque ven turus sit. Dici gladio-
rum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum: id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant. Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesterna et mora Tarquinii, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen nisi gladiis depre-
hensis cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi est eo ventum, Tur-
um ex somno excitatum circumstissunt custodes; com-
prehensisque servis, qui caritate domini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero\(^1\) manifesta res visa, injectaeque Turno catenae. Et confestim Latinorum concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicieta causa, novo genere leti,\(^2\) dejectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne injecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.

52. Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquiniius, collaudatisque qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto parricidio merita poena affecissent, ita verba fecit: Posse quidem se vetusto jure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, in eo foedere teneantur,\(^3\) quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum colonis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium. Ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur, quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante perpessi sint, semper aut expectent aut patiuntur. Haud difficilur persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo foedere superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et Turnus suì cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus,\(^4\) indictumque

\(^1\) *Enimvero* in the apodosis strengthens the statement: \textit{assuredly the thing appeared manifest.}

\(^2\) An old and principally poetical word, used by Livy but seldom, for the ordinary *nex—necis*.

\(^3\) The ordinary expression is *foedere teneri*, but *in* is a fuller form; \textit{to be held together in a league.}

\(^4\) The sum of this story, then, is, that Tarquiniius Superbus gained a supremacy over Latium, and bound it to Rome in a new league. This league, however, was broken when Tarquin was expelled from Rome, as we shall see hereafter. The statement that Roman and Latin soldiers were united in maniples (companies) of double strength, seems chiefly to be intended to account for the fact, that a maniple in a Roman legion consisted of two centuries, each with a
junioribus Latinorum, ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequenteres adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latiniis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis. Ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.


Exceptit deinde eum leantius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequicquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempita esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo aggressus est.

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centurion. In historical times we do not find this union of Romans and Latins in maniples.

1 Here used in its proper sense, 'separate, distinct,' separatum.

2 The circumstance that in other things the example of the former kings had not been followed by him; that is, briefly, 'his dissimilarity in other respects:' degenerare, 'to grow unlike one's ancestors.' The perfect participle passive used instead of a verbal substantive, as elsewhere auditum for fama or nuntius. See Zumpt, § 614, note 1.

3 The Volscians were a warlike nation, dwelling south of the Prisci Latini, in the mountainous district towards the source of the Liris, in the townships of Sora, Arpinum, Atina, down on the sea-coast in Anxur (Terracina), and in the Pompitine Plain (see i. 41, p. 73, note 7) as far as Antium. The wars which the Volscians carried on with the Romans and with the Latins with varied success, occupy a great part of the early Roman history. The Volscians were subdued at length, lost Antium and Anxur, and remained then confined to their mountains on the Liris.

4 The expression 'for more than 200 years' seems to refer to the settlement of a colony in Sora, and the admission of the inhabitants of Arpinum, the chief town of the Volscians, to the rights of citizenship. Both of these events occurred in the year 203 B.C.

5 As to the amount of this sum, see Zumpt, § 874. Aurique, which in many editions is added to argenti, is inadmissible.

6 Namely, the Capitoline hill, which, however, in fact owed its majestas to the temple.

7 Gabii, now in ruins, was situated about half-way between Rome and Praeneste (Palestrina) being twelve Roman miles from each city.
Nam cum velut posito bello fundamentis templi faciendis\textsuperscript{1} alisque urbanis operibus intentionem esse simularet, Sextus filius ejus, qui minus ex tribus erat, trans fugit ex composito Gabios\textsuperscript{2}, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens. Jam ab alienis in suis vertisse superbiham; et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae\textsuperscript{2} taudere, ut, quam in curia solutulinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quanm stirpem, ne quern heredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsum, nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquinii credidisse. Nam ne errarent, manere iis bellum, quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incantos invasurum. Quodsi apud eos supplicibus locum non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium, Volscosque se inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eas perveniat, qui a patrum crudelibus atque impii suplicii tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum. Cum, si nihil morarentur,\textsuperscript{3} insensus ira porro inde abiturusvideretur, benignae ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si qualis in cives, qualis in sociis, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset. In se ipsum postremo saevitum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum ejus esse, futurumque credere, brevi ut illo adjuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

54. Inde in consilia\textsuperscript{4} publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis rebus assentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam assumere, quod utinamque populi vires nosset, seiretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum\textsuperscript{5} primores Gabinorum incitaret,

\textsuperscript{1} The best manuscripts give fociendis, not jaciendis. Both verbs are used in this sense; but this may be said in favour of our reading, that the deeper foundations to which jaciendis would properly apply had been laid some time before, as we learn from i. 38, \textit{ad fin.}

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Frequentia} means usually ‘thronging, crowding; the presence of great numbers,’ not merely ‘a great number,’ \textit{magnus numeros.} The word has here, too, its proper meaning, and expresses that the king is wearied, not because he has many children merely, but because he has many about him.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Nihil te moror}, ‘I do not delay you,’ therefore ‘I dismiss you,’ used particularly at the disclaimer of the senate by the presiding magistrate. \textit{Nihil for non, as obi\'d\'i for obi.} See Zumpt, § 677.

\textsuperscript{4} The ordinary reading is consilia, but consilia is better; for a council summoned to give advice, such as a council of war, is not meant.

\textsuperscript{5} In its proper and most frequent sense, ‘to renew the war.’

1 The manuscripts read p or praegabiis: in the editions this doubtful word is omitted. We think the word praetor, in the sense of commander, should be read; for Sexius, we have been told already, had been chosen leader. We have not ventured, however, to incorporate our conjecture with the text, but leave it to the judgment of the critical reader. For ei, in the next clause, sibi might have been used, making this a part of the order given to the messenger by Sextus: ei makes it a part of the historian's own narrative.

2 By his silent round-about way of indicating what he meant. This ablative belongs to vellet and praeciperet.

3 Who, from the dislike which they themselves had incurred, afforded opportunity or occasion. Usually only matters or positions of affairs are called opportuna; but a man, too, is in reality opportunos when his character is such that upon him, or through him, something can be effected. Compare ii. 12.

4 This verbal substantive occurs only in the dative (subject to, or objects of division), like others similarly formed. See Gram. § 80, 5, note 1.
malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sineulla dimicatione in manum traditur.¹

55. Gaiis recepitis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum gente secit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit. Quorum erat primum, ut Jovis templum in monte Tarpejo² monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinos reges ambos, patrem voisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Jovis templique ejus, quod maedificaretur, exaugurare³ lana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot ibi a Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae voto, consecrata inaugurataque postea fuerant. Inter principia contendi hujus operis movisse numen⁴ ad indicandam tantum imperii molem traditur deos: nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere. Idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus⁵ firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est. Caput

¹ Thus the Latin city of Gabii came into the hands of Tarquin. The manner in which this was effected—namely, by the pretended flight of Sextus to the Gabines—is very like the way described by Herodotus, in which the Persian king Darius retook Babylon (516 B.C.). The message, too, which King Tarquin sent to his son bears a remarkable resemblance to that which (Herod. v. 92) Thrasybulus, the tyrant of Miletus, sent to Periander of Corinth (about 600 B.C.). Now there is no doubt that we frequently find striking similarities between events occurring in different ages and different nations; still, we cannot help thinking that the correspondence between the Roman king and his son is an 'elegant extract' from Greek history.

² The Capitoline Hill has two peaks, with a slight depression between them. The south-west peak, on which this temple was built, is the Mons Tarpeius; the north-eastern, which was in later times occupied by the temple of Juno Moneta, was specially known as the aex, after that name ceased to be applied to the whole Capitoline Hill.

³ As no temple was built in a place, except augurato, 'with the will of the gods,' so without their consent none could be destroyed or devoted to another purpose: this is exaugurare, 'to unhallow.'

⁴ Dii numen moveunt, 'the gods signify their will.'

⁵ The immovability of Terminus, and the circumstance that he was the only one of the gods who could not be brought out of his consecrated bounds: Dionysius, and Livy himself in another passage (v. 54), mention that the altar of the goddess Juventas, too, could not be exaugurated—a promise of eternal youth to the city and state.
humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi deditur apparuisse. Quae visa species haud per ambages arem cam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat: utque ita ecceure vates, quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandum ex Etruriae accipierant. Augebatur ad imperias regis animus. Itaque Pometiae manubiae, quae perducedo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppediavere. Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim quadranginta ex sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisont, qui quadranginta millia-pondo argenti sepelit in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniae neque ex unus tum urbis praedam sperandum, et nullius, ne horum quidem magnificientiae operum, fundamenta non exsuperatiam.

56. Intentus perferiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruriae accetis, non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus, sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui cum, haud parvus et ipse militia adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravatur, se templum deum exaedificare manubus suis, quam postquam et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto majoris traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendo eloacamque maximam, recep-

1. That this would be the citadel; not id, however, but eam, in the gender of the predicate. See Gram. § 232. 3. Quo—que in the latter part of the sentence, instead of et—et, used commonly only by poets, but by Livy also in this connection of two relatives. See Zumpt, § 338.

2. According to the explanation given by an ancient scholar in Galliis, xiii. 24, manubiae was the name given to the money realised by the sale of booty, and this meaning is quite appropriate to the present passage. But from other passages we are led to believe manubiae to have been rather the profits resulting from a great successful battle.

3. Suppediavere, usually transitive, ‘to supply;’ but often, as here, intransitive, ‘to be sufficient’ = suppetere, sufficere. Compare, as to this double signification of several verbs, Zumpt, § 145.

4. Pounds; in this sense an indeclinable substantive, plural, properly an ablative singular, ‘in weight,’ scil. librae. See Gram. § 79, note 3.

5. Opus magnificentiae = opus magnificum; thus, ‘a sum which would surpass (be more than sufficient for) the foundations of any edifice, and even of the present magnificent works [buildings].’ In translating into English, we must draw the non from the verb, and connect it with nullius. when we have nullius non = cujuslibet: but had Livy written cujuslibet. he would have put after it not ne—quidem, but the positive etiam (or vel) horum operum.

6. Operae are ‘common labourers, workmen.’

7. Instead of the ordinary traducebatur, we read from the best manuscripts, the plural form traducebantur, agreeing with the collective plebs.

taculum omnium purgamentorum urbis; sub terram aegen-
dam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificenia
quicquam adaequare potuit. 

1. His laboribus exercit aut plebe,
quae et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset,2
offici relatur
esse, et colonos mittendis occupari latius imperii fines 
voler-
bat, Signam Circiciosque3 colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura 
terra marique.

Haec agenti portentum terribile visum, anguis ex columna
linea elap-us cum terrorem fugamique in regiam4 fecisset, 
ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus, quam
anuis implevit curs. Itaque cum ad publica prodigia
Etrusci tantum vates adhuberentur, hoc velut domestico
externus visu Delphos ad maxime imitatum in terris ora-
culum mittere statuit. Neque responsa sortium ulli ali 
committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate
terras, ignioMaria in Graeciam misit. Titus et Aris
profecti. Comes ipsis additus L. Junius Brutus. Tarquini,
sorore regis, natus, juvenis longe alius ingenio quam cu
simulationem induerat. Is cum primume civitatis, in quibus5
fratrem suum ab avunculo interfecum audisset, neque in
animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna con-
cupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tatus esse, ubi
in jure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex industria6 factus ad

1. This is an interesting account, and we may conclude from it that
Rome, under its last king, was possessed of considerable wealth,
and executed some great works. The temple of Juppiter Capitot-
inus, however, as a specimen of architecture, is not much praised;
because general beauty, springing from the harmony of the different
parts, and a proper arrangement as to the length, breadth, and height,
was little attended to; the plan being entirely dictated by ancient
religious custom.

2. 'When they could not be employed.'

3 Two towns intended as strongholds against the Volscians, and
therefore situated at a proper distance from Rome: Signia, above
the Pontine plain, thirty-eight miles from Rome, on the side of the
via Latina, now called Segni, and possessed of considerable monu-
ments of antiquity; Circene, on the sea-shore, on a promontory, near
the via Appia, about sixty miles from Rome, and at the extreme
point of her even then tolerably extended dominion. Circen is not
now in existence, at least it is not recognisable.

4. We cannot consider the accusative as correet: it should be in
regia, since undoubtedly the only place 'where' is to be expressed.

5. Equivalent to et in iis, 'and among them,' as sometimes the re-
late is used without a verb belonging to it, merely for the demon-
strative with a conjunction. The predicate, interfecum esse, agrees
in number with the last-mentioned subject, fratrem: according to
the conjunction, it should properly have been interfecstos.

6. 'After he had intentionally formed himself (his behaviour).' We
usually find se componere, compositus, in this sense.
imitationem stultitiae, cum se suaque praedae esse regi
sineret, Bruti quoque haud abunt cognomen, ut sub eis
obtenta cognomini liberator ille populi Romani animus'
latens opponeretur tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquinii
ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum ba-
culum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum
Apollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui. Quo
postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis cupidum
cessit animos juvenum seiscuadu, ad quem eorum regnum
Romanum esse optet. Ex ipso specie vocem red-
ditam ferunt Imperium summum Romae habebit, qui ves-
trum primus, O juvenes, osculum matri tulerit. Tarquinii,
ut Sextus, qui Romae relictus fuerat, ignarus responsi
persque imperii esse, rem summa ope taceri jubent; ipsi
inter se, uter prior, cum Romam redissent, matri osculum
daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus alius ratus spectare Pythicara
vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit,
selicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium e-set.
Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa
vi parabatur.

57. Ardeam Rutuni habeabant, gens, ut in ea regione atque
in ea aetate, divinius praepollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli
fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse dixi, exhauatus magni-
ficentia publicorum operum, tum praedae delenire popu-
larium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbam regno in-
festos etiam. quod se in labororum ministerio ac servili tam
diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Tempitae res est,
si primo impetu capi Ardea posset: ubi id parum pro-
cessit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes. In
iis stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, satis liberi
commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis quam militibus.
Regii quidem juvenes interdum otium conviviis comssa-
tionibusque inter se terebant. Forte potantibus his apud
Sex. Tarquiniun, ubi et Collatinus coenabat Tarquinius,

1 Liberatur animus for animus liberaturus populi Romanum, with
a somewhat free use of the substantive. In the same manner we
might use the feminine, mens liberatrix. See Gram. § 88, note 3.
2 As to Ardea, see i. 2.
3 According to ordinary usage, the mere ablative would have been
sufficient, but in illa aetate is found also in i. 18. Compare Zumpt,
§ 475, note. ad fin.
4 Si for num. 'whether,' occurs not unfrequently.
5 'Leave of absence.'
6 Commissari (from the Greek ko\nos) is to go about (particularly by
night) from one house to another, and constantly begin the revel
anew.
Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio: suam quisque laudare mritis modis. Inde certamine accenso, Collatianus negat verbis opus esse: paucis id quidem horis posse scri, quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua. \(^1\) Quin,\(^2\) si vigor juvenae inest, consecudimus equos my sinuque praeentes nostrarum uigeta? Id cuique spectatussum sit,\(^3\) quod necopinato viri adventu occurrerunt ocu\(\text{\textcircled{b}}\). Incaluerant vino. \(^4\) 'Age sane,' omnes. Citatis equi avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se intendebat vobis pervenisset, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam habuerunt ut reas nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum equitis uidenter tempus tenebant, sed nocte seria dedidam laeae inter lucubrantes anaeclae in medio aedium\(^4\) sedetem inventat. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. \(\text{\textcircled{b}}\) Adveniens vir Tarquinii excepti benigni. Victor maritus comite invitat reffios juvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinii. Cum excipiess versarentur in media aedibus, \(\text{\textcircled{b}}\) Victori marito comiter invitatis juvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinii. Mala uideo Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capi: cum forma tum spectata castitas miuit. Et tum quidem ab nocturno juvenali lud0 in castra redeunt. Paucis interjectis diebus Sex. Tarquinii, incipit Collatium, cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus benigni ab ignariis consili, cum post coenam in hospitale cubiculo dumductus esset, amore ardento, postquam saltis tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectoro oppressit. 'Tace, Lucretia,' inquit. 'Sex. Tarquinii sum; ferrum in manu est: moriere, si emiseris vocem.' Cun pavida ex somno muliee nullam opem, prope mortem immittentem videret, tum Tarquinius lateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatam videbat et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum martua jugulatum servum nudum posturum ant. ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore cum victa obstinatam pudicitiam velit victrix libid0,\(^5\) praecipue in le Tarquinii ferox expugnato decrete muliebris esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad

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1 See i. 34, and 32, ad init.
2 See i. 45, note on quin.
3 'This will be most certain evidence to each of us:' spectatum, 'examined into,' 'made manifest.'
4 'In the middle of the house.' In the ancient private houses covered halls surrounded an open court. These halls were the common rooms of the familia (that is, domestics); the private chambers were situated round the halls.
5 The lust was not in reality the conqueror, but merely apparently, velut victrix.
virum mittit, ut eum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant: ita facto maturatoque opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Sp. Lucretius curn P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus curn L. Junio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam rediens ab nuntio uxoris crat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum laerimae abortae, Quaerentique vino 'Satine salvae?' 'Minime,' inquit: 'quid eum salvi est mulieri, amissa publica! Vestigia viri alium, Collatime, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons: mors testis erit. Sed date dextrae fidemque, haud impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquiniius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus mihi subique, si vos viri estis, pesterferum hinc abestit gaudium.' Dant ordine omnes fidem; consolantur aegram am'min4 avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti: Mentem pec_ care, non corpus; et unde consilium aferi, culpam absesse. 'Vos,' inquit, 'videritis,\(^{5}\) quid illi debeatur: ego me etsi pecato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla demnde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.' Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde desfigit : prolapaque in vulnus moribunda ecedit. Conclamat vir paterque.

58. Brutus, illus lucta occupatis, cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum, manantem cruore prae se tenens, 'per imum;' inquit, 'castissimum ante regiam injuriam sanguinem juro, vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum, cum scelerata conjuge et omni liberorum stripe, ferro, igni, quacunque dehinc vi possim, executurum,\(^{6}\) nec illos nec alium

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1 'This must be done and be hastened;' that is, 'must be done hastily.' As to the construction of opus esse with the ablative of the perfect participle passive. see Gram. § 301, note 1.

2 Convenire aliquem, 'to meet some one:' thus the verb convenio, naturally intransitive, receives a transitive meaning, governs the accusative, and may be used personally in the passive.

3 It may be doubted, since e is very often written in the manuscripts for ae, whether the adverb or the adjective should be the reading here and in a similar passage, vi. 34. In iii. 26, we find satin' salva sunt omnia, and salva res est is very common. Probably, therefore, the reading salvae here is correct, and we should supply the plural res. The phrase satin' recte, scil. agis, might be brought forward in support of the other opinion, but the adverb recte is in common use, whereas salve is found only in the very latest Latinity, and even there but rarely.

4 See i. 7, p. 25, note 4.

5 Equivalent to videbitis, but implying speedy completion. See Gram. § 338, note 3.

6 So the manuscripts read: our only remark is, that elsewhere equi, for 'to pursue, follow out,' is joined only with the accusative of the thing (for example, injuriam), not with that of the person. For this reason other editions have adopted the conjecture exacturum.

1 Against those who had dared to do what usually only an enemy in open war attempts.'

2 An equal (equally strong) guard being left at the gates; 'pari, with reference to the following ceteri Romam profecti, which the author already has in his mind. The emendation pars praesidio relictii, for pari praesidio relecto is unnecessary.

3 In i. 15, the Celeres were named as the body-guard of Romulus, 300 men strong. Probably, however, this word, in the annals followed by Livy, was used for Roman knights generally, so that the tribunus Celerum bore the same relation to the king as in later times the master of the horse to the dictator. The office of tribunus Celerum, or equitum Romanorum, is mentioned nowhere but here.
facilia subjicit,^1 memoratis incensam multitudinem perpullit, ut imperium regi abrogaret, exulesque esse juberet L. Tarquinium cum conjuge ac liberis. Ipse junioribus, qui ullo nominis dabunt, lectis armatisque, ad concitandum inde adversum regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis jam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit, excrantiis, quacunque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

59. Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, cum re nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam² Brutus (senserat enim adventum), ne obvius fieret; cedemque fere tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinii Romam venerunt. Tarquinio clausae portae exiliumque inditum: liberatorem urbis laeta castra accipere, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt. Sex. Tarquinius Gabios tamquam in suum regnum profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simulatiam, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque conciecerat, est interfectus.


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1 Other things which the present unworthiness of circumstances supplies, but which it is not an easy matter for historians to set down: *rerum indignitas*, a Latin construction for *res indignae*, 'unworthy (that is, rebellious) state of matters': *praesens*, 'what occurs at the present moment.'

2 Equivalent to *iter flexit*, 'bent his course'; *for*, properly, *via* is the street or road, *iter* the journey along it.

3 *Commentarii* or *commentaria* are notes kept by any one for his own use. The particular reference here is to the division of the people into classes; and by what is said, it is indicated that during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, the *Comitia Centuriata*, instituted by Servius, had not been in operation.
Liber II

(1) Brutus binds the people by an oath not to allow the restoration of regal power. (2) Tarquinius Collatinus is obliged to resign his consulate, and is succeeded by P. Valerius. (3–5) Conspiracy among the young nobles to restore the exiled king. Brutus puts his sons to death for having taken part in the conspiracy. Distribution of the king's property, and consecration of the Campus Martius. (6) Tarquinius, supported by the Veientes and Tarquinienses, wages war against Rome. Brutus falls in battle. (7) End of the war, and suspicions against P. Valerius. (8) The Valerian laws. (9) Porsenna of Clusium tries to restore Tarquinius. (10) Horatius Coeles, and his defence of the Subicilian bridge. (11–12) Porsenna encamped on the Janiculum, and the attempt of C. Mucius to kill him. (13) Porsenna sues for peace. Cloelia. (14) Aruns, the son of Porsenna, marches against Aricia. (15) Tarquinius retires to Tusculum, having given up all hope of recovering his throne. (16–17) Migration of the gens Claudia to Rome from the country of the Sabines. War against the Arunci. (18) T. Lartius, the first dictator. (19–20) Tarquinius, aided by the Latins, makes a last attempt to recover his throne. Battle of Lake Regillus. (21–22) Death of Tarquinius. War against the Volsci. (23–32) The plebs, oppressed by the severe law of debt, emigrate to the Mons Sacer. Menenius Agrippa. (33) Appointment of the tribunes of the plebs. Capture of Corioli, the capital of the Volsci, by C. Marcius Coriolanus. (34–35) Scarcity of provisions at Rome, and consequent exasperation of the plebs. Coriolanus exiled, goes to the Volsci. (36–37) T. Latinius. (38–40) Great war with the Volsci, who are commanded by Coriolanus. He is persuaded by his mother and wife to desist from the war against his own country. (41–42) First proposal of an agrarian war by Sp. Cassius. He is accused of aiming at kingly power, and put to death. (43–50) Wars with the Aequians and Veientes, and struggles between patricians and plebeians. The Fabii conduct the war against Veii, but their whole gens, with the exception of one member, is cut off on the Cremona. (51–57) End of the Veientine war. Disputes between the two estates, and the law of Publilius Volero. (58–65) Renewal of the Volscian and Aequian war. The consul App. Claudius being unsuccessful against the Volsci, on account of the unwillingness of the plebeians to fight, decimates his army. Further troubles between patricians and plebeians.

Liberi jam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora quam (99)
hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnaverunt, ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis,1 quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambiguitur quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit2 si libertatis immaturae cupiditine priorum regum alieni regnum exorsisset. Quod enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi3 aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu agitari coepisset tribuniciis procellis, et in aliena urbe cum Patribus serere4 certamina, priusquam pignera congrega ac liberorum carit-asque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore assuescit, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forsent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perdixit, ubi bonam libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent.5 Libertatis autem originem inde magis quia annum imperium consolare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres. Omnia jura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere. Id modo cantum est, ne, si ambo fasces6 haberent, duplicatus terror videtur. Brutus prior, concedente collega, fasces habuit; qui non aceror vindex libertatis fuerat, quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regis posset, jurejurando adegit, neminem

1Each of the former kings had enlarged the city, and was in so far a conditor urbis, at least of a part of it. King Numa did not effect any outward enlargement, but he, more than any of the others, deserves to be considered as a conditor urbis; because, as Livy (i. 19) says, he founded it anew by laws and institutions.

2Would have done so with very serious detriment to the state; so bonum publicum, malum publicum. The indicative facturus fuit is frequently used as equivalent to fecisset, and the use of the subjunctive fuerit is required merely by its dependence on non ambi-gitur quin. Compare i. 7, p. 25, note 2. We make this remark, in order that the young student may not stumble at the connection here of the perfect subjunctive with the pluperfect (extorsisset).

3Namely, the asylum which Romulus (i. 8) is said to have established on the Capitoline Hill. As to the fact that templum does not mean merely or originally a covered building, see i. 6.

4Supply coepisset from the foregoing coepta esset.

5Namely, res (jam adultae), 'the state.'

6Bundles of rods, with an axe tied up in the middle of each, which were carried by the twelve lictors before the king; and were afterwards transferred to the consuls, with this provision, however, that each consul should have them, and with them the executive government of the republic, alternately, a month each time.
101

Romae passuros regnare. Deinde quo plus virium insenatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum Patrum numerum primum equebris equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam expavit.\(^1\) Traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur qui Patres quique conscripti essent: conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos.\(^2\) Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis jugendosque Patribus plebis animos.

2. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura: et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi\(^3\) regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificium creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subjecere, ne additus nominii honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima era cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimis quoque rebus muniendo modum exesserint.\(^4\) Consulis enim alterius cum nihil aliud offendert, nomen invisum civitati sui. Nimium Tarquinos regno assuisset: initium a Prisco factum. Regnasse dein Sen. Tullius: ne intervallo quidem facto ob-

\(^1\) Livy omits to mention here that, among the knights, plebeians also were admitted into the senate at this time—a fact expressly stated by other writers (Dionysius, Plutarch, and Festus), and which, indeed, is plain from the history of later events. The majority of the senators, however, consisted of patricians—that is, descendants of the original Roman burghers or citizens, those who were, or at least from their citizenship might have been, members of the senate when first instituted by Romulus. Plebs and plebeii, when spoken of as a distinct class from the patricians, are not indefinitely the low rabble (vulgus), as in later times, but a special division of the people, different from the clientes, to whom the patricians were patroni. The plebeii were those who were taken into the city by the later kings, and settled principally on the Aventine and Caelian Hills, but excluded from the original institutions of the state and of religion. The double signification of the word plebs has been the source of many errors; but wherever the struggles between the patricians and plebeians are spoken of, the plebs are those whose origin and position we have just described.

\(^2\) Livy thus accounts for the ordinary mode of addressing the senate, Patres conscripti, by the omission of et, which, as has been several times mentioned already, is often left out in ancient formulae.

\(^3\) Nescio an, in the sense of 'I know not whether... not,' and therefore for fortasse or forsitatis, is very common.

3. Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset, bellum ab Tar-

¹ He thought the sovereignty his own proper inheritance, forgetting first, that his family was not Roman; and secondly, that Servius Tullius had intervened between Tarquinius Priscus and himself.

² Supply passuras, 'that they would not suffer any one to exist in Rome from whom any danger to liberty might arise.' Unde, referring to persons for a qua, is not rare: for example, is unde petitur, a legal expression for 'the accused.'

³ Alternis, used as an adverb, 'alternately,' and much more common than alterne or alternatim. Originally it was the ablative of the adjective, vicibus being understood.

⁴ A Latin, and therefore foreign town, as to which see i. 1.
quiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ce-
terum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac prodictionem
prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana juventute
adolescentes aliquot, necii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno
libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adolescentium
Tarquiniorum, assueti more regio vivere. Eam tum aequato
jure omium licentiam quaerentes, libertatem aliorum in
suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur: Regem
hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit;
esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere
posse; inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen esse.
Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem
meliorque inopii quam potentiori: nihil lavamentum habere,
si modum excesseris. Periculosum esse in tot hu-
manis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita jam sua
sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt,
sine retinendo bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba
postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio
tenuit. Interim legati alii alia moliri; aperte bona
repelentes, clam recuperandis regni consilia struere.
Et tamquam ad id, quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium
adolescentium animos peremptant. A quibus placide ora-
tio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquinius reddunt, et de ac-
ipientibus clamnocte urbem regibus colloquuntur.

4. Vitellii Aquiliiisque fratribus primo commissa res
est. Vitelliorum soror consili nupta Bruto erat; jamque
ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberius-
que. Eos quoque in societatem consili avunculi assumunt.
Praeterea aliquot nobiles adolescentes consci assumpti,
quorum vetustate memoria abiiit. Interim cum in senatu
vicissit sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ip-
sam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium
ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus

1 'And these, too, not of low birth.' Et is, or, negatively, nec
is, sometimes with the addition of quidem, gives a more specific
definition.
2 Intransitive, or, as we may also say, with the omission of se.
See Gram. § 248, note 2.
3 We might supply senatum, 'occupied the senate.' But the verb
is frequently used by Livy in an intransitive sense, 'to continue.'
Compare i. 4, note.
4 Some manuscripts read esset, which grammatically is equally
correct, referring to the last predicate: materia, in the figurative
sense of 'fuel for the flame of war.'
5 'Died out, perished.' Interiit and intercidit are more common
in this sense.
regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum conjuratis consulting absunt, evincuntque instando, ut litterae
sibi ad Tarquinios darentur: nam alter qui creditoris
eos, non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis asserri? Datae
litterae, ut piguus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecer-
rint. Nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinios pro-
fisciscerentur, et coenatum forte apud Vitellios esset, con-
jurative ibi remotis arbitris multa inter se de novo, ut
fit, consilio egissent, sermonem corum ex servis unus ex-
ceptit, qui jam ante id senserat agi: sed eam occasionem,
ut litterae legatis darentur, quae deprehensae rem coar-
gueru possent, expectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad
counsules dedit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos con-
juratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem op-
pressere, litterarum imprimitis habita cura, ne intercide-
rent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincula conjecsis, de
legatis paululum addubitatum est; et quamquam visi
sunt commisisse, ut hostium loco essent, Just tamen gentium
valuit.

5. De bonis regiis, quae redd1 ante censuerant, res in-
tegra refertur ad Patres. Ibi2 victi ira vetuere reddi,
vetuere in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data,
ut contacta3 regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis
amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim
fuit, consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit.4 Forte
ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quern
campi fructum quia religiosum erat5 consumere, desectam
cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa
coribus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis
caloribus solent. Ita in vadiis haesitantis frumenti acervos
sedisse illitos limo: insulam inde paulatim, et aliis, quae

1 'How,' old ablative of quid. See Gram. § 115, note. Super,
immediately afterwards, is used in the sense of de, 'concerning.'
This use is confined almost entirely to the writers of the Silver Age.
2 Equivalent to reddenda, which is the ordinary construction.
3 The manuscripts read ibi, which must be understood of time=
tum: the editions have illi.
4 'Touched'= particeps; or, if we take it in a bad sense= infecta,
commaculata, 'infected,' 'stained.'
5 Livy thus accounts for the name of the large field where the
Roman youth practised military exercises, and where the Comitia
Centuriata, in which the whole Roman people were arranged as an
army, were held. Some connect the name with this latter fact.
Traditional history consists in a great measure of the explanation
of customs and names of men and places.
6 'There was a religious scruple': religioni erat, because, as the
field had been consecrated to Mars, the corn belonged to him.
fert temere flumen, eodem invectis, factam. Postea credo additas moles, manuque adjutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque et porticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptumque supplicium, conspectus eo quod poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi juvenes. Sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines, quam sceleris, quo poenam meriti essent: illos eo potissimum annu patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Junia, Patres, plebem, quicquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exuli proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis caedunt securique seriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater vultusque et os ejus spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocumentum, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus. Quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum ut, qui ita liberati essent, in civitatem accepti viderentur.

6. His, sicut acta erant, nuntiatis, incensus Tarquinius

1 'Banks, walls.' The island of the Tiber was in ancient times not only occupied by dwelling-houses, as it is at the present day, but had also a celebrated temple of Esculapius. It is connected with each side of the river by a stone bridge.

2 'Official duty;' the word is commonly used of humble menial services, such as those of domestics.

3 For the second member of the clause we must take out of miseret some such idea as pudet or taedet.

4 This can mean nothing else than that, while Brutus was executing with strictness his duty to the public, his feelings as a father were betrayed by his countenance: Dionysius, however, states that the consul exhibited no sign of grief. Livy seems to have allowed for human nature. The father's feelings might be read by the spectators in his calm but pale face, even though he showed no direct token of sorrow.

5 'Both ways,' by punishing the criminals, and rewarding the informers.

6 'By the form of vindicta.' According to this form of manumission a slave was brought before the consul or praetor, who struck him thrice on the head with a rod (festuca or vindicta), and pronounced the words Aio te liberum esse more Quiritium.
non dolore solum tantae ad irritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obseptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriae urbes; orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne se ortum, ejusdem sanguinis, exterrem egentem ex tanto modo regno, cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos: se regem, augens bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata conjuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Palatin se regnumque suum repetere, et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, adjuvarent; suas quoque veteres injurias ultim irent, totiens caesas legiones, agrum ademptum. Haec moverunt Veientes; ac pro se quisque Romano saltemduce ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet: pulchrum videbatur suos Romae regnare. Ita duo duarum civitatum exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti consules eunt. Vale-rius quadrato agmine peditem ducit; Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo primus eques hostium agminis fuit; praeerat Aruns Tarquinius, filius regis: rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur. Aruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde jam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognovit, inflamatus ira ille est vir, inquit, qui nos extrores expulit patria. Ipse en ille, nostris decoratus insignibus, magnifice incedit. Dii regum ultores adeste. Concitat calcaribus equum, atque in ipsum infestus consulem dirigit. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus: avida itaque se certamini offert. Adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendi cor-

1 'One sprung from themselves.' Se is the ablative, participles of descent, such as genitus, ortus, editus, natus, satus, being construed with the simple ablative. See Gram. § 303.

2 A circumlocation for ulciscerentur.

3 See i. 15.

4 Eques taken collectively, as often.

5 'The troops of infantry:' legio used in a wide sense, as to which see i. 11, note.

6 The passive, impersonally, for illum in se ire.

7 A somewhat interesting remark, implying that the Roman generals of later times did not, when it could be avoided, enter on a personal encounter with a foe, but merely directed the movements of their troops.
portis memor, ut contrario iictu per parmam uterque trans-
fixus, duabus haerentibus hastis moribundis ex equis lapsi sint. 
Simul et cetera equestris pugna coepit; neque ita multo 
post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et velut aevo 
Marte pugnatum est: dextra utrimque cornua vicere, laeva 
superata. Veientes, vinci ab Romano milite assueti, fusi fu-
gatique; Tarquiniensis novus hostis non statit solum, sed etiam 
ab suae parte Romanum pepulit.

7. Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium 
atque Etruscos incessit, ut omissa irrita re nocte ambo exer-
citus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. 
Adjiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae noctis 
ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam 
creditam; haec dicta, uno plus Tuscorum cecedisse in acie; 
vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere Romani ut 
victores, Etrusi pro victis. Nam postquam illuxit nec quis-
quam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia 
legit, triumphansque inde Romam reditit. Collegae funus 
quanto tum potuit apparatu fecit. Sed multo majus mortis 
decus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia 
matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer 
ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.

Consuli deinde, qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles vulgi 
anim, ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio etiam cum 
atroci crinne orla. Regnum eum affectare fama ferebat, 
quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti, et aedifica-
bat in summa Velia: ibi alto atque munito loco arcem in-
expugnabilem fieri. Haec dicta vulgo creditaque cum indig-

1 Mars for 'battle' is so common in Latin—see, for instance, i. 25, 
aequato Marte—that even velut, used here, which indicates the 
trump, is rarely added.

2 This might have been uno plus: 'that on the side of the Etrus-
cans one more (more by one) had fallen;' namely, than on that o. 
the Romans. See Zumpt, § 488, note 1.

3 Was an honour to his death; that is, to the deceased.

4 Rogare, in the public sense, 'to bring a proposal before the 
people,' with the accusative; for example, legem, 'to bring forward 
a bill,' consulem.' to propose the election of a consul as business in 
the Comitia'; subrogare collegam means, therefore, 'to bring for-
ward a proposal for the election of a colleague in the place of him 
who was dead.'

5 Velia was the name of a street on the Palatine, which, following 
the bends of the hill, had an upper and lower division (summa, ima 
Velia), as was the case with all the streets of a similar kind, such as 
the via sacra, for we read of a summa, media, and ima via sacra.

6 So the people said, 'that a house was building which might 
stand for a castle.' Another reading, not so well supported, is 
fore.
nitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo, summissis fascibus in contionem descendit. Gratum ad multitudini spectaculum sibi, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessioneque factam populi quam consulis majestatem vinque majorem esse. Ubi audire jussi, consul laudare fortune tam collegae, quod liberata patria, in summo honore, pro re publica dimicans, natura gloriae neodium se vertente in invidiam, mortem occubuisset. Se superstitem gloriae suae ad crimen atque invidiam superesse; ex liberatore patriae ad Aquillios se Vitelliosque recidisse. 'Nunquamne ergo,' inquit, 'ulla adeo vobis spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen subiturom timerem?' Ego si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis? Tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone est fundata leviter fides, ut ubi sim, quam qui sim magis referat? Non obstabunt P. Valerii aedes libertati vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modo aedes, sed colli etiam subjiciam, ut vos supra spectum me civem habitetis. In Velia aedificent, quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas? Delata confessim materia omnis infra Veliam; et ubi nunc Vicaepotae est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.

8. Latae deinde leges non solum quae regni suspicione consulem absorverent, sed quae adeo in contrarium vererent, ut popularem etiam facerent. Inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum, sacrandoque cum bonis capite ejus, qui regni

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1 The *fasces* were borne by the lictors on the left shoulder; now the consul ordered them to be lowered, thus recognising the people as sovereign. This was always done afterwards, whenever the consuls entered an assembly of the people: hence the expression *fasces alicui summittere*, 'to acknowledge any one as a superior.' Livy omits to state here what is mentioned by Dionysius (v. 19), and by himself also in another passage, xxiv. 9, that Valerius took away the *secures* from the *fasces* so long as the consuls were within the city.

2 That is, he had obtained the reputation of being a conspirator. See ii. 4, *ad init.*

3 'Should I fear?' The subjunctive dubitative. See *Gram.* §349.

4 That is, 'when my reputation and your fear of my making myself king are weighed against each other, does the former hang with so light a weight in the scales?' *Momentum* for *movimentum*, 'weight,' 'gravity.'

5 Supply *aedes.* *Vicapota* (in which word appear the roots of *vincere* and *potiri*) was the old name for *Victoria* the goddess of victory, whose temple, as we see here, occupied, in the time of Livy, the spot where formerly stood the ancient house of the Valerii.

9. Jam Tarquinii ad Lartem\(^4\) Porsennam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque, nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, ejusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exulare patetur; nunc monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret: Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis; nisi quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infinis; nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera eminat, in

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\(^1\) That his consulship fell out of men's memory.' It might also have been \textit{ex or de memoria}. In ii. 33, we find \textit{memoria cessit}, 'escaped men's recollection.'

\(^2\) It is mentioned by Cicero in his speech \textit{pro domo}, chap. 46, that it was customary for the person engaged in consecrating a temple to take hold of the door-posts.

\(^3\) A family was \textit{funesta} so long as the dead body of one of its members lay in the house.

\(^4\) \textit{Lar} or \textit{Lars}, gen. \textit{Lartis}, is regarded by ancient writers as an Etruscan praenomen, and in iii. 64 we find a Roman called \textit{Lar} Herminius. It is probable, however, that the word means 'lord,' and that the name of the household gods of the Romans, \textit{Lares}, is connected with it. Some etymologists, going still farther, derive the English word 'lord,' and the Scotch 'laird' from \textit{Lar}. Clusium, now Chiusi, an inland and once powerful Etruscan town.
The sovereignty of Juppiter being acknowledged by the other gods.

Cumae, the most ancient of all the Greek colonies planted either in Italy or Sicily, situated on the coast of Campania, had become itself the mother city of Dicaearchia (Putcoli) and Neapolis on its own coast, and of Zankle (afterwards Messana) in Sicily. Cumae was at this time (about 500 B.C.) at war with the Etruscans, and was powerful both by land and sea. Fifty years afterwards, it fell into the hands of the Campanian Samnites, and was barbarised, as Greek writers say. It rose again to importance when annexed to the Roman territory, but the only traces visible at the present day of the once mighty Cumae are a few insignificant ruins.

The manuscripts have omni sumptu, which could only be explained by means of a difficult ellipsis, such as tracto or recidente, 'whilst all the expense was transferred to, or fell upon the state.' As this ellipsis cannot be tolerated, we have, chiefly upon the authority of Lipsius, made the slight alteration of sumptu into sumpto. The sense is this: 'the monopoly of salt (salis vendendi arbitrium, the right of selling salt as they chose, at their own price), as it was offered for sale at an exorbitant price, was taken from private individuals, all the salt being transferred to the state.' Livy speaks of the salt which the salinae at Ostia furnished in great abundance. When entirely in the hands of private persons, it was retailed to the public at far too high a price; the state, therefore, undertook the sale of it at a fixed and equitable price. Other editors prefer the correction of Gronovius, omne sumptum, by which arbitrium takes the sense of 'the farming,' which was let out (venibat) at a high price, and which the state now took to itself; but both this meaning of arbitrium and the explanation given to venibat seem very forced.

Who were able to bear the burthen. See Gram. § 394, note.

The manuscripts read educent, of which we make educerent with more justice than educarent, the reading of other editions. Educere refers to physical, educare to moral education.
obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit; ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infini horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.


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1 A common construction, a past tense of the indicative for the pluperfect subjunctive in hypothetical sentences: 'afforded,' for the logical 'would have afforded.' The paene, however, changes the idea somewhat; thus, 'the bridge almost gave, in fact it would absolutely have given, if.' See Gram. § 346, 1.

2 As to the Janiculum, see i. 33, p. 63, note 2. Citatos=citos, 'with rapidity.'

3 'Pulling back;' that is, taking hold of them (prensans), and forcing them to return.

4 Transitus pons, 'the bridge, after they had crossed it, or after being crossed,' because actively pontem transse.

5 Thus, correctly, the best manuscripts, for the ordinary reading possent.

6 'Giving way to the battle,' or, as might also be said, pugna, ablative, 'retiring out of the battle.'

11. Porsenna primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Janiculó locato ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, navibus undique accitis et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen per occasiones alii atque alii locis trajiceret; brevique adeo

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1 Gronovius wished incipiat, which Cicero, at all events, would have used. Livy, however, is fond of the plural with such expressions as quisque, pro se quisque, because, with a singular form, the meaning is plural.

2 'From joy at the completion of the work.'

3 It is doubtful whether circumarare is merely used for exarare, or means, 'to go round with the plough.' Dionysius favours the latter sense by his use of the verb περιαραφων. This word, however, might lie under the same ambiguity, were it not that, in describing a present, unquestionably of the same kind, to Mucius Scaevola, the unmistakable expression ἄφτωγο περιλαβεῖν, 'to encompass (take round) with the plough,' is employed. Seneca too (de benef. vii. 7), says, that to a commander (imperator) there had been given tantum agri, quantum arando uno die circuire posset: this, however, on account of the term imperator, cannot refer to Horatius Cocles, but seems rather to apply to the consul M'. Curius, who conquered the Samnites and Sabines more than two hundred years after this time. The present of as much land as a farmer could plough up with a team of oxen in one day (jugum agri) seems much more consistent with the limited dominion and comparative poverty of the young republic, than such a large gift as the literal translation of circumarare indicates. Still, the whole story is mythical, and we must leave it as we find it.

4 Here we should expect ipsum, but this passage is a proof, one of many, that the Latin idiom, in this connection, is generally to join the ipse with the subject. See Zumpt, § 696, and Livy, xxii. 60.
infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera
solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbe compel-
leretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet.
Hoc tantum licentiae Etrusci non metu magis quam con-
silio concessum. Namque Valerius consul intentus in occa-
sionem multos simul et effusos improviso adorundi, in
parvis rebus negligens ultor, gravem se ad majora vindicem
servabat. Itaque ut eliceret praedatores, educit suis, pos-
tero die frequentes porta Esquilina, quae aversissima ab
hoste erat, expellerent pecus, seicuros id hostes ratus, quod
in obsidione et fame servitia insida transfigerent. Et sciere
perfugae indicio; multoque plures, ut in spem universae
praedae, flumen trajiciunt. P. Valerius inde T. Herminium
cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occult-
tum considerc jubet, Sp. Lartium cum expedita juvencute
ad portam Collinam stare, donec hostis praetereat; deinde
se objiciere, ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulm alter T.
Lucretius porta Naevia\(^1\) cum aliquot manipulis milium
egressus; ipse Valerius Caelio monte cohortes delectas
educit;\(^2\) quae primi apparuere hosti. Herminius ubi tu-
multum sensit, concurririt ex insidiis, versisque in Valerium
Etruscis terga caedit. Dextra laevaque, hinc a porta Col-
lina, illinc ab Naevia, redditus clamor. Ita caesi in medio
praedatores, uque ad pugnam viribus pares, et ad fugam
saepius omnibus viis: finisque ille tam effuse evagandi
Etruscis fuit.

12. Obsidio erat nihil minus et frumenti cum summa
caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem
Porsenna habebat, cum C. Mucius,\(^3\) adolescens nobilis, cui
indignum videbatur populum Romanum servientem, cum

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\(^1\) The *porta Naevia* was in the south-west side of the city wall, at
the foot of the Aventine, and in quite an opposite direction from the
*porta Collina*. We confess that, considering the great distance, we
do not exactly understand how the consul Lucretius was to bring
help to his colleague fighting at the *porta Caelimontana*. The gene-
ral plan, however, is this, that the attack upon the Etruscans on the
south-east side of the city should be supported by sallies of the
Romans on the north-east and south-west, so that the Etruscans
should be prevented from retreating to the Tiber (on the north of
Rome).

\(^2\) That is, by the *porta Caelimontana*, which was on the south-east
side of the city, having the *Esquilina* on the left, and the *Capena*
on the right.

\(^3\) The words *cum C. Mucius* want their grammatical continuation,
because the author, during the relation of accessory circumstances,
forgets the construction which he has adopted, and goes on with a
new sentence, *itaque—constituit*. 

10* H
sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab isdem Etruscis obsideri, quorum saepe exercitus fuderit. Itaque magno audacique alicui facinore eam indignatatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit; dein metuens, ne, si consulum injussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum urbis crimen affirmante, senatum adit. 'Transire Tiberim,' inquit, 'Patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo, nec populationum invicem ultor: majus, si dixi juvunt, in animo est facinus.' Approbant Patres: abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Ubi eo venit, in confertissima lurba prope regium tribunal constittit. Ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum regis stipendio militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum regi sedens pari ferro proficiat, et scriba cum regi sedens pari ferro proficiat. Ubi eo venit, in confertissima lurba prope regium tribunal constittit. Ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum regi sedens pari ferro proficiat, et scriba cum regi sedens pari ferro proficiat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum, concursu ad clamorem facto, comprehensam regii satellitum retraxissent, ante tribunal regis desistit, tum quoque inter tantas fortunae minas metuendus magis quam metuens, 'Romanus sum,' inquit, 'civis;' C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere voluit; nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad caedem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi: longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Prouinde in hoc discrimen, si juvatur, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi juvetus Romana indicimus bellum: nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris: uni tibi, et cum singulis, res erit. Cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque conterritus circumdari ignes minitabundus jubert, nisi expromeret propere, quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages jaceret, 'En tibi,' inquit, 'ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit ii, qui magnam gloriam vident;' dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex, cum ab sede suae prosimulisset amoverique ab altari bus juvenem jussisset, 'Tu vero abi,' inquit, 'in te magis quam

1 'Placed,' it being implied 'alone.' Compare xxiii. 10.

2 Used generally only in the plural, as here. The word, however, is not used in its proper sense in this passage, for it properly means a high altar in a temple.
in me hostilia ausus. Juberem macte virtute esse,1 si pro mea patria ista virtus staret: nunc jure belli2 liberum te, intestum inviolatumque hunc dimitto.3 Tum Mucius, quasi remunerans meritum, 'Quandoquodem,' inquit, 'est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod minus nequisti, trecenti conjuravimus principes juventutis Romanae, ut in te hae via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit: ceteri, ut cuque exciderit primo,3 quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt.3


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1 We should have had mactum, but this adjective is defective. See Gram. § 88, note 5, fin. Thus the vocative, which we find with the imperative, macte esto, remains unchanged with the infinitive.

2 Equivalent to a jure belli, for the right of war justified his being put to death.

3 In the order that the lot shall have fallen (out of the shaken urn) to each.' As to opportunus, see i. 51. p. 90, note 3.

4 Thus peace was concluded, upon condition that the Romans should resign the territory taken from the Veientines (see i. 15), and for the sake, as we may assume, of future subjection, should give hostages to Porsenna. Livy states afterwards (chap. 15) that the lost territory was very soon recovered by the Romans. This, however, may be doubted, and in fact it appears generally that in this war the vanity of traditional history has concealed a heavy loss, and that Rome suffered a comparatively great diminution of territory. Tacitus (Hist. iii. 72) states as a fact, that the city of Rome surrendered to Porsenna (dedita urbe), and Pliny (Nat. Hist. 34. 14) informs us that, by the treaty with the Lars of Clusium, the Romans were forbidden the use of iron for any other than agricultural purposes.
pitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regis munificum est, prumo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloetiam obsidem deposecandam; alias haud magni facere: deinde in admirationem versus, supra Coelites Muscio dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre, quemadmodum si non dedatur obses, pro rup’o foedus se habiturum, sic deditam inviolatam ad suos remissurum. Utrinque constitut fides: et Romanis pingus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscam non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa quos vellet leget. Productis omnibus elegisse impubes dictur; quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat,1 eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab hoste, quae maxime opportuna injuriae esset. Pace redintegrata, Romani novam in femina virtute novo genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere; in summa Sacra via fuit positae virgo insidens equo.2

14. Huic tam pacatae proficiationi ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet,3 bona Porsennae regis vendendi. Cujus originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore civesse principio, quam hic prae se ferat titulus, bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis, quae traduntur, Porsennam discendentem ab Janiculo castra opulentia, convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commetatu, Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ad longinquum obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsennae appellata, gratiam muneri

1 Equivalent to probari debet.
2 As to the explanation of the name Mucia prata, and of the fact, that there was an old statue called that of Cloelia, see ii. 5, p. 104, note 5. The summa Sacra via means the upper part of that street on the Palatine: the lower division led into the Forum.
3 In the ordinary editions the words bonis vendendis are added after manet, and are connected with sollemnia, among the other formalities for the sale of goods. But these words are wanting in the best manuscripts, cumber the construction, and appear to have been added by some old copyist, according to the following bona regis vendendi, for the sake of explanation. What they state, too, is not quite correct; for the custom of putting up Porsenna’s property for sale first was not observed at auctions of private goods, but, as Plutarch (Life of Valerius Publicola, chap. 19) tells us, only at those of state possessions (bona publica) — that is, when these were farmed out. The old custom probably originated in the confiscation of Porsenna’s Roman possessions, when the Romans threw off his yoke. For everything leads us to believe that Porsenna’s supremacy at Rome did not last long.
magis significantd titulo quam auctionem fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestatem quidem populi Romani esset.1


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1 For *in potestate*, an irregularity usual in some public formulae, but only sometimes retained by historians. Compare Gram. § 255, 1, note 1.

2 See as to this city, ii. 9, p. 110, note 2. It seems strange that the Latins in Aricia should have sought help from Cumae, a city far distant, and separated from them by the territories of several independent tribes, such as the Volscians and Ausonians; and it appears equally wonderful that the Cumans should have gone so far from their own town into a mountainous district. The most probable conjecture, perhaps, is, that the billows of Porsenna's power, after rolling triumphantly over Rome and Latium, broke against the firm walls of Cumae; and that the Etruscan army, forced to retreat, sustained another severe defeat near Aricia.

3 'Who had rushed forward,' equivalent here to 'who had been carried by their impetuosity by or past the Cumans,' *praetor* being used in composition for *praetor*. Compare i. 45, near the end, *infima valle praefluat Tiberis*, 'flows past.'

4 'Both in the condition and the appearance of suppliants' = *supplices et erant et videbantur.*

5 'Love for their hosts and for the city.'

6 This reading, which is approved of by the learned Drakenborch, gives us Horatius as consul for the second, and Valerius for the third time. The manuscripts vary here, some good *codices* having the three names Lucretius, Herminius, and Valerius. The ordinary editions read *P. Lucretius inde et P. Valerius Publicola consules facti*, which omits a year. Our reading makes Livy agree with Dionysius and with the chronological list of the consuls (*fasti consularis*).
Porsenna de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt; quibus cum responsum esset, missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi confestim honoratissimus quemcumque Patribus: Non quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, non recipi reges, ideo potius delectos Patrum ad eum missos, quam legatis ejus Romae daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum mentio ejus rei finiretur, ne in tantis mutuis beneficiis invicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille peteret, quod contra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in perniciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent cui nihil negatum vellet. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse: ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius quam regibus portas patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut, qui libertati erit, in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde si salvam esse vellet Romanum, ut patiaetur et urbam esse orare. Rex verecundia victus, "Quando id certum atque obstinatum est," inquit, "neque ego obtundam saepius eadem nequicquam agendo, nec Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu quieto exilio, quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat." Dictis facta amiciora adjecit: obsidum quod reliquum erat, reddidit; agrum Veientem foedere ad Janiculum icto ademptum restituit. Tarquinius, spe omni reditus incisa, exulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsenna fuit.


14 Who had held the highest offices; not merely of moral worth, 'the most honoured or honourable.' To connect this sentence with the following we must understand qui regi nunciarent. The logical order of the words is: Non ideo delectos Patrum missos esse, quod non breviter responsum reddi potuerit, sed ut, &c. Non quin, 'not as if not.'

4 Unless they wished to be easy to (to consent readily to) their own destruction—not merely, by taking back their king. Nihil tibi negatum volo, 'I wish never to have the reflection of having refused you anything,' very nearly equivalent, therefore, to nihil tibi negare volo, or nihil tibi negari volo.

3 Should properly, because indirect, have been in the subjunctive, futurus sit.

4 Obtundere, usually aures, 'to weary one's ears by constantly drumming the same thing into them.'

5 So the manuscripts: the editions quietae: he who seeks an ex- ilium, thereby gives up all thoughts of war.

6 In the sense of abscissa, as not unfrequently.

7 Compare i. 49, fin.
inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos, et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, unde etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat, repentina periculi oreretur, P. Valerius quartum, T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. Seditio inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum inde virium transitulit ad Romanos. Namque Attius Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbaribus belli premeretur nec par factioni esset, ab Regillo, magna clientium comitatus manu, Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque trans Anienem: vetus Claudia tribus, additis postea novis tribulis, qui ex eo venirent agro, appellata. Appius inter Patres lectus haud ita multo post in principum dignationem pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti, cum ina vastatione, dein proelio affixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam redierunt. P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post, Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus, mortuor, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguus, ut funeri sumptus deesset: de publico est datu; Luxere matronae ut Brutum.

Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus feror-

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1 Regillum or Regilli, a township in the country of the Sabines, different from the locus Regillus mentioned in chap. 19; the latter is in the territory of Tusculum.

2 There was in later times also a nova Claudia tribus, which likewise consisted of Sabines. The territory beyond the Anio, which is here said to have been given to the new Roman citizens, belonged to them in all probability before, for they were very near the boundary between Latium and the ager Sabinus.

3 So the manuscripts; understand sumptus. The editions read elatus, 'he was buried.' Either reading is good, so far as the sense is concerned.

4 In 1. 53 it is mentioned that Suessa Pometia was taken from the Volscians. From the present passage, it appears that at that time a colony of Latins (probably mixed with Romans) had been settled in the town as a garrison. The same seems to have been the case with Cora, a city on the east of the Pomptine Plain, which has not been mentioned before. As those here named Aurunci are called elsewhere Volscians, we may assume that the author, whom Livy followed in this part of the history considered both tribes as belonging to the same race. The Aurunci, specially so called, recognised, in later times at least, the city of Suessa Aurunca, the modern Sessa, in the kingdom of Naples, as their capital; and this town lies far to the south of Pometia, and is separated from it by the territories of various cities and different tribes.
cetera obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsum est. Nec magis post proelium quam in proelio caedibus temperatum est: et caesi aliquanto plures erant quam capti, et captos passim trucidaverunt. Ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira bellii abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romae triumphatum.

17. Secuti consules, Opiter Verginius,\(^1\) Sp. Cassius, Pometiam primo vi, deinde vineis alisque operibus oppugnarunt. In quos Aurunci magis jam inexpiabili odio quam spe aliqua aut occasione coorti, cum plures igni quam ferro armati excucurrissent, caede incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensus, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulum quoque alterum (sed utrum, nomen auctores non adijiciunt) gravi vulnere ex equo dejectum prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male gesta re Redituum; inter multis saucios consul spe incerta vitae relatus. Interjecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendo exercitui satiss est, cum ira magiore bellii tum viribus etiam auctis Pometiae arma illata. Et cum, vineis refectis aliaque mole bellii, jam in eo esset, ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihil minus foede dedita urbe, quam si capta foret, Aurunci passim principes securi percussi, sub corona venierunt\(^2\) coloni alii; oppidum dirutum, ager veniit. Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas, quam ob magnitudinem perfecti bellii triumpharunt.

18. Insequentis annus Postumum Cominium et T. Lartium consules habuit. Eo anno Romae, cum per ludos ab Sabiniornum juventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit; parvaque ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur. Super bellii Sabini\(^3\) metum id quoque accesserat, quod triginta jam conjurasse populos, concitante Octavio Mamilio, satiss constabat. In

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1 So the manuscripts; the editions Virginius. In the same manner the name of the poet Virgil is written more correctly Vergilius than Virgilius. Opiter is a rare praenomen, which, according to the old grammarians, was given to a person whose father had died before his grandfather (quorum obisset pater).

2 Sub corona venire, 'to be sold under the crown,' an ordinary expression for the sale of prisoners of war, probably because a crown was put upon them to indicate that their lives were granted to them, that they were not to be put to death.

3 The ordinary reading is Supra bellii Latini metum; but the thirty tribes (triginta populi) are the thirty Latin cities which formed a league (see i. 3, p. 20, note 1), and super is the necessary reading, according to good Latin, in the sense of additional, supra being used only of place, 'above.'
hac tantarum expectatione rerum sollicita civitate dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. Sed nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus,\(^1\) quia ex factione Tarquinia essent (id quoque enim traditur), parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satisf constat. Apud veterimos tamen auctores T. Lartium dictatorem primum. Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos invenio. Consulares legere:\(^2\) ita lex jubebat de dictatore creando lata. Eo magis adductor ut credam Lartium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M. Valerium M. filium Volesi nepotem, qui nonandum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum: qui si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem vellent,\(^3\) patrem multo potius M. Valerium, spectatae virtutis et consularem virum, legissent.

Creato dictatore primum Romae, postquam praeferri secures\(^4\) viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiones essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ulla usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator, eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt; quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque, ut veniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus darent, responsum ignosci adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent.\(^5\) Actum tamen est de pace; impetrataque foret, si quod impensae\(^6\) factum in bellum erat, praestare Sabini (id enim postulatum erat) in

\(^1\) Connect this dative with *creditum sit*. For *Tarquinia* some good manuscripts have *Tarquiniana*. Either may stand; for proper names which have an adjective form may be used for the adjectives derived from them. Compare i. 47, p. 82, note 4.

\(^2\) *Consulares* is the accusative, as appears from Livy’s subsequent reasoning. In later times, the office of *magister equitum* was held usually not by a consul, but by a *vir praetorius* (a man who had been praetor). There is no instance, however, of a person’s having been named dictator who had not been consul.

\(^3\) *Si vellent*—*legissent* is a construction which we feel to be strange for *si voluissent*; but see Gram. §345, note.

\(^4\) This showed the distinction between the power of the dictator and that of the consuls, for the latter did not appear in public, within the city, with the axes in the *fasces*. The symbolical meaning was this—that from a sentence of a consul an appeal was permitted to the people, whereas the dictator’s power was as yet absolute.

\(^5\) *Serere*, ‘to knit, to join to one another,’ construed like *pendère* with *ex*.

\(^6\) Equivalent to *quae impensae*; the plural of *impensa*, ‘expenses,’ is in more common use than the singular.
animum induxissent. Bellum indictum: tacitate indutiae quietum annum tenuere.


1 Vetusius, the ancient mode of writing and pronouncing what was in later times Veturius, is no doubt intentionally retained by Livy, to show his fidelity to the authorities. As to this exchange, frequent in the language of the ancient Romans, of the letters r and s, see Gram. § 60, note.

2 This statement must, if we believe Livy's own declaration (chap. 18), that only consuls were named dictators, be doubted; for A. Postumius was neither one of the consuls of the present year, nor had he ever borne the office before. It seems more correct, therefore, to follow those annalists who, as Livy tells us in chap. 21, assigned the battle with the Latins at Lake Regillus to the third year after this.

3 The manuscripts have suismet ipsis corporibus. We agree with Gronovius in reading ipsi for ipsis; because, though we can say per me ipsum feci aliquid for the more usual per me ipsa, we cannot say meis ipsis viribus feci aliquid with the possessive pronoun. In this case it would at least have to be ipsis viribus meis; or here, ipsis corporibus suis.

4 This might no doubt be made to depend upon impetum dederat; but, as the double construction with ad and in is cumbrous, it is better to take ad for apud, of place, 'on the other wing.

5 Aliquis fallit me. 'any one escapes my notice;' with the particle, 'it escapes my notice that,' &c.
Mamilio pectus percussum.  

Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere; Aebutius cum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugna excessit. Latinus dux nihil deter ritus vulnere proelium ciet; et quia suoi perculsos videbat, accessit cohortem exulum Romanorum, cui Lucius, Tarquinii filius, praerat. Ea quod majore pognabat IRA ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

20. Referentibus jam pedem ab ea parte Romanis, M. Valerius, Publicolae frater, conspicatus fercem juvenem Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exulum acie, domestica etiam gloria accensus, ut, cujus familiae decus ejici reges erant, ejusdem interfeci forent, subdite calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spicuio petit. Tarquinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium temere inventum in exulum aciem ex transverso quidam adortus transigit; nec quicquam equitis vulnere equo retardato, moribundus Romanus, labentibus super corpus armis, ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse talem virum, exules ferciter citato agmine invelli, suos perculsos cedere animadvertit, cohorti suae, quam detectam manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum; ut, quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi a fuga Romani in hostem, et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum proelium init. Integris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exules caedunt. Ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiarioriis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus, interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto vi majore, quam paulo ante magister equitum, cum hostium duce proelium initi, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, cum victor in castra esset relatus, inter

1° Struck,' in a general sense, not 'pierced through,' so not unfrequently *percute* alium, 'to wound a person.'

2° The expulsion—slaughter of the kings,' a peculiar but easily explained use of the Latin participle. See Gram. § 404, note 3.

3° A beautiful trope for paulatim decedit, delapsus est, which latter verb, however, could not be used, on account of the preceding labentibus. A poetical colouring is easily recognisable in the whole of the description of this battle.

4° He gives the order, orally, and so that it ran through the ranks. This kind of direction is called *signum,* as well as one given by a trumpeter.

5° With greater force than the master of the horse, and indeed with so much force, that,' &c.


App. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. In-signis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuos Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuntio erecti Patres, erecta plebes. Sed Patribus nimis luxuriosa⁵ ea fuit laetitia; plebi, cui ad

¹ We rarely find the neuter thus put for the ordinary in primam aciem, in primum locum, ‘to the front.’ Compare another instance in ii. 46. Antesignani were the men in the first line of infantry, because the standards (signa) of the cohorts and legions were carried in the second and third lines.

² And probably with greater correctness. See above, chap. 19, p. 122, note 2.

⁵ Namely, the historian who has to describe the events of these times

⁴ That is, according to some, we cannot give the succession of consuls correctly; according to others, and in general, it is difficult to fix the occurrences of each single year, though the events themselves are related.

⁵ The joy was extravagant: by luxuriosa, what is properly the consequence is made the predicate of the joy.
eam diem summa ope insertitum erat, •injuriae a primoribus fieri coepere. Eodem anno Signia\(^1\) colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum, iterum deducta est. Romae tribus una et viginti factae.\(^2\) Aedes Mercurii dedicata est idibus Maiis.


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\(^1\) As to Signia, see i. 56, p. 93, note 3. This town and Cora (ii. 16), which was not far from it, lay in the direction of the Volscians, and were no doubt intended as military outposts against these enemies of the Romans and Latins.

\(^2\) In chap. 16 we were told of the bestowal of the rights of citizenship upon Appius Claudius and his Sabines, and the assignment of land to them. The change, however, in the arrangements of the popular assembly (Comitia Centuriata), which was rendered necessary by the creation of a new tribe, seems not to have been made till now, several years after.

\(^3\) 'Not fearing any punishment for what they had planned (but not executed).'

\(^4\) Taken strictly, and according to the position of the words, a Cora atque Pometia belongs to principes, and stands for Coranorum atque Pometinorum; but the mode of expression proceeds from the wish to indicate the places from which the hostages were taken, and therefore depends rather upon dant. As to the story, we refer to chap. 16. The war mentioned there against the Aurunci is identical with that here described as carried on with the Volscians. It is impossible that both could have been carried on, for (chap. 16) Pometia was almost annihilated; here it appears again as a considerable town. Livy had several ancient annalists before him, some of whom placed this event in the one year, others in the other: without himself deciding as to the true date, he repeats the same occurrence in the separate years, in order to pass over nothing which was given to him as a fact.

\(^5\) A tribe of the same race as the Latins, and situated near them. The four cities of the Hernici—Anagnia, Alatria, Verulae, and Ferentinum—still exist, under the same names, in the States of the Church.
ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit: 1 comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere; ibi traditi consulibus, indicaturnque est Volscos Herculosque parare bellum Romanis. Relata re ad senatum, adeo fuit gratum Patribus, ut et captivorum sex milia Latinis remitterent, et de foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad novos magistratus rejicere. 2 Enimvero 3 tum Latini gaudere facto, pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse: coronam auream Jovi donum in Capitolium mittunt. Cum legatis donoque, qui captivorum remissi ad suos fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudine venit. Pergunt domos eorum apud quem quisque servierant; gratias agunt liberaliter habitu cultisque in calamitate sua; inde hospitia jungunt. Nunquam alias ante publice privatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio conjunctus fuit.

23. Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat, et civitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter Patres plebeumque flagrabit odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. 4 Fremebant se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes, domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse; tutoremque in bello quam in pace, inter hostes quam inter cives, libertatem plebis esse. Invidiamque eam sua sponte glisseantem insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium maiorum suorum insignibus se in forum project; obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Nescitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordinés duxisse 6 aiebant, aliaque militiae decora vulgo miserantes eum jactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot

1 Accepta clades Latinos non abstinuit, but non abstinuit takes the intermediate positive significance of incitavit eos ad.
2 That is, the conclusion of the matter was referred to the consuls for the next year. Rejicere is 'to refer' from one person to another, or 'to defer' from one time to another. The new treaty with the Latins, which was concluded chiefly for defence against the Volscians, was not settled till the third year after this. See chap. 33.
3 Enimvero merely strengthening the statement: 'then assuredly the Latins rejoiced at their deed.'
4 Nexus-a-um, "bound," or, in a wider sense, "firmly restrained," was the name given to one who, being unable to pay his debts, was handed over by the stringent law of Rome to the creditor, for the purpose of gradually extinguishing his debts by his labour. They might literally and physically be bound: but even when this was not the case, they were called nexi, because till they had wrought off the debt, they were in the position of slaves to their creditor.
5 "With all the signs" by which he was readily known. Compare i. 37, p. 69, note 1.
6 Ordo is = manipulus, ordinis duxtor = centurio.
locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitautibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformatas, cum circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militanter, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia; pecora abacta, tributum inquo suo tempore imperatum, aes alienum fecisse; id cumulatum usuris primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisset, deinde fortunis aliis: postremo velut tabern pervenisse ad corpus: ductum se ab creditor non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigias verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor ingens oitum. Non jam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit: nexioni, vincti solutique, se undique in publicum proprionium, implorant Quiritium fidei. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes. Multis passim agmnibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo, qui forte Patrum in foro erant, in eam turbam inciderunt. Nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et App. Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. In eos multitudine versa ostentare vincula sua deformatatemque aliam: haec se meritos dicere, exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam. Postulare modo minaciter magis quam suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent: curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumstint. Pauci admodum Patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus: ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat. Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahit se multitudine putare; et Patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari; nec dubie ludibrio esse miseria suas. Jam prope erat ut ne consulum quidem majestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti morando an veniendo plus periculi

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1 *At a time inconvenient for him.*
2 The workhouse of the creditor is called a 'torture house,' on account of the excessive labour and severe punishments.
3 Most manuscripts have *sustinet*. As to *passim*, see i. 28, p. 56, note 5.
4 *That is, all debtors who had lost their liberty, and who—some in chains (vincti), others without bonds (soluti)—wrought for their creditors. We, with Sigonius and Salmasius, prefer the reading *nexi* to the vulgate *nexu*; because the *nexu soluti* (that is, those freed from restraint for debt) had no need now to implore the help of the people.*
5 *This was what they had gained for their services.*
6 *Multitudo extrahitur, 'is put off with vain pretences.'
contraherent; tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique
tandem curia, non modo inter Patres, sed ne inter consules
quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii
vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat; uno aut altero
arrepto quieturos alios. Servilius, lenibus remedium aptior,
concitatos animos slecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum
facilius esse.

24. Inter haec major alius terror, Latini equites cum
tumultuoso advolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad
urbem oppugnandum venire. Quae audita (adeo duas ex
una civitate discordia fecerat) longe aliter Patres ac plebem
affecerere. Exultare gaudio plebes; ulteriores superbiae Patrum
adesse dicere deos. Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina
darent;1 cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros. Patres
militarent, Patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula
belli, penes quos praemia essent. At vero curia2 maesta ac
trepidita ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste, Servilius
consulem, cui ingenium magis popularer erat, orare, ut tantis
circumventam terroristibus expediret rem publicam. Tum
consulto missa senatu3 in contionem profidit. Ibi curae esse
Patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi: ceterum deliberationi
de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis,4 metum
pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes
prope ad portas essent, bello praeventisset quicquam;5 nec,
si sit laxamentii aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mer-
cede prius accepta, arma pro patria non cepisse, neque
Patribus satis decorum per metum potius, quam postmodo
voluntate afflictis civium suorum fortunis consuluisse.6

1 See i. 11, p. 31, note 1.
2 For senatus or Patres.
3 'After dismissing the senate;’ mittere for dimittere, a very com-
mon expression for the dismissal of the senate or of a popular as-
sembly (contio missa est).
4 'Nothing could go before (or be preferred to) the war.’ The
proper expression is nihil praeventitur bello; for which passive, how-
ever, the active form may also be used intransitively, particularly in
the perfect tenses. Compare the use of revertit for reversus est. The
perfect infinitive here expresses rapidity or rashness, ‘nothing can
be forced on before the war,’ for ‘nothing can go before the war.’
5 'That it would not be honourable for the plebs to have taken up
arms only after receiving a boon, nor becoming in the senate to have
relieved the distressed circumstances of their fellow-citizens from
fear rather than free-will.’ Nisi—non= tantum; non nisi not being
in Latin immediately connected, but the non drawn to the verb, and
the clause with nisi usually put before the other. The perfect in-
finitives (ceepisse, consuluisse) express the act as completed in this
single case, whereas the present would have enunciated a general
principle, ‘that in all cases it was a discredible thing,’ &c.
Contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis civem Romanum vincit aut clausum teneret, quominus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret; ne quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet, liberos nepotesve ejus moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto, et qui adherant neci profiteri extemplo nomina; et undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum retenendi jus creditoris non esset, concursus in forum; ut sacramento dicere, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit; neque aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enuituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.


1 Morari, 'to molest,' here 'prevent from enjoying full liberty;' for children and grandchildren, as belonging to the father, fell with him into servitude when he failed to pay his debts.

2 A peculiar phrase, *alicius sacramento diceret* (compare xxiv. 8), 'to bind one's self to any one (to the commander) by an oath of fidelity.'

3 *Inde* = *ea praeda*, 'the needy soldiers refreshed themselves,' figurative for 'repaired their shattered fortunes.'

4 Ecetra, a Volscian town, seemingly situated far in the interior of Latium, but whose exact position cannot be ascertained.

5 Livy expresses himself in the same manner in xxi. 16 by the corresponding verbs, *cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum.*
est, exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem annem pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat: secutus consul Servilius cum delecta peditem manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit. Nec advenientes peditum agminis restitit Sabina legio; fessi cum itinere, tum populatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere.

Nocte una audito perfectaque bello Sabino, postero die, in magna jam spe undique partae pacis, legati Auruncis senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volscus agro, bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo prefectus erat. Cujus fama haud procul jam ab Aricia visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec consuli ordine Patres, nec pacatum responsum arma inerentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur; nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa collata, proelioque uno debellatum est.

27. Fusi Auruncis, victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus expectabat, cum Appius et insita superbia animo, et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat, jus de creditis pecuniiis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nexit fuerant, creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat; concursus ad Servium fiebat; illius promissa jactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant ut aut referret ad senatum, aut ut auxilio esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec; sed tergiversari res cogebat: adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeces irat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita

1 'They had scarcely as much strength as sufficed for flight.'
2 See ii. 16, p. 119, note 4.
3 'The senators could not be asked their opinions in order.'
4 'Dicere, historical infinitive for dicebat, dependant on cum. This construction of the historical infinitive with a conjunction is rare, but occurs sometimes in Livy and Tacitus. Giam § 390, note.
5 'Successively, one after the other,' not = dixinde.
6 'Cui for alieui, the al being dropped after the conjunction. As to this sense of appellare, see i. 40, p. 72, note 4.
7 As to this emphatic use of ille, see Zumpt, § 702.
8 The same man who, as a civilian, is consul, is in military matters imperator.
9 Most of the manuscripts have praeceperat, which admits of no satisfactory explanation. Praecepis irat is a conjecture, with the sense, 'had plunged headlong (regardless of consequences) into the
medium sē gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud Patres gratiam initi. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem: brevique apparuit aequasse1 eum Appii odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercurii aedem.2 Senatus a se rem ad populum rejecit: utri eorum dedicatio jussu populi data esset, eum praesesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollemnia pro pontifice jussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni;3 quod facile appareret, non tam ad honorem ejus, cui curatio altior fastigio suo4 data esset, factum, quam ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter Patresque. Sed plebi creverant animi; et longe alia, quam primo instituerant, via grassabatur. Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in jus duci debitorem vidissent, undisque convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat; neque cum decresset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum,5 cum in conspectu consulis opposite side (that is, the party of the creditors).’ We might also suppose that Livy wrote praecipitaverat, this verb being often employed by him and other authors in an intransitive sense, for se praecipitare, ‘to plunge, throw one’s-self headlong.’

1 Aequare, with the accusative, ‘to attain or come up to something;’ in the same manner the compounds adaequare, exaequare.

2 It has been already mentioned (ii. 21, fin) that this temple of Mercury was consecrated on the Ides of May (that is the 7th, according to the Julian calendar). This day was afterwards kept as a festival of Mercury, and of the guild or company (collegium) of the merchants under his protection (Mercuriales). Annona is the yearly profit derived from any merchandise, particularly from the main article of trade—namely, grain: from this original sense comes the meaning of ‘the market price,’ as it rose or fell. Thus cara, arta, gravis, dura annona, ‘dearness,’ moderata, laxa annona, ‘cheapness.’ Pro pontifice is ‘in the place of pontifex,’ because the performance of this religious ceremony properly belonged to the pontifex (that is, here, the pontifex maximus).

3 Primus pilus means, in the later organisation of the legion, the first of the ten maniples of the triarii. It is doubtful whether, at this early period, the legion was divided into hastati, principes, and triarii, cohorts, maniples, &c. We find this organisation in the Samnite wars, but perhaps not before. But it is clear that Livy means to designate this centurion as one of the highest rank and longest service; and it is not an uninteresting fact, that the dedication of a temple of Mercury, and the institution of a merchant’s guild, which exclusively concerned the plebs, were committed to a respectable plebeian, not to a patrician magistrate.

4 ‘Higher than his rank,’ fastigium being figuratively used of a high position in society.

5 In most manuscripts the word libertatis follows periculum, as if the creditors had been in danger of losing their liberty; but as this
singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; delectuque decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insecatante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia jus non dixisset, adiceret, ut ne delectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet. Non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam, neque projectum consulare imperium: se unum et suae et Patrum majestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum jussit. Ille cum a lictoribus jam traheretur, provocavit. Nec cessisset provocationis consul, quia non dubium erat populi judicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum, quam populi clareore: adeo supererant animis ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies, non clamoribus modo apertis, sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquis. Tandem invisì plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius Patribus mire gratus.

28. A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. Tum vero plebs, incerta, quales habitura consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis, pars in Aventino, facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et omnia temere ac fortuito ageter. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam, ad Patres deferunt. Sed delatum consulere ordine non licuit: adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione Patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exequendum esset, invidiam ejus consules ad senatum rejicerent: profecto si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum would have gone beyond all the bounds of order and decency, we, following the excellent Florentine manuscript, consider libertatis as an interpolation of the copyists, and have therefore omitted it. Verterant at the end of the sentence is used intransitively.

1 'A silence favourable to the people,' or 'which betrayed his leaning towards the popular cause.'
2 'Thrown away,' that is, given up to contempt.
3 Animis, in the plural, is sometimes (as at 34) used of the courage and firmness of a single individual; regularly, however, of a number of subjects.
4 See i. 44, p. 78. note 5.
5 Trepidare, of a wavering, irresolute motion, when momentary impulse, not staid wisdom, forms determinations.
6 Consulere rem, for de re, unusual; but the construction is here on the analogy of verbs of asking and requesting. See Gram. § 254, 2.
7 Emphatic for revera essent magistratus, or veri magistratus. Compare the similar expression with vir, i. 46.

Libertatem unicuique reddendam esse, quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro dominis pugnent.

Consules, quid mandatum esset a senatu, videbant; sed eorum, qui intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur, neminem adesse invidiae suae participem: et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. Prius itaque, quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum prope convolavere minimus quisque natu* Patrum, abdicare consulatum jubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus desisset.

29. Utraque res satis experta, tum demum consules 'Ne praedictum negetis, Patres conscripti, adeunt ingens sedition. Postulamus ut ii, qui maxime ignaviam necrepant, assint nobis habentibus delectum. Acerrimi cujuque arbitrio, quando4 ita placet, rem agemus.' Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis, qui in conspectu erant, dedita opera5 jubent. Cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso, tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes, qui Patrum consilibus aderant, devolant de tribunal, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam6 prendere prohibito, cum

1 An admirable representation of the men who talked largely, but were inwardly conscious of the injustice of their cause.

2 'The youngest.' This does not, however, imply that they were absolutely young, for every senator had served as a soldier for ten or twenty years.

3 *Utraque res* is 'both,' that is, both the hostility of the plebs and the opinion of the senate.

4 'In the sense of quandoquidem.'

5 'On set purpose,' 'intentionally,' expressly one of those standing nearest.

6 The lictor was only prevented from arresting the man, not otherwise maltreated. *Nihil aliud quam, as elsewhere nihil praeterquam,
conversus in Patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est; in qua tamen, sine lapide, sine telo, plus clamoris atque irarum quam injuriae1 fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosus consultur, quaestionem2 postulantiumibus iis, qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque, non sententias magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilò plus sanitatis3 in curia, quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepti. Tres suere sententiae. P. Verginius4 rem non vulgabat: de iis tantum, qui fidem securi P. Servillii consulis Volscio, Aurunco Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. T. Lartius non id tempus esse, ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur: totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse; nec sisti posse,5 ni omnibus consulatur. Quin6 si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. App. Claudius et natura immittis, et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc Patrum laudibus, non miseris, ait, sed licentia tantum cecum turbarum, et lascivire magis plebem, quam saevire. Id adeo7 malum ex provocatione natum: quippe minas esse consulam, non imperium, ubi ad eos, qui una peccaverint;8 provocare liceat. 'Agedum,' inquit, 'dicta- torem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus. Jam hic, quo succincta ardent, conticiscet9 furor. Pulset tum mihi10 lic.

with an ellipsis (‘nothing else happened but’), for tantum, ‘only.’ See Zumpt, § 771.

1 Injurio in Roman law means an actual physical injury, a verbal insult not being judicially punishable.

2 'A judicial examination.'

3 'Reason,' ‘self-possession;’ for in classical Latin sanitas is regularly used not of bodily health (bona et integra valetudo), but as the opposite of insania.

4 Probably the T. Verginius who was consul two years before, for a P. Verginius has not as yet been mentioned as consul; and in the Roman senate consulars alone were regularly (ordine) the leaders of the debate. This Verginius rem non vulgabat, literally 'did not make the thing general;' that is, was of opinion that liberation from the nexus should not be extended to all without distinction.

5 We say sisto aliquid, transitively, 'I keep steady, keep in existence;' passively without a subject, sisti non potest, 'existence cannot be maintained;' and lastly, intransitively, respublica sistere non potest, 'the state can exist no longer; it totters to its fall.'

6 'Nay, more.'

7 Adeo introduces the conclusion and essential point of the speech, 'in short, that this evil,' &c. See Zumpt, § 281.

8 That is, to the people.

9 Others read conticiscet, an exception from the formation rule of inchoatives, as to which see Gram. § 215. So also in chap. 55, opinions vary between conticescente and conticiscet.

torem, qui sciet jus de tergo vitaque sua penes unum illum esse, cujus majestatem violavit.¹


¹ Should grammatically have been violaverit, being an inseparable part of the indirect speech.
² 'They thought the views of both Verginius and Larti mischievous, on account of the example (that is, as affording dangerous precedents), particularly that of Larti. Sententia must be supplied to the first clause, out of the following sententiam.
³ 'For both sides' = in utramque partem.
⁴ 'In or from its own nature: ingenio is expressed only once, but understood as double; in different cases, however—the ablative and the dative—both having the same form.
⁵ Thus a brother of P. Valerius Publicola, who, along with Junius Brutus, founded the republic, and who is also (i. 58) called a son of Volserus. As to the law of Publicola, granting the right of appeal to the people, and alluded to in the next sentence, see ii. 8, sub init.
⁶ If the old Roman annalists really made this statement, then they must have misunderstood the connection which at this time existed between the Romans and the Latins: for so far from the latter being then subjects of the former, they were not even bound to them by a league; and the treaty which is mentioned (chap. 34) as having been concluded the following year was an aequum foedus, a treaty as between nations on terms of equality. In chap. 53 we find the Latins successfully defending themselves against their enemies the Aequi and Volseri, without any aid from the Romans.
Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos, quam pati re-
tractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est. Is finis popu-
lationibus fuit: cessere Aequi campis, locoque magis quam
armis freti summis se jugis montium tutabantur. Alter
consul in Volsci profectus, ne et ipse tereret tempus, vas-
tandis maxime agris hostem ad conferenda propius castra
dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio inter castra campo,
ante suum quisque vallum, infestis signis constitere. Multi-
tudine aliquantum Volsci superabant; itaque effusi et con-
temptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec promovit
aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus, defixis pilis\(^1\) stare suos
jussit; ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coortos tota vi
gladiis rem gerere. Volsci cursu et clamore sussi cum se
velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam im-
pressionem sensere ex adverso factam et ante oculos micare
gladios, haud secus quam si in insidias incidissent, turbati
vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit,\(^2\)
quia cursu in proelium erant. Romani contra, quia prin-
cipio pugnae quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus, facile adepti
fessos, et castra impetu ceperunt, et castris exutum hostem
Veltiras persecuti uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem
irrupere. Plusque ibi sanguinis, promiscua omnium generum
caepe, quam in ipsa dimicatione factum.\(^3\) Paucis data venia,
qui inermes in deditio nem venerunt.

31. Dum habe in Volsciis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi
longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatique et exuit castris.
Equitatu inmisso medium turbaverat hostium aciem, qua,
dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte introrsum\(^4\)
ordinibus aciem firmaverant. Turbatos pedes invasit. Eo-
dem impetu castra capta debellatumque est. Post pugnam
ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit.

\(^1\) With the pilae placed on (or, to keep them steady, perhaps stuck
into) the ground,' equivalent to our military expression 'with their
arms grounded.' Livy has no doubt omitted, in mentioning the
orders, to give this—that as soon as the enemy was within range,
the pilae should be taken up and thrown, and then (but not till then)
the soldiers should attack with their swords drawn.

\(^2\) See the same phrase, chap. 26.

\(^3\) Sanguinem facere rare for caedem facere. It occurs only in two
other passages, ix. 13, ibi plus, quam in acie, sanguinis ac caedis
factum; and xxxv. 51, nondum aut indiclo bello, aut ita commisso, ut
strictos gladios aut sanguinem factum usquam audissent. In omnium
generum, 'all classes of the population,' Livy refers no doubt to the
fact, that Veltira was properly a Latin town which had been but
recently taken by the Volsci, and in which Latins still dwelt along
with them.

\(^4\) Inwardly,' by troops placed behind each other.
Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in Circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum\(^1\) datus; sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras\(^2\) coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta.

Cum Aequis post aliquanto pugnatum est, invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes: sed milites extrahi rem criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbe, magistratu abiret, irrita, sicut ante consulis, promissa ejus caderent, perpulere, ut forte ternere in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id male commissum\(^3\) ignavia hostium in bonum vertit; qui, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audacia Romanorum, relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenuerant locis, iuversas valles desiluerunt; ubi satis praedae et victoria incruenta fuerunt.

Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec Patribus nec plebi cura decesserat. Tanta cura gratia, tum arte praeparaverant fenerares, quae non modo plebem, sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius, post Vetustii consulis reditum, omnium actionum\(^4\) in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, retulitque, quid de nexus fieri posset, quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

32. Timor inde Patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti conjurationesque fieren. Itaque quamquam per dictatorem delectus habitus esset, tamen,
quoniam in consulum verba jurassent, sacramento tenere militem rati,\(^1\) per causam renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones jussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam sceleire religionem ex-solviti,\(^2\) Sicinio quodam auctore injussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse: trans Anienein amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum. Ea frequentior lama est, quam cujus Piso\(^3\) auctor est, in Aventinum secessionem factam esse. Ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessaram ad victum sumendo,\(^4\) per aliquot dies neque lacesisti neque lacesentes sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam Patrum, timere Patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti manere eam an abire mallet.\(^5\) Quam diu autem tranquillam, quae secesserit, multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere.\(^6\) Eam per aerqua, per iniqua

1 From Livy's description, it appears that the dictator, by virtue of his unlimited power, had completed the levy, but had made the troops swear obedience not to himself, but to the consuls of the year. We must take it so, though it seem strange: we read a little above, however, that the dictator had not, as usual, named a magister equitum, but had intrusted the command of two armies to the consuls. It seems probable, therefore, that he was appointed solely for the purpose of holding the levy.

2 Religio exsolvitur, 'the obligation is cancelled,' can be said equally well with religione exsolver. The accusative with the infinitive after dicitur occurs sometimes, though but rarely. See Gram. § 247. and Zumpt, § 607, note. It can be explained here, where there are two clauses, by supplying the active form dicitur out of the preceding passive dicitur.

3 One of the oldest Roman annalists, who was also a distinguished statesman, tribune of the plebs in 149, and consul in 133 B.C. He was surnamed Frugi, and has been mentioned by Livy before this in i. 58, prope fn.

4 The moderation of the plebeians is worthy of immortal praise; but it should not be forgotten that near Mons Sacer, beyond the Anio, was situated the property of the Tribus Claudia (see ii. 16), and that that tribe, hostile to, and bitterly hated by the plebs, had to bear the greater part of the burden of their support. The violence of the plebeians in taking corn by force is sarcastically alluded to by Coriolanus in the senate, chap. 34.

5 The fathers were not sure themselves whether it would be more advantageous to them that the plebeians still in the city should secede or remain.

6 The infinitives are of different kinds, some of them belonging to the oratio obliqua, and ducere being an historical infinitive.
reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriusdum erat, plebi carum. Is intromissus in castra, prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore, quo in homine non. ut nunc omnia in unum consentiant, sed singulis membris sumum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes, sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventris omnium quaerit, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui, conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac iva, dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparisse, ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas maturum, confecto cibo, sanguinem. Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in Patres, flexisse mentes hominum.


Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Cominius consulatum inierunt. His consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum foedus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit; alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos fundit.

1 That is, ex ea—namely, plebe; as above, chap. 2, unde for a quo.
2 Here we have a contracted construction, for properly and fully it should have been quo non, ut nunc consentiant, omnia in unum consensuerint. The ordinary reading (Drakenborch's), consentiebant—fuerat is contrary to the authority of the manuscripts, and, so far as fuerat is concerned, bad Latin.
3 The discrepancy between the statements of the various annalists may be got over by supposing that two tribunes were formally elected by the people, and that these two chose three colleagues according to their own free selection, not by a vote of the people. It is not till several years after this that we find five tribunes chosen by the plebs themselves in the comitia tributa (see chap. 58). A lex sacrata is one in which, as a penalty for breaking it, the transgresser's person and fortune are devoted to the gods.
4 Antium, on the sea, belonged to the Volscians, as we see here, and was their frontier town on the north.

Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni vita pariter Patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato Patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanae in urbem, sumptus funeris defuit. Extulit eum plebs sextantibus collatis in capita.\(^3\)

34. Consules deinde T. Geganius, P. Minucius facti. Eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem in- vasit, caritas primum annumae ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis\(^4\) solet. Ventumque

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\(^1\) This city, as well as the smaller places of Longula and Polusca, disappeared in the wars here described; so much so, indeed, that in after-times its site could not be pointed out with certainty. Livy, in iii. 71, mentions a quarrel which had arisen between the inhabit- ants of Aricia and Ardea regarding the territory of Corioli.

\(^2\) The accusative in proxima urbis is remarkable; and we might prefer reading in proxima urbis parte, or in proximo urbis. But as the reading of the manuscripts is incontrovertible, we must take caedem facere in the sense of caedem ferre, ‘to advance with slaughter and destruction.’

\(^3\) The plebs buried him (that is, paid the funeral expenses) by a contribution of one-sixth of an as (two unciae) laid upon each person (head).

\(^4\) ‘To persons besieged,’ or ‘during a siege.’
ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent, dimissis passim ad frumentum coemendum, non in Etruriam modo dextris ab Ostia litoribus, laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum1 in Siciliam quoque: adeo multis morum odia longinquus coegerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemone tyranno, qui heres erat, retentae sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit: periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit. Ex Tusciis frumentum Tiberi venit: eo sustentata2 est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis comeatibus vexati erant. Ex Tusciis frumentum Tiberi venit: eo sustentata3 est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis comeatibus vexati erant.


1 'To seek (namely, corn).'

2 Some good manuscripts read sustenta, which is sometimes, though more rarely than the frequentative, used for 'sustaining life.'

3 Now Norma, in the southern part of the States of the Church. This is now the fourth colony which we have seen settled in the Pomptine district, Circeii, Cora, and Signia having preceded it. See i. 56, p. 92, note 7; and ii. 16, p. 119, note 4.

4 As to this word, see ii. 27, p. 131. note 2.

5 In some good manuscripts we find fruantur utantur. One of the words is certainly a gloss, and fruantur by itself gives a very good sense.

6 'I venture to say that, subdued (and brought to their senses) by this calamity, they will rather themselves be industrious agriculturists, than, by a secession in arms, prevent the fields from being tilled.'
fore, quam ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant.\textsuperscript{1} Hand
tam facile dicta est faciendumque fuert,\textsuperscript{2} quam potuisse
arbitror fieri, ut condicionibus laxandi annumam et tribu-
niciam potestatem et omnia invitis jura imposita Patres deme-
rent sibi.

35. Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est, et plebem
ira prope armavit: Fame se jam sicut hostes peti, cibo
vitque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola ali-
menta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi C.
Marcio vincit dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Ro-
manae satisfiat:\textsuperscript{2} eum sibi carnificem novum exortum,
quia aut mori aut servire jubeat. In exeuntem e curia
imetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixi-
sent.\textsuperscript{3} Ibi ira est suppressa: se judicem quisque, se
dominum vitae necisque inimici factum videbat. Con-
temptim primo Marcius audiebat minus tribunicias: auxilli,
non poenae jus datum illi potestati, plebisque, non Patrum
tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs, ut uniis
poena defungendum esset Patribus. Restiterunt tamen
adversa invidia,\textsuperscript{4} usique sunt qua suis quisque, qua\textsuperscript{5} totius
ordinis viribus. Ac primo temptata res est, si dispositis
clientibus, absterrendo singulos a coitionibus concilisque,
disjicere rem possent. Universi deinde processere (quic-
quid erat Patrum, reos diceres)\textsuperscript{6} precibus plebem expos-
centes, unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem ab-
solvvere nolent, pro nocente donarent. Ipse cum die dicta
non adesset, perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus absens in

\textsuperscript{1} Whether it should have been done; that is, whether it would
have been just and right to do it.

\textsuperscript{2} Unless he received satisfaction from the exorciated backs of the
Roman plebeians.\textsuperscript{7} The tribunes had been instituted to protect the
private plebeians from the power and cruelty of the patrician magis-
trates and officers, and their removal, as demanded by Coriolanus,
would give up the plebs again to their tyrants.

\textsuperscript{3} Diem dicere, a legal expression, 'to appoint a day for the trial of
a person.' A popular assembly was to try him, but what comitia
is doubtful. We should at once say the comitia of the plebs accord-
ing to their tribes (tributa), were there any certain evidence of the
existence of this assembly before 471 B.C. See Livy, ii. 56.

\textsuperscript{4} An ablative absolute, 'though hatred stood opposite to them;'
that is, though they thereby exposed themselves to the hatred of
the plebs.

\textsuperscript{5} Qua—qua for et—et, 'partly—partly, or one the one side—on the
other,' is common in Livy. Compare, for instance, chap. 45, in
which it occurs three times.

\textsuperscript{6} We translate by the pluperfect, 'you would have called the
whole of the senators accused persons:' see Gram. § 345, note. The
protasis to be supplied to diceres in si videres.
Volscos exulatum abit, mimitans patriae hostilesque jam tum spiritus gerens.

Venientem Volsci benigni1 excepero, benigniusque in dies coelebant, quo major in suo eminebat, crebraeque nunc querebant, nunc minae percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Attii Tulli. Longe is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. Ita cum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conserunt de Romano bello. Hand facile crelebant plebem stam impelli posse, ut totiens infelicitatem arma caereren. Multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa juventute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto jam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.


1 So the best manuscripts read: the editions benigne. Either is good Latin.

2 Connected with ludi, and a very common epithet of the ludi Romanus in the Circus Maximus.

3 A wooden instrument laid on the neck of a transgressor, in order to keep his arms fast, and thus render him defenceless against the blows with which his back was belaboured. The slave was 'driven over the Circus,' for the purpose, as another ancient author (Valerius Maximus) adds, of being put to death without the city.

4 So the name is written in the manuscripts of Livy, and similarly also in Dionysius. The ecclesiastical writer Lactantius, however, who was well versed in ancient history, calls him Tib. Atinius.

5 See i. 23, p. 48, note 3.

6 'His fear of the gods.'

7 'Be talked about, and be made a laughing-stock by the people:' ludibrium, anything by which we drive away care and pain.

8 Compare i. 7, p. 25, note 4.

9 Praesens is in a peculiar manner used of the operations and ac-
ac proratantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita.
Tunc enimvero deorum ira admouit. Fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito cum
visa atque audita et obversatum totiens sonino Jovem, minas
irasque coelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consen-
sus inde haud dubio omnium, qui aderant, in forum ad con-
sules lecita deserti. Inde in curiam jussu consulum delatus
eadem illa cum Patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enar-
rasset, ecce alius miraculum: qui captus omnibus membris
delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis
domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

37. Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent, senatus decrevit.
Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullo vis magna Volscorum
venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullus, ut domi
compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit; dicit
esse quae secreto agere de republica velit. Arbitris remotis
"Invitus," inquit, "quod sequius sit," de meis civibus loquor,
non tamien admissum quicquam ab iis criminatum venui,
sed cautum, ne admissant. Nimio plus quaam velim, nos-
trorum ingenia sunt mobilia: multis id cladibus sensimus,
quap qui non nostro merito, sed vestra patientia incolumes
simus." Magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi
sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini quid per
candem occasionem ab Sabinorum juventute in hac urbe
commissum sit." Horret animus, ne quid inconsulta ac
temere fiat. Haec nostra vestrque causa prius dicenda
vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extemplo
hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cujus facti dixtive con-
tagione praesens violer. Haec locutus abiiit. Consules cum
ad Patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor
magis, ut fit, quam res ad praeavendum vel ex supervacuo

tivity of the Deity, here 'more visible, more evident, plainer.' So
afterwards repraesentatus is used of that which is brought to light,
exhibited by the Deity=praesens factus.
1 'Lame, or lamed,' which is the proper meaning of debilis and
debilitas also.
2 Sequior, neuter sequius (derived from sequi), means in Latin any-
thing which is not so good or not so strong as something else: for
example, sequior sexus, 'the weaker (female) sex,' here sequius,
hurtful, prejudicial.'
3 A humiliating confession from a hostile leader. The whole story
serves as an introduction to great misfortunes which betell the Ro-
mans; and it is worthy of notice that here the traditional history of
Rome permits itself for once to acknowledge that Rome's career of
victory was not uninterrupted.
4 See ii. 18, init.
5 'Even in a superfluous or unnecessary manner,' ex with the
neuter of the adjective being used as a circumlocution for the ad-
verb; for example, ex improviso, ex insperato, ex composito.

38. Cum prope continuato agmine i rent, praegressus Tullus ad caput Ferentinum, ut quiesque veniret, primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos sedulo audientes secunda irae verba, et per eos multituidinem aliam in subjectum viae campum deduxit. Ibi in contenitis modum orationem exorsus, 'Veteres populi Romani injurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut omnia, inquit, obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commisere? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? vestras conjuges, vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quis eos, qui audivere vocem praeconis, quid qui vos videre abeuntes, quid eos qui haque ignominioso agmine suere obvi, existimasse putatis nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse, quo, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque merituri.' Ideo nos ab sede piorum, coetu concilioque abigi. Quid deinde? illud non succurrir, vivere nos, quod maturarimus proficisci? si hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem motati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est, magno eorum

1 The same which in i. 51, fin., is called caput aquae Ferentinae.
2 Words obedient or subservient to their anger, such as pleased or gratified it = obsecundantia.
3 Ut is put after the first clause, instead of at the beginning: the order of construction is ut veteres injurias—omnia [denique] obliviscamini. The accusative placed first, and the connection of the conjunction ut with omnia, which sums up, give the sentence the force which we have expressed by denique, 'in short.'
4 'In which (affront) they have in a manner insulting to us commenced the games:' properly, per nostram ignominiam is superfluous, for the per expresses the manner or way, which the ablative qua contumelia has already indicated. But it is evident that the excitement of the auditors must increase at every repetition of the word 'insult.'
5 'Have been dragged (like prisoners in a triumph) before the view of the people.' Sallust says similarly, per ora hominum incedere.
6 'Should have deserved;' that is, 'rendered necessary.'
7 According to the more usual mode of construction, this should rather have been haec. Compare i. 55, p. 92, note 1.

13
maló, qui indixere, si viri estis. Ita et sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde digressi sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos essece, ut omne Volscium nonem deficeret.

39. Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sententia lecti Attius Tullus et C. Marcius, exul Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei reposiendum. Quam spem nequaquam secellit, ut facile appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Cirecius¹ profectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberamque eam urbem Volscis tradidit. Inde in Latinam viam transversis tristibus transgressus Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam, Coriolos, novella² haec Romanis oppida ademit. Inde Lavinium receptit; tunc deinceps Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebiam, Labicos, Pedum cepit. Postremum ad urbem a Pedo dcuit, et ad fossas Cluilias³ quinqu ab urbem illa passuum castris positis, populatur inde agrum Romanum, custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magis, sive ut discordia inde inter Patres plebemque oreretur. Quae profecto orta esset: adeo tribuni jam feroce per se plebem criminando in primum civitatis instigabant: sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, quamvis⁴ suspectos infensusque inter se jungetbat animos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatus consul-esque nusquam alibi spem, quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia quam bellum malebat. Sp. Nautius jam et Sex. Farius consules erant.⁵ Eos recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque, in quibus stationes vigiliasque esse placuerat, loca distribuentes, multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditiosum clamore conterruit, deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad C. Marcius mittendis coegit.

¹ Cirecii, a Roman colony: see i. 56, p. 93, note 3.
² Novella oppida, 'towns but recently conquered.' The word is regularly used only of young cattle, on which account some learned men have proposed to change it here into the name of a town, either Mugillam or Bovillas, according to the list of conquered cities given by Dionysius. But we find in Livy another similar case, xli. 5, novelli Aquileienses, 'new colonists in Aquileia.'
³ See i. 23.
⁴ An adverb; see i. 16, p. 38, note 4.
⁵ Between the consuls of the year 491 B.C., mentioned in chap. 34, and those named here, Livy has omitted two sets of consuls—namely, of the year 490, Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and Sp. Larcius Flavus; and of 489, C. Julius Iulus and P. Pinarius Rufus Mamer- cinus. The omission was probably an oversight of Livy himself, as there is no trace of a gap in the manuscripts.
Acceperunt relationem Patres, postquam apparuist labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atrae responsam retulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praeda beli per otium fuit velit, memoriem se et civium injuriae et hospitum beneficium amissum, ut appareat exilio sibi irritato, non fractos animos esse. Iterum demede iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra. Sacerdotes quoque suis insignibus velatos isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihilo magis quam legatos flexisse animum.

40. Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volunniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. Id publicum consilium, an muliebriis timor fuerit, parum iuvienio. Pervicere certe, ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in castra hostium irent, et quoniam arnls viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus laerimisce defendentur. Ubi ad castra ventum est mutuatumque Coriolano, adesse ingens mulierum agmen, in primo, ut qui nec publica majestate in legatis nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus esset, multo ob-stutior adversus laerimas muliebres erat. Dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem maestitia inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam, inter nurum nepotesque stantem, quod me frustrantur, inquit, 'oculi, mater tibi conjuncta et liberi assunt.' Coriolanus prope ut amens consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviae complexum, mulier in immam ex precibus versu 'Sine, priusquam complexum accipio, sciam.' inquit, 'ad hostem, an ad filium venerim; captiva materne in castris tuis sim. In hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut exularem te, deinde hostem viderem! Potissi populi hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit! Non tibi, quamvis infesto ano et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, cum in, conspectu Roma fuit, succurrerit. Intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, conjux libriquz.' Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria mortua esse. Sed ego nihil jam pati nec tibi turpium, quam mihi miserius possum; nec ut sum miserrima, diu futura sum. De his videris; quos, si

1 'Accepted the proposal;' for the presiding consul refer ad senatum, when he brings a matter before it.
2 'Nothing more;' that is, 'just as little.'
3 In primo, unusual for primo, 'at first.' Similarly a primo for a principio. Religio offendidur animo, religious fear pours itself over (that is, fills) the mind.'
4 'I can suffer nothing more, and nothing which would be more
pergis, aut immatura mors aut longa servitus manet. Uxor
deinde ac liberi amplexi; fletusque ab omni turba mulierum
ortus et comploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem virum.
Complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retro ab urbe castra
movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano, invidia
rei oppressum perisses tradunt, alii alio leto; apud Fabium,
longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse
eundem1 invenio. Refert certe hanc saepe eum exacta
aetate usurpasse vocem, multo miserius sem exilium esse.
Non inviderunt laude sua2 mulieribus viri Romani: adeo
sine obtrectatione gloriae alienae vivebatur. Monumento
quoque quod esset, templum Fortunae muliebri aedificatum
dedicatumque est.3

Rediere deinde Volsci adjunctis Aequis in agrum Roma-
um. Sed Aequi Attium Tullium haud ultra tulere ducem.
Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Aequine imperatorem conjuncto
exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox proelium ortum. Ibi
disgraceful in you than unfortunate for me; and as I am very misera-
able, I shall not be so long; that is, "it is the extreme of disgrace
to you and of misery to me, but I shall not endure it long." The
ordinary reading is ut sim: but as Veturia has just said that nothing
could be more unfortunate for her, the undecided expression ut sim
—'granting that I am'—is unsuitable; and we prefer the reading of
the Florentine manuscript, which gives the indicative, ut sum, 'as
I am.' De his videris, pointing to the children, 'think on these,' as
to which use of the future perfect. see i. 57, p. 96, note 5.

1 Translate thus, 'in the same state'—namely, as an exul, not at
all the same as eum.

2 So the manuscripts read, for laudes suas; and the construction
invideo tibi hac re, which was used not unfrequently in the Silver
Age, is explained by the sense of invideo tibi=privo. See Gram.
§ 296, note 2.

3 Erected, as other writers tell us, at the fourth milestone on the
via Latina, where the conversation took place. We do not doubt
the truth of the story that the prayers of women induced the enemy
to withdraw: only this is to be remarked, that the Volsci and Aequi
retained for a long time possession of their conquests; so that Vel-
itrae,—in which, as has been already several times observed, there
was a Roman colony — appears henceforth as in the power of the
Volse, and the Latin town of Praeneste as under the Aequi. Fur-
ther, we must notice that the cities of Circeii, Cora, Norba, and
Signia, which lay more to the south, and in which we have already
seen Roman-Latin colonies settled, were now in the power of the
Volsei, and were not liberated and restored to their connection with
Rome till after many battles. The misfortunes resulting from this
Volscean invasion were felt not by Rome only, but still more severely
by the Latin league. The philosophical and sensible reader will
not allow himself to be misled by the boastful mention, which occurs
so frequently, of the victories gained by the Romans over the Volsci
and Aequi.
fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus haud minus pernicioso, quam pertinaci certamine confecit.

Consules T. Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Volscis, Aquillio Hernici (nam ii quoque in armis erant) provincia eventit.¹ Eo anno Hernici devicti; cum Volscis aequo Marte discessum est.


¹ 'The Hernicians fell to him as his province': the first instance of this expression, afterwards so common, in which provincia (probably a contradiction for providentia) has the sense of 'a matter to be attended to or looked after.' From this signification came that of the foreign country in which this official activity was exercised.

² This is the same Sp. Cassius who was consul for the first time in the year 502 B.C. (see Livy, ii. 17), and for the second time in 493 (see chap. 33), when he concluded the treaty with the Latins. This, therefore, was now his third consulship, and he was so fortunate in it as to gain another body of allies—namely, the Hernici—to assist the Romans against their common foes, the Aequi and Volsci. Livy is to be blamed for the omission of the notices iterum and tertium, unless these have somehow slipped out of the manuscripts.

³ 'Intended to divide.' The statement, however, may justly be doubted, for (see chap. 22) the Hernici appear afterwards not as a powerless nation, but as equal allies of the Romans and Latins. The error in this tradition was in all probability occasioned by the circumstance, that in the treaty between the three tribes it was stipulated that all the territory which their united armies might conquer, and all the booty which they might obtain, should be equally divided; that is, a third should be given to each nation.

⁴ That is, 'although it was public property, or the property of the state.' The imperfect adjiciebat used of an action attempted, but not completed. See Gram. § 335, note 2.

⁵ This was the general name of any law or bill by which land belonging to the state (ager publicus) was handed over to private individuals, being either divided amongst Roman citizens, or assigned for the maintenance of a new colony. A proposal such as this always excited great commotions, because land of this kind had before been let out to occupants (possessores) either at a rent, or free. These therefore, naturally opposed a bill which would deprive them of the use of what had been legally made over to them.
omni plebe adversante, quae primo coeperat fastidire\(^1\) munus vulgatum a cibibus esse in sociis, saepe deinde et Verginiurn consulem in contionibus velut vaticinantem audiebat; pestilens collegae munus esse; agros illos servitutem iis, qui acceperint, latus; regno iam fieri. Quid ita\(^2\) enim assumi socios et nomen Latinum\? Quid attinuisse Herniciis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem terram reddi, nisi ut hae gentes pro Corioloano ducem\(^3\) Cassium habeant? Popularis jam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariae coeperat. Uterque deinde consul certatim plebi indulgere. Verginiurn ducere passurum se assignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi Romano assignentur. Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque cibibus vilior\(^4\) erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, jubere pro Siculo frumentum pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. Id vero haud secus quam praesentem\(^5\) mercedem regni aspernata plebes: adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut abundarent omnia, munera ejus in animis hominum respuebantur. Quem, ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem ejus supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque\(^6\) filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum esse, et inscriptum 'Ex Cassia familia datum.' Invenio apud quosdam, idque proprius fidem est, a quaeestoribus\(^7\) K. Fabio et L. Valerio diem

\(^1\) Fastidire commonly means with the accusative, 'to scorn a thing,' but here with a dependent accusative and infinitive, 'to be chagrined that.' Vulgare-\textit{commune facere}, as above, chap. 29, p. 134, note 4. An avaricious man thinks that he is unjustly deprived of a part of whatever he has to share with another.

\(^2\) Quid ita, 'why, or how so?' is often used in the direct speech for \textit{cur}, and passes into the indirect with the same sense.

\(^3\) The manuscripts have partly ducem, partly duce. Either is good enough, but as the Latins and Hernicians have not had Coriolanus as a leader, \textit{ducem} Cassium appears the preferable reading, and \textit{pro Corioloano} must be taken thus, 'instead of a Corioloan.'

\(^4\) Courteous to the allies, and therefore less regarded among the citizens: \textit{ambitiosus}, properly, 'favour-seeking.' Siculum, 'bought in Sicily.' See chap. 34.

\(^5\) Paid down,' as \textit{repraesentare pecuniam}, 'to pay ready money.'

\(^6\) This was the name given to the fortune of a child so long as it remained in the power (\textit{in potestate}) of the father; that is to say, in ordinary cases, so long as the father lived; for unless a child was formally emancipated—as happened, for instance, to a daughter when she married—it remained subject to its father so long as he lived. This was the case even when a son obtained a high office in the state.

\(^7\) Quaestores here are in all probability the same who are elsewhere called \textit{Quaestores}, commissioners appointed to investigate a crime. As to \textit{perduellio}, see i. 26, p. 52, note 5: high treason against the republic, however, is properly called \textit{crimen majestatis}.

42. Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dulcedo agrariae legis ipsa per se, dempto auctore, subibat animos; accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate Patrum, qui devictis eo anno Volscis Aequisque militem praedam fraudavere: quicquid captum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul ac redegit in publicum.


Certatum eo quoque anno cum tribunis est. Vana lex vanique legis auctores jactando irritum manus facti. Fabium inde nomen ingens post tres continuos consulatus, unoque

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1. "Stinginess." opposed to benignitas.
2. See chap. 20. This temple was at the side of the Forum, and frequently served in after-times as a curia for the meetings of the senate.
3. "They brought into note."
4. "That the tribunes had more than enough of gratuitous favour among the multitude:" gratuus, "what is given freely, without payment, or hope of payment." Compare l. 47. The ordinary reading is furor instead of favoris; but the historian has not been speaking previously of an outbreak of furor among the plebs, and favoris is the reading of the best manuscripts.
5. "The proposers of the bill (the tribunes) lost their credit by speaking much (jactando) about a gift which, after all, came to nothing."
velut tenore omnes expertos tribuniciis certaminibus, habi-
tum. Itaque ut bene locatus, mansit in ea familia alijam-
diu honos. Bellum inde Veientes initum, et Volsci rebel-
larunt. Sed ad bella externa prope supererant viles; 
abutebauturque iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere 
ae aegras jam omnium meutes prodigia coelestia, prope 
cotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia inmas. Motique ira
numinis causam nullam aliam vates cebant, publice privat-
imque, nunc extis, nunc per aves consulti,2 quam haud rite 
sacra fieri. Qui terores tamen eo evasere, ut Oppia, virgo 
Vestalis, damnata incestit3 poenas dederit.

43. Q. Fabius4 inde et C. Julius consules facti. Eo anno 
non segnior discordia domi, et bellum foris atrocius fuit. 
Ab Aequis arma sumpta; Veientes agrum quoque Roma-
norum populantes interunt. Quorum bellorum crescente 
cura K. Fabius et Sp. Furius consules sunt. Ortonam, 
Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant; Veientes pleni jam 
populationum Romam ipsam se oppognaturos minabantur. 
Quì terres cum compescere deberent, auxere insuper 
animos plebis; redibatque non sua sponte plebi mos detrec-
tandi militiam, sed Sp. Licinius,5 tribunus plebis, venisse 
tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae Pa-
tribus injungendae, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. 
Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis versa in auctorem 
est; nec in cum consules acrius, quam ipsius ejus collegae 
cooptant; auxilioque corum defectum consules habent. 
Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur: ducendus Fabio in 
Aequos, in Veientes Furio datur. Et in Veientibus quidem 
nihil dignum memoria gestum est: Fabio aliquanto plus 
negotii cum civibus, quam cum hostibus fuit. Unus ille 
vir ipse consul rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio

1 Passively, ‘tried’= spectatos. See i. 17, p. 39, note 2.
2 Belongs to numinis, ‘after the deity has been consulted.’
3 That is, violatae virgininitatis. See i. 20, vestales virginitate venerabiles ac sanctas fecit.
4 Q. Fabius is consul this year for the second time; Livy, how-
ever, has forgotten here, and in the following years, to put the 
iterum. This is the more to be lamented, because here we have a 
case unique in the history of Rome, of three brothers—Quintus, 
Kaesio, and Marcus Fabius—completing in regular succession, with-
out the interval of even a year, two consulships each. The series 
is concluded by the third consulship of Kaeo. Thus for seven 
consecutive years we have consules not of the same family merely, 
but brothers; for that Quintus was a brother appears from chap. 47.
5 Dionysius calls him Icilius, and in fact this appears to be correct; for the praenomen Spuriius does not occur among the Liciniis, but is 
common among the Iciliis.
consulis, quantum in se\textsuperscript{1} fuit, prodebat. Nam cum consul praeter ceteras imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instiuxisset acem, ut solo equitatu emissso exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes nobuit. Nec illos, et si\textsuperscript{2} non auctoratio invisii ducis, suum saltum flagitiun et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare aut, si aliud nihil, instare\textsuperscript{3} instructos. Injussu signa referunt, maestique (crederes victos), execrantes nunc imperatore nunc navatam ab equite operam, redeunt in castra. Nec huc tam pestilentì exemplò remedìa utla ab imperatore quaesita sunt: adeo excelléntibus ingenìis citius defuerit ars, qua eivem regant, quam qua hostem saperent. Consul Romam reedit sunam belli gloria aucta, quam irritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio. Obtunere tamen Patres, ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret. M. Fabium consulem creant; Fabio collega Cn. Manlius datur.


Et plures, si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum vel adversus omnes satis esse. Darent modo et consules et primores Patrum operam ut, si minus omnes,\textsuperscript{6} aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicae ac senatui conciliarent. Praeceptis Appii moniti Patres et

\textsuperscript{1} In se is, strictly speaking, incorrect, and should have been in eo, in illo, or in ipso. But see Zumpt, § 550, prope fin. The reason is, that prodebat implies this sense, quantum in se esset, prodere studebat.

\textsuperscript{2} Although not: et might have been omitted, but it does not encumber the construction.

\textsuperscript{3} If the Roman soldiers had remained steady in their close array, the enemy would have been frightened; and thus standing still would have been as good as an attack. This is the force of instare, 'to press on.' The correction of Muretus, stare, is therefore unnecessary. As to crederes in the next sentence, compare ii. 35, p. 142, note 6.

\textsuperscript{4} Aliqua res procedit, 'an affair is going forward prosperously,' is common; the verb used absolutely, as here, procedit, 'it prospers' = contingit, is not quite rare.

\textsuperscript{6} Equivalent to velit sibi quaerere. See Gram. § 380, note 2.

\textsuperscript{6} Equivalent to si non omnes. See Zumpt, § 343, fin.

45. Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud quam suas vires, sua arma horrebant; memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent eo, ubi duae simul acies timendae essent. Itaque castris se tenebant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi, diem tempusque forsitam ipsum lenitum iras, sanitatemque animis allatum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere agere; laces sere ad pugnam, primo obequitando castris provocandoque postremo ut nihil movebant, qua consules ipsos, qua exer-

1 'Kept down or off,' sustentare having two significations—'to maintain, keep up' a good thing; and 'to retard, keep down' a bad thing.

2 Saevire means frequently, especially in the comic writers, 'to speak angrily'; and this is the sense here, for the reference is not to cruel or wild actions.

3 Equivalent to in eum locum, 'into such a situation.'

4 Scil. a pugna committenda, 'being deterred from joining battle by the double danger.'

5 See ii. 29.

6 See ii. 29, p. 134, note 3.
citum increpando: simulationem intestinae discordiae remedium timoris 1 inventum; et consules magis non conficere, quam non credere suis militibus. 2 Novum seditionis genus, silentium otiumque inter armatos. Ad haec in novitatem generis originisque, qua falsa, qua vera jacere. 3 Haec cum sub ipso vallo portisque strepenter, haud aegre consules puti. At imperiae multitudini nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare et ab intestimi avertere malis: nolle multos hostes, nolle successum, 4 non Patribus, non consulibus; externa et domestica odi certare in animis. Tandem superant externa: adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt, poscunt pugnam, postulant ut signum detur. Consules velut deliberabundi capita conserunt, diu colloquuntur. Pugnare cupiebant; sed retro revocaenda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut adversando remornadoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum, immaturam rem agi, nondum tempus pugnae esse: castris se tenerent. Edicunt inde, ut abstinuarent pugna: si quis injussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem anim adversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus consules velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accedunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisset non pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe impune se insultatus, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum seditionis eruptam, finemque venisse Romano imperio. His freti occursant portis, ingerunt probra, aegre abstinent quin castra oppugnent. Enim vero non ultra contumeliam puti Romanus posse: totis castris undique ad consules curritur. Non jam sensim, ut ante, per centurionum principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Matura res erat; tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde, ad crecentem tumultum jam metu seditionis collega concedente, cum silentium classico fecisset, 'Ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem, ipsi secerunt. Itaque certum atque decretum est, non dare signum, nisi victores se redituros ex hac pugna jurant. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie sefellit; deos nunciam fallat.' 5 Centurio erat M. Flavoleius, inter primores pugnae flagitator. 'Victor,' inquit, 'M. Fabi, revertar ex acie.' Si fallat, Jovem patrem Gradivumque Martem alios-

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1 That is, 'a means of not being counted cowards.'
2 Confidere, 'to place confidence in,' refers to the valour of the soldiers; credere, 'to trust,' to their willingness to fight.
3 The Etruscans are proud of their antiquity, and reproach the Romans with the newness of their state.
4 Participle passive from the impersonal suceedit mihi; 'they were unwilling that matters should go well for the senate and consuls.'

46. Prope certa spes erat non magis secum pugnatores, quam punvaverint\textsuperscript{2} cum Aequis; majus quoque aliquod in tnan irritatis animis et occasione ancipitu haud desperandum esse faciunis. Res aliter longe eventi. Nam non alio ante bello infestor Romanus (adeo hinc contumelius hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant) proelium iniit. Vix explicandi ordinis spatium Etruscis fuit, cum pilis inter primam trepidationem abjectis temere magis quam emissis, pugna jam in manus, jam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrociissimus, venerat. Inter primores genius Fabium\textsuperscript{3} insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Q. Fabium (tertio hic anno ante consul fuerat) principem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox viribus et armorum arte Tusces, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit. Telo extracto praecceps Fabius in vulnus abiit.\textsuperscript{4} Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde Romanus, cum M. Fabius consul transiuit jacentis corpus, objectaque parma 'Hoc jurastis,' inquit, 'milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros! Adeo ignavissimus hostes magis timetis, quam Jovem Martemque, per quos jurastis? A: ego injuratus aut victor revertar, aut prope te hic, Q. Fabi, dimicans cadam.' Consuli tum K. Fabius, prioris anni consul, 'Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnet te impetaturum credis? Di impetrabunt, per quos juravere. Et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potius

\textsuperscript{1} That is, \textit{ut sibi irati sint: iram deorum invocat.}

\textsuperscript{2} Properly \textit{pugnassent}; but, as in the direct speech, the perfect indicative would have been used, Livy retains the same tense in the indirect, putting it of course in the subjunctive. According to strict grammar, this verb should have been subjected, in regard to its tense, to the imperfect (\textit{erat}) in the leading clause.

\textsuperscript{3} Equivalent to \textit{Gens Fabia}, perhaps with this distinction, that \textit{gens} refers merely to the patricians, whereas \textit{genus} includes also the humbler families of the same name attached to the great house, freedmen and their descendants.

\textsuperscript{4} He fell forward upon the wound: 'abiit=ivit, and \textit{ire} in such expressions=\textit{labi, cadere, ruere}.}
quam adhortando accendamus militum animos. Sic in pri-
num1 infestis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt
secum aciem.

47. Proclo ex parte una restituto, nihil o segnius in
cornu altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat; ubi prope
similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu Q. 
Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium jam velut
fusos agentem hostes et impigre milites secuti sunt, et
ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfictum rati
gradum retulere: cessissentque loco, ni consul alter cum
aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo ad-
sectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fusco altero
cornu adesse, rem inclutam sustinuisset. Manlius quoque
ad restituendum aciem se ipse coram offerit. Duorum con-
sulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos. Simul et
vanior2 jam erat hostium acies, dum abundante multitudine
freti substra faciet subsidia mitunt ad castra oppugnanda. In
quae haud magno certamin impetu facto, dum praedae
magis quam pruinae memores terunt tempus, triarii Romani,
qui primam irruptionem sustinere non potebant, missis ad
consules nuntiis, quo loco res essent, conglobati ad prae-
torium redeunt, et sua sponte ipsi proelium renovant.3 Et
Manlius consul revectus in castra, ad omnes portas milite
opposito, hostibus viam clausetat. Ea desperatio Tusci
magis quam audaciam accendit. Nam cum incur-
santes, quacunque exitum ostenderet spes, vano aliquid ini
impetuissent, globus juvenum unus in ipsum consul
insignem armis invadit. Prima excepta a circumstantibus
tela; sustineri deinde vis nequit: consul mortifero vulnere
ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tusci crescit audacia; Ro-
manos terror per tota castra trepidos agit: et ad extrema ven-
tum foret, ni legati, rapto consulis corpore, patefecissent una
porta hostibus viam. Ea erumpit; consternatoque agmine
abundant in victorem alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum
cæsi fusique passim.

Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam claris
funeribus. Itaque consul, decernente senatu triumphum, si
exercitus sine imperatore triumphare possit, pro eximia eo

1 See ii. 20, p. 124, note 1.
2 'Thinner, full of gaps' (rarior), opposed to a densa acies.
3 The Roman triarii, who had been left behind to guard the camp,
had at first been forced to give way to the attack of the enemy, but
afterwards collected in the middle of the camp, and renewed the
battle; at the same time sending messengers to the consul to ask
assistance.
bello opera facile passurum respondit: se, familia funesta\(^1\) Q. Fabi fratri morte, re publica ex parte orba consulo altero amisso, publico privatoque deformatem luctu lauream non accepturum. Omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit: adeo spreta in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior redit. Funera deinde duo demecps collegae fratrisque ducit, idem in utroque landator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipsius maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor ejus, quod initio consultatus imliberat,\(^2\) reconciliandi animos plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit Patribus. Fabius plurimi dati, nec alibi majore cura habiti. Inde populares jam esse Fabii, nec hoc uilla re\(^3\) nisi salubri rei publicae arte.

48. Igitur non Patrum magis quam plebis studiis K. Fabius cum T. Verginio consul factus neque bella\(^4\) neque delectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere quam ut, jam aliqua ex parte inchoata concordiae spe, primo quoque tempore cum Patribus coalescerent animi plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agrariae legis auctor tribunus existeret, occuparent Patres ipsi suum munus facere;\(^5\) captivum agrum plebi quam maxime aequaliter darent: verum esse\(^6\) habere eos, quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit. Aspernati Patres sunt; questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et evanescere vividum quondam illud Kaesonis ingenium. Nullae deinde urbaneæ factiones fuere.\(^7\)

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\(^1\) See ii. 8, p. 109, note 3.

\(^2\) Had designed,' apud animum constituerat.

\(^3\) So all the manuscripts read; most of the editions omit re.

\(^4\) If bella be the correct reading, then we must assume that Livy intended to go on thus, neque ullam aliam rem prius curare, but by mistake introduced curam agere instead of curare. Hearne's conjecture, belli, which makes delectus a genitive, merits approbation: similar irregularities of expression, however, occur elsewhere in Livy.

\(^5\) The senate should come forward before any tribune, to make the gift (of the ager publicus) their own;' that is, should themselves vote the division of the lands, and thereby carry off from a tribune the credit of giving the people a present.

\(^6\) Just and equitable' = aequum.

\(^7\) After this there were no more factions in the city'—that is, immediately or for some time after this: the demands for an agrarian law, however, were ever and anon renewed by the tribunes, though without success; for the demand did not refer, as one might suppose from Livy, merely to the lands recently taken from the Hecomicians, but also to the ancient royal domain, which, after the expulsion of the kings, had been taken possession of by the patricians. This property they could by no means be induced to give up, and indeed they could urge a very plausible claim to it; for this domain,
Vexabuntur incursionibus Aequorum Latini: eo cum exercitu
Kaeso missus in ipsosum Aequorum agrum depopulandum
transit. Aequi se in oppida receperunt murisque se tenebant:
eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit. At a Veiente hoste cladess
accepta temeritate alterius consulis; actumque de exercitu
foret, in K. Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset.

Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veientibus
fuit; res proxime in formam latrocinii venerat. Legionibus
Romani cedebant in urbem: ubi abductus senserant legiones,
agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem belli invicem elu-
dentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. Et
alia bella aut praesentia instabat, ut ab Aequis Volsciisque,
non dintins quam recens dolor proximae cladis transiret
quiescentibus; aut mox moturos se apparebat Sabinos
sempem infestos Etruriamque omnem. Sed Veiens hostis,
assiduus magis quam gravis, contumelis saepius quam peric-
culo animos agitabat, quod nullo tempore neglecti poterat
aut averti alio sinebat. Tum Fabia gens senatum adit;
consul pro gente loquitur. Assiduo magis quam magno
praesidio, ut scitis, Patres conscripti, bellum Veiens eget.
Nos alia bella curate, Fabios hostes Veientibus date. Au-
tores sumus tutam ibi majestatem Romani nominis fore.
Nostrum id nobis velut familiaris bellum privato sumptu gerere
in animo est. Res publica et multe illie et pecunia vacet.
Gratiae ingentes aetae. Consul e curia egressus comitante
Fabiorum agmine, qui in vestibulo curiae senatus consultum
expectantes steterant, domum redit. Jussi armati postero die
ad lumen consulis adesse, domos inde discendunt.

49. Manat tota urbe rumor; Fabios ad coelum laudibus

having originally been set apart for public uses by the first citizens,
before there was a plebs in existence, naturally returned to the patri-
cians, the representatives of the primitive settlers.

1 See i. 11. p. 31, note 5.

2 'The affair (the war) had come very nearly into (that is, had
pretty nearly assumed) the form of a robbery:' the manuscripts have
in formam, and the usage of the language is not opposed to this,
though prope and its comparative and superlative may themselves be
construed immediately with the accusative.

3 'It was evident that the Sabines were about to rise or bestir
themselves.' Judging from the manner in which the sentence be-
gins, we should expect to find it continued thus, aut motum iri a
Subius (bella) videbantur. But the author seems to have forgotten
the bella which he had introduced.

4 'This enemy did not permit the Romans to turn to any other
quarter.'

6 'We promise, we assure you' = proestamus: and for this reason
we have an accusative with the infinitive dependent on the phrase,
instead of the genitive of a substantive or of a gerund, as usual.

1 *Vestibulum* means here 'a courtyard,' formed by two wings jutting out towards the street; the ordinary meaning of the word, however, is 'entrance-hall,' within the house-door, but without the sleeping apartments, &c.

2 Persons privately connected with the Fabii, in opposition to the *alia turba*, afterwards mentioned, who accompanied them from other and more general motives.

3 That is, *neque spem medium neque curam medium*.

4 See i. 55, p. 91, note 2.

5 'Through the right-hand archway of the *porta Carmentalis*;' a gate near the south-west side of the Capitoline Hill, through which a person passed going down to the Tiber. The right archway was considered, even in Ovid's time, as unlucky, and of evil omen to him who passed out under it. See Ovid's *Fasti*, under the 13th of February.

6 A rivulet which, crossing the *via Flaminia* beyond the seventh milestone from Rome, shortly afterwards falls into the Tiber. A mile further on the same road was the station of *Saxa Rubra*, so called from a peculiar kind of red stone found there. Both the rivulet and the station were on the Etruscan side of the Tiber.
erant, sed tota regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adjunct, sua tota omnia, infesta hostium, vagantes per utrumque finem,\(^1\) fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu praesidium Cremerae oppugnabant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae cominus cum Etruscis dimit-\(^2\) cant acie. Quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit: adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, inuicta subito ab latere Romanae equitum alae non pugnae modo incipi-\(^3\) endae, sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra (ibi castra habebant) pacem supplices petunt. Cujus impetratae, ab insita animis levitate, ante deducuntur Cremerae Romanum praesidium poenituit.

50. Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo, sine ullo majoris belli apparatu, certamen; nec erant incursiones modo in agros aut subiti impetus insensantium, sed aliquo-\(^4\) tiens aequo campo collatisque signis certatum, gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tuli. Id primo acerbum indig-\(^5\) numque Veientibus est visum; inde consilium ex re natum insidias hostem captandi. Gaudere etiam, multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquo-\(^6\) tiens aeque campo collatis signis certata, gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tuli.

\(^1\) Usually the plural in this sense of 'boundary,' or 'frontier district.'

\(^2\) 'From the innate fickleness of their minds.'

\(^3\) 'Here and there.'

\(^4\) 'Visible' = conspicuam. See i. 69, p. 69, note 1.
partes parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. Eo nisi corporibus armisque rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem: inde primo restitere. Mox ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a pavor e tanto animum, populere etiam subeuntes; vincebatque\textsuperscript{2} auxilio loci paucitas, ni jugo circummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis factus: Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. Trecentos sex perisse satis convenit, unum prope puberem aetate relictum,\textsuperscript{3} stirpes genti Fabiae, dubisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellique vel maximum futurum auxilium.

51. Cum haec clades esset, jam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos victoria elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Janiculum hostes occupavere; obsessaque urbs foret, super bellum amnona premente (transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim), ni Horatius consul ex Volsci esset revocatus. Adeoque id bellum ipsis institit moenibus, ut primo pugnatum ad Spes\textsuperscript{4} sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi quamquam parvo momento\textsuperscript{5} superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem, recepto pristino animo, in futura proelia id certamen fecit.


\textsuperscript{1} Exerting themselves vigorously with their bodies and arms to go in that direction. \textit{Nisi} is the perfect participle of \textit{nitor}.

\textsuperscript{2} Was already conquering,' and would finally have been victorious, if—not, &c. As to this use of the indicative for the subjunctive, see ii. 10, p. 111, note 1.

\textsuperscript{3} According to this story, only one boy was left to represent the Fabii. His name was Q. Fabius Vibulanus, and he was afterwards consul twice. Livy follows here the common tradition; but it is, to say the least, very improbable that there were not a considerable number of sons left by the 306 adult Fabii.

\textsuperscript{4} This temple stood in what was afterwards made the \textit{forum olitorium} (vegetable market), at that time without the city, between the Capitoline Hill and the Tiber.

\textsuperscript{5} 'Although the Romans were but slightly superior;' literally, 'although the Romans were superior by but a slight overweight or inclination of the scale.' See i. 47.

\textsuperscript{6} That is, \textit{a Janiculo velut arce}. 
plures erant, major caedes fuit. Ex hac clade atrox ira majoris cladis causa atque initium fuit. Trajecto enim nocte Tiberi, castra Servilii consulis adorti sunt oppugnare: inde susi magna caede in Janiculum se aegre recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim, castra sub Janiculo communit. Postero die luce orta, nonnulli et hestierna felicitate pugnae seme, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamvis in praecipitu, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere adverso Janiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediusque inde pulsus, quam pridie pepulerat, interventu collaeae ipse exercitusque est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, cum invicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.


1 'He marched up the Janiculum towards the camp of the enemy;' properly, 'whilst the Janiculum lay opposed to him.' The same might have been expressed by adversus Janiculum.

2 'They were totally annihilated,' an expression of frequent occurrence in Livy.

3 Eum—namely, invidia: the editions, contrary to the authority of the manuscripts, read eum oppresserunt.

4 See chapter 33.

5 'They restrained themselves,' temperarunt sibi: see Gram. § 264, note 2. Capitis anquirere, 'to institute a trial upon a crimen capitis,' in which the caput (the physical or civil existence) is at stake.
proelium cum Tuscis ad Janiculum erat crimini. Sed fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo ante, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modo sed plebem oratione feroci refutando, exprobrandoque T. Menenii damnationem mortemque, cuius patris munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos, quibus tum saeviret, magistratus, eas leges haberet, periculum audacia discussit. Juvit et Verginius collega, testis productus, participando laudes: magis tamen Menenianum (adeo mutaverant animum) profuit judicium.


1 By attributing to him a share in his praiseworthy deeds.
2 A constructio ad sensum, Veiens being equivalent to Veientium, or cum Veientibus.
3 The Sabines marched out of their camp, not in one body, but in companies by different ways; and amid this confusion the Romans made themselves masters of one of the gates of the camp. Alii alii, supply via, not porta, for there were not so many gates in the camp.

4 Namely, the Romans, by the attack of the Veientines in their rear.
5 Compare chapter 30, p, 125, note 6.
54. L. Furiius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Ve-\nentes provincia evenit. Non tamen bellaturn: induitae in \nannos quadruginta potentiibus datae, frumento stipendioque\nimperato. Paci externae confestim continuatur discordia \ndomi. Agrariae legis tribuniciis stimulis plebs furebat. Con-\nsules nihil Menenii damnatione, nihil periculo deterreti Servili, \nsumma vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius, \ntribunus plebis, arripuit. 2\n
L. Aemilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum ineunt. Vopiscum 3 Julium pro Virginio in quibusdam annalibus cons-\nulem invento. Hoc anno, quoscumque consules habuit, \nrei ad populum Furiius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non \nplebem magis quam juniores Patrum. Suadent, movent, \nhonoribus et administratione rei publicae abstineant; cons-\nularae vero fasces, praetextam curulemque sellam nihil \naliud quam pompam funeris potent: claris insignibus velut \ninfus velatos ad mortem destinari. 4 Quodsi consulatus \ntanta dulcedo sit, jam nunc ita in animum inducant, \nconsulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate \nesse; consuli, velut apparatori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum \n imperiumque tribuni agenda esse: si se commoverit, si \nrespexerit Patres, si aliud quam plebem esse in re publica \ncrediderit; exilium C. Marcii, Menenii damnationem et \nmortem sibi proponat ante oculos. His accensi vocibus \nPatres consilia inde non publica, sed in privato seductaque \na plurium conscientia habere. Ubi cum id modo constaret, \njure an injuria 5 eripiendo esse reos, atrocissima quaeque

1 Stipendium is the pay of soldiers, and money raised for that pur-\npose. But the Roman soldiers did not receive pay till seventy \nyears after this time, in the year 406 B.C. (see Livy, iv. 59). In later \ntimes, it was usual to exact a contribution of corn and money for \nthe troops from conquered enemies, before granting them peace \nor a cessation of hostilities. Here stipendium is used for ‘money’ \ngenerally, the expression being taken from the custom of later \ntimes.

2 He dragged them before a popular assembly for judgment;' \nfor which reason they are afterwards called rei ad populum. Ac-\ncording to Dionysius, ix. 38, the ground of accusation was this— \nthat the ex-consuls (equally with their predecessors, however) had \nneglected to carry into effect the decree of the senate, which had \nbeen passed a number of years before, to the effect that the lands \nclaimed by the plebs should be measured and divided.

3 Vopiscus, a rare praenomen, given to a twin who survived.

4 The ensigns of the consulship were nothing else but, as it were, \nthe woollen veils which were wrapped round the horns of a victim \nled to the altar.

5 ‘Either by fair means or by foul,’ sive jure sive injuria, jure aut
maxime placebat sententia; nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat. Igitur judicii die, cum plebs in foro erecta expectatione staret, mutati primo, quod non descendereot tribunos; dein cum jam mora suspensor fieret, deterritum a primoribus crederet, et desertam ac proditam causam publicam queri. Tandem qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant, nuntiant domi mortuum esse inventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. Præcipius pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil auxiliis sacrae leges habere rent, morte collegae monitos. Nec Patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam: adeoque neminem nixiae poenitebat, ut etiam insontes fecisse videre vellent, palamque ferre tur malum domandam tribuniciam potestatem.

55. Sub hac pessimi exempli victoria delectus edicitur; paventibusque tribunis, sine intercessione nulla consules rem peragunt. Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse de libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reeditum; cum Gennio una mortuam ac sepultam tribuiciam potestatem. Alid agendum, ac cogitandum, quod modo resistatur Patribus. Id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa plebs, quando alid nihil auxiliis habeat, defendat. Quattuor et viginti lictores apparence consulibus, et eos ipsos plebis homines: nihil contemptius neque infirmius, si sint, qui contemnent. Sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere. His vocibus alii alios cum incitassent, ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere, lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. Cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et virgas expediri jubent. 'Provoce, inquit, 'ad populum' Volero, 'quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in spectu

injuria: an for aut by an ellipsis, the full sentence being nullo dis crimine facto, jure an injuria. Compare Zumpt, § 354.

1 See chapter 33, p. 138, note 3.

2 Nixia = noxia, 'a punishable action, a crime.'

3 Malum, of bodily chastisement, as iv. 49, malum militibus meis, ni quieverint; that is, 'it will fare badly with my soldiers,' &c.

4 This is the reading of the manuscripts, though the ordinary usage of the language demands the accusative with sub denoting simul tacity or coincidence of time. See Zumpt, § 319.

6 'Because upon the ground that he had been a captain, he declared that he should not be made a common soldier:' see chap. 23. His demand was just; and indeed what he here claims as customary was afterwards made a law (see Livy, vii. 41)—namely, that in levying new legions no man should be assigned a rank inferior to that which he had formerly held.
suo virgis caedi malunt, quam ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari.\(^1\) Quo ferocius clamitabant, eo infestius circumscendere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero et praevalens ipse et adjuvantibus advocatis, repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se\(^1\) acerrimus erat clamor, eo se in turbam confertissimam recipit, clamitans \'(Provoco, et fidem plebis imploro. Adeste, cives; adeste, commilitones. Nil est quod expectetis tribunos, quibus ipsus vestro auxilio opus est.'

Conciati homines veluti ad proelium se evediunt; apparebatque omne discernere magistatem sine viribus esse. Violatis victoribus, fascibus fractis, e foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti, quatenus Voleron exerceret victoriam. Conlicescenle then tumultu, cum in senatum vocari jussissent, quenerunt injurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferociter dictis sententiis, vicere seniores, quibus ira Patrum adversus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

56. Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi\(^2\) creat in eum annum, qui L. Pinarium, P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus permiserum\(^3\) tribunatum credebat, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quodem violatis consulibus, rogationem tulit ad populum, ut plebeii magistratus tributis comitiis fierent. Haud parva res sub titulo prima specie minime atroci ferebatur, sed quae patricis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi, quos vellent, tribunos auferret.\(^4\) Huic actioni\(^5\) gratissimae plebi cum summa vi resisterent Putres, nec, quae una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex collegio,\(^6\) auctoritate aut consulum aut principum

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\(^1\) \textit{Pro se} denotes his purpose to betake himself to that quarter whence arose the loudest clamour in his favour; the sense is therefore equivalent to \textit{ubi sentiebat acerrimum indignantium pro se esse clamorem}. Compare chap. 43.

\(^2\) Ancient genitive for plebei, from plebes, the form of the fifth declension.

\(^3\) \textit{Permittere}, in the sense 'to let loose;' properly used of horsemen or waggoners who give their horses the rein.

\(^4\) It appears from this passage that in the Comitia Tributa not even the clients of the patricians, much less the patricians themselves, were allowed to vote. Before this time the tribunes of the people were elected in the Comitia Curiata, as Cicero and Dionysius expressly mention.

\(^5\) See ii. 31, p. 137, note 4.

\(^6\) Namely, tribunorum.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur. Sed ut inuentor legis Volero, sic Laetorius, collega ejus, auctor\(^1\) cum recentior tum aerior erat: ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod actatus ejus hand quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, cum Volero nihil praeterquam de lege loquere tur, insecutione abstinens consulum, ipse in accusationem Appii familiarque superbissimae ac erudissimae in plebem Romanam exorsus,\(^2\) cum a Patribus non consulem, sed carnificem ad vexandum et lacerandum plebem creatum esse contenderit, rudis in militari homine lingua non supp\- petebat libertati animoque. Itaque deficien te oratione, 'Quandoquidem non tam facile loquor,' inquit, 'Quirites, quam quod locutus sum praesto, erastino die adeste. Ego hic ant in conspectu vestro moriar aut perferam legem.'\(^3\) Occupant tribuni templum posterio die. Consules nobili\- tasque ad impediendum legem in contione consistunt. Summ\- moveri Laetorius jubet. praeterquam qui suffragium ineant. Adolescentes nobiles stabant, nihil cedentes viatori.\(^4\) Tum ex his prendi quosdam Laetorius jubet. Consul Appius negare jus esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in plebeium: non enim populi, sed plebis cum magistratu esse. Nec illum ipsum summovere pro imperio posse more majorum, quia ita dicatur 'Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites.'\(^5\) Facile\(^6\) et contemtim de jure disserendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur ira tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul licetorem ad tribunum, privatum esse claritatis, sine imperio, sine magistratu; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem

\(^{1}\) 'Supporter' = suasor: see i. 17, p. 40, note 1.
\(^{2}\) 'After he had begun to speak;' ordiri or exordiri orationem, or without orationem. 'to begin.'
\(^{3}\) Viatores are in the general sense 'officers' or 'beadles,' properly 'messengers:' this special distinction was made between lictores and viatores —that the former attended upon and executed the orders of those magistrates who had the imperium, whilst the latter class were attached to those who did not possess that power.
\(^{4}\) It is thus concluded from the polite formula 'if you please,' that the removal of citizens could not be commanded. In many cases, however, this was a mere piece of courtesy, which did not weaken the force of the command.
\(^{5}\) 'Fluently,' 'easily.'
esset, et concursus hominum in forum ex tota urbe con-
citatae multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius perti-
nacia tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento 
proelio foret, ni Quintius, consul alter, consularibus negotio 
dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, 
ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenisset, nunc orasset 
tribunos, ut concilium dimitterent: Darent irae spatium: non 
vim suam illis tempus adempturum, sed consilium viribus 
additurum: et Patres in populi et consulem in Patrum fore 
potestate.

57. Aegre sedata ab Quintio plebs, multo aegrius consul 
alter a Patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis senatum 
consules habent. Ubi cum timor atque ira invictem sen-
tentias variassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab impetu 
ad consultandum advocabant,
1 eo plus abhorrebat a 
certatione animi, adeo ut Quintio gratias agerent, quod eis 
quaeriremque interDITIONem Romanam est 
bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros, ut, si qua secessio 
plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet. Compositis deinde 
rebus castra retro movere. App. Claudius in Volscos missus, 
Quintio Aequi provincia eventit. Eadem in militia saevitia 
Appii, quae domi, esse, liberior quod sine tribuniciis. vincerit 
erat. Odisse plebem plus, quam paterno odio: se victum 
ab ea; se unico consule electo4 adversus tribuniciam potes-

1 'They were summoned; 1 figurative, for 'they passed over from 
passion' to deliberation.' Avocabantur would have been more accord-
ing to common usage.
2 Rem publicam quaeri, a contracted form of expression for magis 
quaeque, in quorum manibus sit, quam ut incolumis sit, respublica.
3 See chap. 33, p. 138, note 3.
4 'Though he had been chosen as the only fit consul.' Electo, or.
tatam, perlatam legem esse, quam minore conatu, nequaquam tanta Patrum spe, priores impedieriunt consules. Haec ira indignatioque feroce animum ad vexandum saevo imperio exercitum stimulat. Nec ulla vi domari poterat:

qui certamen animis imbibebat. Segniter, otiose, negligenter, contumaciter omnia agere; nec pudor nec metus coercerat. Si citius agit vellet agmen, tardius sedulo incedere; si adhorator operis adesset, omnem sua sponte motam remittere industria. Praesenti vultus demittere, tacite praetereuntem execrari, ut invictus illi odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur.

Omni nequiquam acerbitate prompta nihil jam cum militibus agere; a centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere; tribunos plebei cavillans iuterdura et Volerones vocare.

59. Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant, instabantque eo magis, sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium consulem habuisset. Ceterum molto Appio quam Fabio violentior fuit: non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabianus exercitus, sed vinciri voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra; nec ante restitit, quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque extremi agmine caedem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor jam a vallo summoveretur hostis, satis tamen apparet capi tantum castra militem Romanum noluisse: aliis gaudere sua clade atque ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus cum insuper saevire vellet contionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique, monentes, ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cujus vis omnis in consensu obedientium esse. Negare vulgo milites se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri voces postulantium, ut castra ex Volsco agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse; ingentisque mali non suspicionem

by a mistake in writing, ejecto, is the reading of the manuscripts. The editions give objecto, which does not accord so well with the signification of unicus, as to which see i. 21, p. 45, note 4.

3 Namely, exercitus.

2 The editions give omnes, but the fact that the soldiers were unanimous in their opposition to the will of their commander need not be particularly expressed: we have therefore preferred omnem, which is the reading of good manuscripts, and is also supported by the reading of others, omne.

3 See chap. 43.

4 'Others rejoiced.' We stumble at this clause, severed from the rest of the sentence; and, had we sufficient manuscript authority, should prefer to read tioquin gaudere, depending on appareret, 'but that in other respects they were glad.'
modo, sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Victus tandem, quandoquidem nihil praeter tempus noxae\(^1\) lucra- rentur, remissa contione iter in insequentem diem pronunci
tari cum jussisset, prima luce classico siguum profectionis dedit. Cum maxime agmen et castris explicaretur, Volsci ut eodem signo excitati novissimos\(^2\) adorinuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit, ut neque imperia exaudiri, neque instrui
acies posset: nemo ulius nisi fugae memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque\(^3\) evasere, ut prius hostis desisteret sequi, quam Romanus fugere. Tandem collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus, consul cum revoca-
cando nequiequam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro
castra posuit; advocataque contione invectus haud falso
in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinae, desertorem
signorum, ubi signa, ubi arma essent, singulos rogitans,
inermes milites, signo amissos signiferos, ad hoc centuriones
duplicariosque,\(^4\) qui reliquerant ordines, virgis caesos securi
percussit. Cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad sup-
pllicium lecti.

60. Contra ea in Aequis inter consulem ac milites comitate
ac beneficiis certatum est. Et natura Quintius erat lenior;
et saevitia infelix collegae, quo is magis gaudeat ingenio
suo, effecerat. Huic tantae concordiae ducis exercitusque
non ausi offere se Aequi vagari populabundum hostem per
agros passi. Necullo ante bello latius inde actae praedae;
ea\(^5\) omnis militi data est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus
haud minus quam praemia gaudent militum animi. Cum
duci, tum propter ducem Patribus quoque placator exercitus

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\(^1\) Noxa, in a rare sense, 'punishment,' a consequence of guilt, as
in the expressions noxae dedere aliquem aliei and noxam mereri in
Livy, xxvi. 29, and viii. 28: so that the three senses of noxa are
'injury, guilt, punishment.'

\(^2\) 'The last.'

\(^3\) 'Heaps of men and arms lying on the ground:' the men might
not be dead, but merely exhausted.

\(^4\) Three forms of this word—duplicarius, duplicarius, and du-
plaris—were applied to soldiers who obtained double pay and ra-
tions; a distinction not uncommon in after-times, but which at this
period could not exist; for the soldiers did not as yet receive pay,
nor perhaps even food from the state. Livy seems to mean gene-
really 'distinguished soldiers.' A similar anticipation of a usage of
later times is noticed in chap. 54, p. 165, note 1.

\(^5\) 'This was all given up to the soldiers: praeda collectively,
whilst in the preceding clause we have praeidae, 'the things obtained
as booty,' Ea has been inserted because found in two of the best
manuscripts.
T. LIVI.

redit, sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum datum ab se-
natu memorans.

Varia fortuna belli, atroci discordia domi forisque annum
exactum insignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt, res
major victoria suscepti certaminis, quam usu. Plus enim
dignitatis comitis ipsiis detractum est Patribus ex concilio
summovendis, quam virium aut plebi additum est aut demp-
tum Patribus.¹

61. Turbulentior inde annus exceptit.² L. Valerio, Ti.
Aemilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege
agria, tum propter judicium App. Claudii; cui acerrimo
adversario legis, causamque possessorum publici agri tam-
quam tertio consuli³ sustinenti, M. Duilius et C. Siccius
diem dixere. Nunquam ante tam invisus plebi reus ad
judicium vocatus populi est, plenus sauarum, plenus pater-
narum irarum.⁴ Patres quoque non temere pro ullo aeque
annisi sunt: propugnatorem senatus majestatisque vindicem
suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus,
modum duntaxat in certamine egressum, iratae objici plebi.⁵
Unus e Patribus, ipse App. Claudius, et tribunos et plebem
et suum judicium pro nihil o habebat. Illum⁶ non minae
plebis, non senatus preces perpellerre unquam potuere, non
modo ut vestem mutaret aut supplex prensaret homines,
sed ne ut ex consuetu quidem asperate orationis, cum ad
populum agenda causa esset, aliquid lenieter atque summit-
teret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacae in vultu, idem
in oratione spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium
non minus reum timeret, quam consulem timuerat. Semel

¹ An assertion which is perfectly unjustifiable; for it is quite clear
that the plebeians, voting without the interference of the patricians
or (probably at least) of their clients, could elect men entirely de-
voted to their interest.
² Namely, *priorem, praeteritum;* therefore *consecutus est,* 'fol-
lowed.'
³ With the same power and authority as if he had been again (for
the third time) a consul. It might be considered as the duty of the
consuls, from their position at the head of the senate, to maintain
the existing constitution, even though in parts it might not be
founded in strict justice, as in the case of the patricians' possession
of the old royal domain.
⁴ Passively, 'hatefulness, hatred to him and his father.'
⁵ Such were their thoughts; the accusative with the infinitive de-
pending on the idea of 'they thought' or 'said among themselves'
understood. *Non temere = non facile.*
⁶ Him,' with emphasis. *Non modo—sed ne quidem:* see i. 40,
p. 71, note 5. Mourning and accused persons commonly put on a
dark and worn robe (vestis sordida), instead of the ordinary clean
and white one.
causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatio spiritu. Adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupeficit et plebem: ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent,\(^1\) trahi deinde rem sinnerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit: ante tamen, quam predicta dies veniret, morbo moritur. Cujus cum laudationem\(^2\) tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebs fraudari sollemni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit; et laudationem tam aequis amibus mortui audivit, quam vivi accusationem audierat, et exequias frequent celebravit.

62. Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos profectus, cum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus: prohibuit foeda tempestas cum grandine ac tonitribus coelo dejecta. Admiracionem deinde auxit, signo receptui dato, adeo tranquilla serenitas reddita, ut velut numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit. Omnis iva belli ad populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit; et ibi, quia hostis mœnibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modo, sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habitabatur,\(^3\) Sabinis excitii cum praedatoribus occurriissent, ancipiti proelio digressi postero die retrullere castra in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum, cur pro victo relinquueret hostem, integro\(^4\) inde decedens bello.

63. Inter haec bella manente discordia domi, consules T. Numicius Priscus. A. Verginius facti. Non ultra videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariae legis, ultimaque vis parabatur, cum Volscos adesse sumo ex incendiis villarum fugaque agrestium cognitum est. Ea res maturam jam seditionem ac prope erumpentem repressit. Consules coacti extemplo ab senatu, ad bellum\(^5\) educor ex urbe juveniute, tranquilliorem ceteram plebem fecerunt. Et hostes quidem, nihil aliud quam\(^6\) perfusis vano timore Romanis, citato agmine abuent: Numicius Antium adversus Volscos, Ver-

\(^1\) Diem prodicere, 'to put off the trial, fixing a future day for it.' It appears that the tribunes granted a second delay (trahi rem sinerent), which was probably sought by the accused on the ground of his health, for he died before the day ultimately fixed.

\(^2\) In the definite and very common sense of 'a funeral oration.' So also in chap. 47, the word laudator for the person who delivers it.

\(^3\) 'In which it was numerously dwelt;' that is, 'where there was a large population.' So in ix. 28, omnia aedificia (et frequenter ibi habitabatur) circumjuncta muris incendit.

\(^4\) 'Without the war's having been brought to an end.'

\(^5\) It is doubtful to what ad bellum belongs. In our opinion coacti ad bellum is not such good Latin as educere ad bellum.

\(^6\) See chap. 29, p. 133, note 6.

64. Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed ut semper alias, sollicitae certamine Patrum et plebis. Itaque plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit: per Patres clientesque Patrum consules creati T. Quintius, Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori consulis habent, seditiosa initia, bello deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini Crustuminos campos citato agmine transgressi, cum caedes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina moenibusque pulsi ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequinis locis non potuit; populationem adeo effuse fecit, ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret multiplicique capta praeda rediret.

Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta cum ducis, tum militum opera. Primum aequo campo signis collatis pugnatum, ingenti caede utrimque, plurimo sanguine: et Romani, quia paucitas damno sentiendo propior erat, gradum retullissent, ni salubri mendacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans, concitasset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant vincere, vicere. Consul metuens, ne nimis instando renovaret certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessere pacis dies, velut tacitis indutiis utrimque quiete sumpta; per quos ingens vis hominum ex omniis Volscis Aequisque populis in castra venit, haud dubitans, si serent, Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertia fere vigilia ad castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quintius, sedato tumultu, quem terror subitus exciverat, cum manere in tentoriis

1 Dionysius does not mention the name, but says merely 'a small seaport.' Other writers also omit the name. We have given Cae-nonem instead of Cenonem, according to the best manuscripts.
2 'Keep employed.'
3 Supply tempora. A freedom of expression occasioned by the fact, that initio is = prima tempora.
4 'Neare;'' that is, 'more fitted'; longe absim ab aliqua re is opposed to propius absim, and also propior sum.
quietum militem jussisset, Hemicorum cohortem in stationem educit; cornices tubicinesque in equos impositos canere ante vallem jubet, sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere. Relictum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia in castris fuere, ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante sonitu saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.


\(^1\) Equivalent to *post primam aciem,* 'behind their front line.'

\(^2\) As to this construction, the indicative where we should expect the subjunctive, 'they were nearly, and would have been altogether crushed, unless,' &c. see chap. 10, p. 111, note 1. The sense is, that the soldiers, terrified by the stones showered down upon them, were panic-struck, standing still, or beginning to retreat, exposed to the danger, and would have been crushed had not the consul urged them to renew the attack.

\(^3\) As their strength permitted them to press on against those (the Volscians) who were in possession of the place.' This has been the reading of the editions since the time of Sigonius, who introduced *in,* which is wanting in the manuscripts. We might translate the sentence without it thus: 'as those who held the place were bringing their strength against the Romans'—that is, 'were coming forward to have a hand-to-hand fight with the Romans.' *Ferre vires* would then be *inferre arma.*
dedere; effusoque cursu paene agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris meidere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur; qui Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. Antium et Romanus exercitus ducitur; paces circumseissent dies deditur, nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod jam inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.1

1 With this capture of Antium—the first favourable turn of the war against the Volsci and Aequi—Livy concludes the second book of his history. This conquest was not lasting: Antium revolted, and joined the Volscians again; and sixty years afterwards, in Livy, iv. 59, we find the Romans at war with the Antiates. It was not till 338, B.C. (Livy, viii. 14) that this then great seaport fell finally into the hands of the Romans, and had a colony settled in it.
LIBRI XXI, XXII.
LIBER XXI.

(1) Reflections on the greatness of the second Punic war, the history of which is begun in this book. The well-known anecdote of Hannibal's oath. (2) Hasdrubal's conduct in Spain, and murder. (3) Discussion in the Carthaginian senate as to Hannibal's being appointed commander. (4) Hannibal's character. (5) He makes war on some Spanish tribes. (6) He commences hostilities against the Saguntines, allies of the Roman people. The Romans send ambassadors to him. (7-8) Saguntum besieged. (9-10) The Roman ambassadors, refused an audience by Hannibal, proceed to Carthage. Proceedings in the Carthaginian senate. Hanno's speech. (11-15) Siege of Saguntum continued. Alceo and Aloreus. City taken. (16-17) Alarm at Rome. Arrangements for the war. (18) Roman ambassadors go to Carthage. War formally declared. (19-20) The ambassadors attempt to turn away the tribes of Spain and Gaul from the Carthaginians, but without much success. (21-22) Hannibal makes arrangements for the safety of Africa and Spain during his projected invasion of Italy. He sees a good omen. (23-24) He passes the Pyrenees. The Gauls are induced not to oppose his march. (25) A tumultuary war between the Romans and Boii. (26-32) P. Cornelius Scipio sent to the south of Gaul to oppose Hannibal's march. Hannibal crosses the Rhone, and continues his march without Scipio's being able to prevent it. He arrives at the foot of the Alps, and the consul returns to his ships. (33-37) Hannibal's celebrated march across the Alps. (35) Number of his forces. Point at which he crossed the Alps discussed. (3) Hannibal recruits his troops, and Scipio hurries north to the Ticinus, to attack him while his soldiers are yet weary with their terrible march. (40-41) Scipio's speech to his soldiers. (42) Hannibal contrives means of keeping up the spirits of his soldiers. (43-44) His speech to the troops. (45) He offers rewards for valour. (46) The battle on the Ticinus. Scipio worsted, and wounded. (47-48) Hannibal advances to the Trebia. He obtains possession of the village of Clastidium, where the Romans have stored up corn. (49-50) The Romans and Carthaginians have a sea-fight off Sicily. (51) The Consul Sempronius, having made arrangements for the safety of Sicily, joins his colleague at the Trebia. (52) Sempronius eager to fight, Scipio backward. A skirmish between the Romans and Carthaginians, in which the former have slightly the better. (53) Sempronius resolves to give battle. Hannibal equally eager, because sure of victory. (54) The Romans cross the Trebia, and are almost frozen. (55-56) The battle. (57-59) Great alarm at Rome. Cn. Servilius and
C. Flaminius elected consuls. Hannibal's troops suffer severely from cold. Skirmish between Hannibal and Sempronius. (60) Scipio, sent to Spain, defeats Hanno, (61) and ravages the country of the allies of the Carthaginians. (62) Prodigies at Rome. (63) C. Flaminius enters on his consulsip.

In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari quod in principio summae totius\(^1\) professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae unquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus uellae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma; neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit:\(^2\) et haud ignotas belli artes inter se,\(^3\) sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello: et adeo varia belli fortuna ancespse Mars fuit, ut propius periculum\(^4\) fuerint qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam prope majoribus certarunt quam viribus,

\(^1\) Summae totius, 'of a whole connected work.' Summa means 'a whole,' in opposition to its parts. Livy says, then, that having now come to a distinct part of his work—to wit, the history of the second Punic war—he may make the same remark which many other historians have made at the beginning of their works—namely, that they were about to describe very remarkable events. Thucydides, for example, commences his history of the Peloponnesian war with a similar observation. The whole history of a nation, such as Livy narrates, must contain portions of very various importance. The second Punic war, which broke out in 218 B.C., stands out in Roman history as of prime importance: it was a kind of ordeal of the Roman state; and when Rome came out of it, not unscathed, indeed, but still strong and proud, no nation afterwards could ever cope with her.

\(^2\) Livy says that at no time had Carthage and Rome been so powerful as when they began the second Punic war; and this statement is quite correct, for Carthage had made up for the loss of Sicily and Sardinia, which followed the first Punic war, by the appropriation of Spain; and all Roman writers unite in testifying that Italy, which was closely connected with Rome, was never more populous, or, from the military spirit and skill of its free-born inhabitants, more flourishing, than shortly before the outbreak of the Hannibalian war. Its wealth and population were great also in later times; but the wealth was in the hands of a comparatively small number, while the population in the Roman part was composed principally of slaves, freedmen, and very poor people, not, as formerly, of a respectable middle-class.

\(^3\) With each other,' a more particular definition added to haud ignotas: the manner and peculiarities of the warfare of each were known by experience to the other—were mutually known.

\(^4\) Livy uses both constructions—the dative and the accusative—with the comparative and superlative of prope. See Gram. § 255, note 2.
Romanis indignantibus quod victoribus victi ullo inferrunt arma, Poenis quod superbe avareque crederent imperatnam victis esse. Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum serm novem, pueriliter blandiementem patri Hamilcaru ut ducetur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo trajecturam sacrificaret, altarius ad motum, tantis sacris jurejurando adactum se, cum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniisque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam, et Sardiniam inter motum Africam fraudem Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, interceptam.

2. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gesser, ut apparet majus eum quam quod gereret agitare in anno bellum, et si diuitus vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italae illaturos suiisse. qui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt:

1 The Romans had made use of their superiority after the first Punic war—whilst Carthage was engaged in a dangerous struggle with her rebellious mercenaries—to render the conditions of peace more severe, exacting more money, and taking possession of the island of Sardinia, to which, however, the Carthaginians had properly as little right as the Romans.

2 As to this genitive, see Gram. § 276.

3 This is the war, alluded to in a previous note, which the Carthaginians carried on with the mercenaries whom they had employed in the first Punic war, and afterwards shamefully dismissed without the pay due to them. These mercenary troops consisted chiefly of Gallic barbarians. This war, according to a statement of our author in the following chapter, lasted for five years: whereas Polybius, who gives a detailed account of it, mentions only three years and five months, probably reckoning, however, merely the time spent in actual warfare. The war was brought to a close principally by the skill and valour of Hamilcar.

4 Altaria, the high altar in the inner part of a temple, is commonly used as a plurale tantum (Gram. § 77), because such an altar consists, as it were, of several arae piled upon one another.

5 Stipendium is 'a war contribution,' so called because originally it was imposed on a conquered nation, to pay the troops who had been employed in the war by the conquerors.

6 Immediately after the conclusion of peace with the Romans.' The adjective recentem merely expresses more definitely the sense implied in the preposition sub. See Zumpt, § 319.

7 It was evident that the Carthaginians, who invaded Italy under the command of Hannibal, would have done the same under Hamilcar, if he had lived longer.' We have restored the reading of the manuscripts, qui, for which other editions give quae, referring to arma: 'the Carthaginians would have invaded Italy under Hamil-
mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distincterunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus,1 gener inde ob altam indolem proiecto annis ascitis, et quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sane voluntate principum, in imperio positus.2

Is plura consilio quam vi gerens, hospitiis magis regulorum3 conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem anxit. Ceterum nihil ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus cum quidam palam, ob iram interferti ab eo domini,4 obtruncavit; comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam si evasuret vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut imperante laetitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit.5

Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo jungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset annis Iberus, Saguntinisque6 mediis inter imperia duorum populum libertas servaretur.

car, as they actually did under Hannibal.' The sense is not materially different.

1 'He first gained the favour of Hamilcar by his youthful beauty: the author adds, 'as people say,' because this kind of recommendation leads to the suspicion of something immoral, and not creditable to the great Hamilcar.

2 'Promoted to the supreme command.' Hamilcar was surnamed Barca, which was either a personal appellation, meaning 'lightning,' or a generic name, indicating that he was a member of the Carthaginian gens Barcina, which is mentioned by Livy in xxii. 41. From Barca the party in Carthage which supported Hamilcar, and after him his son Hannibal, was called the factio Barcina. The party was opposed in the senate by another, less hostile to the Romans, and the heads of which are here called principes. Against their will Hasdrubal obtained the chief command in Spain; and in the same manner the factio Barcina maintained its influence during the remainder of the war.

3 This was the name given to the princes of the Spanish tribes, and of petty tribes in general; whilst rex was reserved for greater states, and was in later times bestowed by the Roman senate as an honour on allied—that is, subordinate—princes.

4 'From anger at the killing of his master by him (Hasdrubal).'

As to the objective genitive, see Gram. § 273, with notes.

5 The perfect subjunctive, representing the statement as a result, not a part of the regular narrative. See Zumpt, § 504.

6 Saguntum, the modern Murviedro (muri veteres), near Valencia, was situated not far from the sea, and beyond the Iberus (that is, looking from Rome). This city, therefore, when the Iberus was made the boundary between the Carthaginian and Roman domin-
3. In Hasdrubalis locum\(^1\) haud dubia res fuit quin praerogativam militarem, qua extemplo juvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamor atque assensu appellatus erat, favor plebis sequeretur. Hunc vixidum puerum Hasdrubal litteris ad se aressierat; ac-taque res etiam in senatu fuerat, Barcinis niteutibus ut assuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes. Hannio,\(^2\) alterius factionis princeps, 'etaeqnum postulare videtur' inquit 'Hasdrubal; et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum.' Cum admiratione tam necipitis sententiae in se omnes convertisset, 'florems aetatis' inquit 'Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit, justo jure eum\(^3\) a filio repeti censet: nos tamen minime decet juvventurem nostram pro militari rudimento\(^4\) assue-facere libidini praetorum. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et cujus regis genero hereditarii sint relictii exercitus nostri, ejus filio parum mature serviamus?\(^5\) Ego istum juve-

ions, would naturally have been included in the former: according to Livy, however, it was expressly stipulated in the treaty that the independence of Saguntum should be preserved intact. But Polybius denies this.

\(^1\) This sentence is somewhat irregular. When the author began with in Hasdrubalis locum, he no doubt purposed to go on thus—Hannibal primum a militibus imperator creatus, deinde etiam a populo Carthaginiensi institutus est. Leaving, however, the construction which he had begun, he passes over into haud dubia res fuit, quin praerogativam militarem favor plebis sequeretur, expressing the principal thought—namely, Hannibal imperator creatus est—by a parenthesis added to praerogativam militarem. To this parenthesis belong properly the words in Hasdrubalis locum. Such irregularities, not in sense, but in construction, are to be found in almost all writers both ancient and modern, and are to be ascribed to the so-called grata negligentia, or rather, to speak more accurately, to the un-forced naturalness of expression. The ordinary reading is favor etiam plebis; but etiam is wanting in the best manuscripts, and is not necessary.

\(^2\) Livy gives us here a specimen of the quarrels in the senate of Carthage, which is very interesting, as allowing us a peep at the scurrilous personalities which the grandees of that mighty city sometimes threw out against each other. The antithetical statement that Hasdrubal asked what was just, and yet that his request should not be granted, excited the wonder of the auditors, and thereby made the reproach contained in the subsequent explanation all the more bitter.

\(^3\) Eum comes in very tartly, referring to florem: eundem might have occupied its place. See Zumpt, § 744, sub fn.

\(^4\) 'Instead of learning the art of war.'

\(^5\) A bitter question, which carries with it its own answer—namely,
nem domi tenendum, sub legibus, sub magistratibus docendum vivere aequo jure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingenis exsuscitet.  


1 Hannibal will witness the spectacle of absolute domination soon enough, and we shall soon enough be made to obey the son of him who has left our armies as an inheritance to his son-in-law.  

2 Quandoque = aliquando, but implying an undefined generality.  

3 Some time, we know not when, sooner or later, but assuredly some time.  

4 The melior pars is therefore, according to Livy, the party opposed to the House of Barca. This is the judgment of the Roman; history has decided otherwise, for Hannibal justified all the confidence reposed in him.  

5 He soon brought about that his father (that is, the memory of his great father Hamilcar) was the least means of gaining the affections of the soldiers: his own ability and skill being much more efficient.  

6 A person could not easily decide, or 'have decided.' See Gram., § 347, note.  

7 Confidere, 'to have confidence;' alio duce (an ablative absolute), 'another being leader,' or 'under the command of another.'  

8 The measure of his food and drink was regulated by the requirements of nature, not by sensual desires.  

9 The times of waking and sleeping were not separated; that is, he could remain awake during the night, and sleep by day whenever occasion required—a power over mind and body which is necessary to an active man of business.  

10 Sleep was not summoned to him by soft cushions, or the maintenance of strict silence; that is, he slept only when he was weary,
militari sagulo opertum, humi jacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens: arma atque equi conspiciabantur.\textsuperscript{1} Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat: princeps in proelium ibit, ultimus conserto proelio\textsuperscript{2} excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vita aquabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punicam,\textsuperscript{3} nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio. Cum haec indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatorem meruit, nulla re quae agenda videndaque\textsuperscript{4} magno futuro duci esset praetermissa.

5. Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus,\textsuperscript{5} velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolata mandatum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hambilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem causas aquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines (ultra Iberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat) induxit exercitum,

and then he could find repose on a hard bed and in the midst of noise.

\textsuperscript{1} Attracted notice by their surpassing beauty.'

\textsuperscript{2} When the troops had come to close quarters: he never went out of the fray till the contest was decided.

\textsuperscript{3} Romana fides and Punica perfidia were proverbial expressions among the Romans. These qualities had no doubt their origin in the avocations respectively pursued by the two nations—the Romans being principally agriculturists, the Carthaginians merchants and seamen. In international proceedings, neither state was much better than the other in regard to perfidia, though the Romans took great pains to maintain the appearance of faithfully keeping the treaties.

\textsuperscript{4} He strove to learn to see and know everything with his own eyes.

\textsuperscript{5} Hannibal entered on his command in the year 221 B.C., and devoted this year and the two following to the extension of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain, and the preparation of means for his invasion of Italy. His immediate predecessor, Hasdrubal, had (chap. 2) ruled in Spain for eight years, and his predecessor, Hamilcar, for nine. To these twenty years, if we add the three during which the Carthaginians were engaged in the African war with their mercenaries, we have the whole twenty-three years which elapsed between the conclusion of the first Punic war (241 B.C.) and the outbreak of the second (218 B.C.). It appears from this computation that Polybius, who assigns somewhat more than three years to the African war, is more correct than Livy, who (chap. 1) gives five years. As Hannibal was nine years old at the time of his father's departure for Spain, and Hamilcar and Hasdrubal had governed for seventeen years, he must have been twenty-six years of age when he assumed the command.
The principal part of Hannibal's plan, therefore, was to provoke
the Romans to war by besieging Saguntum. He intended, how-
ever, first to subdue the other Spanish tribes beyond the Iberus,
partly in order to strengthen the Carthaginian dominion in Spain,
partly to make it appear as if he had not from the beginning had his
eye upon Saguntum, but was led to it in regular order (rerum serie),
after subduing the neighbouring tribes, 'by the desire of adding the
Saguntines to them.' This must be the sense of jungendo, though
it cannot be denied that the word does not recommend itself as par-
cularly suitable for the expression of this idea.

2 This is the name which Polybius gives to the chief town of the
Olcades: in the ordinary editions of Livy the reading is Carteiam,
with many variations, however, in the manuscripts. Neither the
tribe of the Olcades nor the name of their capital is elsewhere men-
tioned: the historically-known place called Carteia was situated
near Gades (Cadiz), and consequently quite away from the quarter
comprehended in Hannibal's plan.

3 A war contribution having been imposed upon them.' Common-
ly ablative absolute are only so used that the subject of the
main verb is to be understood as agent; for instance, Carthaginien-
nes, stipendio imposito, civitatem in dicionem receperunt, 'after a con-
tribution had been imposed by them.' Sometimes, however, cases
occur, as here, where to the ablative absolute the subject of the
main verb is the object.

4 The modern Carthagina on the Mediterranean, situated between
and about equidistant from Valencia on the east, and Malaga on the
west—a foundation of the Carthaginians, and the capital of their
province in Spain.

5 The Vaccaei were a tribe in the northern part of Spain, about
equidistant from the two oceans. Their chief town was called Pa-
lantia, now Palencia, to the north of the river Durius (Duero or
Duero).

6 A considerable tribe on the Tagus (Tajo) and Anas (Gaudiana).
Its chief town was Toletum (Toledo).
que ab hostibus fuit,1 annem vado trajecit, valloque ita productum2 ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus praecipit ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur; pedem agmen in ripa et elephatos (quadranginta autem erant) disposuit. Carpetanorum cum appendicibus Oleadium Vaccaeorumque centum milia suere, invicta acies, si aequo dimicare tur campo.3 Itaque et ingenio feraces et multitudine freti, et quod metu cessisse credebat hostem, id motari victoriam rati quod interesser amnis,4 clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique proximus est, in aninem ruunt. Et ex parte altera5 ripae vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum, quippe ubi6 pedes instabili ac vix vado tidens vel ab inermi equite, equo temere acto, perverti posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili, comminus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna flumine absorpta: quidam verticoso amni delati in hostes7 ab elephatis obtriti sunt: postremi, quibus regressus in jam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam ex tanto pavore recipiunt animos, Hannibal

1 'As soon as there was the first sleep and quietness on the side of the enemy’ = concubia et silente nocte. Ab hostibus, ‘on the side of the enemy,’ nearly = apud hostes.

2 'Having brought down the rampart of his camp (towards the bank) only so far that,' &c. Ita, 'so,' serving for a more precise definition, here restriction. He might have extended the rampart to the water’s edge, and thereby have provided for the security of the camp; but he wished to leave room for the enemy to cross the river, expecting thus to have an opportunity of giving them a blow. As to ita in the sense of ‘only so far,’ see Zumpt, § 726.

3 'An invincible host, if the fight had taken place on plain ground.' We say 'had taken place;' but in Latin the assumed case, though at the same time expressed as not true, is put in the simple imperfect.

4 Quod annis are to be connected, 'that of the river which lay between'—that is, the distance created by the river. This distance they believed was the only thing which delayed their gaining the victory. See Gram. § 275, a.

5 From Hannibal’s side.

6 Quippe ubi means, ‘because there;’ namely, in medio alveo. The sentence consists of two parts—pedes vel ab inermi equite perverti poterat, and eques [autem] liber rem gerere poterat: 'the infantry (of the Spaniards) could be thrown down even by unarmed horsemen, but the Carthaginian horsemen could make free use of their arms.'

7 'Carried away by the current of the stream and thrown on the bank of the enemy.'
agmine quadrato¹ annem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem acceptit. Et jam omnia trans Iberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

6. Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum jam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serèbantur,² maxime Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem qui litis erat sator, nec certamen juris sed vim quaerii apparet, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum jam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui cum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica retulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispamian ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiaret³ ut ab Saguntinis sociis populi Romani abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam trajicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent, hac legatione decreta needum missa, omnium spe⁴ celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum, et aliı provincias consulibus Hispamian atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, aliı totum in Hispanicam Hannibalemque intendeant⁵ bellum. Erant qui non temere⁶ movendam rem tantam expectandosque ex Hispamia legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur,

¹ Agmine quadrato is here nothing more than 'in complete battle order,' or 'in close array,' since there was no occasion for a march in square, which is necessary only when an attack from all sides at once is anticipated. This was not the case here, for there were now no enemies on the Carthaginian bank of the river. Hannibal, after forcing back those of the enemy who had been crossing to attack him, followed up his success by passing over the river himself with his army, and thus driving on the Spaniards, who were confounded by their misfortune in the river, still further.

² Quarrels were excited—namely, between the Saguntines and their neighbours—by Hannibal's means. He assisted the Turdetani, although he pretended to wish to reconcile the parties.

³ Denuntiare, 'to declare,' or 'give warning,' commonly implying a threat. We should expect qui as the subject of this verb, but the relative pronoun is connected with the protasis, and must be supplied to the apodosis. See Zumpt, § 804.

⁴ Spes, 'expectation,' as frequently.

⁵ Decernentes—intendeant, 'decreeing, they directed the whole war to Spain,' that is, gave their vote that the whole war should be confined to Spain, Africa being left alone. Thus that which is intended to be done is expressed by the simple verb. See Zumpt, § 713.

⁶ Not so hurriedly.' Que in expectandosque, after the negation, takes the force of an adversative particle, as sed. See Zumpt, § 774.
vicit; legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum.


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1 As to dum with the present, see Gram. § 332, note.
2 The transition from the name of a city to the inhabitants is not uncommon in the ancient writers, and is the more natural here, since the word civitas is used, which properly points to the citizens, not to the buildings of a town. The island of Zacynthos is now called Zante, situated near the west coast of the Morea; the Rutulians were an ancient tribe on the borders of Latium in Ardea, which, long before this time, had become a Latin colony.
3 'To such a power;' namely, as they had at the time of this war with Hannibal.
4 'Profits from the sea (that is, from fisheries particularly), or from the land (from the successful cultivation of the soil).'
5 Disciplina is the mode of regulating the domestic and public life, 'education and manner of life,' which in Saguntum was sancta, 'pure and blameless.'
6 Vineae were covered walks, so called from their external resemblance to bowers formed of vines, under which the assailants of a town could attack the wall without danger. Aries—literally 'a ram'—was a heavy beam tipped with iron, which was used for battering at walls or gates.
7 Succedit impersonally, succedit coeptis = coepta succedunt. In the same manner fraud suceedit, or fraudi suceedit, 'the fraud is successful.'
8 'There was a great tower near, commanding the wall.'
hostem nec quiequam satit tum tumentibus pati, deinde jam non pro moenibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat: quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cedebant quam Poeni. Ut vero Hamilbat ipse, dum murum ineautius subit, adversum femur trigula grav iter itcus ececidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset quin opera ac vineae deserentur.

8. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnitatis fuit, dum vulneribus ducis curaretur: per quod tempus us quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque aerius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coepta egi admovere aries. Abundat multitudine hominum Poenus: ad centum enim quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur. Oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifarim distineri coepti sunt et non succiebant. Itaque jam ferebantur arietiibus muri, quaasataeque multiae partes erant. Una continentibus ruinis undaverat urbem: tres deinceps turres, quantumque inter eas muri erat, cum fragore ingenti procederant, cap-

1 'They permitted the enemies, who were erecting batteries, to do nothing in safety,' that is, made everything dangerous for them.
2 'The darts (thrown by the townsman) flew and flashed before the eyes of the enemy,' for micare, 'to gleam,' is also used of anything in rapid motion dashing past one's eyes. In the same manner we speak of hearing, 'a bullet whizzed or whistled past.' We observe here the transition from the historical infinitive, summovere, pati, micare, to the imperfect erat. See Zumpt, § 599, note.
3 As to the accusative of reference, adversum femur, indicating the part, 'in the thigh turned towards the enemy,' see Gram. § 259, 2.
4 'Till the wound of the commander healed.' The subjunctive is used to express the waiting for what was still an uncertain result. See Gram. § 356.
5 Ut—ita have here the force of 'indeed—but still.' There was a cessation from actual hostilities indeed, but still the military works went on vigorously. See Zumpt, § 726.
6 'In more places,' namely, than before. The mere ablative of place 'where,' without the preposition in, is not uncommon in a general or indefinite mention of places.
7 'Some places scarcely receiving works;' that is, being ill adapted for the erection of besieging batteries.
8 'The townsmen began to be kept employed in many different quarters.' On the analogy of multifarim, the adverb omnifarim also, 'in all places,' or 'from all sides,' is formed.
9 One part (of the wall) had, by continuous breaches, laid the city bare; that is, in one part the breach in the wall was so extensive, that the city was laid bare.
tumque oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni; qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasiones partis alterius conciriri solent: sed justae acies, velut patenti campo, inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irritat, Poeno cepisse jam se urbem, si paululum annotatur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora oppoventibus, nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum se locum hostem inmitteret. Itaque quo acerius et conferti magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur, nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Falarica erat Saguntinis, missile telcum hastili abiegnio et cetero tereti praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat. Id, sic ut in pilo, quadratum stuppa circumligabant liniebantque pice. Ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accessum mitteretur: conceptumque ipso motu molto majorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat, nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat. 

1 Qua, sic, ruina: 'upon this fall both sides rushed forward to battle.' The Carthaginians, who thought the city as good as already taken, had now a very severe hand-to-hand conflict to sustain in the breach.

2 By a favourable opportunity offering itself to the one party or the other. Alter, properly 'the one,' has not unfrequently the sense of alterutrum, 'the one or the other.'

3 Justae acies are armies drawn up in regular order, in opposition to tumultuariae manus, bands of men without any order.

4 As no dart fell without injuring some one, between arms and bodies.

5 With a beechen shaft, which was otherwise round. The singular of the common plural ceteri is rare. It does occur sometimes, however, except the nominative ceterus. Sallust expresses himself in a manner similar to this, Jugurtha, chap. 89: Capsenses una modo —jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur, 'made use of only one running water, otherwise of rain.' In the ordinary editions of Livy, the present passage is given with cetera, a Greek accusative of reference, instead of cetero, agreeing with hastili. Cetero, however, is found in all the manuscripts, and can be very well defended.

6 This end, which, as in the Roman pilum, was four-cornered, they rolled round with oakum.

7 When it, set on fire in the middle, was thrown, medium, standing for in medio, and expressing the place or part adjectively. See Gram. § 316.

8 When a soldier had his shield protected by a falarica, he was alarmed at the fire, and threw the buckler away, thereby exposing
9. Cum diu aniceps fuisset certamen, et Saguntinis, quia praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Poenus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidumi tollunt, hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.\(^1\)

Interim ab Roma\(^2\) legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot\(^3\) tam efferatarum gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse\(^4\) legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos Carthaginem protinus ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinae praemittit, ut praepararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari pro Romanis posset.\(^5\)

10. Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi audite sunt, ea quoque vana atque irrita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversu senatu causam foederis, magno silentio propert auctoritatem suam, non cum assensu audientium egit.\(^6\) Per deos foederum arbitros ac testes monuisses, praedixisse se\(^7\) ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent. Non manes, non stirpem ejus conquiescere viri; nec unquam, donec sanguinis nomin

himself undeded to all subsequent volleys. It is worthy of remark that in this sentence arma is used as equivalent to 'shield. Indeed this is its proper signification, arma being opposed, as de fensive arms,' to tela, 'offensive.'

\(^1\) Three successful efforts of the Saguntines, after maintaining for a long time a firm resistance, are distinguished: first, they forced the Carthaginians out of the space between the town and the wall; secondly, they drove them also from the breach, where they were standing irresolutely, not having room to extend their forces; and thirdly, chased them back into their own camp.

\(^2\) Ab Roma for the simple ablative. See Gram. § 307, 3, note 1.

\(^3\) A more common mode of expression would be inter tot tamque efferatarum, the conjunction being added in the same manner as with multi. See Zumpt, § 756.

\(^4\) Operae mihi non est, 'it is not my business;' therefore =non vacat mihi, 'I have not time for it;' also =non est operae pretium, 'it is not worth the trouble.'

\(^5\) 'That the other party might not be able to do anything in favour of the Romans.' Commonly we say gratificor tibi uliquid, 'I do you a favour;' but here we have pra Romanis instead of the dative.

\(^6\) Hanno alone, the senate being opposed to him, pleaded the cause of the Roman treaty' (that is, spoke in support of it), 'whilst his hearers maintained deep silence, but did not assent to his views.' The manuscripts have cum assensu, which is plainly false, for non is necessary. We may either, however, read non cum assensu, or, omitting the cum, non assensu, for the mere ablative also can be used.

\(^7\) 'He had warned, declared beforehand,' an asyndeton of the rhetorical style.
Let A Would mox' to N ante nead Hi ignoratis?'' ulli.^
dere Saguntum ipse lenius imperator ducibus misistis.^ nibusque Juvenem est viginti cernentem, frequently, in for naiu. certainly the Eomanae man influenced other of the Romans infor
ingrams of the Senate—propricty and. Sometimes.
Renouncing the treaty—Hannibal having already exhibited privata fraus.
In the year 242 B.C., the Carthaginians had been defeated by the Romans in a naval battle near the Aegatian islands, and this led to the peace and the evacuation of the town of Eryx, as well as of the other cities of Sicily which had hitherto held out.
A second Mars;' in Hanno's opinion, of course, he was nothing of the kind. Istri points contemptuously to the speaker's opponents in the senate—the Barcine faction. See Zumpt, § 701, sub fin.
Hanno mentions as the original ground of the first Punic war, which was so disastrous for the Carthaginians, their attempt to ob-
I tertiam dicet: 'Reach,' because 'the for alios, state,' and 'the gunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo dii hominesque; et id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli, velut aequus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit.' Carthagini hunc Hannibal vineas turrseque admovet; Carthaginis moenia quattuor anictae. Sagunti ruinae (falsus utinam vates sim) nostris capitisbus incident, suspicatumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicit aliquis. Scio mean levem esse in eo auctoritatem propere eternas immicitiias. Sed et Hamilcarem coa perisse lactatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum jam cum Romanis haberemus; et hunc juvenem tamquam furiam facemque hujus belli odi ae detestor. Nec dedendum solum id paenulum rupti foederis, sed si nemo deposcat, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandumque eo unde nec ad nos nonem famaque ejus accideret neque ille sollicitare quicetae civitatis statum. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant; ahos, qui Hannibaii nuncius ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.'

11. Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare orat

tain possession of Tarentum, which was an infringement of the treaty; for it had been stipulated that they should refrain from making any conquests in Italy. The circumstance occurred at the conclusion of the war between the Romans and King Pyrrhus. After the departure of the king the Romans besieged Tarentum, whereupon a Carthaginian fleet appeared near the harbour, and the commander offered assistance to the Tarentines. This compelled the Romans to grant the townsmen more advantageous conditions of surrender than they otherwise would have done. And this dispute appears, at least according to Hanno's representations, to have been the occasion of further hostilities between the two nations. Livy spoke on this subject at greater length in the fourteenth book, which is now lost; for we find in the epitome the following sentence:—Carthaginiisim classis auxilio Tarentinis venit, quo facto ab his foedus violatum est. The sentence should properly, in accordance with its commencement, have concluded thus—eventus belli, velut aequus judex, dijudicavit (decrevit), cum ei parti victoriam daret, unde ius stabat. The author, however, contracts these last clauses into one, thus depriving the beginning—id de quo verbis ambigebatur—of a grammatical connection. Jus stat ab alioquen, the right is one's side.' See Zumpt, § 301, b.

Pnimicitiae is commonly used only in the plural. See Gram. § 77, note 5.

3 Connect eo and quod, 'on this account that' or 'because.'

4 'Reach.'

5 Status means not only 'state,' but also 'stability'—that is, the safe and well-ordered state.
tione cum eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, intestusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse: populum Romanum injuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginensium societati praeponat. 2

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliiis operibusque habebat, paucorum ipsius dierum quietem dedit, stationibus ad custodiam vinuerva num aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulatingus nunc spe praemiorum accendit. Ut vero pro continente praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, a feco accensi omnes sunt, ut si extemplo signum datum esset nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a proeliiis quietem habererant, nec lacesentes nec laecessiti per aliquot dies, ita non noceo non die unquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. 5

Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrorius quam ante adorta est; nec qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis seire poterant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae cum admoda, catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dis-

1 The family name put before the gentile; this occurs sometimes in Livy, and frequently in later authors. See Zumpt, § 797.

2 Saguntinos—praeponat should in strict propriety have been Saguntinorum foedus praeponat, but the author mentions the men instead of the thing belonging to them. Regarding this common practice, see Zumpt, § 767. As to the fact, it is true that treaties, not alliances, however, were concluded between Rome and Carthage in very early times; for Polybius mentions one in the first year of the Roman republic, 509 B.C.

3 A constructio ad sensum, the preceding miles being used collectively for milites.

4 Almost in continente. See Zumpt, § 311.

5 A comprehensive expression, implying two distinct ideas—the repair of the old wall, and the building of a new.

6 Considerably more violent; aliquanto strengthens, as paulo weakens.

7 Catapultae and ballistae are two kinds of tormenta (lit. 'turning engines'), frequently mentioned, by which heavy masses were thrown against the enemy; the catapults propelling lances, darts, and other tela in a horizontal direction, whilst the ballists threw stones archwise. It is plain, therefore, that if the tower which moved on wheels had several stories, the catapults must have been placed on the lower floors, and the ballists on the uppermost, which was open. It
positis, muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus\(^1\) quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa non calce durata erant sed interlita luto,\(^2\) structurae antiquae genere. Itaque latius quam caederetur ruebat, perque patentia ruinis\(^3\) agmina armatorum in urbe vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt, collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem intimientem haberent, muro circumdant. Et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta urbis parte ducunt. Utrumque summa vi et munient et pugnant: sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbe Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione, et minuitur expectatio externae opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent.\(^4\) Paulisper tamen affectos animos\(^5\) recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Octanios Carpetanosque, quì duo populi delectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conqueritoribus,\(^6\) metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.

12. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat, Maharbale Hismilconis filio (eum praefecerat Hannibal) ita impigre rem

may be remarked that the later authors use *ballista* in a general sense, comprehending the *catapulta*.

1 'Thinking this to be the most favourable moment.'

2 'Because the stones had not been united into one hard mass by lime, but the interstices had merely been filled up with clay.' *Caementa* are hewn stones, irregular, however, and small. These were *interlita luto*—that is, clay was daubed in between them; for in Latin *interlinere* is used with the accusative of the thing bedaubed, and therefore has it for its subject in the passive—thus, *litterae interliniiuntur*, 'letters are written between the lines,' *murus bitumine interlinitur*, 'the wall is bedaubed with bitumen between its single stones."

3 'Through the opening made by the fall of the wall.' *Patentia*, the neuter plural of the participle *patens*, is here used substantively, but retains from its verbal construction the instrumental ablative, or, we may say, *per patentia ruinis* is the same as *per loca quoque ruinis patebant*.

4 'As the Romans—their only hope—were so far distant, and all the country round was in the power of the enemy.' *Circa* is used adjectively, for *quae circa erant*, as very frequently in Livy.

5 'Their weakened courage,' for *affici* is thus used absolutely, an ablative of something disadvantageous being understood; for instance, *marbo* or *malo*.

6 *Conquisitores* were recruiting officers, sent out to enroll men liable to military service.
agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. Is et proeliia aliquot secunda fecit, et tribus arietibus alianquant
muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advententi
Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus
exercitus, atroxque proelium cum multorum utrimque caede
initum, et pars arcis capta est.

Tentata deinde per duo est exigua pacis spes, Alconem
Saguntinum et Alorcem Hispanum. Alco in punctum Saguntinis,
precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu
transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant condicionesque
tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore
factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum affirmans qui sub
condicionibus his de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem red-
derent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argent 
egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent ubi
Poenus jussisset. Has pacis leges abnueente Alcone accep-
turos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos ubi alia vincantur
affirmans, se pacis ejus interpretem fore pollicetur. Erat
autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis
amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium,
transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum (et ipse ita
jubebat) est deductus. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis

1 Supply sui—that is, the Carthaginians, whose leader he was,
his fellow-citizens, countrymen.'

2 We read here for the first time of a citadel in Saguntum. In all
the cities of antiquity, however, there was one part, commonly
situated higher than the rest, which was fortified with peculiar
strength, being intended as the last place of defence. Thus Rome
had its citadel on the Capitoline Hill, and Carthage its Brysa.

3 'That he would effect something.' As to the omission of se,
see Gram. § 385, note 1. Eum is omitted with the same tense, the
future infinitive active, near the end of the present sentence.

4 Tristis is frequently transferred from persons to grievous or an-
noying things. The imperfect after postquam must be noticed. Its
use here is perfectly correct, pointing to the actions as in pro-
gress.

5 Orator means here, as often, 'a delegate' or 'envoy'; for though
Alco had not properly been sent by the Saguntines, still he con-
ducted himself as if he were an ambassador.

6 Sub condicionibus his is not so common as the simple ablative.
The sub here retains somewhat of its tense of 'burthen-bearing.'
See Zumpt, §§ 319 and 472, note 1, middle.

7 'Where other things (such as walls and towers) are conquered,
souls (resolutions), too, are overcome.'

8 A hospes of the Saguntine state; for we read frequently in an-
cient history of single individuals being public hospites of a city:
thus, for instance, Rome formed a hospitium with Timasitheus the
Liparensian, because he had delivered a golden cup, sent by the
Romans to Delphi, out of the hands of pirates. See Liv., v. 28.
generis hominum esset factus, summota cetera multitudine
senatus Aloreo datus est,\(^1\) cujus talis oratio fuit.

13. \* Si cives vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad
Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciores ab Hannibale ad
vos ret tulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec
orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venisset.\(^2\) Cum ille
aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem (si metum si-
mulavit, sua; vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referen-
tibus),\(^3\) ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis
vobis condiciores, pro vetusto hospitio quod mihi vobiscum
est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa me, nec ullius alte-
rius, loqui quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit,\(^4\) quod neque
dum\(^5\) vestris viribus restitistis, neque dum auxilia ab Ro-
manis sperasti, pacis unquam apud vos mentionem feci.
Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes,\(^6\) nec vestra vos
jam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem affero ad
vos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cujus ita aliqua spes
est, si eam quemadmodum ut victor fuit Hannibal, sic vos
ut victi audiatis; si non id quod amittitur in damno, cum
omnia victoris sint, sed quicquid relinquitur pro munere
habituri estis.\(^7\) Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam,
captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum
assignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificet. Aurum et

\(^1\) The expression *senatum dare* (or *praebere*) *alicui* means, \*to hold
a meeting of the senate for some one,* or frequently merely \*to
grant one an audience of the senate.* He who demands such an
audience is said *postulare senatum.*

\(^2\) \* This journey of mine would have been superfluous, on which I
have come neither as an ambassador of Hannibal, nor as a deserter.*
In Latin, however, he says *venisset,* connecting this clause with
the apodosis, *supervacaneum fuisset iter.*

\(^3\) \* By your fault, if those who tell the truth incur danger with
you.* Had the author wished to preserve strict similarity in the two
antithetical clauses, the arrangement of the first would have been
*sua, si metum simulavit.* But this order is frequently and intention-
ally departed from, in order that the words on which the antithesis
principally rests may be next each other, as here *sua* and *vestra.*
Compare chap. 21, note.

\(^4\) \* Let this be my credential.* For the principle on which the
Latinists say *ea fides sit* instead of *id fides sit,* see Gram. § 232, 3.

\(^5\) *Dum* is here \*so long as.*

\(^6\) *Postquam—est* may appear a strange construction: the strange-
lessness, however, lies not in the present, but in the use of *postquam—
ex quo,* \*since.* A construction more suitable to the signification
of *postquam* would have been *postquam co ventum est,* \*ut—sit.*

\(^7\) \* There is some hope of your obtaining peace upon these con-
ditions, that you be willing to listen, as conquered people, to the
terms which Hannibal proposes, and to consider not what you lose
as detriment, but what is left to you as a gift.*
Liber XXI.

argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se jubes deferri: conjungum vestraque corpora ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum biniis¹ vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his rebus remissurum. Sed vel haec patienda censo potius quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra conjuges ac liberos belli jure sinatis.²

14. Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudo permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum collatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conjicientes, eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio³ totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditor. Turris diu quassata prociderat; perque ruinam ejus cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset⁴ nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratu: Hannibal, totis viribus aggressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato⁵ ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est: cui enim parci potuit ex iis, qui aut inclusi cum conjugibus ac libris domus super se ipso⁶ concremaverunt,

¹ The expression used before was *cum singulis vestimentis*. As it is not to be supposed that the author, in so short an interval, could have forgotten what he said, we must assume that Hannibal either meant to allow the Saguntines to take a suit of clothes with them, besides that which they were wearing at the time, or at least that Alorcus so understood him. If the latter is the case, Hannibal uses the preposition *cum* in a different sense from Alorcus.

² *Potius quam—sinatis*, 'before you permit,' or 'rather than that you should permit.'

³ *Trepidatio* expresses 'an irresolute running hither and thither,' whilst the verb *tremere* denotes the shivering of people remaining in their place.

⁴ 'The Carthaginian cohort which had forced its way into the citadel gave a signal that, so far as could be seen from its lofty position, the walls of the lower part of the city were unguarded; and for this reason they demanded that they should be supported from without in an attack upon the town.

⁵ *Signum* here is not 'a signal,' but 'a short order,' 'a watch-word,' which passed from rank to rank. It is not unfrequently used in this sense—for instance, in ii. 20, *dat signum ut, quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant*. So here we can conceive the word to have been, 'Let all the men be slain!'

⁶ 'Over their own heads.'
aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?

15. Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria\(^2\) corrupta erant, et in caedibus vix ullum discriminem actatis ira fecerat,\(^3\) et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat, et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque\(^4\) missam Carthaginem.

Octavo mense quam\(^5\) coeptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint, et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnauerint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servilii et C. Flaminii non potest, quia C. Flaminini Arimini consulatum init, creatus ab Ti. Semprionio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) 'Who did not give up fighting till they were slain.'

\(^2\) *De industria,* 'intentionally,' 'on purpose.' As to *de* expressing manner, see Zumpt, § 305, *sub fin.*

\(^3\) Though Hannibal had commanded that they should kill only adults, not children.

\(^4\) *Vestis* is often used collectively of all woven stuffs.

\(^5\) For *octavo mense postquam.* See Zumpt, § 477.

\(^6\) Livy's reasoning is quite correct; and as the excellent Greek historian of these times, Polybius, is one of those who, as Livy says, extend the duration of the siege of Saguntum to eight months, and assign five months to Hannibal's march from New Carthage to Italy, Livy would have been perfectly justified in doubting the statement made in chapter 6—that, at the time when the news of the siege of Saguntum were brought to Rome, P. Cornelius and Ti. Sempronius were consuls, and in putting in place of these names those of their predecessors M. Livius and L. Aemilius Paulus (consuls of the year 219 B.C.). For it is as improbable that the siege lasted a shorter time, as that the battle of the Trebia was fought not in the year 218, but 217 B.C. *Pugna excedit in annum,* 'a battle reaches into (that is, belongs to, falls in) a year.' *Creare consulem* is said of the president at the *Comitia* where a consul is elected.
16. Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab
Carthagine, Romam retulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et
Sagunti excidium nunciatum est; tantusque simul maeror
patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigni et
pudor non lati auxili et ira in Carthaginienses metusque
de summa rerum cepit, velut si jam ad portas hostis esset,
ut tot uno tempore mutibus animi turbati trepidarent magis
quam consulerent. 3 Nam neque hostem acrorum bellii-
cosioremque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam
desiderem unquam fines atque imbellem. 4 Sardos Corsosque
et Istros atque Illyrios lacerisset magis quam exercerisse
Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam
belligeratum. 5 Poenum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti
annorum 6 militia durissima, inter Hispanas gentes semper
victorem, duci acerriimo assuetum, recentem ab excidio

1 'Pity for the allies butchered in a revolting manner.' Indigne
is a strong word, meaning much more than is given by the weak
translation, 'in an unworthy manner.' It expresses the violation of
the rights of humanity.
2 Summa rerum, pretty much the same as respublica, 'the highest
interests of the state,' 'the public weal.'
3 'Their minds wavered (were undecided) rather than deliberated
what was to be done.' As to trepidare, see chap. 14, p. 199, note 3.
4 To account for the state of mind just described, Livy gives us
the thoughts of the Romans in the oratio obliqua, which is to be ex-
plained by supplying some verb of thinking or declaring, such as
perhaps putabant or existimabant. See Gram. § 388. The reproach
which, according to Livy, the Romans raised against themselves,
that the state had become unwarlike, must rather be attributed to
the liveliness of their feelings than set down as a truth. The wars
with the Gauls at least had been both difficult and dangerous, and
had by no means permitted them to remain in unwarlike ease.
6 It was a peculiar usage of the Romans to call the wars with the
Gauls on the Po by the name of tumultus—not with the view of
lessening their importance but rather to indicate the suddenness of
the attacks made by these warlike tribes, and the constant state
of watchfulness in which the Romans had to be. The islands of
Sardinia and Corsica were subdued after small, but long-con-
tinued and obstinate wars. The Istri—inhabitants of a district bor-
dering on the Veneti, where now are situated Trieste, Cape d'Istria,
Fiume, and Pola—were conquered in the year 221 B.C. The Illy-
rians—inhabitants of the east coast of the Adriatic, from Dyrrhac-
hium northwards, and of the numerous islands situated off this coast
—were conquered in the year 229 B.C., and compelled to give up
piracy. Livy would probably have mentioned here the wars carried
on at this time with the Ligurians, had not his object been to speak
slightly of the Romans.
6 Livy reckons the whole time between the first and second Punic
wars as a time of war for the Cathaginians, during which their sol-
diers had become veterans.
T. LIVII.

opulentissimae urbis, Iberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanicorum populos, concitatum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes. Cum orbe terrarum bellum gener-
dum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.


naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti deducti.² Latum inde ad populum, vellent juberen³ populo Carthaginensi bellum indici. Ejusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita, atque adorati dixi, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret⁴ quod bellum populus Romanus jussisset. Inter consules ita copiae divisae. Sempronio datae legiones duae (ea quaterna milia erant peditum et treeci equites) et sociorum sexdecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti; naves longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus cooiarum datum, quia I.

¹ Livy varies in this chapter between socium and sociorum as forms of the genitive. See Gram. § 58, note 5. The cohorts of the socii were not conscriptae, but imperatae—that is, orders were issued to the cities of the allies, which were to send up their contingent for that year. This contingent usually consisted of four or five hundred, or even more, foot-soldiers, and from one to two hundred cavalry in each cohort. The number of socii this year is much greater than that of conscribed citizens, particularly in cavalry; for the Roman horsemen, though very active and gallant, were but few in number, being all among the wealthiest men in the state.

² We follow the best manuscripts in reference to the gender of celox, which in Livy, xxxvii. 27, also, is masculine. The common reading here is deductae, which is easily explained by applying naves. The originally Greek word, κελός, which has the same meaning, is decidedly masculine. Celox means, as an adjective, ‘swift,’ and substantively, ‘a small swift boat, a yacht.’

³ The ordinary form of proposals made to the Roman people, with two nearly equivalent words. The subjunctive is to be explained by supplying ut: elsewhere, however, Livy says, vellent juberenre, ‘whether they willed and commanded,’ the interrogative particle being subjoined to the second word, because velle jubere stands for one verb.

⁴ Supply bellum as subject out of the following clause. See Zumpt, § 814.

⁵ Ea, not eae. See Zumpt, § 372, and compare Gram. § 232, 3.
Manlius praetor et ipse\(^1\) cum haud invalido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur. Navium maxime Cornelo numeros deminutus. Sexaginta quinquermes datae (ueque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli\(^2\) dimicaturum hostem credebant) et duae Romanae legiones cum suo justo equitatu\(^3\) et quattuordecim milibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sexcentis. Duas legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sexcentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum\(^4\) habuit.

18. His ita comparatis, ut omnia justa\(^5\) ante bellum fieren, legatos majores natu, Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Aemilium, C. Licinium, Q. Baebium,\(^6\) in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginenses publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset; et si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent\(^7\) publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginensi bellum. Romanis\(^8\) postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset, et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum quod mandatum erat percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginensiibus unus \(^9\) Praecepts vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnament deposeebatis: ceterum haec legatio verbis adhuc\(^10\) lenior est, re asperior. Tunc

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\(^1\) 'Also.' Zumpt, § 698.

\(^2\) *Bellum* here is 'warlike power.'

\(^3\) 'With their regular cavalry'—that is, three hundred each.

\(^4\) 'Which (province) had turned in the same direction, towards the war with Hannibal,' 'in the same direction'—namely, as Scipio.

\(^5\) *Omnia justa* are 'all the formalities established by law or custom.'

\(^6\) Q. Fabius, the same who was afterwards dictator, and distinquished as *Cunctator*. He had already been consul twice, in the year 233, and 228 B.C. M. Livius and L. Aemilius were the consuls of the year before this, 219 B.C. C. Licinius is unknown, but was probably a *vir praetorius*. Q. Baebius had been sent before (chap. 6) as an ambassador to Hannibal and to Carthage.

\(^7\) *Defendere* is here used with reference to Hannibal, and implies at the same time the idea of 'saying.'

\(^8\) A more ordinary connection and arrangement of the words would have been *Romanis, postquam venerunt, cum senatus datus esset, or cum Romanis, postquam Carthaginem venerunt, datus esset senatus*; but the arrangement chosen by Livy can also be defended, on account of the emphasis which rests on *Romani*.

\(^9\) 'Your former embassy also was rash' (lit. 'headlong'). *Et* is *etiam*; or rather we must assume that the author intended to go on with another *et*, *et praesens haec legatio*, but substituted another expression with *ceterum*.

\(^10\) 'As yet'—that is, 'as far as you have yet spoken.'
enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposebatur: nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur, et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur.\textsuperscript{1} Ego autem non privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit quaerendum censeam\textsuperscript{2} sed utrum jure an injuria. Nostra enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, nostro an suo facerit arbitrio: vobiscum una discipatio est, licueritne per foedus\textsuperscript{3} fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placeret quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est\textsuperscript{4} a C. Lutatio consule iecum, in quo cum caveretur utorurnque sociis\textsuperscript{5} nihil de Saguntinis (neecdum enim erant socii vestri) cantum est. At enim\textsuperscript{6} eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale iecum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobis foedus\textsuperscript{7} ictit, quia neque auctoritate Patrum nec populi iussu iecum erat, negastis vos eo teneri: itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio iecum est.\textsuperscript{8} Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut jussu vestro iecta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis ictit, obligare potuit. Proinde omissitae Sagunti atque Iberi mentionem facere, et quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.\textsuperscript{9} Tum Romanus simu ex toga facto 'hic' inquit 'vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet,'

\textsuperscript{1} The Carthaginian orator shows that the snappish question—'Has Hannibal acted by your orders, or at his own discretion?'—implies, in whatever way it may be answered, a demand for satisfaction; since, if room be allowed for further parley, the next question will be—'For what reasons have you destroyed Saguntum?'

\textsuperscript{2} 'I might think,' the subjunctive expressing an apparently modest, but here perhaps ironical doubt.

\textsuperscript{3} 'According to the treaty.'

\textsuperscript{4} 'Let me remind you,' or 'let me tell you'—the logical apodosis to the clause with quoniam is omitted here, as frequently in a lively speech or narrative. See Zumpt, § 772.

\textsuperscript{5} 'The safety of both parties was agreed to.' As to Caveo tibi, see Gram. § 264, note 2.

\textsuperscript{6} 'But, my opponent may say.' See Zumpt, § 349, init.

\textsuperscript{7} Quod foedus—eo. As to this construction, see Zumpt, § 814, fin.

\textsuperscript{8} The statement is correct. C. Lutatius concluded the peace in 241 B.C., upon the understanding that the senate and people of Rome would ratify it. They did not do so, however, but added the condition that the Carthaginians should pay one thousand talents more, and should give up possession of the islands between Italy and Sicily. But the conclusion which our orator draws from this is not sound, for the explanation of the Romans followed immediately; whereas the Carthaginians had never in any way protested against the treaty concluded by Hasdrubal.
sumite. Sub hanc vocem hand minus ferociter, daret utrum vehet, succelamatum est. Et cum is iterum, situ effuso bel-
lum dare dixisset. acciperse se omnes responderunt, et quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

19. Hacse directa percunctatio ac denunciatio belli magis
ex dignitate populi Romani visa est, quam de foederum jure
verbis disciparet, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto exci-a. Nam si verborum disceptionis res esset, quid foedus Has-
drubalis cum Lutatii priore foedere, quod mutatum est,
comparandum erat, cum in Lutatii foedere diserte additum
esse, ita id ratum fore, si populus censisset ; in Hasdru-
balis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot
annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus, ut ne
mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur. Quamquam
etsi priore foedere staretur, satis cantum erat Saguntinis,
sociis utrorumque exceptis. Nam neque additum erat, iis
qui tunc essent, nec ne qui postea assumerentur. Et cum
assumere novos liceret socios, quis aequum censeret aut ob
nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi, aut receptos
in fidem non defendi? tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii
ant sollicitarentur ad defectionem, aut sua sponte desciscentes
recipientur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, siet ii Romae imperatum
erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut\(^1\) in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, trajecerunt. Ad Bargusios\(^2\) primum venerunt, a quibus benignae excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Iberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae ecezerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex is in concilio respondit. 'Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos\(^3\) uti vestrum Carthaginiensium amicitia praeponamus, cum qui id fecerunt, Saguntinos crudelius, quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis?' Ibi quaeacatis\(^5\) socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est. Hispanis populis, sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.\(^6\) Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum jussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequicquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

20. In his\(^5\) nova terribilis species visa est, quod armati (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt. Cum verbis exlentiores gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno bellum Italiae interfici per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus majoribusque natu juvenis sedaretur: adeo stolida impu

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1 This clause, ut perlicerent, depends on the preceding ut adirent—an awkward and clumsy construction: 'to visit the states, in order that they might induce them to become allies.'

2 We know nothing either of the Spanish tribe or of the Volciani, who are mentioned next. It is plain, however (indeed, as to the Bargusians, Livy, in chap. 23, mentions the fact), that they belonged to those tribes which were settled between the Pyrenees and the Iberus (Ebro); for the efforts of the Roman ambassadors could extend only over this part of Spain, since, had they crossed the Ebro, they might justly have been punished by the Carthaginians. Livy's casual statement that taedebat eos imperii Punici, and that the minds of many tribes beyond the Iberus were excited by the Roman ambassadors, may be supposed to contradict our theory. Their hatred of the Punic government, however, need not be referred to experience, but to the fear of what was clearly imminent: and the inclination of a tribe on this side of the Iberus towards the Romans might very well stir up others beyond the river.

3 'Are you not ashamed, Romans, to demand?'

4 'Since you, the allies of the Saguntines, have more cruelly betrayed them than the Carthaginian, their enemy, has destroyed them.'

5 See Gram. § 352, note 1, for censeo is = suadeo.

6 Namely, Gallis, according to that confusion of the names of countries with the inhabitants, of which examples are numerous. Caesar, too, mentions this custom of the Gauls in Bell. Gall., v. 56.
densque postulatio visa est, censere, ne in Italianam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id advertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis populandos objicere. Sedato tandem remitum respondum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginensium injuriam, ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma. Contra ea audire sese gentis suae homines agris finibusque Italiam pelli a populo Romano, stipendiumque pendere, et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satris prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita, praecoccupatos jam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse: sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore (adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse), ni subinde aure, cujus avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniae et Galliae populis legati Romam redeunt, haud ita multo postquam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem in expectationem belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama jam Iberum Poenos tramiisses.

21. Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem novam in hi-perna concesserat, ibique auditis quae Romae quaeque Carthaginiae acra decretaque forent, sequa non ducem solum, sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquis praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani generis milites convocat. 'Credo ego vos,' inquit, 'socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis, aut finienda

1 'It seemed such a foolish and brazen-faced demand to think that the Gauls would turn the war upon themselves, in order not to let it pass through to Italy.' In the direct speech we should have censorship, Galli adverterent bellum in se, and from this, in the indirect, censere, Gallos advertere.

2 'And were suffering the other indignities of that kind.' This refers to the expulsion of the Galli Senones from their territory between the Roman colonies of Ariminum and Sena, on the Adriatic, in consequence of an agrarian law passed by the tribune Flaminius in 225 B.C.

3 'There they learned everything, which had been carefully and faithfully investigated by their allies.' The city of Massilia (now Marseilles) had been for a long time connected with Rome by an aequum foedus—that is, a league of mutual friendship and independence; and after this period the Massilians were faithfully assisted by the Romans against the neighbouring Ligurian and Gallic tribes.

4 Subinde, 'from time to time, repeatedly.' Zumpt, § 276.

5 Or transmisisse. Zumpt, § 326, fin.

6 For essent. Gram. § 137, note 4.

7 Genus here, as not unfrequently, for gens.

8 'You likewise,' as well as I.
nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse, aut in alias terras transferendum bellum: ita enim haec gentes non pacis solum, sed etiam victoriae bonis florebunt, si ex alis gentibus praedam et gloriam quaeremus. Itaque cum longinquaque domo instet militia, incertumque sit quando domos vestras et quae euique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere vult, commeatum do.\(^1\)

Primo vere edico assitis, ut diis bene juvatibus bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus.\(^2\) Omnis fere visendi domos oblata ultero potestas grata erat, et jam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium.\(^3\) Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut jam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

Hannibal cum recensisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades\(^3\) praefectus Hereuli vota exsolvit; novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospera\(^4\) evenissent. Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque\(^5\) itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido praeсидio firmare eam statuit. Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa, maxime jaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, in Africa Hispania,\(^6\) melior procul ab domo

\(^1\) I give leave of absence,' no doubt continuing their pay: for therein consisted the pleasure of such a furlough; and by this means Hannibal gained the affections of his Spanish soldiers.

\(^2\) And seeing before them a longer absence for the future—for desiderium is 'the longing to see the absent.'

\(^3\) The form of the accusative plural of the third declension in is for es (Gram. § 69) was retained particularly in several names of towns—as, for instance, Sardis. The city of Gades (now Cadiz), in the extreme south-west of Spain, was an ancient Phoenician colony, as was shown, amongst other things, by the worship of the Phoenician god Melcarth, whom, on account of his extensive conquests, the Greeks and Romans identified with their Heracles or Heracles. The temple of this Hercules in Gades was visited and famed even in the time of Julius Caesar.

\(^4\) Or prospere, for we may use either the adjective or the adverb.

\(^5\) Galliae in the plural are the various divisions of the great country inhabited by the Gallic nation. The Romans distinguished first Gallia Cisalpina and Transalpina; and Transalpine Gaul, again, was divided into four parts—Gallia Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Belgica, and Aquitania. Italy Proper began at that time in the east, on the Adriatic, with the Roman colony of Ariminum; and in the west, on the Tuscan Sea, with the city of Pisae on the Arnus.

\(^6\) Observe the different position of the words in the antithetical clauses. Livy is fond of such a position. See chap. 13, p. 198, note 3, si metum simulavit, sua (culpa); vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus.
futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati, stipendia facerent. Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites caetratos\(^1\) misit in Africam, et funditores Ba-
teares\(^2\) octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, partim distribui per Africam jubet. Simul conquisitoribus\(^3\) in civitates missis, quattuor milia conscripta delectae juventutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides, duci Car-
thaginem jubet.

22. Neque Hispam neglegendam ratus, atque ideo haud minus,\(^4\) quod haud ignarus erat, circumitam ab Ro-
manis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, Ha-
drubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque eum Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus tre-
centis, Balearibus quingentis. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices,\(^5\) mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringentis quinquaginta, et Numidae Maurique accolae Oceanii ad mille octingentos, et parva Ilergetum\(^6\) manus ex

\(^{1}\) *Pedites caetrati*, foot-soldiers, who, instead of the *scutum* or the *clipeas*, were armed with the *castra* (or *caetra*), which was a kind of shield peculiar to the Spaniards, probably made of hurdle-work, covered with a stout hide, light, and similar to the Greek *petela*; for which reason Livy, in xxxi. 36, gives the name of *caetrati* to the Greek peltasts, a kind of infantry, occupying a middle position be-
tween hoplites and light-armed troops.

\(^{2}\) 'Balearic slingers'; for the inhabitants of the Balearic islands, off the south-east coast of Spain, were famed during all antiquity for their skill in throwing with accuracy stones or leaden balls a distance of six hundred paces with the sling (*fundus*). For this reason they were, in later times, favourite auxiliaries in the Roman armies.

\(^{3}\) As to *conquisitorum*, see chap. 11, p. 196, note 6.

\(^{4}\) 'Hannibal, thinking that he must take care of Spain, and must provide for its safety not less (than for that of Africa) for this reason, that he knew,' &c. *Atque ideo haud minus* is the manuscript read-
ing, to which we must supply 'to take care of' out of the preceding *non negligendam = the positive observandum*. In other editions *haud* is omitted, in which case *negligendam* only is to be supplied.

\(^{5}\) *Libyphoenices* were those subjects of Carthage who had sprung from marriages between the immigrant Phoenicians and native Africans. They ranked next, therefore, to the proper Carthaginians, the ruling Phoenician citizens of the capital, and probably inhabited the smaller towns in the Carthaginian territory.

\(^{6}\) The Ilergetes were a considerable Spanish tribe on this side of the Iberus, in the modern district of Catalonia. Their chief town was Ilerda (now Lerida). This little band of two hundred cavalry had no doubt volunteered for pay into the Carthaginian service, for their tribe was not subject to Carthage.
Hispania, ducenti equites, et ne quod terrestris deesset auxiliorum genus, elephanti viginti uuus. Classis praeterca data ad tuendam maritimam oram, quia qua parte belli vice-rant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructae que remigio tria decem et duae quinque-creres erant et triremes quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus rediit; atque inde profectus praeter Etovissam urbem ad Iberum maritimamque oram ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab ea juvem divina specie, qui se ab Jove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde sequeretur, neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pavidum primo, nusquam circum-spicientem aut respicientem, secutum; deinde cura humani ingenii, cum quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitum esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; tum vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgulorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore coeli nimbum. Tum quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset quae- rentem audisse, vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret porro irre, nec ultra inquireret, sineretque fata in occulto esse.


1 See the same expression in chap. 17. The Romans had gained the decisive victory in the first Punic war by means of their fleet.
2 Equivalent to remigibus. See Zumpt, § 675. Thus only a part of the ships of war left to Hasdrubal was manned and fitted out (aptae).
3 'Moved along,' of a violent motion.
4 As to the form of the adverb tripartito, 'in three divisions,' see Gram. § 219, b; and as to the double accusative after verbs compounded with trans, see Gram. § 251.
5 See, iis, which must be supplied out of the following relative clause. This is a very common construction; as, for instance, in the singular, praemisso qui hostium adventum specularetur, or, in the plural, praemissis qui specularentur. Compare Zumpt, § 765, note.
6 The chief town of the Lacetani was Solsona (still so called), in the middle of the modern province of Catalonia.
exercitus est coeptus, rumorre per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt.\textsuperscript{1} Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae insuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps\textsuperscript{2} erat, ne ceterorum etiam fieroces animi irritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipse\textsuperscript{3} gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans.

24. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaem transgreditur et ad oppidum Illiberi\textsuperscript{4} castra locat. Galli quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaem Hispanics fama erat praesidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati,\textsuperscript{5} Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nunciatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit; colloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle,\textsuperscript{6} et vel illi propius Illiberi accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilitior esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum,\textsuperscript{7} nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliae, non hostem\textsuperscript{8} advenisse; nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiano venisset. Et per nuncios quidem haec. Ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Illiberim extemplo motis haud gra-

\textsuperscript{1} 'Turned away their march;' that is, separated themselves from Hannibal's army.

\textsuperscript{2} 'Questionable policy.'

\textsuperscript{3} 'Whom he himself also had observed to be oppressed by the military service'—he himself, as well as others, not mentioned here. \textit{Et ipse} is the manuscript reading; the correction \textit{ipsum} gives a good intelligible sense, but does not seem to us necessary.

\textsuperscript{4} 'Now Elne on the river Tech, which in ancient times had the same name as the town, Illiberis. The name of the town, here a neuter indeclinable, is used a little farther on as a feminine in \textit{is}, accusative \textit{im}.

\textsuperscript{5} Equivalent to \textit{tumultuose exciti, 'brought together in confusion.' Ruscino is now La Tour, in the neighbourhood of Perpignan. \textit{Aliquot populi} is in apposition to the subject \textit{Galli}, serving for more precise definition. We might, however, have had \textit{Gallorum aliquot populi}.

\textsuperscript{6} The accusative with the infinitive depends on the notion of speaking implied in \textit{oratores misit}, for these verbs are = a verb of declaring. As to the subjunctive \textit{accederent}, and the infinitive \textit{processurum}, see \textit{Gram.} \S\ 370, and Zumpt, \S\ 620.

\textsuperscript{7} 'He would willingly receive them into his camp:' \textit{se laetum, or liberenter accepturum.} See Zumpt, \S\ 682.

\textsuperscript{8} A witty choice of words, on account of their resemblance in sound (\textit{paroymasia}). See Zumpt, \S\ 822.
vauter\(^1\) ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per lineas suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

25. In Italianam interim nihil ultra quam Iberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam\(^2\) perlatum erat, cum perinde ac si Alpes jam transisset, Boi sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt;\(^3\) nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper\(^4\) circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreatis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu lacto tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut nou agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant assignandum, diffisi Placentiae moenibus, Mutinam\(^5\) confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, T. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est;\(^6\) pro C. Servilio et T. Annio Q. Acilium et C. Herennium

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\(^1\) So the manuscripts read, the editions commonly *gravate*. But both forms are according to analogy, and besides them we have another, *gravatim*, with the same sense.

\(^2\) 'To Rome,' defining more precisely what we are to understand by *in Italian*. Compare in the preceding chapter *Galli—aliquot populi*.

\(^3\) As to *cum* with the indicative, see Gram. § 355.

\(^4\) In the previous year two Latin colonies, each consisting of 6000 men, had been settled in the country on the Po, which had been given up by the Gauls to the Romans. The places chosen for the colonies were Placentia (now Piacenza), on this side of the Po, at the place where the Trebia falls into it; and Cremona, on the other side of the river, and some miles farther down. These were two important fortresses, by which then and afterwards the Roman possessions in the province of Cisalpine Gaul were principally protected. For the settlement of the colonies sent out from Rome—that is, for the assignment of the portions of land, the superintending of the building and fortifying of the town, and the regulation of internal arrangements—some distinguished men were chosen by the Roman people, and invested with military command for several years. Their number was commonly three, the smallest which could constitute a college; and for this reason they are generally called in Latin *tresviri coloniae deductae*: one of them is called *triumviri*—that is, one of the commission of three; and if anywhere in the manuscripts we find *triumviri* in letters, not *III viri*, this form of the plural can be explained only by an ungrammatical formation directly from the singular. Compare Zumpt, § 124.

\(^5\) Mutina is the modern Modena, south-east from Piacenza, on the road to Bononia (Bologna) and Ariminum (Rimini), where Italy Proper began.

\(^6\) This man had already been consul in the year 220, but in consequence of an informality in his election, had laid down his office. He may have been chosen a *triumviri coloniae deductae*, as a sort of compensation for his loss.
habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviro
agrim metentes impetus sit factus.1 Mutinae cum obside-
rentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbiun artes rudis, 
pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera;2 segnis intactis assi-
deret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi;3 evocatique 
ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium non contra 
jug modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quae data in id 
tempus erat, fide,4 comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, 
nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Cum haec de 
legatis nunciata essent et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo 
esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen5 ad 
Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant, plerisque6 
incultis. Ibi ineffecto7 profectus, in insidias praecipi-
tatus, multa cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos 
emersit. Ibi castra communita; et quia Gallis ad temp-
tanda8 ea defuit spes, reflecti sunt militum animi, quam-

1 'Whether they, being sent as ambassadors to the Boii, to call 
them to account, were injured (contrary to the law of nations), 
or an attack was made upon them when, as triumvirs, they were 
measuring the ground.' The legati and the triumviri were the same 
persons, looked upon in different relations; and it is certain that 
they fell into the hands of the Gauls: the doubtful point is, on what 
occaasion, under what circumstances, and in what capacity, they 
were attacked.

2 'And at the same time also uncommonly slow at military la-
bours.' As to idem, when two predicates are given to one subject, 
see Zumpt, § 697. Opera are manual exertions—such as the erec-
tion of besieging towers, the throwing up of mounds, and the like: 
militaria, 'such as become, or are necessary to soldiers'—that is, 
according to the notions of Romans.

3 Equivalent to coeperunt simulare se de pace agere; the passive, 
however, implies no definite subject, but some such as the French 
on, or German man. See Gram. § 234, note 1.

4 'With the violation of the promise of personal safety, which had 
been given for that particular time'—that is, the time of the nego-
tiation.

5 'The army not in close order;' for agmen is an army on the 
march, just as acies is one in battle array; and effusum means 'what 
is not kept together—straggling.'

6 Ablative from the neuter pluraque, 'most of the places,' 'the 
greater part of the country.'

7 'Without reconnoitring.' Adverb formed according to Gram. 
§ 219, b.

8 Tentare (for this is the correct spelling, instead of the ordinary 
tentare; see Zumpt, § 12, middle) is here=aggregi, 'to attempt to 
gain possession of a thing.'
T. LIVII.


The termination *erat* is here preferred by the author for reasons unknown to us. This is a variation frequent in the historical style, whereas in Cicero the form *erat* is not used at all. The position of the words in the one antithetical clause does not correspond with that in the other; see chapter 21, p. 208, note 6.

2. The Gaetae, and Regio (formerly Regio), Novi (now Brescia), belonged to the tribe of the Carnutes, who remained faithful to the Romans amid all the Gallic tumults.

3. Transscripta is here used in a novel and contracted manner for *scripsit et transierat*. he leaved (or left) a novel legion, and sent it beyond the Apennines, to the place formerly occupied by it, which was now with the praetor at Tarquinii. Commonly *transierat* here means to transfer from one list to another, but here the word means to transfer from one legion to another.

4. The mouth of the Rhone and the Varsus, Yan, which was the boundary between France and Italy, was scarcely yet thoroughly convinced. The *aqua* in the compounds *aqua maxima*, *aqua minima*, *aqua vetus*, agrees in meaning with *aqua vetas*.

5. The text in Suet. *Aug.* 69, reads *prope ostium Saluu*, instead of *prope ostium Sabina*. It was in the province of Gallia Narbonensis, that the Roman fleet was assembled by the praetor, T. Sulpicius; and amongst the auxilia, the Cilicenses were stationed; the *tribus* of this people was divided between the Rhone and the Saison.


7. Attius praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociis, delectu novo assidue conseptis auxiliis, Sallutem, nonnique diebus praeteriam, Romanae equitum, et ad proximum Solium montes perveit. Masculam, et ad proximum Rudios, peruenit. (in manuscript, *et ad proximum Rudios, peruenit*).

8. The *prope ostium Sabiu* was the mouth of the Rhone; the *prope ostium Sabiu* was the mouth of the Saison. This latter was at the mouth of the Pison, which is one of the streams of the Rhone, and marked the boundary between Gallic and Ligurian tribes.

9. *Quod erat dictum*: the *erat* is here preferred by the author, and the termination *erat* is already used with *inergito* and *inergito*.

10. *Prope ostium Sabiu* (formerly *prope ostium Saluu*), which was the boundary between France and Italy, was scarcely yet thoroughly convinced.
superasse Pyrenaeos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum sat is relectis ab jactatione maritimam militibus, trecentos interim defectos equites ducibus Massiliensisibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. Hannibal, ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis, jam in Volcarnum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani: sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse. ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum trajectis ulteriorum ripam armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal, et eorum ipsorum quos sedes suae tenuerant, simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque; simul et ipsi trajici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingenos coacta vis navium est lintrimque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus; deinde et ipsi milites, simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis inducti, alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

27. Jamque omnibus satis comparatis ad trajiciendum, with _tum_, 'at that time;'; and in connection with negatives, answers to our 'yet.' See Zumpt, § 733.

1 That is, _a nausea_, 'from sea-sickness,' the cause being put for the effect.

2 From Polybius we learn that these Gauls were in the service of the Massilians: they were auxiliaries, therefore, not to the Romans, but to the state of Massilia.

3 Livy uses the terms 'this side,' and the 'farther side' here, indicating their respective positions in relation to Hannibal, though commonly Roman writers, when they use such terms, have the position in relation to Rome in their minds. The Volcae were in later times found only in the country west of the Rhone, where their capital—Nemaussus, now Nismes, celebrated for its well-preserved Roman remains—was situated.

4 'And those of the Volcae themselves, who had been kept back by their dwellings'—that is, who had remained in their dwellings on the west, or, as Livy calls it, the hither bank. _Eorum_ is as much as 'the above-mentioned;' and the demonstrative 'those,' which governs _eorum_, must be taken out of _quos._

5 Unintentionally'—that is, without any view of their being used in war.

6 The Gauls set to work first, making boats roughly, which incompleteness and imperfection is properly expressed by the verb _inchoare._
terrebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes; quos ut averteret, Hannone Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei jubet, et ubi primum possit, quam occultissime trajecto amni circumducere agmen, ut cum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab ergo hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiorem, ubi dividebatur, eqoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Lbi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi virique et alia onera trajecerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole, in utres vestimentis conjectis, ipsi caetris suppositis incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus junctis trajectus, caetris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore lessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exequendum. Posterio die profecti ex loco prodito fumo significant se transisse et haud procel abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad trajiciendum. Jam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres. Equites fere propter equos nantes navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens, tranquililitatem infra trajiciendum lintribus praebebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur, praeter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in naves.

1 *Equites virique*, defining more precisely, and therefore in opposition to *hostes*: see chap. 24, p. 211, note 5. *Viri* here are 'infantry.'
2 'To go one day's march up the river.'
3 'When it needs to be done.' See *Gram.* § 301, note 1.
4 'The Gallic guides, given him for this purpose, informed him that about twenty-five miles up from that place (Hannibal's camp) the river flowed round a small island; and being at the spot where it divided broader, and on that account less deep in the channel, afforded a passage.'
5 *Prodere fumum=excitare fumum*, with the additional idea of 'from a hidden place'—thus, 'by smoke, which rose from their place of concealment, or from their ambush.'
6 'A row of larger ships (as opposed to the *lintres*)—which to receive (and break) the current of the river, carried the cavalry across further up, beside their horses, most of whom were swimming—allowed the boats crossing below a quiet passage.' *Fere* indicates that most of the horses swam beside the ships, on which their riders stood, guiding the animals by the reins: some of the horses, as is mentioned afterwards, were carried over in the vessels saddled and bridled, that they might be ready for use immediately on landing.
7 'Saddled and bridled.'
28. Galli occursant in ripam cum varis ululatibus can- 
tuque moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita vibrantes-
que dextris tela, quamquam ex adverso terrebat tanta vis 
navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nau-
tarum, militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum 
fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa trajicientes suos hortabantur.1 
Jam satis paventes adverso tumultu2 terribilior ab tergo 
adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse 
aderat, aucepsque terror circumstfabat, et e navibus tanta 
vi armatorum in terram evadente, et ab tergo improvisa 
premente acie. Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati3 
pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt, 
trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugient. Hannibal ceteris 
copiosis per otium trajectis, spernens jam Gallicos tumultus4 
castra locat.

Elephantorum trajiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo: 
certe variata memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad 
ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex his irritatum ab 
rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur,5 
traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem desti-
tueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapi-
ente.6 Ceterum magis constat ratibus trajectos: id ut tutius

1 A vivid picture. The Gauls were terrified at the noisy approach 
of the ships, and by the various shouts of the enemy; both those 
who were actually crossing and battling with the current, and those 
who were still standing on the western bank, and encouraging their 
companions in the boats. Observe the asyndeton nautarum. militum, 
which helps to give life to the picture. See Zumpt, § 783, middle.

2 'By the tumult in front.' Adortus, with the omission of est: 'a 
still more alarming shout assailed them from behind.'

3 'After the Gauls, having attempted a vigorous resistance on both 
sides (that is, against those who were crossing the river, and against 
Hanno in their rear), were driven back, they broke through by 
whatever road presented itself as most open.' As to the form utro-
que; see Zumpt. § 289, and as to passim, Gram. § 221. Passim 
means 'scattered, in a scattered manner;' that is, 'in many' or 'all 
places,' but not 'in some few places,' or 'here and there.'

4 Hannibal despaired after this the noisy and threatening but brief 
rising of the Gauls in arms. This was the view of the Romans, 
who had often experienced Gallic assaults (properly expressed by 
the word tumultus), and had learned, that if they were quietly but 
undauntedly resisted, they were truly contemptible.

5 'As it followed the keeper, who fled into the water swimming,' 
quien nans in aquam refugiebat. The participle nans is retained, 
even though the qui refugiebat is also put into a participial form.

6 'Whilst the current itself carried all who, though afraid of the 
deep water, were deserted by the firm ground, over to the other 
side.' Ut quemque destitueret vadum means literally 'just as the 
ground deserted each,' but this is omnes quos vadum destitueret;
consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidelem pronius est.\textsuperscript{1} Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam, a terra in amnem porrexerunt; quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaulis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo injecta constraverunt, ut betaue adacter velut per solum ingrederentur. Altera ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad trajiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; et cum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam, praegredientibus feminis, acti in minorem applicatam\textsuperscript{2} transgressi sunt,\textsuperscript{3} extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter annexa erat, vinculis ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis aliis deinde repetiti ac trajecti sunt.\textsuperscript{4} Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continentis velut ponte agerentur: primus erat pavor, cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur.\textsuperscript{5} Ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant,\textsuperscript{6} donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saevoientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere

only, that by quisque the elephants are pointed at singly, and by the conjunction ut the moment is indicated at which each slipped off the firm ground, and came under the influence of the current. As to quisque=omnes, see Zumpt, § 710; and as to destituere, the subjunctive of repeated action, after participles of times (as here ut= cum, ubi), see Zumpt, § 569, and Gram. § 360, 8.

\textsuperscript{1} As this would be a plan affording greater security before its execution, so after the thing has been done, it can more easily be believed; that is, the plan of carrying over the elephants on floats would, on the one hand, be preferable to the other before its execution, on the score of safety; and, on the other hand, as it is certain that the animals were, in one way or another, taken over, the former plan is more worthy of credit.

\textsuperscript{2} Into the smaller raft, which had been made fast to the other.'

\textsuperscript{3} As soon as the elephants had passed into the smaller raft, it was immediately drawn over to the other bank by some light rowboats.' \textit{Cum transgressi sunt} is used as \textit{cum primum (ut primum) transgressi sunt}.

\textsuperscript{4} Others were again gone for, and taken over.' Properly, we could only say elephanti (totus grex elephantorum) repetiti et alii trajecti sunt; for the repetition of the act refers to the elephants in general, not to the remaining part merely.

\textsuperscript{5} 'The first disquietude among the elephants arose when, the raft being loosed from the others, they were carried quickly away into the deep water.' To ceteris we cannot supply anything but ratibus, and we must therefore conceive that the large raft, two hundred feet long, consisted of several firmly tied together. In fact we learn from Polybius, in his account of this crossing, that it actually was so.

\textsuperscript{6} 'There a somewhat restless motion arose among them, the animals pressing upon one another, because those furthest out shrunk back from the water.'
ipso stabiles, dejectis rectoribus, quarendis pedetemptim vadis\(^1\) in terram evasere.

29. Dum elephanti trajiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium\(^2\) editur. Nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrimque fuit; fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis jam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ecciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenpue belli, ut summae rerum procerum eventum, ita\(^3\) haud sane incruntam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententias poterat,\(^4\) nisi ut ex consiliis coepitisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet; et Hannibalem incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter, an cum eo qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus\(^5\) manus conseret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulisque Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum; socios periculi fore affirmantes integra belli, nusquam ante libatis viribus\(^6\) Italiam aggrediendum consent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli;

\(^1\) By cautiously (gropingly) seeking the shallows.' Pedetemptim has here quite its original meaning, pede temptantes, from which the figurative sense of 'cautiously' readily comes. The ordinary spelling, tentare and pedetim, is opposed to the authority of good manuscripts. See Zumpt, § 12.

\(^2\) 'More violent than, considering the small number of the combatants, was to be expected.' Pro is 'according to,' 'in proportion to.'

\(^3\) Ut—\textit{ita} here, as not unfrequently, 'indeed—but:' 'this beginning promised to the Romans a fortunate issue of the general war indeed; but at the same time neither a bloodless nor decided (constant) success.

\(^4\) 'Neither could Scipio come to any settled resolution.' The \textit{nec} corresponds with the following \textit{et Hannibalem—avertit}.

\(^5\) Or \textit{cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset, Romanus exercitu}. The noun for the principal clause must be taken out of the subordinate. See Zumpt, § 814.

\(^6\) Libare means, to take away a part from a gift offered to the gods, and put it out before them, as if for their use; generally, therefore, to lessen a whole by a part which is used for trial. Here the Boii advise Hannibal to invade Italy with his complete forces, without previously spending a part of them, as it were for the sake of a trial, against Scipio.
sed magis iter immensum Alpescue, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

30. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque. Mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repertor invaserit. Per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere, neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensem essent. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicunque Saguntum ob sedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Iberum trajecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter. Nunc postquam multo majorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaenum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum annem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi trajectum, in conspectu Alpes habeant, quorum alterum latus Ita-

1 'A thing by which a report was dreadful, to such as had never made any trial of it.' Utique, being compounded of uti = ut, and the generalising particle que, means properly, 'however things may stand,' therefore 'at all events, positively, certainly, at least,' or some such limiting expression.

2 'To march farther,' as in chap. 22, fin., pergeret porro ire.

3 Castigare, 'to punish,' which may be done by words, therefore sometimes, either with or without verbis, 'to chide,' 'reproach.'

4 Quinam repens terror, 'what sudden fear!' Repens is common in Livy, rare in other prose writers, and rather a poetical word for subitus. The ablative repente, however, as an adverb, occurs very frequently in prose. Nam added to the interrogative, in indirect as well as direct speech, gives force and impressiveness to the question.

5 Que-et occurs sometimes in Livy instead of et—et, which is much more common. See Zumpt, § 338.

6 'All who had besieged Saguntum.' The Romans had not demanded this, but only that the commander-in-chief should be given up. Hannibal, however, in order to excite his soldiers, speaks, both here, and in chap. 44, as if they had all been included in the demand. As to the construction of postulare with the infinitive, instead of the more common one with ut, see Zumpt, § 613, with note, and Gram. § 380, with note 1.

7 'When they undertook the journey to the rising of the sun.' A rhetorical exaggeration, as is also the expression, afterwards, that Rome was the capital of the globe. We cannot conceive that Hannibal spoke in such a manner.

8 'Completed.' As to the deponent emetiri, the perfect participle of which is used passively, see Zumpt, § 632. To the following participles saltum seperatum, and Rhodanum trajectum supply cernant from the preceding clause.
iae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingereunt altiores Pyrenaerjugis: nullas prosecto terras coelum contingere nec inaccessibiles humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli, ignere atque alere animantes; pervias pacis esse nec invias exercitibus esse. Eos ipsos quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublimes elatos Alpes transgressos; ne majores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpes gentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac conjugibus, migrantium modo, tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato, nihil secum praeter instrumenta bellii portanti, quid invium aut inaccessibiles esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque ardum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse Poenus deseperat. Proinde aut cedentem animo atque virtute genti per eos dies toties ab se victae, aut itineris

1 'The other side of which belongs to Italy.'
2 'Believing the Alps to be what else but mountains (mountain-heights)?'—a question involved in the participial construction = et cur Alpes aliud esse credant atque, &c.

3 The Pyrenees are called by Livy either mons Pyrenaus, or montes Pyrenaei, or, omitting the substantive, Pyrenaus or Pyrenaei.

4 The Alps could (easily) be crossed by a few, and were not impassable for armies even. We have here been forced to admit a conjecture into the text; for in the manuscripts the reading is pervias paucis esse exercitibus, where it is clear that between esse and exercitibus one or two words have slipped out. The ordinary reading is pervias paucis esse, exercitibus invias?—which gives the same sense in the form of a question. But this form appears to us unsuitable; for, in the first place, there is a very great difference between a few crossing the Alps and a whole army; and, admitting the possibility of the former, that of the latter by no means follows as a matter of course; and, in the second place, such a question was not needed, since the practicability of conducting whole armies over these mountains had been demonstrated by the immigration of the Gauls into Italy.

5 The manuscripts have pinnis, and this is more correct than the ordinary reading pennis; for we distinguish between penna, 'a feather in general,' and penna, 'a wing-feather or wing.' As to subline, see Gram. § 219, 3.

6 'In immense hosts.' As to this ablative, see Gram. § 293, with note 1, and Zumpt, § 473.

7 The Gauls had once taken Rome, in 390 B.C., and Hannibal thinks that the Carthaginians need not despair of reaching the point which had been attained by those whom they had so recently conquered.
finem sperent campum interjacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.  


1 Namely, the Campus Martius, which was included in the city in the time of the emperors, and is now more densely covered with buildings than any other part of Rome.

2 Fully tanto minus: ‘the further he was from the sea, he considered himself the less likely to meet the Romans.’

3 ‘Before he should arrive in Italy,’ impersonally; see Gram. § 234, note 1. The author might have expressed the same idea with venisset, by making Hannibal the subject.

4 ‘With the fourth camp;’ that is, ‘in the fourth day’s march.’

5 The country between the Isere on the south, and the Rhone on the north, west as far as the junction of these two rivers, was called by the Romans, also in later times, the Insula Allobrogum. The chief towns of that tribe were Vienna (Vienne) on the Rhone, and Geneva on the Lacus Lemanus. near the point where the Rhone flows out of it. The Isère and Rhone flow from different peaks of the mountain range; for Alpis, in the singular, means a peak which towers above the other mountains, and the Isère takes its rise on the Alpis Graia, the Rhone on the Mons Adula, now St. Gothard.

6 ‘Chiefly;’ for in the east of this insula there were other tribes besides the Allobroges.

7 ‘Already, and from that time forward.’

8 ‘The decision or settlement was referred to Hannibal:’ relata, a more correct reading than the ordinary rejecta.

9 ‘The Alps, notorious for their cold (that is, the report of the cold upon the Alps), rendered it necessary to provide new clothing; Vestis, very often used collectively. See chap. 15. p. 200, note 4.'
ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit; \(^1\) inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, \(^2\) haud usquam impedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus annis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est. Nam cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium\(^3\) patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alvei fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites (et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta est via), ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tumut ingredienti praebet. \(^3\) Et tum forte imbrisbus auctus ingentem transgressientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

32. P. Cornelius consul, triduo fere postquam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, \(^4\) quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum progressos \(^5\) asseducuturum videt, ad mare ac naves redit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispània esset, quam provinciam

\(^1\) ‘He turned to the left to the country of the Tricastini.’ If Hannibal marched up along the Rhone to the point where the Isère falls into it, and then turned into the country of the Tricastini, he must have marched to the right: so that Livy, in saying \(ad\ laevam\), looks from Rome, his own stand-point, whereas, looking from the Carthaginians, it was \(ad\ dextram\). The district of the Tricastini lay south-east from the point where the Isère joins the Rhone, and in modern geography is marked by the places of St. Paul Tricastin, and Nions in the French province of Dauphine. Had Hannibal marched straight forward (\(recta\ regione\)) to the Alps, he would then have proceeded up along the Isère to the foot of the Little St. Bernard, and have crossed it; but if, as Livy says, he went south from the Isère, it is most likely that he crossed Mount Genêvre. According to Polybius, whose view is now almost universally adopted, he did go straight forward, and cross the Little St. Bernard.

\(^2\) Hannibal passed only through the south part of the district of the Vocontii, whose chief towns afterwards, and probably even then, were Vasio and Lucus (now Vaison and Le Luc). The Tricorii, at the foot of the way across the Alps, are marked by the situation of Vapincum, now Gap, in Dauphine. The Druentia, which the Carthaginians found such difficulty in crossing, is now called the Durence.

\(^3\) This mountain torrent divides itself into many parts, and is constantly forming new beds, and thus always affords to the traveller new fords and new deep places (\(gurgites\)); besides, it rolls down stones mixed with gravel (these are \(saxa\ glareosa\)). To \(vada\ et\ gurgites\) supply praebet.

\(^4\) As to \(moveo\) used intransitively, \(se\) or \(exercitum\) being omitted, see \(Gram.\) \(§\) 125, note 2.

\(^5\) ‘Who had advanced so far.’
sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo videres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo qui circa Padum erat exercitu Italiam defensurus.

Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes cum bona pace incolumium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in majus vero ferri soleat, praeepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitude niveaque coelo prope immixtæ, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaque tormenta frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaliaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen elivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingurashin fugam stragemque dedisset. Hannibal consistere signa jussit; Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis, postquam comperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confagosa omnia praeruptaque, quam extentissima potest valle, locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, cum se immiscissent colloquii montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliquid quam quod parabatur consumpto.

1 Prius might have been omitted; for the sense, that the state of things had previously been conceived from report, is implied in the composition of the verb praeepta erat. But Livy often strengthens the verbs compounded with praec by adverbial additions; thus, in chap. 20, ante praeeoccupare, and elsewhere prius praemeditari, ante praeparare, and the like.

2 Pecora, small cattle, intended to be slaughtered and used as food: armenta and jumenta, animals whose labour man makes use of, beasts of burden and draught.

3 This is the reading of the manuscripts, and may be defended; for animal is properly an adjective neuter, for animale; thus 'animal and inanimate.' The ordinary reading inanimata is, according to the common usage of the language, correct, but is merely conjectural.

4 'And (if they) had then risen up to battle.'

5 'That here there was no passage; that is, that here, with the heights so occupied and defended, there was no possibility of forcing a passage.

6 'Among nothing but rugged ravines and steep precipices, in the most extended valley which he could find.'

7 'As if he meant to force a passage openly and in the daytime.'
cum eodem quo constiterant loco castra communissent, ubi
primum degressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custo-
dias,1 pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in
speciem factis, impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima
parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro,
raptim angustias evadit,2 iisque ipsis tumulis quos hostes te-
nuerant consedit.

33. Prima deinde luce castra mota, et agmen reliquum
incedere coepit. Jam montani signo dato ex castellis ad
stationem solitam conveniebant,3 cum repente consciunti
arios arce4 occupata sua super caput imminentes, alios via
transire5 hostes. Utraque simul objecta res oculis animisque
immobiles parumper eos defixit.6 Deinde ut trepidationem
in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu7 misceri agmen videre,
equis maxime consternatis, quicquid adjecissent ipsi terroris
satis ad perniciem fore rati,8 perversis rupibus,9 juxta invia
ac devia assueti, decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus
simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur; plusque

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1 'As soon as he observed that the guards had become fewer'—
the mountaineers going away one after the other.

2 'He goes quickly through the pass.' Evadere with the accusa-
tive, 'to pass,' different from evadere aliqua re, or ex aliqua re,
which is used when the person has previously been for some time
in the thing or state.

3 The imperfect conveniebant expresses that they were just in the
act of assembling, when, &c. and besides, that the assembling re-
mained incomplete. See Zumpt, § 500, note 1, middle, and Gram.
§ 335, note 3.

4 Arx, a strong place situated high, and serving for defence.

5 'Were passing along the low road.'

6 'Compelled them to stand motionless for a short time;' that is,
the sight so overpowered them, that they stood motionless with
astonishment. Immobiles defixit=ita defixit, ut immobiles essent,
the state, which resulted, being expressed in an adjective form, and
connected closely with the verb.

7 'By its (the army's) own confusion.' Ipse in the same case as
the subject, see Zumpt, § 696, note.

8 'Thinking that any alarm, which they themselves might add,
would be sufficient for the destruction of the army.' Quicquid,
'whether important or unimportant, well-founded or groundless,'
or simply, 'any fright.'

9 Perversae rupes are 'rocks turned away;' and the meaning is,
that the mountaineers descended by the opposite side of the rocks,
which the Carthaginians could not see. The barbarians were
'accustomed alike to impassable places and devious paths.' Here
assuetus is used with the accusative, elsewhere with the dative or
ablative. The accusative is probably to be accounted for by the
operation of the ad in the participle.
inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente ut periculo prius evaderet,1 quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemor etiam repercussaeque valles2 augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominem ac sarcinaram omnis generis facerent. Multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptiaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis3 dejecti; quosdam et armatos. Sed ruinae maxime modo jumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur.4 Quae quamquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal5 ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem ageret. Deinde postquam interrumpi agmen vidit, periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum6 nequiequam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco, et cum impetu ipso judisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erat, sedatur; nec per ötium modo, sed prope silentio max omnès traduci. Castellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis erat, viculosque circumjectos capitis, et captivi cibo7 ac pecoribus per tribunum exercitum aluit. Et quia nec montanis primo percussis8 nec loco magnopere impediebantur, aliquantum co triduo viae9 confecit.

34. Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut

11 As every one strove for himself that he might escape from the danger, before, &c.
27.9 The echoing valleys.' Otherwise repercetitum clamor, 'the shout is echoed back.'
33 Into the unfathomable abyss.' See Gram. § 275, c, note 3.
44 But animals rolled down with their loads very much like the fall (of rocks or buildings). Modo, ablative of modus, 'in the manner of:' ruina, the fall of a building, or of some other lofty erection; for example, a hill.
57 Still Hannibal quietly remained for a little while: namely, on the height which he had taken.
68 The participle with a hypothetical sense: 'if the army should be deprived of its baggage.'
70 Cibo is wanting in the manuscripts, probably from its resemblance to the last syllables of the preceding word; at least the omission of cibo can be much more easily accounted for than that of frumento, which is inserted in other editions.
81 The mere ablative, montanis, 'by the mountaineers, who had at the very beginning been thoroughly frightened,' is remarkable; since elsewhere ab is not omitted with persons. Here, however, the ablative of the thing, loco, which is connected with montanis, seems to have exerted an influence on the construction. Compare Gram. § 290, note 2.
92 Aliquantum viae, 'a considerable extent of road.' As to aliquantum and paulum, see Gram. § 275.
inter montana, populum. I Ibi non bello aperto, sed suis
artibus, fraude et insidiis est prope circumventus.2 Magno
natu3 principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt,
alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes4 amicitiam
malle quam vim experiri Poenorum: itaque obedienter
imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et ad
sidem promissorum obsides acciparet.5 Hannibal nec temere
credendum nec aspernandos ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes
ferent, benigna cum respondisset, obsidibus quos dabant
acceptis,6 et commeatu quem in viam ipsi detulerant usus,
nequaquam ut inter pacatos, composito agmine duces eorum
sequitur.7 Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse
post cum robore peditum, circumspectans sollicitusque
omnia,8 incedebat. Ubi in angusto viam et parte altera
subjectam jugo insuper imminent9 ventum est, undique ex
insula barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus
petunt,10 saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab
tergo vis hominum urgebant. I eos versa peditum acies
haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis

1 'A people abounding in agriculturists,' where populus is
evidently used for the 'district,' and in reference to this application
of the word we have ut inter montana, which limits the assertion
of multitude; 'so far as mountainous districts can have many
agriculturists.'

2 Circumvenire, 'to overreach, overcome.' When the success is
gained by open violence, opprimere is the more suitable word.

3 Magno natu, 'of great age, aged.' See Zumpt, § 670.

4 Supply se.

5 'For the security of their promises (that is, in order that he
might place confidence in their promises) he might take hostages.'
See Gram. § 370.

6 'After he had accepted the hostages whom they offered; that
is, after he had stated that he would accept them; for that the bar-
barians did not actually give hostages, appears from their subse-
quient attack, and also in the language, from the use of the imperfect
dabant. Compare page 225, note 3.

7 'He follows their guides with the army in regular marching
order, and by no means as if he were in a friendly country.' If
incomposito be read, as in other editions, then nequaquam must be
joined with it, and not with the subsidiary clause.

8 The accusative omnia belongs to circumspectans, or at least is
influenced by it; for sollicitus omnia would be an unusual construc-
tion.

9 'Which on the one side ran under a mountain ridge, that hung
over it,' or we may say, 'which was commanded by a ridge.'

10 'They attack,' or 'made an attack,' used absolutely for impetum
faciunt. Comminus eminus without a conjunction.' See Zumpt,
§ 762.
fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est: nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus præsidio erat, ita peditibus quiequam ab tergo auxili reliquerat, occurrantes per obliqua montani, interrupto medio agmine, viae inde; noxque una Hannibli sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

35. Postero die jam segnius intercursantibus barbaris junctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, majore tamen jumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus. Inde montani pauciores jam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant, modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcunque aut locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elefanti, sicut per artes præcipites vias magnā mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacunque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praedebant.

Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est, per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium frus, aut ubi fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a conjectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in jugo stativa habita, fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; jumentaque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum nivis etiam casus, occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum, ingentem terrorem

1 'They made it certain that, if the rear had not been well supported, a great loss would necessarily have followed.' Quin—clades accipienda fuerit for quin clades necessario accepta esset, but not accipienda fuisses; for the indicative accipienda fuit has the meaning of a pluperfect subjunctive, and the subjunctive fuerit is used simply because the conjunction quin precedes. See this subject discussed more at large in Zumpt, § 493, end, and 499, end.

2 Hannibal continued where he was, and did not follow his cavalry, who had been sent forward, no doubt with the baggage. Thus it happened that the van was separated from the infantry and Hannibal, the barbarians coming in between, and opposing a passage.

3 The subjunctive of a repeated action. Gram. § 360, 8.

4 'Narrow steep roads.' More commonly artas præcipitesque.

5 Supply hominibus, 'men who were unaccustomed to the sight of elephants.'

6 'Wanderings which...the valleys that they entered at random, when they were guessing out the way themselves, caused.' When the Carthaginians distrusted their guides, they were forced to seek out the road themselves by conjecture, and thus entered at random into valleys, which led to the point they wished to reach only by circuitous roads.

7 The setting (occasus) of the constellation called Vergiliae or
adjicit. *Per omnia nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet, pigritiisque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in promontorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostentat subjectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiam modo sed etiam urbis Romanae. Cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros. Pro-cedere inde agmen coepit, jam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furtar per occasiorem temptantibus. Ceterum iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora, ita arrectiora sunt, difficilior suit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec qui paululum titu-bassent, haerere afflictie vestigio suo, aliique super alios, et jumenta et homines, occiderent.

36. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem, atque ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditius miles temptabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset. *Natura locus jam ante praeceps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites consti-tissent, miranti Hannibali quae res moraretur agmen, nun-ciatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circumducere agmen.

*Pleiades* indicated in Italy the commencement of winter, its rising, (ortus) the beginning of summer.

1 On a projecting peak of the mountain; for from the ordinary level of the top of the Alps, the plains below cannot be seen.

2 The accusative with the infinitive depends upon the idea of say-ing, which is implied in ostentat.

3 At most,’ also ad summum.

4 As to the rest;’ that is, ‘but,’ ‘however.’

5 Most parts are steeper on the Italian side (than on the Gallic).’

6 And even those who had only staggered a little, if they fell, (afficti), could not hold fast by the spot where they lost their foot-ing, but tumbled down one above the other’ (as they slipped away down the side of the mountain).

7 With precipices so steep, that even soldiers freed from every burden, cautiously feeling their way forwards, and taking firm hold with their hands of the projecting bushes and roots, could with difficulty descend.’ Temptabundus, putting out the foot cautiously, and so as to try each step.

8 As the mountain (rupes) was impassable, for the baggage of the army could not be carried over the steep front of the cliff, Hannibal had to seek a road through the valleys in the glaciers. But this
Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit. Nam cum super veterem nivem intactam① nova modicæ altitudinis esset, molli nec praecælæ② facile pedes ingredientium insistebant. Ut vero tot hominum jumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciam fluentemque tabem③ liquescens nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi lucatii erat ut a lubrica glacie, non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente,④ ut, seu mausibus in assurgendo seu genu se adjuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent:⑤ nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant: ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. Jumenta secabant interdum etiam tum insimam ingredientiam nivem, et prolapsa jactandis gravius in condendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velit pedica capta haererent in durata et alta concreta glacie.⑥

37. Tandem⑦ nequicquam jumentis atque hominibus fatigatis, castra in jugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco pur-

way, too, was shown to be perfectly impassable; and at last he came to the resolution of making a road down the rock in one way or another. Now, after this sentence, the author goes on to show the impossibility of going through the valleys at the sides of the mountain.

① 'Over the old snow, which had been lying untouched.'

② Scil. nivis, which is added in some editions, but is wanting in the manuscripts, and can easily be supplied.

③ Tabes here is a sort of undecided substance, half snow, half water, which came from snow melted under the soldiers' feet. The word is commonly used of the dissolution of compound bodies, particularly of putrefaction. We must translate here ④ through the water from the melting snow, which was flowing down.⑤

④ 'There was a fearful struggle, as was natural, on account of the slippery ice, which did not permit the foot to be placed upon it, and from the steepness, made the feet slip more easily. As to ab said of the cause, 'on account of, in consequence of,' see Gram. § 291, note 1. Fallo means, 'I cause to fall.'

⑤ 'So that, whether they aided themselves in rising with their hands or their knees, these, their very supports, slipped, and they again fell.' This is the manuscript reading, and quite good. The adminicula are the hands and knees, by which they try to raise themselves.

⑥ 'The beasts of burden sometimes split parts of the ice, when they went into it; and broke it completely, when, after falling, they struck about with their hoofs more violently in trying to rise; so that most of them, as if caught in a trap, stuck in the hardened and deep thick ice.'

⑦ Hannibal, then, after attempting in vain to go round the moun-

tain, prepared now to make a road down the precipice. For this purpose the frozen ground had to be softened, which, according to our author, he effected by means of fire and a large quantity of vinegar.
gato: tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem munientam,\textsuperscript{1} per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus dejectis detruncatisque\textsuperscript{2} struem ingentem lignorum faciunt, eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt.\textsuperscript{3} Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliumque anfractibus modicis clivos,\textsuperscript{4} ut non jumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quatriduum circa rupem consumptum, jumentis prope fame absumptis: nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles et aprios quod-dam colles habent, rivosque prope silvas, et jam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi jumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data triduo. Inde ad planum descensum, et jam locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.\textsuperscript{5}

38. Hoc maxime modo in Italian perruent est, quinto mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae transgresso in Italian Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum, viginti equitum suisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum.\textsuperscript{6} L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se an Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor me moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his

\textsuperscript{1} Munire viam is the ordinary expression for 'to make a road,' partly by throwing up earth, partly by laying a foundation of stones; and upon the analogy of munire viam we have here munire rupem, 'to make a mountain passable;' that is, to make a road over it.

\textsuperscript{2} By felling huge trees, and stripping them of their branches, they make an immense pile of logs' (ligna in the plural).

\textsuperscript{3} It is stated also by Pliny, in his Natural History, that vinegar has this power; but Polybius is silent both as to the fire and the vinegar, and simply states that Hannibal made an easier winding-road down the mountain. And in fact there are some impossibilities in Livy's account; for instance, the abundance of wood on these snow-clad heights, and the large quantity of vinegar, which the armies of the ancients, indeed, carried with them in the summer to improve the water, but of which the Carthaginians in the winter-time could not have so much as we must suppose was necessary here.

\textsuperscript{4} Mollire clivum means, 'to make a gently-sloping road,' which always happens when a road down a hill winds much.

\textsuperscript{5} Where already both the country and the character of the inhabitants were milder.

\textsuperscript{6} This last is the statement of Polybius, who reckons of infantry 12,000 Carthaginians and 8000 Spaniards. This number, however, is probably too small.
octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta in Italiam.  
Magis afluxisse verisimile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt. Ex ipso autem audisse Hannibalem, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum amisses, Taurinis, quae Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam degressum. Id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi quanam Alpes transierit, et vulgo credere Penino (atque inde nomen ei jugo Alpium inditum) transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis jugum dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus cum non in Taurinōs, sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent. 
Nec verisimile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique quae ad Peninum ferunt, obsepta gentibus semigermanis fuisse. Neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Veragri, incolae jugi ejus, norunt nomen inditum, sed ab eo quem in summo sacratum vertice Peninum montani appellant.

1 Livy's remark, that from the size of Hannibal's army, when increased by Ligurians and Gauls in Italy, no conclusion can be arrived at as to the number of soldiers whom he had led with him over the Alps, is quite just. L. Cincius Alimentus was a Roman praetor, and wrote in the Greek language a history of his own time, with a short introduction upon the more ancient Roman history, which had not yet been attempted in Latin. This Cincius Alimentus, however, is not the same as the antiquary Cincius (without the name of Alimentus), who is cited by Livy in vii. 3.

2 The mere ablative of the name of a tribe is here employed in an unusual manner, like the ablative of the name of a district, to indicate place 'where:' that in the district of the Taurini Hannibal had descended from the Alps into Italy. In saying that the Taurini were the tribe nearest to the Gauls, and were themselves in Italy, Livy thinks of the boundaries of his own time, which included in Italy all the country south of the Alps, though at the time of the second Punic war Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul were not counted in Italy.

3 Livy censures and rejects two opinions as to the route which Hannibal took over the Alps: the one, which was general in his time, that he crossed the Alpis Penina (the Great St. Bernard), and that the mountain had from that circumstance received its name (which, according to this theory, must have been written Poenina); the other, that of Coelius Antipater (who flourished about the year 90 B.C., shortly before the time of Cicero, and wrote a history of the second Punic war, that Hannibal crossed the Little St. Bernard. The latter view, notwithstanding Livy's censure, has found most supporters in modern times.

4 Both tribes were in Cisalpine Gaul, and to the north of the Taurini (Turin)—the Salassi about the modern Aosta, and the Libui (otherwise Libici and Lebetii) about Vercelli.

5 'But from him whom, under the name of Peninus, the moun-
39. Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximae genti, adversus Insurbres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reflexiendo maxime sententem contracta ante mala, non poterat: utiam enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex illuvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. 2 Ea P. Cornelio consul causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Attilio qua accepting tuone et in novis ignominia reperto, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, jam ex stativis moverat Hannibal, Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis ejus, qua volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat: et junxisset sibi, non metu solum sed etiam voluntate, Gallos accolas Padi, ut eos circumpectantes defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos quae pars sequenda esset Gallos praesentem secuturos ratus. 4 Jam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita jam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos jam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat; et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem virum credebat. Et auxerant inter se opinionem, 6 Scipio, quod relicitus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italianam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibali et conatu tam audaci trajiciendarum Alpium et effectu. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum trajicere, 7 et ad Ticinum 8 amnem motis causae.

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1 Feeling most, whilst it was being recruited, the losses incurred before.
2 Rest, a plentiful supply of food, and care of their bodies after the previous toil, hunger, filth, and disease, produced various effects upon the bodies of the men. 
3 At (that is, ‘on account of’) the recent disgraceful losses incurred on the march from Ariminum to the Po. See chap. 25.
4 ‘Thinking that the Gauls, who were uncertain to which party (quae for utra) they should attach themselves, would be induced by his presence to follow him.’ The participle praesentem implies the pronoun se.
5 Had met each other.
6 ‘Each had raised the other’s opinion of him.’
7 Scipio hastened to cross the Po, and accomplished it before Hannibal. Occupare with the infinitive implies both haste and before.
8 This river is now called Tessino. At the point where it falls
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tris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa tamel orationem est exorsus.

40. 'Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedessem loqui apud vos: quid enim adhortari referret\textsuperscript{1} aut eos equites qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detrectantis certamen pro victoria habui?\textsuperscript{2} Nunc quia ille exercitus Hispanicæ provinciæ scriptus\textsuperscript{3} ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis\textsuperscript{4} rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Peenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certaminibus obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites paucâ verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marisque priore bello vicistis; a quibus stipendum per viginti annos exegistis;\textsuperscript{5} a quibus capta belli praemia Siciam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt, nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detrectavere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, cum plures

\begin{itemize}
\item into the Po is situated Pavia, formerly called, from the name of the river, Ticinum.
\item 1 'What need would there be,' or 'what good would it do?' As to the impersonal referret, see Gram. § 284.
\item 2 The subjunctive vicissent seems to require also habuissem, instead of habui. But the former subjunctive is used merely for a formal reason, in the continuation of a hypothetical sentence, and is, as the sentence goes on, very naturally supplanted by the indicative: 'I considered his confession, in avoiding me and a battle, as equivalent to a victory.'
\item 3 'Levied for the province of Spain;' datius commodi.
\item 4 'Under my supreme command;' for P. Scipio, the consul now speaking, had with the imperium received from the senate and people of Rome also the jus auspicandi, so that he whom he appointed his deputy had not his own auspicia. We shall find that P. Scipio betook himself afterwards to the province of Spain, which had been committed to him. As consul, he had, wherever he went, authority over all commanders not of consular rank.
\item 5 By the conditions of peace at the conclusion of the first Punic war, the Carthaginians were to pay to the Romans a war contribution of 2200 talents, in twenty annual instalments. The statement here, however, is at variance with facts; for the terms afterwards fixed by the Roman people differed materially from those agreed to by the consul Lutatius, and limited the time of payment to ten years. But Livy, in writing the present passage, probably recollected only the first arrangement.
\end{itemize}
paene perierint quam supersunt,\(^1\) plus spei nactos esse. At
enim\(^2\) pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corpori-
busque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis uilla possit. Effigies, immo umbrae\(^3\) hominum, fame, frigore, illuvie,
squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupe-
que. Ad hoc praestus artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torpida
gelu,\(^4\) quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Cum
hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis;\(^5\) reliquias ex-
tremas hostium, non hostes habebatis. Ac nihil magis
vereor quam ne, vos cum pugnavereitis, Alpes vicisse Han-
nibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum
ruptore duce populo deos ipsos, sine uilla humana ope,
committere ac profligare bellum; nos, qui secundum deos
violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.\(^6\)

41. Non vereor ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa\(^7\)
magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse.
Licuit in Hispaniam provinciam meam, quo jam profectus
eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii parti-

\(^1\) This clause and the preceding evidently contradict each other.
If Hannibal had lost two-thirds of his force (for this, according to
the Latin idiom, is the meaning of \textit{duae partes}, see Gram. § 110),
then it is plainly incorrect to say that \textit{almost} more had perished than
had survived. We can only suppose that the orator forgot to ex-
press the ‘almost’ in the former clause.

\(^2\) An objection which the orator supposes to proceed from one of
his hearers: ‘But, some one may say.’ As to the subjunctive
\textit{possit}, see Gram. § 360, 3.

\(^3\) \textit{Immo} discards or unsays the previous word, putting a stronger
in its place: ‘they are images—not, not images, but mere shadows
of men.’ \textit{Effigies} is ‘an image,’ ‘representation;’ for example, a
statue—which is, or should be, a copy of its subject, the man him-
self. This, however, though it be but a copy, is decidedly more
material than the man’s shadow. See Zumpt, § 277, \textit{fin}.

\(^4\) \textit{Torpida}, ‘stiff,’ benumbed,’ is a conjecture of Rubenius, but
correct; for the manuscript reading, \textit{torrida}, cannot, according to
Latin usage, be understood in the sense of \textit{ustio} or \textit{praeusta} (‘frozen
at the extremities’), of the operation of frost.

\(^5\) ‘You are about to fight,’ more than \textit{pugnabitis}. See Gram.
§ 149.

\(^6\) ‘It is perhaps right (or fate has very properly so decreed) that
the gods should begin and decide this war, and that we, who have
been injured next to the gods, should finish it.’ \textit{Profligare} is to get
over the difficulties of an affair; so that the final \textit{confectio rei}, the
complete settlement, is easy.

\(^7\) As \textit{vestri} is the genitive plural of \textit{tu}, we should expect the
plural of the participle, \textit{adhortandorum}; but it is not so, for we
always find \textit{nostri}, \textit{vestri}, and \textit{sui}, even when they are plurals,
joined with participles in the singular. As to this and its explana-
tion, see Gram. § 113, note 3, § 396, note 1, and Zumpt, § 660.
cipem ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minus haud dubie molem belli: tamen cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam hujus hostis in terram egressus, praemisso equitatu, ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte coparum consorciendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia assequi terra non poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta maxima potui celeritate, tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radieibus Alpium obvius fui. Huic timendo hosti utrum, cum declinarem certamen, improvisus incidisse videor an occurrere in vestigiis ejus, laecessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri juvat utrum alios repeute Carthaginenses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an idem sint qui ad Aegates pugnaverunt insulas, et quos ab Eryce duodevicensi denariis aestimatos emisistis; et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerem Hercules, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre reliebus:

1 Ad introducing a casual circumstance, 'at;' for instance, ad nummum tam atrocem agmen constitit, ad tumultum Numidarum equites eduxit: so here 'at the report of this enemy;' that is, when the news reached me.

2 To obvius fui the dative peditum agmini must be understood; for the former clause, quia assequi non poteram, puts the noun expressed in the accusative. As to the construction quanta maxima potui, see Zumpt, § 689.

3 Do I seem to have fallen in with this terrible foe unexpectedly, or to be going to meet him on his footsteps? that is, on his first steps in Italy. Tam timendo is ironical; for by showing how much he had hurried in order to meet Hannibal, Scipio has proved that he did not fear the enemy at all.

4 Whether the earth, in the interval of twenty years, has suddenly given birth to another race of Carthaginians: he says 'twenty years' in round numbers, though twenty-three had elapsed.

5 The Carthaginian garrison in the town of Eryx (on the mountain of the same name) in Sicily had obtained leave to quit in safety, only upon condition of their paying to the Romans eighteen denarii for each man. This appears to have been at the same time one of the conditions of peace; of which, however, we have no mention anywhere else in the historians.

6 A strong expression, referring to the conditions of peace which were imposed by the Romans upon the conquered Carthaginians, and which Hamilcar Barea, Hannibal's father, had accepted on the part of his countrymen. The Carthaginians are called stipendiarii, because they had to pay a war contribution; though now, after paying off the whole sum, they did not deserve the name. However, their instalments were still going on, so long as Hamilcar was alive; and in so far he might be said to leave his son a stipendiarius to the Romans. Vectigalis is one who, from his property, has to pay a certain sum to another; for instance, an ager vectigalis is a
quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret, 1 respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui jussus a consule nostro prae-
sidium deduxit ab Eryce; qui graves impositas victis Car-
thaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque acceptit; qui dece-
dens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. 2
Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus
altos hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione
quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma
repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos
ultimo supplicio humanorum, 3 fame interficere; licuit vic-
tricum classem in Africam trajicere, atque intra paucos
dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere. Veniam
dedimus precantibus; emisimus ex obsidione: pacem cum
victis fecimus; tuteiae deinde nostrae duximus, 4 cum Africo
bello urgerentur. Pro his imparitis, 5 furiosum juvenem
sequentes, oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque
utinam pro decorre tantum hoc vobis et non 6 pro salute
esset certamen. Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae,
de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pug-
nandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos
vincimus, hosti obsistat; nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum
superant, comparari nova possint praeidia. Hic est ob-
standum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus.
Unusquisque se non corpus suum, sed conjugem ac liberos
parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet
curas, sed identidem 7 hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc in-
tuerti manus senatum populumque Romanum; qualis nostra
vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac
Romani imperii fore.'

piece of ground for the use of which a particular sum has to be
paid. In this respect the Carthaginians were never vectigales populi
Romani, so that this expression is used here as a rhetorical exag-
geration, to strengthen the idea contained in stipendiarius.
1 'Unless the crime perpetrated against Saguntum agitated him
(discomposed him, deprived him of reason); according to the idea
that the Furics, as the avengers of crime, deprive the perpetrator of
peace of mind.
2 Pactus est dare, an unusual construction for se daturum. See
Gram. § 379, note 3.
3 Supply suppliciorum. Undoubtedly death by starvation is the
most horrible suffering which one man can inflict upon another.
4 'We looked upon them as under our protection.' See Gram.
§ 279.
5 'For (in return for) these kindly communications, or these
benefits.'
6 'And not rather for our safety.' See Zumpt, § 781.
7 'Ever and again, constantly.' See Zumpt, § 276, 2.
42. Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitui, captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit; armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum projectis interrogare interpretam jussit ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnarnque poscerent et dejecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat quem fortuna in id certamen legeret. Ut cujusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudii arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter ejusdem modo condicioen homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vinctum magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

43. Cum sic aliquot spectatit paribus affectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur. 'Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuisti, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites. Neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicioen erat. Ac nescio an majora vincula majoresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit. Dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt, nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentibus, contra Padus amnis, major Padus ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent; vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae. Hic vincendum aut morien-

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1 'For the sight;' that is, to see.
2 'As conqueror;' that is, provided he were victorious in the fight.
3 Scil. in urnam. A lot for each of the men was cast into an urn, and those fought whose names were drawn.
4 'With merry leaping, as was the custom of his nation.'
5 'But whenever they were fighting'—of repeated action, as several pairs of combatants came forward. See Gram. § 360, 8.
6 Equivalent to non minus fortuna bene morientium quam vincitum, or aequo morientium ac vinctum fortuna. See Zumpt, § 725, middle.
7 'Then we have conquered;' properly, with the future perfect, 'then we shall have conquered,' or with the simple future, 'then we shall conquer.' The perfect, however, is stronger and more vivid.
8 As to this expression for 'perhaps fortune has thrown around you more fetters,' see Zumpt, § 354, middle.
9 Habentibus is a dativus incommodi, for the preceding claudunt must be taken intransitively; not 'shut you in,' but around you, and obstruct the way.
10 The manuscripts have circa, which can also be explained; since the Carthaginians, in the position which they then occupied, had the Po on at least two sides.
dum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna quae necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab diis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent. Quicquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. In hanc tam optimam mercedem, agite, cum diis bene juvante. Satis adeo in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis: tempus est jam opuienta vos ac diis ne ab humils optare soleant. Scipio had sent his army to Spain, and placed himself at the head of another: this is here brought up, and by the word desertor thrown against him.
Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeò utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum cujus non ante oculos ipse saepè militare aliquod ediderim facinus; cui non idem ego virtutis spectacor ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me millies donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversum ignotos inter se ignorantesque.

44. Quocunque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimorum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos Carthaginienses, cum ob patriam tum ob iram justissimas pugnatus. Inferimus bellum, infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacissime pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto major spes, major est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accedit praeterea et simulat animos dolor, injuria, indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatus affecturi fnerunt. Cruelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere aequam censebat, circumscripti includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus; neque eos quos statuit terminos observaret. Ne transieris Iberum; ne quid rei tibi

Hannibal’s hearers not being acquainted with the particulars of the affair, or with the arrangements of the Roman military service.

1 I hold for certain; that is, believe, am convinced.
2 The honours due to him, the particular distinctions which he merits. As to this use of suis, see Zumpt, § 550, fn.
3 As we say, ‘regular and irregular cavalry;’ by the latter term the speaker alludes to the Numidian horsemen, who guided and governed their steeds without bridle or bit. Compare chap. 46, middle.
4 ‘Unworthy and irritating treatment;’ for indignum is not merely negative, what is unworthy of a person or thing, but also positive, what excites the feeling of indignation.
5 As to this statement, see page 220, note 6.
6 ‘They meant to inflict the severest punishments upon us had we been given up, ’ the same as ‘they would have inflicted.’ Compare Zumpt, § 498, middle.
7 ‘The Roman people make everything their own, and dependent on their disposal.’ Arbitrium is the absolute disposal of anything: the genitive is according to Gram. § 279.
8 ‘And yet (or but yet) they themselves do not observe or keep to;’ the copulative conjunction having also an adversative power.
9 Words of a haughty Roman, who is introduced as speaking down to moveris. He says ‘Saguntum is on the Ebro,’ which, as
sit cum Saguntinis! Ad Iberum est Saguntum: nusquam te vestigio moveris. Parum est quod veteremias provincias meas Siciliam et Sardiniam adimus: etiam Hispanias? et inde cesserol in Africam transcendes. Transcendes autem, dico 12 duos consules hujus anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil unquam nobis relictum est nisi quod armis vindicaremus. Illis timidis et ignavis licet esse, qui respectum habent,1 quos sua terra, suis ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient. Vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse,5 et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis6 aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitat,7 in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus, destinatum8 in animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis: nullum enim telum9 ad vincendum homini ab diis immortalibus acerius datum est.

every one of Hannibal's hearers knew, was not true. This is brought forward as a proof that the Romans set boundaries for others which they did not keep themselves. Se movere vestigio, 'to move from the spot.'
1 As to the omission of si, see Zumpt, § 780.
2 The speaker corrects his expression; 'you will cross, Roman, do I say?' No; it has been already done, and should be stated as a past fact. Autem cannot be translated; it takes up the preceding statement, and points to that which is to come as of an adversative character.
3 'Nothing has ever been left to us (by the Romans), except what we maintained our right to by arms.' The ordinary but unauthenticated reading is usquam and vindicarimus, which latter would be correct if relinquuer precede.
4 Who have a retrospect; that is, something to fall back upon, and to trust to.
5 As with licet, so also with necesse est; besides the dative of the person, another dative of the predicate with esse or some equivalent verb may be used; thus for necesse est vos esse viros fortes, also vobis necesse est viris fortibus esse (haberi, vocari). In the same manner, in xxiii. 29, we have quibus armatis desultare mos est for quos mos est armatos desultare. These constructions are to be accounted for by attraction. Compare Zumpt, § 601.
6 'Everything between victory and death being broken off (cut off).' The use of mortemve, where we should expect mortemque, is probably to be accounted for thus: Hannibal has this idea floating in his mind, 'we must conquer or die;' and though he expresses it in a manner which properly requires 'and,' still the 'or' slips in.
7 Fortuna dubitat, 'fortune hesitates, or is doubtful,' a milder expression for fortuna adversa est.
8 As to the omission of the conjunction et, see Zumpt, § 782, middle.
9 The manuscripts have nullum contemptum, which is plainly faulty. Another good conjecture besides that which we have incorporated in our text, is nullum incitamentum.
45. His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum jungunt, tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt; Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarn, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit: Gallis parei quam maxime jubet, principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum a Victorunulì consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil unquam satia dictum praemontumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contemotion certa praemia pronuniat, in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi qui aceepisset liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum malisset, ei se argento satisfactorum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallet, daturum se cujus suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent.² Servis quoque dominis prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro his mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agrum laeva manu, dextera silicem retinens, si falleret, Jovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se maclarent quemadmodum ipse agrum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit.³ Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis,⁴ id morae quod nondum pugnarent ad potienda sperata rati,⁵ proelium uno animo et voce una poseunt.

¹ The manuscripts have vite tumulìs; but the geographer Strabo mentions a village called Ictumuli in the neighbourhood of Vercellae (the modern Vercelli) and there can be little doubt that this is the place meant here. The V before the initial vowel seems to make no material difference.

² He would take care that they should not be disposed to barter their lot for that of any of their countrymen; that is, that their lot should be as comfortable as that of any of their countrymen. With mutare we frequently find the accusative of that which is obtained by the change. See Gram. § 294, note. Secum is used here for cum sua, the possessor being mentioned instead of the possession. See Zumpt, § 767, middle. As to the construction of velle with the perfect infinitive passive, see Gram. § 380, note 2.

³ Immediately after the prayer, he dashed to pieces the head of the lamb with a stone. This symbolical action explains the sacrifice of animals in many cases.

⁴ As to quisque the nominative, in a clause with the ablative absolute, see Zumpt, § 710, sub fin.

⁵ Thinking that the circumstance that they were not yet fighting,
was the only thing which delayed the attainment of what they hoped for." *Id morae are to be connected, and are = eam moram esse.*

1 'After these prodigies were taken care of—that is, expiated, averted—by means of sacrifices.

2 *See Zumpt, § 356, middle. Ex propinquoque might also have been used, but in that case the author would certainly have offended against euphony.*

3 'Who had likewise advanced,' *As to et ipse, see Zumpt, § 698.*

4 Properly, according to *Gram.* § 290, note 2, men being here the instruments, the simple ablative should not have been used; but it must be observed that the terms which designate soldiers or classes of soldiers are frequently put in the simple ablative when they serve as means; for instance, cingere domum militis, equitibus pugnare, victore exercitu aggredi. This practice may easily be accounted for by the fact, that soldiers are in reality little better than mere machines.

5 'For a considerable time undecided.'

6 'The subjunctive of repeated action. See chap. 42, p. 233, note 5

7 'The battle had become a foot one.' The Latin expression here is somewhat striking; for commonly we say of the combatants merely, not of the battle, *ad pedes degredi, descendere, desilire, deducere.*
erit juvenis, penes quem perfecti hujusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fugi tamen effusa jaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidae invaserunt. Alius\(^2\) consuetus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum, non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens, in castra, nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo, reduxit. Servati consulis decus\(^3\) Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat. Malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.\(^3\)

47. Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit; quo facile apparuit et equitatu meliorem Poenum esse, et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanos aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte, jussis militibus vasa silentio colligere,\(^4\) castra ad Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus junxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insecatione hostis copias trajiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos: tamen ad sexcentos moratorum\(^5\) in citeriore ripa Padi, segniter ratem solventes, cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundum aquam labente.\(^6\) Coe-

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1 'This will be the youth'—namely, of whom we shall have to speak so much in the course of our history.

2 Alius equitatus is said with reference to the jaculatorum; 'others, and among them the cavalry,' or 'others, namely, cavalry,' not 'other cavalry.' Compare v. 39, explatoribus missis circa moennu aliasque portas. In a similar manner the French say, vous autres Anglais, in opposition to others not English.

3 'What common fame has maintained.' Fama obtinuit, however, may also be understood intransitively, 'the report has continued prevalent,' in the same way as the simple tener est is used not frequently for 'to continue.'

4 'To pack up silently.' Vasa colligere, a military expression for the collection and packing of the baggage which belonged to each individual soldier, and to the army collectively. As to the ablative silentio, see Gram. § 293, note 2.

5 'Loiterers.' Polybius says they had been left behind to guard the bridge.

6 The bridge consisted of several boats or rafts joined together. The Roman rear-guard were engaged in unloosening the ship nearest to the northern bank, when Hannibal came up and forced them to surrender. In the meantime, however, the boat had been unfastened, and floated away down the river; on which account Hannibal was unable to cross immediately, for no doubt the Romans had by this time set all the other boats adrift. This accounts for the use of the singular ratis here, and the plural rates a little before.
lius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus
flumen extemplo transnasse, ipsum Hannibalem per supe-
riora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, equitatis in ordinem
ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis.\(^1\) Ea peritis
amnis ejus vix sidem fecerint: nam neque equites armis
equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse verisimile est,
ut jam Hispanos omnes inflati transvexerint utres;\(^2\) et mul-
torum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerint, qua
exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores
apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate jungendo
flumini\(^3\) inventum tradunt; ea\(^4\) cum Magone equites His-
panorum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa
flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, trajicit
gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equtisque ab tran-
situ fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes
contundit. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia\(^5\) a
Placentia castra communit, et postero die in conspectu
hostium acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

48. Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu
tamen quam re major, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. Ad
duo milia peditum et ducenti equites, vigilibus ad portas
trucidatis, ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos Poenus be-
nigne allocutus, et specingentism moratibus, in
civitates quemque suas\(^6\) ad sollicitandos popularium animos
dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum defectionis omnium
Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere velut injecta
rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat,
tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine pro-
fector ad Trebiam fluvium in loca altiora collesque im-
peditores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum

\(^1\) The elephants were so placed, that the violence of the current
was broken on their colossal bodies. At the passage of the Rhone
(see chap. 27) Hannibal gained the same end by means of large
ships.

\(^2\) 'Even supposing that all the Spaniards were carried across on
skins blown up.' As to ut in this sense, see Gram. § 352, note 1.

\(^3\) A place for connecting the two banks of the river by a bridge
of boats (rate collectively for ratibus); that is, briefly, 'a suitable
place for a boat-bridge.' As to the dative flumini jungendo, see
Gram. § 394.

\(^4\) 'In that way,' or 'there.' See Zumpt, § 288.

\(^5\) The accusative of distance: the ablative sex milibus might also
have been used. See Gram. § 256, note 2.

\(^6\) More commonly in suam quemque civitatem, the singular being
used, and the quisque placed after the pronoun. See Zumpt, § 800.

21*
felfellit;¹ missisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu turbasset utique² novissimum agmen, ni aviditate praedae in vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus; et cum jam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via jactati ultra patiens, et collegam³ (jam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat) ratus expectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communivit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem nusquam praeparatis commetibus major in dies excipiebat,⁴ ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congeressent Romani, mittit.⁵ Ibi cum vicin pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringsitis, Dasio Brundisino praefecto praeсидi⁶ corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito præsidio, ut fama elementia in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil⁷ saevitum est.

49. Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa Sicilian insulasque Italiae immiuentes⁸ et a Sempronio consule ante adventum ejus terra marique res

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¹ Scil. Hannibalem, 'he was less successful in escaping the notice of Hannibal.'

² 'At all events,' 'certainly.' See Zumpt, § 282, init.

³ Namely, Ti. Sempronius Longus, who had at first received commission to cross with his army from Sicily to Africa.

⁴ 'Which (want) received him on his march,' that is, met and surrounded him. For excipere is used of that which follows, and may, indeed, often be translated 'to follow;' for instance, annus turbulentus excepit, pacem Punicam bellum Macedonicum exceptit, 'the war with Macedonia followed immediately upon the conclusion of peace with the Carthaginians.'

⁵ 'He sends to Clastidium;' that is, with an ellipsis, 'he sends a detachment of his troops.' Numerus is used of quantity as well as of things that are reckoned by number; thus, magnus numerus vini, 'a great quantity of wine.' Clastidium is the modern Chiasteggio, south from the Po.

⁶ This commander was therefore a socius Latinus, Brundusium being a colonia Latina, and probably the garrison of the town also consisted of a Brundisian cohort.

⁷ Nihil for non, as obóv for ov. See Zumpt, § 677.

⁸ 'The islands situated nearer Italy;' for imminere is often used of a near, properly a higher position. Anything in the sea seems higher to one looking at it from the land.
gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae, novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcanni tenuerunt: tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperions, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis, praeter viginti naves, cujus ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem tempestate qua ipsi disjecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Aegates insulas dejectam. Haece sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetor, cujus Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit, monetque Lilybaenum firmo teneret praesidio. Exemplo et circa a praetore ad civitates missi legati tribunique: suos ad curam custodiae intenderent; ante omnia Lilybaenum teneri; ad apparatum bellii edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent; ubi signum datum esset, ne quis moram conscendendi faceret; perque omnem oram qui ex speculis prospectarent adventantem hostium classem. Simul itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginenses, ut ante lucem accedenter Lilybaenum, praesensum tamen est, quia et luna

1 Tenere, with the accusative of place or with ad, means, in shipphrase, 'to stand or steer for a place:' as Livy, i. 1, Aeneam classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse, and xxii. 22, ea classis — portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit, xxx. 39, ita vexata et lacerata classis Carales tenuit. The manuscripts have ad before insulam; some editions, however, omit it. Both the islands mentioned belong to the group of the so-called Æolian or Vulcanian or Lipari islands, which take their names from Æolus, the god of the winds, or from Vulcan, who presided over the burning mountains that are found in some of them, and from the principal island Lipara (now Lipari). The particular insula Vulcani (now Volcano) was also called Hiera (Holy Island).

2 Fretum εξαρ' ξυχιν, the Straits of Messina, between Italy and Sicily.

3 Supply 'they said' out of cognitum.

4 This et corresponds with the conjunction que afterwards: 'on the one hand lieutenants and tribunes were sent to the cities round about; and on the other, scouts to the watch-towers on the coast.' Teneri, Scil. a classe Punicâ, 'that Lilybaenum was the main object (the object before everything else) of the Carthaginian fleet,' and therefore was to be guarded most carefully. See p. 247, note 1.

5 As soon, therefore, as the approach of the Carthaginians was observed.' 'Simul for simulæ (see Zumpt, § 350); itaque put after the first word, as is not unusual in Livy; tamen, merely inserted on account of the interjected clause with quamquam. It causes a little confusion, however: and therefore the most convenient mode of
pernox erat et sublatis armamentis\(^1\) veniebant: extemplodatum e speculis signum, et in oppido ad arma conelamatum est et in naves conscensum. Pars militum in muris portarumque in stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginenses qua rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe assumpto.\(^2\) Ubi illuxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani decentaverere pugnam, et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute.

50. Ubi in altum eveci sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires conferre velle: contra eludere\(^3\) Poenus, et arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virium aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navilibus affatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite habebat;\(^4\) et sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam per numeros armatorum ex ea pgnabat. Quod ubi animadvertsum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum, et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem naves Punicae circumventae; fugam ceterae cuperunt. Mille et septingenti suere in navibus captis milites nautaeque,\(^5\) in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum redit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gvaris ejus qui Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem ornatam obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse, precatuque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde

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\(1\) 'With their sails up,' armamenta being all the rigging and tackling of a ship, mast, yards, and sails.

\(2\) 'The time being spent in taking down their sails, and preparing the fleet for battle.'

\(3\) 'Avoided the enemy,' thus attempting to put off the decision. The historical (descriptive) infinitive, very well suited for depicting a state which continued for some time.

\(4\) 'They had;' namely, the Carthaginians, which must be understood from the collective singular Poenus. Socii navales are 'rowers,' miles, collectively 'marines.'

\(5\) This gives 243 men for each vessel, certainly too small a crew for a quinqueremes; since, according to one account, the proper complement was 100 men for each bank of oars; according to another, and at the lowest estimate, 400 in all.

1 And that to some a change in the state of affairs (a revolution, in fact) would be very agreeable. As to the expression *aliquid mihi volenti est*, see Zumpt, § 420, note.
2 Now Malta, and a British possession.
3 Surrenders, or gives itself up, not 'is given up.' See Gram. § 125, note 2. For if the surrender had been caused by a rising of the native Maltese, Livy would have given us a fuller account of it. As to the construction of *minus*, see Gram. § 305, note 4.
4 The expressions *sub corona vendere*, and passively, *sub corona venire*, used of the sale of prisoners of war for slaves, are explained by the antiquary Gellius. He informs us that they were derived from the custom of placing a garland on the head of such prisoners. The preposition *ab in a consule et a praetore*, may depend either on *captivi (= capti) or on venierunt*, venco being used as the passive of *vendere*. See Gram. § 127.
5 See page 247, note 1.
6 Namely, the city of Vibo, in Bruttium. This town, now called Monte Leone, is situated at some distance from the coast.
Italae tuendum attribuit, M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta navium classem explavit.\(^{1}\) Ipse compositis Siciliae rebus, decem navibus oram Italiae legens,\(^{2}\) Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegae conjungitur.

52. Jam ambo consules, et quicquid Romanarum virium erat, Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copii defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliquam esse satis declarabant.\(^{3}\) Tamen consul alter, equestri proelio uno et vulnero suo minutus,\(^{4}\) trahi rem malebat: recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum incoebant, in duorum praepotientium populum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes.\(^{5}\) Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenis periniquo animo ferebant,\(^{6}\) ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberaudos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praedam militem averteret, duo milia peditem et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas jussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id\(^{7}\) dubios servassent animos, coaetii ab auctoribus injuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consulem\(^{8}\) missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat; spectaetae ei gens erat cum ob insida multa.

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1 By leaving behind some vessels of his own fleet, the consul made up the praetor’s fleet to the number of fifty ships of war. This is what is meant by *explavit*.

2 *Oram legere*, ‘to sail along the coast,’ or, in ship phrase, ‘to hug the coast.’

3 ‘The fact that both consuls, and all the strength the Romans had (*quicquid Romanarum virium erat* being = a noun), were opposed to Hannibal, showed.’ The verb *declarabant* is drawn to the nearest subject, according to *Gram.* § 239, c.

4 ‘Disheartened,’ just as we say *animos minuere*, and of the opposite, *animos augere*.

5 ‘With undecided (wavering) favour they undoubtedly aimed at gaining the friendship of the victorious party;’ that is, they played fast and loose with each party, waiting to see which would conquer. *Spectare*, ‘to have in one’s eye, aim at.’

6 The Romans were content with this indecision of the Gauls, provided only that they did not rise in open rebellion; for the Carthaginians, on the other hand, neutrality was not sufficient: they demanded that the Gauls should pass over to their side.

7 ‘Till then,’ = *ad id tempus*.

8 Livy says ‘to the consul, probably meaning Sempronius, who naturally enough had the duty of receiving embassies when his colleague was ill.’
facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate abolevisser, 1 ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam. Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos qui eguisser ope defensos censebat. 2 Tum collegae cunctante equitatum suum, mille peditum, Jaculatoribus ferme admixitis, ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerisque, cum inpinitato invasissent, ingentem terorem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna cedentes sequentesque cum ad extremum aqueassent certamen, major tamen quam hostium Romanis fama victoriae fuit. 3

53. Ceterum nemiini omnium major justiorque quam ipsi consuli videri: gaudio efferri, 4 qua parte copiarum aliter consul victus foret, ea se vicisse. Restitutos ac refectos militibus animos; nec quemquam esse praeter collegam qui dilatam dimicationem vellet: eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescentum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari? Castra Carthaginienium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Sicilianum ac Sardiniam victis ademptas, nec cis Iberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in quas geniti foret, pelli Romanos. 'Quantum ingemiscant,' inquit, 'patres nostri circa moenia

1 'Even granting that other things had, from length of time, perished from memory; from abolescere, 'to perish, vanish, decay.' Another reading is obsolevissent, which is said of things that go out of use: and is less suitable, therefore, here. As to the transitive and intransitive forms of the verbs of this root, see Zumpt, § 174.

2 'He thought that the defence of the first who had needed assistance was the strongest bond for keeping the allies true to their agreement.' The latter part ('for keeping,' &c.) is expressed by the dative of the gerundive, as frequently. As to the use of the participle in primos defensos as a verbal substantive, see Gram. § 404, note 3.

3 'The Romans had a greater fame of being victorious than that of the enemy was;' that is, the majority of people considered the Romans to have gained the victory. We have inserted quam, following other critics.

4 According to his usual practice, Livy gives himself full swing in the description of the consul's state of mind, and for this the historical infinitive is most suitable. Victus foret, though no doubt = victus esset, is yet but rarely used with such a time as it has here, having commonly a reference to the future. See Gram. § 137, note 4, and Zumpt, § 156, note, sub fin.
Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra castra; Poenum, quod inter Alpes Apenninumque agri sit, suae dicionis fecisse? Haec assidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope continentundum agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae, dum aeger collega erat. Itaque nequicquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propinquum certamen milites jubet.

Hannibal cum quid optimum foret hosti cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quicquam consules acturos. Cum\(^3\) alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox seiret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae Rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cujus ne quod praetermitterat tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ductibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum gentem multitudinem sciebat se segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen, et facere,\(^4\) si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda quae vellet\(^5\) tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos retulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.

54. Erat in medio rivus praecitus utrimque clausus ripis, et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo\(^6\) satis latebrosum locum circumvexit ipse oculis

\(^1\) How would our fathers groan, if they saw.' Livy uses the present, representing the thing as possible (see Gram. § 344). It is very possible that many were then still alive who, in 256 B.C., under Regulus, had carried on war about the walls of Carthage.

\(^2\) Almost like an orator addressing a popular assembly.' See Gram. § 145.

\(^3\) For the connection of the sentence an adversative conjunction, sed, verum, veruntamen, must be supplied in thought: 'Hannibal scarcely thought that the consuls would do anything inconsiderately; but when he perceived how excitable and impetuous Sempronius was, he began to entertain a hope that he would give him battle.'

\(^4\) Facere in a more pregnant sense than common: 'he wished to make a battle, to bring about one himself,' \textit{ultra facere}.

\(^5\) Which he wished to have investigated.' \textit{Tutiores here in the sense of certiores}.

\(^6\) For concealing cavalry;' the construction of the dative of the
perluxavít, ‘Hic erit locus,’ Magoni fratri ait, ‘quem teneas: delige centenos\(^1\) viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias. Nunc corpora curare tempus est.’\(^7\) Ita praetorium\(^2\) missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. ‘Robora virorum cerno,’ inquit Hannibal; ‘sed uti\(^3\) numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singulìs vobis novenos ex turnis manipulisque\(^4\) vestri similès eligite. Mago locum monstrabít quem insideatis. Hostem caecum ad has bellì artes habetis? Ita mille equitibus Magoni\(^5\) mille peditibus dimissìs, Hannibal prima luce Numidias equites transgressos Trebiam flumen óbequitare jubet hostium portis, jaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, injecto deinde certamine\(^6\) cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis: ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeeceptum ut prandre omnes jubereát, armatos deinde instratísque equis signum expectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum\(^7\) jam ante consilio, avidus certaminis, eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Apenninoque interjectis, pro-pinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum\(^8\) praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim educitis homínibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil calorís inerat; et quicquid aurae fluminis appropinquabant, aßlabat acrior frigoris vis.\(^9\) Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt (et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno..."

erund with its dependent accusative not being changed as usual into the gerundive (equitibus tegendis).

\(^1\) That is, one hundred of each of the two kinds of soldiers.

\(^2\) In this phrase, praetorium means the assembly or council of the subordinate officers in the tent of the commander-in-chief, which last is properly called praetorium.

\(^3\) We give uti instead of ut et, which has been the reading hither-to, because the manuscripts have not et, but e. The pleonasm et quoque, et etiam, or quoque etiam, does indeed sometimes occur, but only rarely, and is not worthy of imitation.

\(^4\) Turmae are the troops of cavalry, manipuli the companies of foot. As to vestri similes, see Gram. § 267, note 2.

\(^5\) For Mago to put in ambush, ‘a dativus commodi.

\(^6\) Having excited’ or ‘brought about a battle,’ = moto, conserto, commissò.

\(^7\) To that which he had already, after reflection, determined upon; namely, a battle.

\(^8\) On the authority of some manuscripts we have introduced the regular form paludum instead of paludium.

\(^9\) And as they were always coming nearer to the river-breeze,
imbri), tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia essent, et simul lassitudine et procedente jam die famæ etiam deficerè.

55. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso, et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nunciatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baleares locat ante signa, levemque armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum; dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat. In cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effusos sequentes equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti excipieruntur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duo-deviginti milia Romani erant, socium nominis Latini viginti; auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum: ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. His copiis concursum est. Proelium a Balearibus ortum est; quibus cum majore robore legiones obisterent, diductae proprie in cornua leves armaturae sunt. Quae res effecit ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur: nam cum vix jam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia, et fessi plerisque integris, obruti sunt insuper velut nube jaculatorum a Belearibus conjecta. Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis

the cold wind was constantly blowing more bitterly in their faces."

As to quicquid appropinquabat, see Zumpt, § 355.

1 'That they were scarcely able to hold the arms.' As to potens with the genitive, see Gram. § 277, 3.

2 Ab cornibus is nothing else but 'on the wings;' the preposition ab expressing the fact, that the line of elephants began at the end of the wings. From the account given by Polybius, we must suppose that the elephants were posted on the wings before the cavalry.

3 Equivalent to effusos sequentes: they were pursuing the Numidians, and became scattered; that is, lost their proper close order.

4 'Allies of the class of Latins;' for nomen Latinum, 'the Latin name,' means the whole body of cities possessing the jus Latinum, whether real Latin towns or coloniae Latiae. Tibur and Praeneste, for instance, were real Latin towns; Placentia, Cremona, Ariminum, Brundisium, and others, Latin colonies. Every city of this class sent a cohort to the Roman army, and enjoyed particular privileges above other socii Italiani in reference to obtaining the rights of Roman citizenship.

5 'The light-armed troops;' contrary to custom, used here in the plural, there being two bodies of them; the one on the one wing, the other on the other.
Those Others, ihey contra whilst et auxilia Poenis elephantos quamdiu ex Aliis vestigia absumpti castra cum media decem fecere maxime adversus elephantos. Eos velites ad id ipsum locati veritis coniectis et avertere, et insecuri aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

56. Trepidantes propeque jam in suas consternatos media acies in extremam, ad sinistrum cornu, adversus Gallos auxiliares agi jussit Hannibal. Extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam, additusque novus terror Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum jam in orbe pugnare, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alia evadere nequisset, media Afrorum acie, quae Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere. Et cum neque in castra reditus esset tumulte intercluis, neque prae imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpsi sunt, aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi: qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere. Aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressum in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et jumenta et elephantos prope omnes absumpsit. Finis ineundi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit; et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium castrorum, et quod reliquum ex magna parte militum erat, ratibus Trebiam trajecerent.

1 'From the middle of the fight,' for e media acie. See Zumpt, § 482.
2 *In orbe pugnare, or se defendere, se tutari, 'to fight in a ring;' a military expression, in which we must explain the accusative by a reference to the formation of the circle, thus, 'they formed a ring by fighting,' or 'they fought themselves into the form of a circle.'
3 'Whilst they were hesitating to enter the river.'
4 'Others, from fear of the enemy, threw themselves boldly into the stream.' Hostium is an objective genitive. See Gram. § 273.
5 'Those of a great part of the soldiers who were still left; that is, the survivors, who belonged to a body not previously mentioned,
aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia, aut quia jam moveri nequibant prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt; quietisque Poonis tacito agrine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus\(^1\) Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

57. Romam tatus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut jam ad urbem Romanam\(^2\) crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilli esse, quo portis moenibus\(^3\) viam arcerent. Uno consule ad Ticinum victo, altero ex Sicilia revocato, duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces, quas alias legiones esse quae arcessantur?\(^4\) Ita territus Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim\(^5\) ad praedandum hostium equites, audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Id quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur,\(^6\) comitibus consularibus habitis in hiberna redit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.\(^7\)

and consisting of those who had fled to the camp, and of those who had been left behind when Sempronius marched out. All these crossed the Trebia during the night, and marched past the Carthaginian camp to Placentia by the same way which the 10,000, who had made their way out of the battle, had taken. The reason of their not preferring the route towards the same point along the Roman side of the Trebia, on which their own camp stood, is probably to be found in the difficulties of the ground.

\(^1\) *Exercitus Pado traiecit* is the same as *exercitus Padum traiecit*, and we might here have had *Pado traiecto*. See *Gram.* § 251, with note.

\(^2\) We have inserted *Romanam*, following the best manuscripts. The adjective seems to be necessary, lest perhaps Placentia or Cremona might be understood.

\(^3\) *Arcere* with the ablative. See *Gram.* § 297.

\(^4\) The lamentation and anxiety seem rather exaggerated. The separate mention of the events which occurred to the two consular armies has also a rhetorical look. Rome cannot have been in want of generals, and the conscription of new legions had not yet become so difficult a matter.

\(^5\) *Passim* means 'everywhere, in all quarters, but separately, in separate places.'

\(^6\) This clause refers to the following *comitibus habitis*. As to *id quod* for *quod*, see *Gram.* § 232, 2.

\(^7\) The latter for the second time (*iterum*), for he had been consul in the year 223 B.C. He belonged to the popular party, was bold, and in his former consulsip had fought very successfully against the Insubrian Gauls on the Po. It was probably the remembrance of this success that principally occasioned his present election for the year 217.
Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant, vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus, et ut quaeque his impeditora erant,¹ Celtiberis Lusitanisique. Omnes igitur undique clausi commenatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium² prope Placentiam luit et opere magnu munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Ejus castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in eelando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset,³ nocte adortus non sefellit vigiles. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Iaque sub lucem cum equitatu consuladerat, jussis quadrato armine legionibussequi. Equestre proelium interim commissum; in quo, quia sancius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus injecto defensum egregie praesidium est. Pancorum inde dierum quiete sumpta, et vixdum sat is percurato vulnere, ad Victumviuas oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis⁴ Gallico bello fuerat munitum: inde locum frequentaverant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis; et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Hujus generis multitudo, fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa, armis arreptis⁵ obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis armina quam acies⁶ in via concurrunt; et cum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accipere; jussique arma tradere cum dicto paruisseant, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem diriperent. Neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus⁷ videri solet, praetermissa clades est: adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

¹ 'And wherever the ground was too difficult (rugged and broken) for these.' The manuscripts have et quaeque, the editions et qua. We have given the conjecture et ut quaeque; that is, 'as each locality was more difficult.' See Zumpt, § 710.
² 'Emporium is literally 'a trading place,' particularly 'a port'; and probably the place here meant was on the Po.'
³ 'Connect plurimum spei; 'as he had rested most of his hope of (with regard to) success upon the concealment of the undertaking.'
⁴ 'The dative with a passive, as frequently, for ab with the ablative. See Gram. § 271.'
⁵ 'Having hastily armed themselves.'
⁶ 'Agmen (for agimen, from ago), an army or detachment on the march; acies, an army drawn out in battle array.'
⁷ 'To writers,' here the historians.
58. Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora\(^1\) erant, quies militi data est; et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate adjunc-
turus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta tem-
pestas est, ut Alpium prope foediatem superaverit.\(^2\) Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra enitentes vertice intorti affligitur,\(^3\) constiteret; dein cum jam spiritum inclu-
deret nec reciprocare animam sinister,\(^4\) aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono coelum stre-
pere, et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes: capti auribus et oculis\(^5\) metu omnes torpere. Tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipsa illo, quo deprehensi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant, nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento, cum super gelida montium juga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis dejecit,\(^6\) ut omnibus omissis procumenter homines, tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti. Tantaque vis frigoris inscucta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum jumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore naris vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere\(^7\) animos, et raris locis ignis fieri est

\(^1\) As to such plurals of words denoting the phenomena of the weather, see Gram. § 76, note 2, fin. They are scarcely ever used in modern languages: we say, for instance, ‘cold days,’ not ‘colds.’

\(^2\) Somewhat irregular, for the imperfect: see Zumpt, § 504. note.

\(^3\) Or, if they swore against it, they were caught by the whirl-
wind, and dashed to the ground.’

\(^4\) ‘The wind shut (broke, cut, usually intercludit) the breath, and
did not allow respiration;’ literally, ‘did not permit the men to ex-
change breath.’ Reciprocare is properly the term for the ebb and
flow of the tide, but is also very suitably used of the drawing in and
expiration of air.

\(^5\) ‘Deafened and blinded;’ literally, ‘taken captive in (or so far
as regards) the ears and eyes;’ for captus aliquo membro is one who
cannot make use of a limb.

\(^6\) The water— that is, the damp air— was condensed by the cold,
and then fell on the ground in the form of hail. Livy says, ‘snowy
hail;’ that is, hail in such quantity as to cover the ground like
snow.

\(^7\) All the manuscripts have recipere, for which the editions com-
monly give recepere. We must supply coepore to these infinitives
active out of coeptus est. Translate thus then: ‘when at length,
by shaking themselves, they began to move and breathe freely, and to light fires here and there, then every one looked helplessly for his neighbour’s assistance.’

1 *Having removed from the Apennines.* This is the sense of digressus, which is the reading of the manuscripts. The editions have degressus.

2 *Sei. esse;* the passive is used impersonally, ‘when he saw that a retirement had been made (that is, that the enemy had retired) from the camp.’

3 *Fiercer and more remarkable,* for saevior et clarior. See Gram. § 99.

4 *The half of that number,* ejus being the genitive of id used substantively. Compare xlii. 8. placere senatui M. Popillium consulém Liguress—ipsum restituere in libertatem, bonaque ut iis, quod ejus reciperi possit, reddantur curare, *to give back the goods, at least as much thereof (eexus) as could be recovered.*

5 The praefecti were to the allies, both horse and foot (praefectus
pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam¹ concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis² pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

60. Dum haec in Italia geruntur,³ Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus, cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyreneasque montes circumvectus Emporiis⁴ appulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Lactanis omnem oram usque ad Iberum flumen, partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis, Romanæa dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae fama non ad maritos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores jam gentes valuit;⁵ nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parata est, validæque aliquid auxiliorum⁶ cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Iberum provinciarum erat: eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis ejus praesidium. Itaque priuquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium postis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim, quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit: sex milia hostium caesa, duo capta cum præsidio castrorum. Nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquid principibus capituntr;⁷ et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex

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¹ alae and praefectus cohortis), the same as the tribuni militum to the Roman legions.
² The modern Lucca, the southernmost city of Liguria, on the borders of Etruria. It was already in the possession of the Romans, who shortly afterwards settled a colony in it.
³ With them— that is, the Ligurians—as a pledge of their determination to connect themselves with Hannibal.
⁴ As to the present with dum, whilst the main verb is in the perfect, see Gram. § 332, note.
⁵ Emporiae, now Empurias, an ancient Greek colony at the foot of the eastern Pyrenees, in the district of the Indigetes.
⁶ Valuit ad populos, 'he had power among the tribes' = apud. In mediterraneis ac montanis, from the neuter mediterranea ac montana, 'inland and mountainous districts.'
⁷ Auxilia are 'auxiliary troops;' and, according to Roman idiom, this term is used of barbarous tribes, to distinguish them from the socii.
⁸ See Gram. § 244, 3. The singular capitur is also not only allowable, but frequent.
barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum.¹ Castra militem ditavere, non ejus modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et ejus. qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabant, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta feruntibus essent, citra Pyrenaearn reticetis.

61. Priusquam certa hujus cladis fama accideret, transgressus Iberum Ha-drubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occurreretur, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra acceptit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios² vagos palantesque per agros, quod³ ferme fit, ut secundae res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, majore fuga ad naves compellit. Nec dintius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne a Scipione opprimetur, trans Iberum sese receptit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos⁴ praefectos navium animadvertisset, praeda medio Tarracone modico relictum Emporias cum classe redit. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat; et llergetum populo, qui obsudes Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso cum eorum ipsorum juventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis, toto c lis Iberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis llergetum gentem cum⁵ infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput ejus populi erat, circumsedit; intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, llergetes pecunia etiam, multatos in jus dicionemque receptit. Inde in Ausetanos⁶ prope Iberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit; atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte, haud procul jam urbe, cum intrare vellent, exceptit insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim

¹ 'The booty—consisting only of barbarian (barbaric) furniture and worthless slaves.' Supellex is used in apposition to praeda; mancipiorum is governed by it.

² 'Marines and seamen.' The reader must understand that these belonged to the Roman fleet, for Tarraco (Tarragona) was the capital of the Roman province.

³ Quod may be either 'because' or 'which;' in the latter case the clause with ut is an expansion and explanation of the pronoun, 'which generally happens—namely, that success creates negligence.'

⁴ 'A few,' not merely negatively 'few.'

⁵ Cum here is the conjunction, not the preposition; for which, from its position, it might readily be mistaken.

⁶ Among the towns of this tribe we find Ausa (now Osona) and Gerunda (now Gerona) named. Perhaps the former was the capital of the tribe, the town here mentioned, but not named by Livy.
palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessis aha ulla res quam unqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fact, per quos raro unquam minus quattuor pedes alta jacunt; adeoque plateos ac vinicas Romarum operu- erat, ut ea sola, ignibus aliquoties coniectis ad hoste, etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo cum Amusitus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentus pacta deduntur. Tarraconem in haberna reeditum est.

62. Romae et circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nunciata et temere eredita sunt, in quibus ingenium infantem semestrem in foro olitorio triumpium clamasse; et foro boario bovem in tertiam contigna
tionem sua sponte ascendisse, atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese dejectisse; et navium speciem de corlo affulisse; et aedem Spet, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine iactam; et Lanuvii hastam se commovisse, et corvum in aedem Junonis devo-
lasse atque in ipso pulvinario consedisse; et in agro Ami-

1 A remarkably severe winter. In Italy, towards the end of the winter, as we know, Hannibal found great difficulties from the severity of the weather in his attempt to cross the Alps.

2 Plutei are roads made of hurdlework, and moved on wheels, under which assailants of walls could advance with comparative safety. As to vincae, see chap. 7, p. 189, note 6.

3 After having come to an agreement upon condition of their paying twenty talents of silver, the ablative as in the verbs of buying and selling. The value of the talent is about £243.

4 Livy relates such prodigies very fully. He took them no doubt from the Annales Pontificis Maximi, and thought it worth while transferring them into his history, because, on the one hand, his great principle was to narrate every fact and everything handed down by tradition as such; and, on the other, he observed that such stories of prodigies were characteristic of bygone ages. It is difficult to suppose, however, that he believed them, or was convinced of the connection between such wonderful phenomena and the fate of the Roman state. Indeed in this very passage he modestly expresses a doubt as to the truth of the stories.

5 The child made some sound which resembled the common shout lo triumphe! The accusative triumphi is used on account of the grammatical connection.

6 In Lanuvium (now Citta Lavina), about sixteen miles south from Rome, there was an ancient and celebrated temple of Juno Sospita. The lance in the hand of the goddess is probably meant here.

7 Pulvinar or pulvinarium is a couch provided with carpets and cushions placed beside the image of a divinity. On this the con- secrated image was laid at solemn feasts, the feast itself being spread on a small table before it. The solemn festivity itself was called lectisternium, because the lecti (sofas for reclining on) were arranged and provided with cushions (sternebantur).
termino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos, nec cumullo congressos; et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas et in Galba lupum vigilii gladium e vagina raptum absentisse. Ob cetera proligi libros adire decemviri jussit: quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novem diae saerum edictum et subinde ahis procuranda prope tota civitas operata fuit. Jam primum omnium urbs fustata est, hostiaeque majores, quibus edidit est, dies creatae; et dominum ex auri ponito qua fragmantum luumnum ad Junonis portatum est; et sannum aeneum matronae Junom in Aventino de beaverunt, et lecsterium Caere, ubi sortes attenuatae erant, imperatum; et supplicatum Fortunae in Algilo, Romae quoque et lecsterium Juventati et supplicatio ad aedem Hercules nominatum, dem de universo populo etam um pulvinaria indicita; et Genio majores hostiae caesae quinque; et C. Atullus Serranus praetor vota suscipere jussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem statisset statu. Haec procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinus magna ex parte levaverant religione anumos. 

1 The subject is wanting, and we must understand aliquos; for the author himst. It did not know what name he should give to these beings in human form. Following popular opinion, he would have had to say deos.

2 See Gram § 234, note 1. We may say either plant lapis or lapidibus, it rains stones, or with stones.

3 That the lots shrunk in, or were diminished in size. These lots consisted of little wooden tablets, with an ancient writing on them.

4 Sicil. Sibyllinos. The story regarding the manner in which these books came into the possession of the Romans is well known. A college of priests had been instituted, and consisted in the time of Hannibal of ten members, whose duty it was, at the command of the senate, issued when anything very marvellous occurred, to consult the books, and communicate from them the mode in which bad omens were to be averted, or good assisted (both procurari). The whole of the citizens were engaged from time to time in the care procuratio of other prodigii; for operari is particularly used of the performance of religious duties.

5 To those gods to whom, according to the prophetical books, they were to be offered. Epere is the proper expression for an intimation from the gods by oracles, prophecies, lots, and the like.

6 Of forty pounds of gold. See Gram. § 73, note 3. Ad Junonis, scil. aedem, as to which ellipsis, see Zumpt, § 762.

7 On the Aventine; that is, in the temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine. This temple, according to Livy, v. 23, was erected in honour of the statue of Juno, which was carried away from Veii when that city was taken by Camillus.

8 On Mount Algidus, between Velitrae and Praeneste.

9 To the Genius—namely, of the Roman people, for whose safety the prayers were offered up.
63. Consulum designatorum alter Flaminus, cui eae legiones, quae Placentiae hibernabat, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus Idibus Martis\textsuperscript{1} Ariminii adesset in castris. Huic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat,\textsuperscript{2} memorii veterum certaminum cum Patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul, prius de consilatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat;\textsuperscript{3} invisus etiam Patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno Patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio, tulerat, ne quis senator, cuive senator pater fuisset, maritimam nave, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet.\textsuperscript{4} Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quaeestus omnis Patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasorii legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus ansipiciis ementiendis Latinarumque fieriarum\textsuperscript{5} mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato iniurere privatus clam in provinciam abit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis jam ante Patribus movit. Non cum senatu modo, sed jam cum diis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere.\textsuperscript{6} Consulem ante inauspicato\textsuperscript{7} factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spre-

\textsuperscript{1} This was the day on which the new consuls entered on their office. The 1st of January was not appointed for this purpose till the year 153 B.C.

\textsuperscript{2} *Huic consilium erat* is *hic constituerat*, and is therefore followed by the infinitive. See Gram. § 396, note 3.

\textsuperscript{3} Flaminius, in his tribuneship, 223 B.C., had, contrary to the will of the senate, carried a law for the division of the *ager Gallicus* and *Pisennus* among the Roman citizens: in his first consulship, 223 B.C., he was commanded by the senate to return instantly, and without fighting, from the war against the Insubrian Gauls, because the auspices at his election had been unfavourable; but he disobeyed the order, and his enemies attempted, unsuccessfully, however, to withhold from him the honour of a triumph.

\textsuperscript{4} As to this measure of what we call the 'tonnage' of the ship, see Zumpt, § 876. The senators and their sons were not to be traders.

\textsuperscript{5} *Feriae Latinae* was the name given to an ancient solemnity commemorative of the league between Rome and the *nomen Latinum*. This was annually celebrated on the Alban Mount at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, and the consuls and all the magistrates of the Roman people were commonly present.

\textsuperscript{6} Namely, 'they said:' the indirect speech introduced without any notice, but seen in the accusative with the infinitive.

\textsuperscript{7} As to the formation of this adverb, see Gram. § 219, b.
Before a person invested with the imperium left Rome for a war, he made a vow to Jupiter Capitolinus, promising, if success were vouchsafed to his arms, to consecrate to the god certain gifts which he mentioned (these are the vota, quae nuncupationem): and then with all military pomp marched out of the city wearing the paludamentum, the war-cloak of a commander.

Secretly, and like a thief.' Compare Zumpt, § 742.

'Solum vertere, said of one who left the ager Romanus = solum mutare.

Ironical. See Zumpt, § 345, sub fin.

'More by nothing,' 'no more;' that is, just as little.
LIBER XXII.

(1) Hannibal leaves his winter quarters. Cn. Servilius enters on his consulship at Rome. Prodigies. (2) Hannibal sets out for Etruria, and, during fatiguing marches through swamps, loses the sight of one eye. (3) The consul Flaminius, contrary to the advice of his officers, and with bad omens, commences his march against Hannibal. (4-6) The battle of Lake Trasimenus. (7) The effect produced at Rome by the announcement of the disastrous defeat. (8) Four thousand men taken by Hannibal in Umbria; Q. Fabius Maximus created dictator; and M. Minucius Rufus master of the horse. (9) The Sibylline books consulted. (10) A ver sacrum decreed. (11) Arrangements for the war. (12) Fabius baffles Hannibal by avoiding a battle. (13) Hannibal led considerably out of his way by a mistake of his guide. (14) Manucius, the master of the horse, inveighs against the inactivity of Fabius. (15) Mancinus, a young officer sent out by Fabius with four hundred horsemen to reconnoitre, is attacked by a party of Hannibal's cavalry, and slain with the best of his followers. (16-17) Hannibal is shut in by Fabius in a place unsuited for wintering; but escapes by a stratagem. (18) Fabius follows Hannibal about the country, always keeping near him, but never engaging with him. He is recalled to Rome to perform some religious duties, and leaves Minucius in command, conjuring him to continue the cautious mode of operation. (19) The war in Spain. A sea-fight, in which the Romans are victorious. (20) Cn. Scipio makes a very successful excursion with his fleet. (21) Movements in Spain continued. (22) The hostages given by the Spanish tribes to the Carthaginians, and kept at Saguntum, are set free by Scipio, through means of Abelix, a wily Spaniard. (23) Remarks on the character of Fabius, with illustrative anecdotes. (24) A battle between Minucius and Hannibal, rather favourable to the former. (25) Minucius obtains equal authority with Fabius. (26) A short account of the previous history of C. Terentius Varro, the only man who was found to speak in support of the bill giving Minucius this power. (27) The exulting joy of Minucius; Fabius and he divide the troops, and occupy separate camps. (28-29) Minucius engages with Hannibal, and is worsted, but is supported and brought off by Fabius. (30) Minucius returns thanks to Fabius, and voluntarily re-assumes his subordinate station. (31) Servilius the consul lands in Africa, but is unfortunate, and forced to return to Sicily. (32) Fabius and Minucius, their six months' power being at an end, (266)
give up the command of their troops to Servilius and Atilius the consuls: these continue the system of Fabius. Neapolitan ambassadors come with presents to Rome. (33) Ambassadors sent to Philip of Macedonia and to the Ligurians. (34) The comitia for electing consuls held. Great contest between the patricians and plebeians. (35) C. Terentius Varro and L. Aemilius Paullus created consuls. (36) New troops levied. Prodigies. (37) Presents from Hiero of corn, money, and soldiers. (38) Varro, before leaving the city, delivers many speeches, announcing that he intends to finish the war on the day that he shall first meet the enemy. Paullus is much more cautious in his statements. (39) An address delivered by Q. Fabius Maximus to Paullus. (40) The new consuls proceed to the seat of war. (41—42) Hannibal fails in a stratagem. (43—44) Cannae. This battle was fought August 2, 216 B.C. (50) A considerable number of Roman soldiers escape to each of the camps (for they had pitched two). Six hundred of those in the smaller camp escape to the other, and from it to Canusium. (51) The appearance of the field after the battle. (52) Those left in the two Roman camps surrender to Hannibal, bargaining to be set free upon the payment of a certain sum of money for each. (53) Proceedings among the fugitives at Canusium. (54) The alarm at Rome. (55) The senate meets. Fabius Maximus gives his advice. (56) News from Sicily. (57) A levy held. (58) A deputation from the prisoners comes to Rome, to ask money for their release. (59) The speech of M. Junius, the leader of the deputation. (60) The oration of T. Manlius Torquatus, opposing the grant of money. (61) The application of the captives is refused. Some tribes revolt from the Romans to the Carthaginians.

Jam ver appetebat, cum Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Apenninum intol eradis frigoribus, et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac meta. Gallis, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, post quam pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utnusque partis exercituum hibernis viderunt, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia;1 petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua consenserant concensum indicantium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem nunc tegumenta capitis, errore etiam sese ab

1 'To the Gauls (that is, in the minds of the Gauls) hatred turned back upon Hannibal.' Gallis is the reading of the best manuscripts, and verterunt is often = sese verterunt or versa sunt; see Zumpt, § 145. The editions read Galli, 'the Gauls turned their hatred against Hannibal,' which is also good.
insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae Idibus Martis magistratum init. Ibi cum de re publica rerum lisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est. Duos se consules creasse, unum habere. Quod enim illi justum imperium, quod auspiciam esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feris actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis secum ferre. Nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis propectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis: in Sicilia miliibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigiliae equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam iecos fulmisibus, et solis orbem minui visum; et Praeneste ardentes apides coelo cecidisse; et Arpis parmas in coelo visas pugnae antemque cum luna solem; et Capenae duas interiun lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse, fontemque ipsorum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis; et in Antiatu metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse; et Faleriiis coelum findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes sua sponte attenuatas, unamque excidisse ita scriptam Mavors telum suum conculit; et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem coeli ardentis fuisse lunaque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde mino-

1 Consul refert ad senatum de re publica, 'the consul lays proposals before the senate relating to the common weal, or the interests of the state.'

2 Flaminius should have taken the auspices at home, on Roman ground, and on the day of his entering on his office. The reader may observe here how faithfully Livy narrates all these transgressions of religious custom; knowing, as he did, the disastrous issue of the campaign. Had Flaminius conquered, we should have heard a great deal less about these scruples. Flaminius was a freethinker in a superstitious age.

3 'The fountain of Hercules among the same people;' namely, the inhabitants of Caere, which must be taken out of the adjective Caeretes: as to the form of this adjective, see Gram. § 209, 4, note. The editions read falsely ipsum; with it, the place is not mentioned, and no satisfactory reason can be given why an emphasis is laid on 'the fountain itself,' or 'the very fountain.'

4 'In the district of Antium;' scil. agro. Comp. Gram. § 209, 3.

5 Equivalent to inscriptam.

6 'The (brazen) images of the wolves,' which no doubt stood near the god of war as his attendants.
ribus etiam dictu prodigiiś fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallum in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut erant nunciata, expositis, auctoribusque in curiam introductis, consul de religione Patres consuluit. Decretum ut ea prodigia partim majoribus hostiis partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, cum decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quemadmodum cordi esse divis carminibus profarentur.¹ Decemviro rum monitu decretum est, Jovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, Junoni Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur, et Junoni Reginae in Aventino⁴ Junonique Sospitae Lanuvii majoribus hostiis sacrificaretur; matronaeque pecunia collata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Junoni Reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret; quin ut libertinæ et ipsae, unde Feroniae⁵ donum darent, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae⁶ in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri jam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum (et eum lectum senatores straverunt) et convivium publicum; ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata,⁷ populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum jussus.

2. Dum consul placandis Romae diis habendoque delectu⁸ dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, qua jam Flaminium consulem Arretium praevenisse fāma erat,⁹ cum

¹ Prodigies too trifling (because too absurd) even to be mentioned.¹
² See Gram. § 46, note 1.
³ 'As they (the decemviri) should announce from the books to be agreeable to the gods.' The verb fari and its compounds have something antique and solemn about them. Comp. Zumpt, § 220.⁴
⁵ Feronia, an old Italian divinity, who presided over natural fertility.
⁶ Why a: Ardea, the old Italian town on the sea-coast, since no prodigy has been mentioned as occurring there? Probably the expiatory sacrifice was occasioned by the sea-shore's having been seen burning, or at least having appeared luminous.
⁷ 'The Saturnalia were shouted; that is, celebrated with joyful cries, and invocations of the gods (Io Saturne!) A festival of joy was thus proclaimed in a time of sorrow: it was wisely done, to raise the spirits of the people in the name of religion. The Saturnalia, in which our merry doings at Christmas took their origin, were always celebrated with great jollity, and with the utmost heedlessness of all the distinctions of rank.
⁸ For delectui; see Gram. § 71, note 2.
⁹ Flaminius had anticipated the enemy in occupying Etruria.
though it might have been expected that Hannibal would proceed through Cisalpine Gaul to Arminium. No doubt Flaminius, when taking up his position at Arretium (now Arezzo), in the higher part of Etruria, had at the same time obtained the command of the road from Gaul into Etruria; thus forcing Hannibal to take the route across the lower part of the Arno, between Florence and Pisa.

1 'Deep and bottomless holes,' a pleonasm.

2 A very good exhibition of the Celtic character—warlike and excitable, but not steady or persevering.

3 'The heaps of fallen beasts afforded them a resting-place only in so far as it rose out of the water.'

4 'At last,' pointing back to primum.

5 Compare xxi. 58, p. 258, note 5. Hannibal saw henceforward only with the left eye.
et copias ad commenatus expediendos, et cetera quae cognosce in rem erat; summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilibis, Etrusi campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque jacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulentii. Consul ferox ab consulatu priore, et non modo legum aut Patrum majestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus belliscisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulternum ferciter omnia ac praepropere acturum. Quoque prornior esset in vitia sua, agitare cum atque irritare Poenus parat; et laeva relieta hoste Faesulas petens, medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantum maxima vastitatem potest, caedibus incendiosis consulii procui ostendit. Flamininus, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agiqué vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per medium jam Italam vagari Poenum atque obssente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus, collegam expectandum, ut conjunctis exercitis, communi animo consiliosque rem generet; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohendendum: iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnaeque proposuit. "Quin immo Arretii ante moenia sedeamus' inquit: 'hic enim patria et paternites sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italam, vastandoque et uerando omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat; nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam, sicut olim Camilium ab Veis, C. Flaminium ab Arreto Patres acciverint. Hace simul increpans, cum oculis signa convelli jubert et ipse in equum insiluisset, eguus repente corrupt consulemque..."
lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut foedo omne incipiendae rei, insuper nunciatur signum omni vi moliente signifer convelli nequire. Con-
versus ad nuncium 'Num litteras quoque' inquit 'ab senatu afferis, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuncia, effodiens signum, si ad convellendum manus praem metu obtoruerint.' Incendere inde agmen coepit, primoribus, superquam\(^1\) quod dissenserant a consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, militie in vulgus\(^2\) laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

4. Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasi-
menumque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat. Et jam 
pervenenter ad loca nata insidii, ubi maxime montes Cor-
tonenses in Trasimenum sidunt.\(^3\) Via tantum interest per-
angusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles adinsurgunt.\(^4\) Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipe cum Afri modo Hispanisque consideret. Baleares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut ubi intrassent Romani, objecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, 
inexplorato postero die, videndum satis certa luce, angustiis 
superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen 
coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit: 
ab tergo ac super caput decepere insidiae.\(^5\) Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul inva-
dendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, 
eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod

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\(^1\) Equivalent to praeterquam.

\(^2\) 'Commonly, for the mass, for the most part;' analogous to in universum.

\(^3\) 'The hills of Cortona sink down to the lake.' The scene of the battle is on the northern bank of the lake, where now the road runs from Cortona to Arezzo (Arretium). About half-way along this road, near the modern Passignano, stand the hills where Hannibal pitched his camp. In order to reach Cortona, and to make the attack from that point, the Romans entered the defile between the hills and the lake, without observing the hostile troops stationed behind the nearest hills on their left.

\(^4\) We have, in accordance with the manuscripts, introduced adinsurgunt, instead of the ordinary assurgunt. Adinsurgere is a doubly-compounded verb, like adimplere, containing the idea of addition.

\(^5\) 'The ambush escaped him;' decipere, like fallere, means both to deceive, and to escape the notice of.'
orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurruerat. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circum- ventum esse sensit; et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediti arma stringique gladii possent.

5. Consul perculsis omnibus ipse satis, ut in trepida re, impavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit ut tempus locusque patitur; et quacunque adire audirique potest, adhortatur ac stare et pugnare jubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac vir- tute evadendum esse. Per medias acies ferro viam fieri; et quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme perculsi esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec impe- rium accipi poterat; tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordinem et locum nosceret miles, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus,1 opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis his quam tecti.2 Et erat in tanta calagine major usus aurium quam oculum: ad gemitus vulnerum3 ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos stre- pentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora ocu- losque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati haerebant; alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde ubi in omnes partes nequiquam imperus capti,4 et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparitique nullam nisi in dextra ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque5 ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset. Fors conglobat, et animus suas cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor armorum, adeo intentionis pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium

1 'That they had scarcely their wits about them sufficiently to.'
2 Naturally enough, because the Romans, when on the march, carried their helmets and shields at their backs.
3 A somewhat free use of the genitive, no doubt on account of its connection with the following ictus corporum, for ob vulnera.
4 Capere impetum, 'to make an attack,' or rather, 'an attempt at an attack.'
5 More strictly, per hastatos et principes, for the companies of the hastati fought in the first line, those of the principes in the second. The author, however, thinks merely of the three divisions of the legion, not of their order of place.
Italiae magnas partes prostravit, avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare flumiibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti pro-ruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

6. Tres ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrocius. Circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacunque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suas, impigre ferebat opem: insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques (Ducario uomen erat) facie quo- que noscitans 'Consul en' inquit 'hic est' popularibus suis, 'qui legiones nostras cecidit, agrosque et urbem est depopu- latus. Jam ego hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo: subditisque calcaribus equo per consortissi- mam hostium turbam impetum facit; obtumcatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam objecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii objectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit: et jam nec laecis nec montes obstabant pavori. Per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt; armaque et viri super alium aliis praecipitabant. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus numerosisque extare possunt, sese immergunt. Fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit, quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hostiebantur gurgitibus, aut nequicquam fessi vada retro aeegrimme repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari

1 Carried the waters of the sea inland, and up the mouths of rivers.
2 The fact that an earthquake occurred in Italy on the day of the battle at Lake Trasimenum, without the combatants being sensi- ble of it, is mentioned also by other authors; particularly by Cicero, in his treatise 'De Divinatione,' and by Pliny in his 'Natu- ral History.'
3 The est is remarkable here; the present, however, serves to make the narrative more lively.
4 Inquit, which introduces a direct speech, is not unfrequently followed by a dative of the person spoken to: for example, inquit mihi, inquit ei.
5 Livy sometimes applies this peculiarly Roman term to the divi- sions of troops among other nations: thus, Gallicae, Etruscae, Punicae legiones.
6 Obviam might have been omitted, but Livy is somewhat in the habit of subjoining to a verb compounded with a preposition an- other word conveying the same sense as the preposition: thus, shortly afterwards, retro repetere; and elsewhere, rursus restituere, rursus repetere, rursus revocare, ante praecoccupare, prius praeципere, and the like.
omnium quae post se agerentur ex saltu evasere, et cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere praecaligine poterant. Inclinata denique re, cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida jam luce montes campique perditas res stratumque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam citatissimo poterant aminate, sese abripuerunt. Postero die, cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbalie, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiosum nocete consequutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt. Quae Punic religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecit.

7. Haec est nobilis ad Trasimenum pugna atque inter paucas deliberata populi Romani clades. Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa sunt; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam aversis itineribus urbem petiere. Mille quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex caedes urimque facta traditur ab aliis: ego praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinat ferme scribentium animi, Fabium aequalem temporibus hujusce belli potissimum auctorem habui. Han-

1 This must have happened on the road to Perusia.
2 'With Punic faith,' which, in the opinion of the Romans, was equivalent to none at all. The atque in the next clause is not without its emphatic meaning. Compare Zumpt, § 333, middle.
3 Inter paucos, as, a (according to the gender of the substantive), is nothing else than a periphrasis for the superlative, = imprimit, 'highly, remarkably'—literally, 'among few;' that is, 'so very high, as to have but few equals, few standing around it.' The expression here is by no means an assertion that the Romans sustained few defeats, but few as disastrous as that at Trasimene. We say homo inter paucos disertus, 'a man possessed of eloquence such as few attain to.' — Memorata = memorabilis, 'mentioned,' for 'worthy of mention, memorable,' a natural enough use of the past participle. Compare Zumpt, § 328, middle.
4 'By by-roads,' for, as may easily be conceived, the enemy was in hot pursuit along the direct roads. The reading of the editions here is diversis, but this is an unnecessary change.
5 Many times greater, for multiplex, properly merely 'manifold,' has sometimes this additional meaning: as, for instance, in vii. 8. multiplex quam pro numero damnun est.
6 Fabius Pictor is meant, and Livy alludes not to his great historical work, entitled 'Annales,' which comprehended the more ancient history of Rome, but to his Greek work, 'Απομνημονεύματα, Memorabilia,' being an account of the memorable events which had happened during his own lifetime.
nibal, captivorum qui Latini nominis essent sine pretio di- 
missis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coa-
cervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri jussisset, 
Flaminii quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inqui-
situm non invenit.

Romae ad primum nuncium cladis ejus cum ingenti ter-
rore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Ma-
tronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades allata quaevae for-
tuna exercitus esset, obvios percutierunt. Et cum frequentis 
contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magis-
tratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. 
Pomponius praetor 'Pugna' inquit 'magna victi sumus.' 
Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius 
ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum 
magna parte copiarum caesum; superesse paucos aut fuga 
passim per Etruriam castra; ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus 
victi fuerant, tot in curas disperititi animi eorum erant, quorum 
propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant. Ignorantium 
quae cujusque suorum fortuna esset: nec quisquam sati sertum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. 
Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas major prope 
mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum ali-
 quem aut nuncios de his opperieniis; circumfundebanturque 
obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam 
ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus di-
gredientium ab nunciis cerneres, ut cuique laeta aut tristia 
nunciabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus 
domos circumfusos. Feminarum praecipue et guadia in-
signia erant et luctus. Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio 
repente oblatam in conspectu ejus expirasse ferunt; alteram, 
cui mors filii falsa nunciata erat, maestam sedentem domi, 
ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exani-
matam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque 
ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes quo-
am duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

8. Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nunc-
ciatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio pro-
praetore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, 
quo post pugnam ad Trasimenum auditam averterant iter, 
ab Hannibale circumventa. E jus rei fama varie homines 
affectit. Pars, occupatis majore aegritudine animis, levem ex

1 'Home.' We have here, and again shortly afterwards, the 
plural, because referring to a number of persons who had separate 
houses. See Gram. § 257, note 4.
2 'Particularly.' See xxi. 48, note.
comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum jacturam; pars non id quod acciderat per se aestimare, sed ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam valido gravior sentiatur, ita tum aegrae et affectae civitati quodcumque adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil quod aggravaret pati possent, aestimandum esse. \[1\] Itaque ad remedium jam dixi neque desideratum nec adhibiturum, dictatorem decendunt, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nunciam aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populus creare poterat, quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, predictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum. \[2\] Hisque negotium ad senatu datum ut muros turresque urbis firmarent, et praesidia disponenter quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: ad penates pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiani tueri nequissent.

9. Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium\[3\] venit. Inde, cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, conjecit ex unius coloniae haud nimis prospere tentatae viribus quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, in agrum Picenum

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\[1\] Aestimare sed—aestimandum esse must be explained by the supplement of a verb of thinking, answering to aestimare, and put like it in the historical infinitive; either putare, credere, censere, or, from the previous sentence, ducere. Translate thus: "a part (some) considered the affair in itself of little moment, but thought that, as in a diseased body, any circumstance, however slight, is felt more severely than by a healthy person; so now, whatever misfortune befell the sick and diseased state, must be estimated, not by the importance of the matter itself, but by the weakened strength which could bear no additional burden." Quamvis, an adverb, as frequently. Valido may either be explained by supplying in from the preceding part of the clause, as equivalent to in valido corpore, or to be regarded as the dative masculine for "a healthy man."

\[2\] A consul alone, by virtue of a commission from the senate, could name (that is, nominate, choose according to his own judgment) a dictator. Here, however, a remedy was found, for the people created (creavit, not dixit) a vice-dictator, with the same powers as an actual dictator: thus avoiding a breach of form.

\[3\] On the straight road; namely, towards Rome. He no doubt crossed the Tiber in the neighbourhood of Perusia, intending to push on along the road—which is still in use—past Fulginium (now Foligno), Spoletium (Spoletto), Interamna (Terni), and Narnia (Narni), towards Rome. But at Spoletium he forsook his southern direction, and turned eastwards into the districts on the gulf of Venice.
avertit iter, non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundan-
tem, sed refertum praeda, quam effuse avidia atque egentes
rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque
miles hibernis itineribus ac palustris via proelioque magis ad
eventum secundo quam levii aut facili\textsuperscript{2} affe-
tus. Ubi satis
quetis datum praeda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut
requie gaudentibus,\textsuperscript{3} profectus Praetutianum Hadrianumque
agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinoseque et Pelignos devastat cir-
caque Arpos et Laceriam proximam Apuliae regionem.
Cn. Servilius consul levibus proelii cum Gallis actis et uno
oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegae exercitus-
que caede audivit, jam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abesset
in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum,\textsuperscript{4} quo die magistratum
inii, vocato senatu, ab diis orsi, cum edocuisset Patres plus
negligentia caerimoniae requirerent quam temeritate
atque insicia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, qua-
que piacula iiae deum essent, ipsos deos consulendos esse,
pervicit,\textsuperscript{5} ut, quod non ferme decernitur nisi cum tetra pro-
digia nunciata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire jube-
rentur. Qui inspectis fatalibus libris retulerunt Patribus
quod ejus belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum
de integro atque amplius faciendum esse; et Jovi ludos
magnos et aedes Veneri Erycinae\textsuperscript{6} ac Menti vovendas esse,
et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sa-
crum\textsuperscript{7} vovendum, si bellatum prospera esset, resque publica

\textsuperscript{1} That is, with things which the army might take away with
them, a soldier not looking upon provisions as booty.

\textsuperscript{2} The battle of Trasimene was neither \textit{levis}—that is, without loss
on the part of the conquerors—nor \textit{facilis}, gained with ease.

\textsuperscript{3} For the booty-loving soldiers a few days’ rest in the standing
camp was quite sufficient.

\textsuperscript{4} It was not observed above that Q. Fabius Maximus had already
been dictator once, several years before this time. He had been
named in order to hold the consular comitia, the consuls previously
chosen having resigned on the discovery of an informality in their
election.

\textsuperscript{5} He prevailed.' This word suggests that there was a strong
opposition in the senate to the dictator’s hypocritical proposal.

\textsuperscript{6} 'To the Venus of Mount Eryx,' under which title she had been
received into the city after the first Punic war. To the goddess
Mens, the personification of intelligent reflection, there was cer-
tainly good reason to commend the Roman state.

\textsuperscript{7} A \textit{ver sacrum}, as appears from the following chapter, was a
spring in which all calves, lambs, and the like, born within it were
given in sacrifice to the gods. This vow was not fulfilled till the
year 194 B.C., twenty-three years afterwards, as we are told by
Livy in xxxiii. 44, and xxxiv. 44.
in eodem quo ante bellum fuisset statu permansisset. Sena-
tus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Aemi-
lium praetorem ex collegii pontificum sententia, omnia ea
ut mature sint, curare jubeat.

10. His senatus consultis perfectis L. Cornelius Lentulus
pontifex maximus, consulente collegio praetorum, omnium
primum populum consulendum de ventre sacro censebat: in-
jussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in haec verba popu-
lus Velitis jubeatis1 hoc sic fieri: si res publica populi
Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut yel-
cam, salva servata erit hisce duellis, datum donum duit
populus Romanus Quiritium2 (quod duellum populo Romano
cum Carthaginiensi est, quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt,
quive cis Alpes sunt3) quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo,
caprino, bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt, Jovi fieri4 ex
qua die senatus populusque jussisset. Qui faciet, quando
volet quale lege volet, facito: quo modo faxit,5 probe
factum esto. Si id moritur quod fieri oportebit, profanum
esto, neque scelus esto.6 Si quis rumpet7 occidetve in-
sciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clespsit,8 ne populo scelus

1 Velitis jubeatis stands for the imperative, a form for that mood
being wanting to velle: 'may you will and command,' for 'will
and command.' On this account the ordinary reading velitis jubea-
tisne, with ne subjoined, is untenable. As to this use of two almost
equivalent words without a conjunction, see Zumpt, § 742, sub fin.,
and § 783.

2 'Then let the Roman people of the Quirites present a gift and
present.' Datum donum, two equivalent words placed together in
official language, as observed in previous note: as to duit, see Gram.
§ 146, 4.

3 By this parenthesis the words hisce duellis (antique for bellis) are
more precisely explained. These are the wars with the Carthagin-
ians, and the Gauls, and other tribes on this side of the Alps, par-
ticularly Ligurians, who had sided with Hannibal. On this account
we have, in accordance with the manuscripts, introduced quive for
the simple qui.

4 'That whatever the spring shall have brought from the herds,
&c., at least what thereof is unconsecrated, shall be offered to
Jupiter.' This accusative with the infinitive, id fieri, must be
looked upon as in opposition to datum donum: facere is used in the
sense of sacrificare. Profana are such things as do not belong to a
god, or have not been given to him by vow. Here consequently
the exceptions are the young of cattle which belong to temple-herds,
and abortions, which cannot be offered to the gods.

5 For fecerit: Gram. § 146, 6.

6 Profanum esto means here 'then shall it not belong to the god
(that is, be offered to him),' neque scelus esto, 'without its owner's
thereby committing a crime against Heaven.'

7 Equivalent to corrumpet.

8 For clepsis, from the old proverb clepere, 'to steal.'
esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die¹ faxit insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea² senatus populusque jussisset tieri ac faxit, eo populus solutus liber est.⁵ Ejusdem rei causa ludi magni voti aëris trecentis triginta tribus milibus trecentis triginta tribus tertiens;³ praeterea bubus Jovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum conjugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam quos in aliqua sua fortuna publicae quoque contingebat cura.⁴ Tum lector numerum per triduum habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Jovi ac Junoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio ac Cereri. Tum aedes voiae.⁵ Veneri Erycinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator votit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret cujus maximum imperium in civitate esset. Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor votit. ¹

11. Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque de publica⁶ dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse Patres censoret. Decretum ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur;

¹ Atri dies, days marked with black in the Roman calendar, either on account of some disastrous event in Roman annals, or for religious reasons. On such days it was improper to commence any important undertaking, or to offer a sacrifice.

² Antidea for antea, which is compounded of the preposition ante and the ablative of is, the equivalent antevac being from ante and the ablative of hic. In the early language a d was thrown in to avoid the hiatus.

³ For (at the expense of) 333,333½ asses,' for aes is collective for asses, 'copper' for 'copper coins.'

⁴ Who, in regard to any private fortune which they had to lose, were concerned in caring for the public weal'; that is, whose own fortunes would be lost if the republic did not stand. Fortuna has properly the sense of 'goods, property,' only in the plural, but not unfrequently also in the singular.

⁵ Vovere was to declare publicly, to promise to a god, that a temple would be built: after it was built followed the dedicatio. It was considered a high honour to be intrusted with either duty.

⁶ More commonly, without repeating the preposition, reque publica; or repeating it, de quo re publica: but res publica is not properly one word. De is rarely put after the substantive which it governs. Zumpt, § 324.
cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica1 duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adjecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Is per magistrum equitum scriptus Tiberi diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edictaque proposito, ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta; ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis ejus, qua iuratus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frigibus corruptis, ne cujus rei copia esset; ipse via Flamina profectus obviam consuli exercituique, cum ad Tiberim circa Orciernum prosperississet agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se prodeuntim, viatorem misit qui consuli nunciaret ut sine hitoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque vetustate2 jam prope oblitos ejus imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosa3 num4 captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisceret justus, navi-busque quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent completis militae ac navalibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in verba juraverant.5 Ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naves impositi; alii, ut urbi praesiderent, reliqui.

12. Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato per agrum Sabinum Tiber, quo die ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Praeneste, ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus,6 unde itineri-

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1 For the interest (good) of the state.' Zumpt, § 309, fn.
2 As to the repetition of ut, see Zumpt, § 757. In English, 'that' is often repeated in the same manner, though no doubt in strict grammar the practice is incorrect.
3 There had been no dictator rei gerendae causa (that is, dictator to act as supreme military leader) since Attilius Calatinus in the first Punic war, 249 B.C.
4 On the Etruscan coast, and so called from the town of Cosa.
5 Had taken the oath;' literally, 'had sworn according to the formula of an oath read over to them.' As the name of the chief magistrate was mentioned in it, the usual expression is jurare in verba or in nomen Q. Fabii (or any one else, as the case may be). The clause qui quis liberi essent, 'who had children,' indicates that these freedmen were preferable to the others of their class, because they had a stake in the country. It was a leading principle in the ancient republics to exclude from the army people who were poor and needy, and could give no personal security for their fidelity.
6 The via Latina leads from Rome southwards by Ferentum, Frusino, and Fregellae to Campania. As the dictator marched by
bus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Poenus educeret in aiciem copiamque pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castraullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem victos tandem Martios animos Romanis, debellantumque et concessum propalum de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra redit: ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, quod cum duce handquaquam Flaminio Sempronioque simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum docti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent. Et prudenteriam qui dem novi doctoris extemplo umuit: constantiam hauddum expertus, agitare ac tentare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis ejus agros sociorum coepit. Et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repeute in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in aequum posset, occultus obsibebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducbat, modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congregaretur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessario cogeret, tenebatur miles. Pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim. Equitum levisque armaturaee statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat. Neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur; et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum, finitimoque receptu, assuefaciébant territum pristinis clabibus militiae minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae poenitere suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum: qui nihil aliud quam quod impar erat imperio, morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque in consiliis, ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter paucos, dein propalum in

Tibur and Praeneste without going to Rome, he necessarily had to proceed by 'cross paths' into the regular beaten road.

1 A city in Apulia, not far from the colony of Luceria, on which, no doubt, the Romans principally depended.

2 'Taunting the Romans, indeed, that their martial spirit was subdued, that the war was brought to an end, and that they had publicly renounced their claims to valour and glory.'

3 'So that he neither lost sight of him, nor engaged with him.'

4 'An outpost of cavalry and light infantry.'

5 'Slight successes gained in skirmishes, which were begun from a point of safety, and with a secure place of retreat near.'

6 Poenitere means not merely 'to repent,' but also 'to feel vexed, grieved, disgusted with anything as insufficient and unsatisfactory.'
vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, asfingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat; premendoque superiores, quae pessima ars nimir proseris multitum successibus crevit, sese extolletat.

13. Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit: irritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indignitatisibus cladibusque sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen posit. Inter multituidinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasimenum capiti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis jam tum illecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nunciantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae potiendae copiae sunt, cum res major quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut Camanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam promissa rebus affirmarent, jussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendum sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens os ab Latinorin nominum prolattione pro Casino Casilinum dux ut acciperet fecit; aversusque ab suo

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1 'By too favourable results with many;' that is, by being too successful with many.
2 Hannibal had been in Apulia. He must therefore have advanced nearer Rome by passing into the next district—that of the Hirpini. These were a Samnite race, settled south of the Caudini and Pentri. One of their towns was Abellinum, which still exists under the same name; and in xxiii. 1, Compsa is mentioned as belonging to them.
3 That is, to battle in the plain.
4 'After they had been again and again exhorted to prove the truth of their promises by deeds.' We have struck out ut after monitos, because etiam atque etiam belongs to the verb monere, which again is often followed by the subjunctive without ut.
5 Casino, a Roman colony, was so situated, that any one who had possession of the road there could cut off all communication between the mountainous district and the plain country on the seacoast. The modern name is St. Germano; that is to say, at the foot of the hill Monte Casino, on which stood the ancient city, there is now a town of that name. In the following sentence we have adopted the emendation of Drakenborch, the words os and prolattione being wanting in the manuscripts; other attempts to restore the correct sense are not satisfactory. The confounding of Casinum and Casilinum is probably to be explained by the supposition that Hannibal pronounced the s in Casinum thick, like a Phoenician shin (sh).
itinere per Allisanum Calatinumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem¹ descendit. Ubi cum montibus fluminibus caesus regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percutatur, ubi terrarum est. Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum cum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrarem in crucem sublato, castris communitis. Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum² praedatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. Jugentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius, Numidae feecerunt. Nec tamen is terror, cum omnibus bello flagrarent, sibi socios dimovit, videlicet qui justo et moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum sibi e est, melioribus parere.³

14. Ut vero, cum ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae aegur villaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro-seditio accensa. Quieverant⁴ enim per paucos dies, quia cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema iuga Massici montis ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae teeta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, 'Spectatmn ne hoc,' inquit Minucius, 'ut rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia venimus? Nec si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet,⁵ quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra

¹ The Campus Stellatis on the river Vulturnus was the northern part of the flat country called Campania Propria, which comprehended the city of Capua and the territory belonging to it. A more fertile district Hannibal could not have entered: but he perceived at once the insecurity of his position, for he was almost encircled by hostile cities, Capua being to the south; the Roman towns of Sinuessa, Minturnae, and Formiae to the west on the sea-coast; and the colonies of Cales, Saticula, and Casinum to the east.
² At the foot of the hill called Massicus, north of the river Vulturnus, and only separated by it from the above-mentioned Stellatian plain.
³ This, namely, is the only firm bond of faith, when he, whom one is bound to obey, is also morally the superior.
⁴ 'They (that is, those anxious for more active proceedings, and particularly the admirers of Minucius) had remained quiet—obe dient and submissive to the dictator's commands.
⁵ 'Are we not ashamed, supposing before no other, even before our own fellow-citizens?' See Zumpt, § 443.
cunctatione et socordia jam huc progressus. Tantum, pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut praeter quam oram illi suam\(^1\) Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum jam factam videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando\(^2\) non homines tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem laeti\(^3\) spectamus. Fumus ex incendis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures claramoris plorantium sociorum, saepius nos quam deoruni invocantium opem. Nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus\(^4\) deviasque calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus\(^5\) in rebus affectis quae situs, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset; quam vereor ne, sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Poenis totiens\(^6\) servaverint maiores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate Patrum jussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, cum esset satis altum Janiculum\(^7\) ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum, atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta

\(^1\) We have, in accordance with the best manuscripts, introduced \textit{suam}, which is in other editions groundlessly omitted. As to the \textit{eam}, emphatically pointing back to \textit{quam}, see Zumpt, § 813.

\(^2\) In the expression of our indignation at the siege of Saguntum, = \textit{indignantes}, or \textit{cum indignabamur}.

\(^3\) The modern editions have \textit{lenti}, 'with equanimity or indiffer- ence,' which is good; but \textit{laeti}, the manuscript reading, is equally good, and perhaps even more suited to the spirit of the orator and of his hearers. Such a word as \textit{laeti} here must have acted like an electric spark upon the souls of the young officers who surrounded the master of the horse.

\(^4\) The mountains on which the Romans had their position are called 'Summer Hills,' because in summer they were used as pasture-ground. This is the case still.

\(^5\) \textit{Unicus} means 'the only one of his kind, distinguished above all others'—here of course ironical.

\(^6\) This is the correct spelling, instead of the ordinary \textit{toties}. See Zumpt, § 122.

\(^7\) The orator thinks that M. Furius Camillus might, had he chosen, have taken up his position on a hill overlooking the enemy—the Janiculum, for instance, which was high enough for the purpose; but instead of doing so, he descended into the plain, and went in search of the enemy, falling in with them at a place which was afterwards called \textit{Busta Gallorum}, from the number of Gauls slain and buried there. The speaker, or Livy, who moves the puppet, naturally follows the popular story that Camillus, by acts of hero- ism, rescued Rome from Brennus.

15. Fabius pariter, in suis haud minus quam in hostes, intentus prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe seii non in castris modo suis sed etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore codem consiliorum aestivalis reliquum extraxit, ut Hannibal destititus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis jam hibernis locum circumspectaret, qua ea regio prae sentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta vineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, reditum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis,

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1 This Roman city had been taken by the Samnites, and there they kept the hostages whom they had taken from the Romans, 321 B.C.

2 The circumstance alluded to occurred in the year 242 B.C., twenty-six years before this time. Modo and nuper do not refer to any definite distance of time; for they vary, according to circumstances, from 'a considerable number of years ago' to within the last hour or two.' See Zumpt. § 287, init.

3 'That the war can be brought to a close,' for debellare is sometimes used absolutely (that is, without an object) in this sense.

4 It should properly have been et ad militum quoque aures.

5 They declared unhesitatingly: 'ferre = proferre, dicere.

6 Or ducem, for either way the word must be supplied to one of the names.

7 In apposition to ea regio: 'that district—consisting of orchards and vineyards,' &c.

8 Scil. Hannibalem.
quae urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum ac Campa-
num agros1 dividit. Ipsa jugis iisdem exercitum reducit,
misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L.
Hostilio Mancino. Qui2 ex turba juvenum audientium
saeppe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus
primo exploratoris modo ut ex tuto specularetur hostem,
ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit, per occasionem
etiam paucos occidunt, extemplo occupatus certamine est ani-
mus, exextenditque praecipua dictatoris, qm. quantum tuto
posset, progressum3 prius recipere sese jussaret quam in con-
spectum hostium veniret. Numidae ali i atque alli occu-
santes refugentesque ad castra prope ipsum cum fatigatione
equorum atque hominum pertrahere. Inde Carthalo, penes
quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus,
cum priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret avertisset hostes,
quique ferme milia continentis cursu sequutus est fugientes. 
Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem
vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suis in proelium redit, omni
parte virium impar.4 Itaque ipse ut delecti equitum circum-
venti occiduntur; ceteri effuso rursum cursu Cales primum,
inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad
firmandum praeedium saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas
caucus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae
limite5 pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Conjunctis
exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam de-
ferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. Duo inde milia hostes
aberant.

16. Postero die Poeni, quod viae inter bina castra erat,
agmine complevero. Cum Romani sub ipso constitissent
vallo, hand dubie aequiore loco,6 successit tamen Poenus eum

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1 It might also have been agrum, but the plural is used in the
same manner as in the case of two persons who have a common
surname; for example, P. et Gn. Scripiones. We find the plural
also with other common substantives; for example, xxiii. 33,
vitantes portus Brandisium Tarentinumque. The singular, how-
ever, in such cases is not only allowable, but of frequent occurrence.
2 Qui is drawn to the foro-sentence alone, so that in the after-
member we must supply ius: ‘and when he saw, and even, as an
opportunity offered, killed, a few Numidians, his mind was imme-
diately filled with thoughts (occupatus) of a battle.’ Zumpt, § 804.
3 ‘In every respect inferior in strength.’ Properly, ex omni parte
viribus impar, for omni parte virium cannot mean here ‘in every
kind of troops,’ since Mancinus had only cavalry.
4 ‘By a side or by-road connected with the via Appia,’ for the
via proper passed through the town of Tarracina itself.
5 ‘In a more favourable position.’
expeditis equitibusque. 1 Ad lacesseandum hostem carptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnavere. Restitit suo loco Romanae aecies. Lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate. Ducenti ab Romanis, 2 oetingenti hostium cecidere.

Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum obsessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab ergo divitum sociorum 3 Romanis comineatus subvehoret, Poenus une 4 inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque perhorrida situ hibernaturus esset, 5 Nec Hannibalem feellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset peten-dique montes et jugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen aggredetur, Iudibrium oculorum specie terrible ad frustrandum hostem commen-
tus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consili consili talis apparatus fuit. Faces undique ex agris collectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligan-
tur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta; Hasdrubalique negotium datum ut primis tenebris noctis id armentum accessis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

17. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra, boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur ut accessis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes. Et metus ipse relucentis flammarum ex capite calorque jam ad vivum 6 ad inaquee cornum adveniens velut stimulatos furere agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam silvis monti-
busque accessis, omnia circum virgulta ardere; capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammarum hominum passim discur-
rentium speciem praebebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidien-
dum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quos-

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1 With the light-armed (foot) soldiers and the cavalry.' Draken- borch's reading is cum expeditis equitibus atque ad lacesseandum hos-
tem carptim et procursando. Ours rests on the authority of the best manuscripts, and we can see no reason why Hannibal in this kind of attack should not have made use of light-armed infantry.

2 'On the side of the Romans.' See Zumpt, § 304, b.

3 'So many rich allies.' Genitive participive governed by tantum.

4 The ordinary reading is contra, which is not supported by suffi-
cient authority.

5 Formiae and Liternum, Roman towns on the sea-coast, both no
doubt fortified. The neighbourhood of Liternum is rendered very
disagreeable by a marsh, through which the river Liternum flows.

6 'To the flesh.' In general, that part of the body which has
sensation.
dam ignes\textsuperscript{1} conspexerunt, circumventos se esse rati praesidio excessere; qua minime\textsuperscript{2} densae\textsuperscript{2} micabant flammas, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium juga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos ab suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo cum procul cernentem, veluti flammmas sparsi tium miraculo attoniti constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraud, tum vero insidias rati esse, dum majore metu concitant se in fugam, levi quoque armaturae hostium incurrere. Ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnientes ad lucem tenuit.\textsuperscript{3} Interea toto armam Hannibal transducto per saltum,\textsuperscript{4} et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Alfiano posuit castra.

18. Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius: ceterum et insidias esse ratus, et ab nocturno utique\textsuperscript{5} abhorrens certamine, suas munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub jugo montis proelium fuit, quo intercluslim ab suis levem armaturam facile (etin numero aliquantum praestabant) Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale pervenisset. Ea assuetior montibus, et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptor ac levior cum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu, campestrem hostem, gravem armis statoriumque, pugnae generae facile elusit.\textsuperscript{6} Ita haudquaquam pari

\textsuperscript{1} 'And some straight above them,' quosdam referring merely to those fires, or animals bearing fire, which appeared above the picket.

\textsuperscript{2} 'Least thick.' We make this observation, because minime also has the signification 'by no means,' which is unsuitable here. In the same manner, when we speak of veterans, qui minime multa stipendia habebant, we mean those who, compared to the old soldiers around them, had served during the least number of campaigns.

\textsuperscript{3} According to the sense, we must take the idea of utrosque out of neutros, and connect it with tenuit. Neither party would begin a battle, and therefore both remained quiet all night.

\textsuperscript{4} The object of Hannibal's device was to frighten away the Roman soldiers who guarded the way over the mountain, and he attained his purpose by driving some of his fire-carrying oxen to hills situated higher, so that the guard, believing themselves surrounded, left the pass, and fell back on the main body of their army. Some modern writers have questioned the truth of the story regarding this device of Hannibal; but Polybius relates it as well as Livy, and there is no good ground for doubting it. A correct acquaintance with the locality will convince any unprejudiced person of the possibility of the stratagem.

\textsuperscript{5} 'Indisposed to any kind of battle, and particularly one by night.'

\textsuperscript{6} 'The Spanish cohort, by their mode of fighting, easily baffled the efforts of the enemy, who were accustomed to battles in the
certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum super Allias loco alto ac munito consedit. Tun per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Pelignos populabundus redidit. Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam jugis ducebat, nec adsistens nec congregi. Ex Pelignis Poenus flexit iter, retroque Apulum repetens Geronium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum cau. Ro-
mam revocatus, non imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam fortunae contidat, et se potius de
cuius urbis moenia erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum cau.

19. Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad
cum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adjecit; quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradidit; atque ita Carthagine profectus navibus prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus configere quae
cunque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem

consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam

plain, and were heavy armed, and suited for fighting in regular line.

1 The Peligni, situated north-east of Samnium, on the slope from
the interior of the country down to the Adriatic, had two large
towns, Corfinium and Sulmo.

2 'He was not to think that nothing had been done (attained,
effected).' The preceding sentence is an anacoluth, or rather is,
properly speaking, not a sentence at all, for there is no main verb.
The author forgot that he had employed nothing but participles,
and now goes on with a statement of what the dictator said far
ther to his wilful master of the horse. As to ne nihil see Zumpt,
§ 754.

3 'After, immediately after.' See Zumpt, § 304, a. We nave
here restored what is decidedly the reading of the manuscripts, in
stead of the ordinary et ab continuis eladibus respirasse.

4 Scil. ei, the subject, Scipio, being connected with the former
part of the sentence. The reading Scipioni is not supported by
the manuscripts.
novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito,\textsuperscript{1} quinque et triginta navium classe ire ob-viam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Iberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae retulere classem Punicam stare in ostio iluminis, castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancornis ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus datum signum Has-drubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum stre-pituque alio navisco exaudito, aut aperientibus classem pro-montoriis: cum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die expectantes, con-scendere naves propere atque arma capere jubet: classem Romanam jam haud procul portu esse. Haec equites dimissi passim imperabant. Mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exer-citu aderat; varioque omnia tumulito strepunt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque, fugientem magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes con-scendenter, cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras evehuntur,\textsuperscript{2} alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt; raptimque omnia praepropere agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et jam Romanus non appropinquabit modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam somet ipsi tumultu tur-bati et temptata verius pugna quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem. Et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini ac tam multis simul venientibus haud saepe intrabile esset,\textsuperscript{3} in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii validi alii sicco litore excepti,\textsuperscript{4} partim armati partim inermes, ad instructam per

\textsuperscript{1} "After he had put on board the soldiers chosen for the ships,' \textit{ad naves} belonging grammatically to \textit{delecto}.

\textsuperscript{2} "Some having untied the ropes which fastened the vessels (by the stern) to the shore, swing out to sea, and are held by their anchors only.'

\textsuperscript{3} "The mouth of the river, with the current running strongly against the ships (\textit{adversi}), was not suited for the entrance of the whole fleet in one extended line.' The manuscripts have \textit{agmini}, which is better than the common reading \textit{agnine}.

\textsuperscript{4} "Some being received by shallow places, some by the dry beach,' that is, the men leaped out of the ships, some upon shallow places, some ashore."
litus aciem suorum perfugere. Duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves; quattuor suppressae.

20. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem toto praetentam in litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insetuenti trepidam hostium classem, naves omnes, quae non aut perfrigerant proras litori illisae aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus\(^1\) in altum extraxere; ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere.

Neque id pulcherrimum ejus victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto ejus orae mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Onasam classe prorecti, escensione ab navibus in terram facta, cum urbein vi cepissent captamque diripiissent, Carthaginiem\(^2\) inde petunt; atque omnem agrum circa depopulati, postremo tecta quoque injuncta muro portisque\(^3\) incenderunt. Inde jam praeda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti\(^4\) ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod in satis usum fuit, sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo projectas oras,\(^5\) sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ubi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequicquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, majore quam ex continenti praeda parta cum in naves se recepissent. ex Balearibus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis, reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium populorum qui Iberum accolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt. Sed qui vere diciouis imperiique Romani facti sim\(^6\) obsidibus

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\(^1\) Having fastened them to the sterns of their own vessels.'

\(^2\) That is, *Cartaginem Novam.* We learn from this description something regarding the situation of the other towns, which are otherwise unknown; for it is evident that Onusa was between the Ebro and New Carthage, and Longuntica on the coast between New Carthage and Cadiz.

\(^3\) 'Adjoining the wall and the gates'—perhaps outside, however.

\(^4\) *Spartum,* a kind of rush peculiar to Spain, called by Linnaeus *stipa tenacissima.* Its thread-like leaves are used in the same way as hemp, for making mats and cords; and the indestructibility of these, particularly their remaining uninjured by wet, is famed.

\(^5\) The reading in most of the editions is *oras praeter vecta;* but the latter word is wanting in the manuscripts, and it is better, therefore, to take a sense out of the verb *transmissum,* belonging to the other clause, which will suit this: 'they not only landed on projecting points of the mainland (promontories of some extent), but even crossed over to the island of Ebusus.' This island, the largest of the group of the *Pityusae,* is situated opposite the coast of the Spanish province of Valencia, and is now called Iviça.

\(^6\) The subjunctive, according to *Gram.* § 360, 3: for we must con-
datis, populi amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Ignit terres-
tribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum
Castulonensem¹ est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam et
propius Oceanum conscissit.

21. Quielum inde fore videbatur reliquum aestatis tempus,
fuissetque per² Poenum hostem. Sed praeterquam quod
ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res³ sunt
ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum⁴ regu-
lus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad mariti-
man oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum
Romanorum ad populandum veneerunt. Adversus eos tri-
 bunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi⁵ levi
certamine, ut tumultuarium manum, fudere omnes; occisis
quibusdam captisque magna pars armis evuta. Hic tamen
tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Iberum
ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilercaon-
ensium,⁶ castra Romana ad Novam Classem erant, cum
fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes
regionis suae legatos miserant obsidesque dederant Romanis,
nuncio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt provinciamque
Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt, tria oppida
expugnant. Inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis
egregie pugnant: quindecem milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

22. Hoc statu rerum in Hispania, P. Scipio in provin-
ciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu,
missus cum viginti longis navibus et octo railibus militum,
magnuque commateu adfecto. Ea classis ingens agmine
onerariarum procul visa⁷ cum magna laetitia civium socio-
ceive the sense to be, 'the tribes who acted in such a manner that
they became,' &c.

¹This is the range out of which the Baetis (now Gaudalquivir)
springs, and Castulo is the modern Cazorla.

²Per here (like 'for' in conversational English; for example,
'you may do it for me') means, 'so far as concerned.'

³In novas res = novarum rerum: similar deviations from the strict
grammatical construction of avidis occur also in v. 20, avidas in
direptiones manus otiosorum urbanorum, and vii. 23, gens ferox et
ingenii avidi ad pugnam.


⁵A somewhat odd construction; but auxilia is=auxiliares, and
us to the plural, see Gram. § 244, 3.

⁶The Ilercaones, Ilergaones, or Ilercaonenses, dwelt west of the
Ilergetes, on both sides of the Iberus, down the river. Nova Clas-
sis, an unknown place on the coast.

⁷'Having appeared in the distance, from the train of vessels of
burden, to be very large.'
rumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposto profectus Scipio fratri se conjungit; ac deinde comuni animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Iberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo\(^1\) viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos\(^2\) ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae popolorum animos morabatur, ne saugiune liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Ex vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam fidei consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis: tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum transflugam sine magna rei priditione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat ut quam maximum emolumentum\(^3\) novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus quae fortuna potestatis ejus poterat facere,\(^4\) obisdibus potissimum tradendis animum adjecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturum Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam. Sed cum injussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte aggreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat: Bostar, ut aditum ex portu\(^5\) intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum, velut ignorantem, monet quo statu sit res. Metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent: nunc cis Iberum

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\(^1\) Equivalent to *et nullo*. Such a use of *nec* is, strictly speaking, illogical; for the conjunction should belong, in its full negative sense, to the verb of the clause, which is not the case here. But see Zumpt, § 738.

\(^2\) ‘Who had been handed over by Hannibal (the previous year) to his successor Hasdrubal.’ The reading *custodiae traditos*, which does away with the necessity of supplying ‘to Hasdrubal,’ is not supported by manuscripts.

\(^3\) It might have been the dative *maximo emolumento*.

\(^4\) Having considered all things which circumstances could put in his power,\(^5\) or ‘over which circumstances could give him power,’ or ‘which circumstances could put at his command.’ The construction *potestatis aliqujus aliquid facere*, is founded on the possessive genitive with *esse* and *fieri*; Gram. § 278, for the active *facere* is used with such a genitive as well as the passive *fieri*; for example, *Asia Romanorum factura est*, and *bellum Asiam Romanorum fecit*.

\(^5\) Saguntum, as was before observed (on xxii. 2), was situated not far from the sea, and had, like all great cities, a port belonging to it. Bostar, from the superiority of the Roman fleet, anticipated an attack on the sea-side.
castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perspiciemque novas volen-
tibus res. Itaque quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia
devinciendo esse. Miranti Bostari percutantique quod-
num id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, 'Obsides'
inquit 'in civitates remitte. Id et privatum parentibus,
quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice
populis gratum erit. Vult sibi quisque credi, et habita
fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium resti-
tuendorum domos obsidium mihi metet deposeo ipse, ut opera
quoque impensa consilium adjuvem meum, et rei suapte
natura graeae, quantum insuper gratiam possim, adjicia.

Obstiles inquit 'ia civitates remitte. Id et piis libris,
quorum maximum nomen in civitalibus est suis, et publice
populis gratum erit. Vult sibi quisque crede, et habita
lides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministrum resti-
luendorum domos obsidum mihi metet deposeo ipse,

tum ubi se notum statuerit, ut custodias hostium falleret,
constituisset, ad com-
postam cum iis horam excitati custodibus plurorum pro-
fectus, veluti ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias
ducit. In castra Romana perducti. Cetera omnia de reddendis
obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per
cudem ordine quo si Carthaginsiern nomine sic agere-
tur. Major aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari
quam quanta futura Carthaginisiern fuerat. Illos enim
graves superbosque in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et
timor mitigasse videri poterat: Romanus primo adventu,
incognitus ante, ab re elementi liberalique initium fecerat.
Et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios
mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spec-
tare, armaque extemplo mofa forent, ni hiems, quae

1 'In comparison with.' See Zumpt, § 296, prope fin.
2 'In receiving directions from him for carrying out the affair:'
namely, what he was to do in the different cities in order to confirm
their connection with Carthage.
3 The same statement, expressed actively, stands thus: cetera
omnia idem Abelux egit eo ordine, quo (ageretur), si sic Carthaginien-
sium nomine agere tur. The expression agere per ordinem aliquem
is not used in Latin: it follows, therefore, that the common reading
here, per cudem ordinem, is incorrect. The treachery of Abelux
consisted in his so contriving, that the advantage derived from
giving back the hostages accrued to the Romans instead of the
Carthaginians.
4 Futura—fuerat=fsisset. See Zumpt, § 498, middle.
5 'Not without good grounds.'
6 'Thought of revolt.'
Romans quoque et Carthaginenses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

23. 

210 The slackness of Fabius held or kept Hannibal filled (troubled) with no little anxiety. It might also have been tenebat.
22 With a result which I might, with greater justice, call joyful than prosperous or advantageous. Laetus refers to what has actually been done, prosper to the good which may be expected to follow.
23 That this might appear the reward.
24 The arrangement was, that there was to be an exchange of prisoners, and that for each of the men whom the one party obtained back more than the other, two pounds and a-half of silver were to be paid. As the Roman pound, which was about two-thirds of the Paris pound, contained 84 denarii, the ransom for each man amounted to 210 denarii, or, 25 denarii making an aureus, to 8½ gold pieces. See as to the Roman coins Zumpt, § 872.
25 As the money due for them was rather slowly voted by the senate, or better, in English, as the senate was rather slow in voting the money, All payments from the aerarium had previously to be approved of by the senate; and to pass a bill granting a sum is ero gere.
26 At his own expense he paid the debt contracted in the name of the senate.
Hannibal pro Geronii moenibus, cujus urbis captae atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum paucam reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat, simul castris praebito, et circumspectans necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

24. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat. Prae-erat Minucius magister equitum, protecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, jam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio duos consilias caldiora, ut im- petus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra reheta cum levi praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem se-fellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem, et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem, quod minime quis cre- deret, cum hostis propius esset, tertia partem militum frumentatum, duabus in castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit, duo ferme a Gerono milia, in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentionem secreto esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fie-ret, tutandos. Propior inde et atque ipsis immens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, qua hand dubie hostis breviora via praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidiae cepserunt. Quos tenentes locum contempta pauci- tate Romani postero die cum dejecissent, ipsi co transferunt castra. Tum itaque, ut exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies, simul et per aversa castra a castris Hannibalis equi- tatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorium fecit. Nec acie cer- tare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat. Jamque artibus Fabii (pars exercitus aberat), jam ferme seuendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, recceperatque suos in priora castra, quae pro Geronii

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1 With more impetuosity than reflection. Gram. § 59, note.
2 See Gram. § 255, note 2. Hannibal meant by this movement to deter the Romans from making any attack upon his foragers.
3 As the rampart of the one camp was but a little way distant from that of the other: "exiguum spatii = exiguum spatium, according to Gram. § 275, c, note 3.
4 Per aversa castra—that is, per aversam partem castrorum—by that side of the camp which was turned away from Hannibal's camp. Per is used because properly per portam aversam is meant.
5 He was now obliged to carry on the war in the same fashion as Fabius, and he had taken back his troops into the old camp. This, then, was what Minucius had gained by his bold proceeding; he forced Hannibal to act on the defensive.
moenibus erant. Justa quoque acie et collatis signis dimicatum quidam auctores sunt. Primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fuset, unde erupturn tecta repente versum terrem in Romanos; Num Decimii Samnitis demelte interventu praefiium restitutum. Hunc principem generere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, jussu dictatoris octo milia petitiun et equites quiagentos ducentem in castra, ab terego cum apparituerit Hannibal, speciem parti utrique praebuisse novi praesidii cum Q. Falbo ab Roma vementis. Hannibalem in celeribarn quoque ahquid tempemt recepitet suos; Romanum insecutum adjuvante Samniti duo castella eo die expugnasce. Sex milia hostium caesa, quinque admodum Romanorurn. Tamen in tam pari prope clade famam egregiae victoriae cum vanitoribus litteris magistrii equitum Romanum perlatam.

25. De his rebus persaephe et in senatu et in contione actum est. Cum laeta civitate dictator unus nihil nec fames nec litteris crederet; ut vera omnia essent, secundum se magis quam adversa timere diceret; tum M. Metilus tribunus plebis id enim ferendum esse negat. Non praeuentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gentium, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare, et in ducendo bello sedulo tempus terere, quo diuitus in magistratu sit solusque et Romanet et in exercitu imperium habeat. Quippe consulm alterum in acie ceedisse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequeatet procul ab Italia ablegatum. Duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quorum neutra hoc tempore provincia praetore egeat. M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodiem habitum. Itaque hercle non Samnium modo, quo jam tamquam trans

1 An expression equivalent to ‘in full line of battle;’ for the signa were carried in the main body of the army, not in the advanced guard, or among the light skirmishers.
2 See Gram. § 307, 2.
3 These were socii Italici, called out as auxiliaries.
4 To quinque can very easily and naturally be supplied milia. Ad modum, ‘about,’ = circiter.
5 ‘Says that this is really not to be borne.’ Enim is used here, as elsewhere, enimvero, to strengthen an assertion. This sense originated in an ellipsis; as, for instance, here—M. Metilus said that he meant to speak against the dictator, and that he had justice on his side; for,’ &c.
6 By depreciating the value of the victory.
7 The sending away of the consul has been mentioned in chapter 11, and his unsuccessful descent upon the coast of Africa is described in chapter 31.
8 Properly in custodia; but see Gram. § 310, note.
iberum agro Poenis concessum sit, et Campanum Calenun-
que et Falernum agrum¹ pervastatos esse, sedente Cassilii
dictatore et legionibus populi Romanorum agrum suum tutante:
Exercitum cupiunt em pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos
prope intra vallum retentos; tamquam hostibus captivis
armae adempta. Tandem ut² abcesserit ii de dictator, ut
obsidione liberatos, extra vallum exessos fulisse ac fugasse
hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebi Romanae
esse, audaciae se laturum fuisse de arrogando Q. Fabi
imperio: nunc modicum roationem promulgaturum de
aequando magistro equitum et dictatoris jure.³ Nee tamen
ne ita quadem⁴ prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium,
quam consulem in locum C. Flaminii suffecisset. Dictator
contronibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis.⁵ Ne
in senatu quadem satis aequus auribus audiebatur tunc cum
hostem verbis extolleret,⁶ bieunique clares per tementatem
atque inscientiam duceum acceptas referret, magistroque equi-
tum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset. rationem diceret
reddendam esse. Si penes so summa imperii consilique sit,
propedem effecturum ut scient homines bono imperatore.
For the same reason we have in the following sentence rejected the reading se et in tempore, preferring that without se, which is, besides, supported by stronger manuscript authority. Fabius says generally, that it is a more glorious thing to have preserved an army at the right time than to have slain many thousand enemies. This of course could not fail of being applied to himself. As to in tempore, see Gram. § 308, note 1.

1. Though there was favour (for Minucius) enough and to spare, yet the bill had but little auctoritas (that is, recommendation, support in the way of speaking). Superare intransitively = superesse. The auctor of a law is one who speaks in support of it = suasor.

2. Who himself (namely, the father) kept the stall; for this is institor, 'a shopkeeper.'

3. The state-robe,' indicating one in public life; for mechanics and persons who attended merely to their own private affairs wore only the tunica.

4. Equivalent to dicendo, but implying at the same time a roaring, blustering style of oratory.

5. Not too little cunningly (that is, satis callide, cunningly enough) he tried to catch the breeze of popular favour.' The wind fills the sails, and carries the ship into port. With this idea the Latin speaks figuratively of an aura, which furthers any one's wishes.
dictatorem, in contumeliam ejus latam acceperunt. Ipsa gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem innarios tulerat, eadem et populi in se saevientis injuriam tuhit; acceptisque in ipso innere litteris senatus consulti\(^1\) de aequato imperio, satis tidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperanti aequatam, cum\(^2\) invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum redit.

27. Minucius vero cum jam ante vix tolerabilis suisset secundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriarii. Illum in rebus asperis unicum\(^3\) ducem ac parent quaesitum Hannibali, majorem minori, dictatoris magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, jussu populi aequatum, in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint;\(^4\) tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque entuisse. Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac sequitie deorum hominumque judicio damnata perstat. Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quemadmodum imperio aequato utantur. Se optimum ducere aut diebus alternis, aut si majora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum jus imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio sed viribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia enim fortunam habituram, queaeunque temperitas collegae habuisset.\(^5\) Sibi communicatum cum illo, non

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\(^1\) *Litterae senatus consulti,* ‘a copy of the *senatus consultum,*’ for the resolution of the people (*plebiscitum*) had been accepted by the senate, and was now communicated to the dictator in the form of a decree.

\(^2\) *Cum* might very well have been omitted here. See Zumpt, §472.

\(^3\) See chapter 14, note.

\(^4\) ‘Used to tremble and shake before the symbols of the dictator’s power,’ says Minucius boastingly, having in his mind the only other instance in Roman history in which a master of the horse disobeyed the direct commands of his superior. This was when Q. Fabius, afterwards called Maximus, master of the horse to L. Papirius Cursor, fought a battle in the dictator’s absence, and contrary to his orders. Papirius, enraged, was resolved to punish Fabius, and was induced to pardon him only by the united petitions of the senate and people. See Liv. viii. 30, *seq.* These events happened in the year 325 B.C., during the Samnite wars. As to *tremere* and *horrere* with the accusative, see *Gram.* §249, note 1.

\(^5\) *Habere,* ‘to have in possession,’ therefore also ‘to have the settlement or disposal of a thing in one’s hands:’ *fortune (chance)*
ademptum imperium esse. Itaque se nunquam volentem parte qua posset rerum consilio gerendarum cesserum; nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisum, sibiisque consiliis, quomiam omnia non liceret, quae posset servaturum. Ita obtinuit ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset,\textsuperscript{3} inter se dividèrent. Prima et quarta Minucio, secundâ et tertia Fabio evenerunt; item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia diviserunt. Castris se quoque separari magister equitum voluit.

28. Duplex inde Hannibal gaudium fuit (neque enim quicquam eorum quae apud hostes agerentur\textsuperscript{4} eum fallebat, et perfugis multa indicantibus, et per suos explorantem). Nam et liberam Minucii temperatatem se suo modo capta turum,\textsuperscript{5} et sollertiae Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, hand dubie iniquorem erat hosti locus facturus.\textsuperscript{6} Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem semper occurrurum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contraheré. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie mutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat; re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat. Et erant in anfractibus caveæ rupes,\textsuperscript{7} ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos possent would have the disposal of everything, which his rash colleague had the possession of.

\textsuperscript{1} 'That he would never agree to give up that part, with which he could carry on the war by deliberation and planning.' As to the construction of cedere, see Zumpt, § 413, sub fin.

\textsuperscript{2} That is, sed exercitum, with the omission of the adversative particle (see Zumpt, § 781), which must be expressed in reading by the accent. The singular exercitum is supported by better manuscript authority than exercitus, the reading in the ordinary editions.

\textsuperscript{3} The subjunctive represents this as a statement of Fabius, appealing to the example of consuls when they were both in command of the same army.

\textsuperscript{4} Why not agebantur? Because Hannibal was acquainted not merely with what actually was done, but also with what might be done, what it was likely would be undertaken. See Gram. § 360, 3.

\textsuperscript{5} The accusative with the infinitive dependent on an omitted verb of thinking; 'for he thought he would in his usual way entrap the now unfettered rashness of Minucius.'

\textsuperscript{6} 'And whoever should have taken possession of it first, would undoubtedly place the other party in a less favourable position.

\textsuperscript{7} 'In the windings (of the valley, on the sides of the hill) there were many caves in the rocks.' Cavae rupes: literally, 'hollow rocks'—that is, fissures, deep rents in the rocks, produced probably by the operation of water.
capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere po-erant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque.

1 Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missus paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum avertit oculos hostium. Primo statum conspectu contemplata paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum capiendum. Dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat, et vanus minis incerpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam, deinde conflerto agmine mittit equiles; postremo cernit hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret. instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia et alia crescente cerlamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque jam justam aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certabatur.


1 These clefts were taken possession of in the night.
2 'Advancing up the hill.' As to the construction of succedere and similar verbs, see Gram. § 250, with note 1. We may say either succedere tumulum, ad tumulum, or tumulo.
3 'Battle in front,' referring to the attack in the rear and on the flanks described immediately afterwards.
4 'As quickly as I expected (dreaded).’ The Latins are fond of the expression with non magis quam.

5 That is, so far as command goes, he (Minucius) has been made equal to me; but as to military skill, he himself must now acknowledge Hannibal’s superiority.
hostes continuat. Qui solutis ordinitibus vage dissipati erant, undique con gatherunt ad integram aiciem; qui plures simul terga dedarent, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem1 nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac jam prope uma acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, interebantque signa in hostem: cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam terente Hannibale2 ab se Minucium, se a Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei majore parte exacta cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus: 'Saepe ego' inquit 'audi vi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipsè consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui beue monenti obediat: qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, cum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secundam ac medium teneamus; et dum imperare discimus,3 parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio jugantam: ad praetorium ejus signa cum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod benefici ejus erga nos ac majestate ejus dignum est, vos, milites, eos quorum vosmodo arma dexterac5 texerunt patronos salutabitis; et si nihil alud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit.'

30. Signo dato, conclamatur inde ut colligantur vasa.6 Profecti et agmine incedentes dictatoris castra7 in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset, circum-

1 *Forming a circle.* Compare xxi. 56, in orbem pugnare.
2 An ablative absolute should only be used when a new subject appears: but Hannibal is the same as the Poenus. Only in sense, however, not in sound; and besides Poenus receptui cecinit is, in fact, nothing else than 'on the side of the Carthaginians the signal was given for retreat.'
3 'Who himself discovers what is useful.'
4 'So long as we are only learning how to command;' that is, 'until we learn the art of commanding.' We must confess that this noble self-denial of Minucius more than balances his former presumption. Polybius says nothing of it, merely stating that Minucius now joined his army to that of Fabius; but Livy has a particular liking for exhibiting the moral character of his heroes by delineating such traits as this.
5 The ordinary reading is dexteræque, contrary to the manuscripts. The asyndeton is here allowable, indeed preferable, because it gives a rhetorical finish to the sentence.
6 See xxi. 47, p. 244, note 4.
7 'Entering the dictator's camp in line;' that is, non dispersi sed uno agmine. Incedere with the accusative, as a little before, succedere tumulum.
fusosque militum ejus totum agmen patronos consalutasset, Parentibus inquit me s. dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quo fando possum, a quavi, vita tiam debeo, tibi cum meam salvationem tum omnium horum. Itaque plebei seictum, quo oneratus magis quam honoratus sum, primus antiquo abrogare, et quod tibi mitique, quod exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciiunque tuum redeo, et signa haec legesque restituo. Tu, quaesum, placent me magisterium equum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere jubas. Tum dextrae interjunctae, militaresque contione dimissae ab notas ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, lactusque dies ex admodum tirsu puto ante ac prope execrabilis lactus. Romae ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris, non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu, affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum haudibus ad coenum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Pœnos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse. Nam brevissimo ante adeo et duces Romans et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cujus terribilem eam famam a patribus accepisset. Hannibalem quoque ac acie redeunte iterum, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in jugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

1 That is, quo nomine te illis aequare fando possum, by which I can equal you to them in speaking.

2 A good pun, the use of the similarly-sounding words oneratus and honoratus, to express widely-different ideas. See Zumpt, § 822, on ταφουμαζα.

3 Two public formulae of throwing out a bill, antiquo being used when a new law was proposed, and meaning 'I stand by the old way'; and abrogare 'I support the repeal of an existing law.'

4 Quæ here is oddly enough attached to the second word. The reason, however, is evident, quod having no force of its own, so far as sense is concerned, in this place, but merely adding a little rhetorical effect.

5 This refers particularly to the centurions of the three divisions—hastati, principes, and triarii. The appointment of these was entirely in the hands of the commander-in-chief; and there can be no doubt that Minucius, in assuming his separate command, had made several promotions, for the ratification of which he now petitioned his re-acknowledged superior.

6 Livy's preference here of the dictator's family name (cognomen) to his praenomen or gentile name (nomen) is not accidental; for the people, in praising him, would naturally make use of this name, saying, 'he is indeed the greatest, and worthy of his name.'

7 Eam or illam points to something well known. See Zumpt, § 701. We should say, 'whose fame they had heard of as so terrible.'
31. Dum hacce geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Gemminus consul\(^1\) cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram, et obsidibus utrimque acceptis, in Africam transmittit; et priusquam in continentem egressiones faceret, Meninge insula vastata, et ab incolentibus Cercinam,\(^2\) ne et ipsorum urgeretur diripereturque ager, deo cem talentis argentis acceptis, ad litora Africenses accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites, navalesque socii juxta effusi ac si\(^3\) insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere illati, cum a frequentibus palantes et ignari ab locorum gnaris circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda tuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad\(^4\) mille hominum, cum his Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amisso, classis a litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Sicilian cursum tenuit, traditaque\(^5\) Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetorii, ut ab legato ejus P. Sura Romam reducetur, ipsa per Siciliam pedibus prefectus fretum in Italian traject, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega ejus M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto jam prope semestri imperio\(^6\) acciperent.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hanniballem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius\(^7\) etiam cum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Coelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, jus suisse dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia expectare territa jam clade civitas non poterat, de cursum esse, ut a populo createtur qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titu-

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\(^1\) This narrative follows up the information formerly given us, in chapter 11, of the consul's having been sent away to pursue a Carthaginian fleet which was cruising on the Italian coast. — Utrique, commonly 'on both sides,' here, unusually, for ab utraque insula.

\(^2\) Meninx and Cercina, two not unimportant islands. The former, abounding in lotus, and hence sometimes called the 'island of the lotus-eaters,' was situated near the African coast, not far from the promontory on the Syrtis Minor. Cercina, situated further out at sea, was a place of some consequence as a naval and trading station. 

\(^3\) Juxta ac si = aequo ac si or quasi, 'just as if.' Insulis, the simple ablative of place 'where.' This is a common construction in Livy, elsewhere in insulis would be more usual.

\(^4\) Ad is used adverbially, 'about a thousand men,' = fere, prope. Supply amisssis (= occisis) out of amisso, which is joined to the last name.

\(^5\) Scil. ea. an ablative absolute.

\(^6\) The office of dictator could be held only for six months at longest.

\(^7\) See xxi. 38, p. 232, note 3.
lum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictator, dictator crederetur, facile obtinuisset.  

32. Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis (medium\(^2\) autumni erat) Fabii artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exuunti Hannibali diversis locis opportum\(^3\) aderant, carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes. In casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non venebant. Adeoque inopiae est coactus Hannibal,\(^4\) ut nisi tum fugae speciem abeundo timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit,\(^5\) nulla relieta spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentibus consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent. 

Cum ad Geronium jam hieme impediente constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quadranginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam illatae, atque ita verba facta ut dicerent, scire sese populii aerarium bello exhauriri; et cum juxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana atque imperio geratur, aequum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae\(^6\) a majoribus relicturn foret, eo juvare populum Romanum. Si quam operam in sese crederent,\(^7\) eodem studio suisse oblatauros. Gratum sibi Patres Romanos populumque facturum, si 

\(^{1,2}\) That thereupon his exploits, and his glory, and the fact of his descendants putting a higher title on his statue, had easily brought it about that,' &c. *Qui pro dictator*, a rare ellipsis of esset. Compare Zumpt, § 776. 

\(^3\) The modern editions read *extremum*, which is conjectural, the manuscripts having *tum*. *Medium* is nearer *tum*, and is, besides, supported by *mature*, for the end of autumn was the regular time for preparing winter-quarters, and therefore could not be considered as 'early.' 

\(^4\) At the right time.' The adjective according to Zumpt, § 682. 

\(^5\) Hannibal was brought (straightened) to that degree of famine.' This is the manuscript reading; *eo*—*reactus* is a conjecture. *Adro* can govern the genitive as well as *ea*. Gram. § 275, c, note 5. 

\(^6\) Not *fuisset*, because the untruth of the matter is already seen in the connection of the future participle with the perfect subjunctive of *esse*. See Zumpt, § 498, *sub fin.* 

\(^7\) For support in (adverse or mis-) fortune.' For *fortuna* is a *verbum medium*, and may be used either of good or bad fortune. 

\(^{1,7}\) 'If they thought that in themselves (in their persons, bodies) they had any power of assisting the Romans.' Neapolis was a *civitas foedera*, and did not contribute a cohort to the Roman army; and the inhabitants (Greeks) here excuse themselves on the ground of physical inability. *In sese*, therefore, is emphatic for *in semet ipsis.*
omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque judica-
verint¹ ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum qui
libentes darent quam re majus ampliusque, acciperent. Le-
gatet gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera quae
ponderis minimi lint, accepta.²

33. Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginensis, qui per
biennium fesellerat,³ Romae deprehensus praeceisique mani-
bus dimissus; et servii quinque et viginti in crucem acti,
quod in campo Martio conjurarrent. Indeci data libertas
et aeris gravis viginti milia.⁴ Legati et ad Philippum Mace-
donum regem missi ad deposeendum Demetrium Pharium,⁵
qui bello victus ad eum fugisset; et alii in Ligures ad expos-
tulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxilisque suis juvissent,
simul ad visendum ex propinquo quae in Bois atque insu-
bribus gerentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios
legati missi ad stipendum,⁶ cujus dies exierat, posceundum,
aut si diem proferre vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, et-
bellum ingens in cervicibus erat. nullius usquam terrarum
rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae? quidem, effugiebat. In
religionem etiam venit aedem Concordiae, quam per sedi-
tionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor⁸ in Gallia

¹ The perfect subjunctive connected with the pluperfect in this
way is extraordinary. The only attempt at explanation we can give
is, that duxissent may be a supposition referring to time past,
present, and future, whereas judicaverint refers specially to the
act just completed, or about to be completed: 'if now the senate
shall have judged.'
² The senate, therefore, declined to receive the money, but took
a small thing as a token of their gratitude for the good-will of the
Neapolitans. This course was most consistent with Roman dig-

do, and was, besides, particularly proper on this occasion, because
the gold offered consisted of temple ornaments. Had troops been
offered, they would no doubt have been accepted, and still greater
gratitude felt.
³ Had remained undiscovered; * intransitive.
¹ Heavy ases; * that is, ases ten of which made a denarius;
there were sixteen light ases in a denarius. See Zumpt, § 872.
⁵ Guardian of Pineus, who was afterwards made king of Illy-
ricum. Demetrius was a native of Pharos, an Illyrian island, and
had been conquered by the Romans in the year 219 B.C.
⁶ See xxi. 1, p. 181, note 5.
⁷ The ordinary reading is longinquæ; we follow the more cor-
rect one of a good manuscript.
⁸ He was praetor in the year 218: and as we are now in the end
of 217, it may justly be said that the fulfilment of the vow had
been put off for two years. Through such vows, made during
dangerous emergencies (for per here is 'during'), the city of Rome
was filled with a great number of temples, most of them small,
some mere chapels; and in particular there were very many to
Concordia.
vovisset, locatam ad il tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aurelio praetore urbis, Cn. Pupius et K. Quintius Flamininus, ac elem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut si is visideretur, alter eorum ad consules ereandos Romam veniret: se in eam diem quam jussisset comitia eductorum. Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum sine detrimento rei publicae abseendi non posse ab hoste: itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potiss., quam coi sui alter a bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule diei comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo3 M'. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. His vitio creatus jussisque die quartodecimo se magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum reditit.

34. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a Patribus C. Claudius Ap. filius Centho, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In ejus interregno comitia habita magnis certamine Patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebei insecutione principium popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatoro imperio concussis4 aliea invidia splendentem, vulgus et5 extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, Patres summam ope obstabant, ne se insecando sibi aequari assuerearet homines.6 Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam aures, quod dictatores prohibuisset comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat. Ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quaerentibus,

1 This was not merely a polite formula; for the senate was but the highest deliberative and advice-giving assembly in the state, and, as such, could simply issue a recommendation to the consul. Such recommendations, however, were always attended to, at least by consuls who wished to keep up a good understanding with the senate, and were not prevented by circumstances from complying with its desire.
2 That is, in quam comitia fore jussisset. The in is left out, because used before the preceding cam. See Zumpt, § 778, middle.
3 He had been consul in the year 220 B.C.
4 Ab—concussis, 'since the shaking.'
5 Et is = etiam, as often in Livy. This word properly belongs to consulatum, but extrahere ad consulatum is looked upon as forming but one idea. The construction of the whole sentence is this: Varroni, quem—vulgus et ad consulatum extrahere nitebatur, Patres —obstabant.
6 'That men might not be accustomed to be put on a level with them, simply by assailing them.' Se and sibi refer to the main subject Patres.
Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab idem, cum debellari possit, fraude id bellum trahit. Cum quattuor militum legionibus universis pugnari posse apparet, idce quod M. Munceius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset; duas legiones hosti ad caedem objectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vincit. Conules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare posset, bellum tractasse. Id fecundas inter omnes nobiles iecum; nec finem ante belli habituros, quam consulem vere plebeum, id est hominem novum, fecisse. Nam plebeos nobles jam eisdem initatos esse sacris, et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemn Patribus desiderint, coepisse. Cui non id apparere id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in Patrum postestate comitia esset? Id consules ambas ad exercitum morando quaesisset; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitum causae, expugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere iitur interregnum eos. Consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse: populum liberum habiturum, ac daturum ei, qui magis vere vincere quam diu imperare malit.

35. Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Vulsone, M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus jam familiarum plebei, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Pacto, quorum alter pontifex alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in

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1 With four legions, if kept together.' This is a hit at Fabius's dividing the army. Militum is superfluous.

2 The slanderous tribune attributes the whole of Fabius's conduct, even the noblest parts of it, to selfishness. His reasoning is very unsound.

3 A homo novus was one who had no imagines in his family; that is, none of whose ancestors had borne a curule office. Families which had imagines were nobiles, whether they were of patrician or plebian descent. For there were by this time a good many noble plebian families; as, for instance, the Livii, Sempronii Longi, Atuli, Fulvii, Junii, and others.

4 That is, a Patribus, the dative of the agent. See Gram. § 271. This is the reading of the best manuscripts. Patres here are 'patricians,' which signification of the word came down from that time when none but patricians could be members of the senate.

5 Id is superfluous: Zumpt, § 748. No one need stumble at the occurrence of the same word immediately afterwards, for id agere ut resolves itself into 'to intend,' 'purpose.'

6 Magis—malit; Zumpt, § 747.

7 Two already noble belonging to families of the plebs (plebian families).'
manu ejus essent comitia rogando collegae.\footnote{None of the other candidates received the absolute majority of votes—that is, 97; there being 193 centuries. Consequently at this first election Varro alone was chosen. He immediately entered on his office, and held the comitia for the election of a colleague. This latter was quite a proper proceeding, because the new consular year (216 B.C.) had already been run, and the consuls of the preceding year had therefore become merely proconsuls.} Tum exporta nobilitas parumuisse virum in competitibus ejus, L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat\footnote{In the year 219 B.C., when both the consuls were engaged in the Ilyrian war (see chap. 33, p. 308, note 5). They were afterwards accused of fraud in the division of the booty. Livius was condemned, and Aemilius Paulus with great difficulty obtained an acquittal. He came off ambustus or seminustus, ‘scorched,’ ‘half-burnt,’} et durae natione collegae et sua prope ambustus evaserat, multum plebi, dixit ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compeltit. Is proximo comitiis die, concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varro certarentur, par naves in adversa dixit quam collega datur consil. Inde praetoria comitia Libita. Creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Formus Philus, Philo Romae juri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter eves Romanae et peregrinos event. Additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omines absentes creati sunt; nec cuiquam corum, praeter Terentium consulem, mandatus honos, quem jam non a tea essisset, praeteritis, alii igitur fortibus ac strenuis, quia in talis tempore nullis novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

36. Exercitus quoque multiplicant sunt; quantum autem copiae pedinum equitumque aditae sunt, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quequani satis certum affirmare ausim. Decem milia rovorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut oeto legiombus rem generent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas, milites\footnote{More as an equal to oppose him.}\footnote{For the distributive milleni, which is not in use. Gram. § 106, note 1.} peditum et centum equitibus in singulas sedes, ut quina milia peditum, trecenti quoties essent; socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, pedites\footnote{Seil. Romanos.} aequarent. Septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis, cum pugnatum ad Cannes est, quidam\footnote{These quiadem are the same as the second alii mentioned in the preceding sentence; and the allusion is to the Greek historian Polybius in particular. The whole number given here will be found exactly correct by a comparison with the details in the pre-} auctores sunt. Illud handquaquam
discrepat, majore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem, posse vinci hostem, dictator praebeuerat.

Ceterum prinsquam signa ab urbe novae legiones move- rent, decemvirri libros adhuc atque inspicere justi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigis. Nam et Romae in Aventino et Arciae nunciam etiam habuerat: et multo erone signa in Sabunis, Caere² aquas e fonte calidas manasse. Id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat: et in via Fornicata,³ quae ad Campum erat, aliquot hominés de coelo tacti examinatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romain attulerunt; ips, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiae aetae, aurum non acceptum.

37. Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostiam cum magnó commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nunciarunt caedium C. Flaminii consulis exercitusque allatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronym, ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque quam- quam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admi- rabilorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se⁴ omniam, quibus a bonis tidenibusque sociis bella juvari soleant, misisse; quae ne accipere abnant, magnopere se Patres conscriptos orare. Jam omnium primum omnium causa Victoriae auream pondus ducentum⁵ viginti afferre sese: acciperent eam, tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta milia modum tritici,
ducenta hordei, ne commacum deessent; et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo jussissent, subvecturos. Milites atque equite seire nisi Romano Latineque nomine non uti populum Romanum: levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romaniis. Itaque mississe mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, apam manum adversus Baleares ac Mauros pugnasesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam trajiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur nisi ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu ita respondent regi est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Herodem esse, atque uno tenore ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani veniret, sidem coluisse, ac rem Romanam omnem tempore ac loco munifice adjuvisse. Id perinde ac debere, gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepiisse populum Romanum. Victoriaram omenque accipere, sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Jovis Optimi Maximi: in ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam, volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittariisque et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremus ad navum classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti addita, permissumque est ut, si e publica censeret esse, in Africam trajiceret.

38. Delectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum socii ab nomine Latino venirent. Milites tum, quod nunquam ante factum erat, jurejurando ab tribunis militum adacti jussu consulum conventuros neque munissu abituros. Nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat; et ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum convenisset, sua

1 'Though they had taken in kindly part the good feeling exhibited in the matter.'

2 Sacramentum in general is 'a consecration;' that is, an assignment of something as the property of the gods: hence also, a declaration that a person who does not perform a particular duty incumbent upon him shall fall into the hands of the gods for punishment; thus 'an oath.' Thus, the general military oath, contained only a promise of implicit obedience. Besides taking it, however, the soldiers, as our author tells us here, had been in the habit of swearing among themselves to perform certain special duties. It was this latter oath which now, by the agency of the staff-officers (tribuni militum), was made a public one, and administered more formally than before.

3 Decuriatus and centuriatus, substantives of the fourth declension, express the action of their respective verbs decuriare and centuriare; that is, the division of the cavalry into decuries, of which three
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voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriali equites, centuriati pedites conjurabant sese fugae atque formidinis ergo¹ non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi² et aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos et ad legitimam jurisjurandi adactionem translatum.

Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere, denunciantes bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus, mansurumque in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Collegae ejus Paulli una, pridie quam urbe proficisceretur,³ contio fuit, verior quam grator populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se quomodo quis dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturalis regionis nosset, jam nunc togatus in urbe seiret, quae sibi agenda armato forest, et diem quoque praedicere posset, qua eum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus. Se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus ea ante tempus immatura non praeceperunt. Optare ut, quae caute ac consilte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent. Venentatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum⁴ suisse. Id⁵ sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum; et quo id constantius perseveraret,⁶ Q. Fabii Maximus sic eum proficiscementum allocutus furent.

39. 'Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes, aut tu collegae tuus esset similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea: nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente,⁷ omnia e re publica, fide vestra faceretis; et

made a turma, ten turmae again forming an a|la; — and of the infantry into centuries, of which two made a manipulus, three maniples forming a cohort, and ten cohorts a legion.

¹ Equivalent to causa, gratia. See Zumpt, § 679.

² The using of both these words is an instance of the anxiety which we see, in all the formulae of Roman law, to avoid ground for quibbling about the exact meaning. Sumere is 'to take up' what is lying before one intended for use, petere 'to fetch' from a greater distance.

³ The ordinary reading is ex urbe proficisceretur; in giving the singular and the mere ablative (Zumpt, § 482), we follow the best manuscripts.

⁴ 'Up to this time.' Gram. § 275, c. note 5.

⁵ Id here is superfluous, as observed in chap. 34. p. 310, note 5. On the other hand, eum must be supplied before the infinitive.

⁶ Persevereare is not, at least very rarely, used elsewhere with the accusative; usually, in aliquo re. But as to the accusative neuter of a pronoun with intransitive verbs, see Gram. § 249, 4.

⁷ Equivalent to non dicente; this occurs elsewhere only in a pas-
mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam uuum et te talem virum intuenti mili tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequique quam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera parte claudet res publica:1 mali consiliis idem ac bonis juris et potentissimis erit. Erras enim, L. Paulle, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes: nescio an2 infestor hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat, et cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locos ac tempordibus sis certarius; et adversus Hannibalem legionisque ejus tuus equitus ac peditibus pugnaudum tibi sit, Varro dux tuus miliitibus te sit oppugnatus. Omnibus etiam tibi causa absit C. Flaminii memoria: tamen ille consul demum et in provinciam et ad exercitum coepit furere: hic priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas jam nunc procellas, proelia atque acies jaetando, inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam juventutem censes facturum, et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuo decret, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, bello hoc genus, hostem hunc ignorau, aut nobilior alius Trasimeno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum3 est; et ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim.4 Sed ita res se habet. Una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet (stultorum iste magister est) sed eadem ratio, sage in Terence, whereas indicet for non dictus, particularly in the phrase causa indicet, 'without the cause's having been pleaded,' is not uncommon. Fideque vestra would have been more in accordance with common usage, but the copulative conjunction is also not frequently omitted.

1' You will in vain act as at once a good man and a good citizen, if the state limps (is lame) on the other side:' claudet = clauda est, from a verb claudere. Compare Gram. § 212. Priscian, however, speaks of a form claudire (of the third conjugation), which would do very well here, claudet being in that case the future, = clauda erit. The verb claudicare also has the same intransitive sense; but here claudicet, which is the reading of the editions, is not supported by manuscript authority.

2' Nescio an has, by common usage, become in meaning an adverb, with the force of our 'perhaps.' This 'perhaps,' however, frequently, as here, takes the sense of 'probably, very probably, certainly;' so that the doubt is merely in the form, not real.

3' Against a single man.'

4' I may have gone too far in despising glory rather than in seeking it.' The subjunctive, in the present and perfect, has less definiteness than the indicative.
quae fuit futuraque, donec res eadem manebrunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro: omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt. Armis, viris, equis, commentibus juvant iuvabuntque: id jam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dedurus. Meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque facti. Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, ab patria. Nec illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae curn urbesc accipiant, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui videt; in diem\(^2\) rapto vivit. Partem vix terliam exercitus ejus habet, quem Iberum amnem trajecit:

\[^1\] plures fames quam ferrum absumpsit; nec his paucis jam victus suppeditab. Dubitas ergo quin\(^4\) sedendo superaturi simus, qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplemenium, non pecuniam habeat? Quamdiu pro Geronii, castelli Apuliae iiiopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus!\(^5\)


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1. 'The time from one day to another;' that is, every day more.
2. 'From day to day;' that is, he never has means of support for more than one day.
4. Quin is used, because the question dubitas ergo, 'do you doubt then,' has a negative sense, being = 'you cannot doubt.'
5. Scil. sedit, stetit.
6. 'Have baffled him,' = eluserint, have rendered all his efforts fruitless.
7. 'Let all things be in your own power, and belong to you;' that is, do nothing without mature consideration, and trust little to fortune.
des. Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt: festinatio improvida est et caeca?

40. Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit, magis fateutis ea, quae diceret,\(^1\) vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictatoris magistrum equitum intolerabile\(^2\) fuisse: quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virum atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semiustum\(^3\) effugisse: optare ut omnia prospere evenirent; at si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragius iratorum civium caput objecturum.

Ab hoc sermone profectum Paullum tradunt, prosequentibus primoribus Patrum: plebeium consulum sua plebes prosecta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent.*

Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam\(^5\) factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus major pars et omne robur virium esset. Consulum annis prioris M. Atilium aetatem eiusae Romani miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus mihbus Eraeficiunt. Hannibal quamquam partem dimidiam auctas ostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat,\(^6\) sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod compartum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanicorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum expectata foret.

41. Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis predatoribus tumultuario proelio ab procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut jussu imperatorum orto\(^9\) hand-

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\(^1\) Scil. Fabius.

\(^2\) *Unmanageable, ungovernable.*

\(^3\) *Or semustum = ambustum. See chap. 25, p. 311, note 2.

\(^4\) *The plebs, his own friends, who were more conspicuous from their numbers, high offices (officers) being wanting among them.*

\(^5\) *Dignitates, like magistratus, the offices of honour;* that is, frequently, those invested with them.

\(^6\) *In two different places.* See xxi. 8, p. 190, note 8.

\(^7\) *Who alleged his age as a ground of excuse;* that is, as a ground for being relieved of command.

\(^8\) *Equivalent to supererat. See chap. 25.

\(^9\) *In an irregular fight, which had arisen more in consequence of the running forward of the soldiers, than after preparation or by command of the generals.* As to *ex praeparato*, see Zumpt, § 309, sub *fin*.

27 *
quaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis.\footnote{While not more than a hundred of the Romans and allies fell.' Livy frequently uses the ablative absolute in this manner, merely to connect an accessory clause, sometimes even one embodying an objection, without at all implying a precedence in time, which is generally contained in the perfect participle.} Ceterum victoribus sibiuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paullus consul, ejus eo die (nam alternis\footnote{Scil. diebus, 'on alternate days.'} imperitabant) imperium erat. Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus, debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati: quin potius credere velut inescatam\footnote{Allured by the bait (esca).} temeritatem ferocioris consilis ac novorum maxime militum esse.\footnote{Apposition: 'like a middle line of march.'} Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte prima nihil praeter arma ferentes secum milites ducens, castra plena omnis fortunae publicae et privatae relinquit; transque proximos montes Jaeva pedites instructos, deutra equites, impedimenta per convallem, medium agmen,\footnote{In their place, = locis suis.} traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impeditumque hostem oppimeret. Crebri reliqui iii castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castrorum,\footnote{First, the fact that the (Carthaginian) outposts were withdrawn excited the amazement of the Romans; the verb fecit agreeing with its last subject silentium.} sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis\footnote{Governed by concursus, 'a rush (of soldiers) who told.'} consules voluisse.

42. Ubi illuxit, subductae primo stationes,\footnote{First, the fact that the (Carihaginian) outposts were withdrawn excited the amazement of the Romans; the verb fecit agreeing with its last subject silentium.} deinde propeus adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Jam satis comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit ad praetoria consulum, nunciantium\footnote{The perfect subjunctive, depending on the presents concursus fit and nunciantium; and we have immediately afterwards esset, by a very natural transition into the ordinary historical past.} fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus ut signa proferri juberen, ducerentque ad perseverandos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul

\footnote{While not more than a hundred of the Romans and allies fell.' Livy frequently uses the ablative absolute in this manner, merely to connect an accessory clause, sometimes even one embodying an objection, without at all implying a precedence in time, which is generally contained in the perfect participle.}
alter velut unus turbae militaris erat, 1 Paullus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum praeceavendumque esse. Post-
tremo cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis
sustinere possit, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma
Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequantavit portis, sub-
sistere extra munimenta ceteris jusse, ipse cum duobus
equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnium cura
renunciat insidias profecto esse; ignes in parte castrorum,
quae vergat in hostem, reliictos; tabernacula aperta et omnii
 cara in promptu relictas, argentum quibusdam locis temere
per vias velut objectum ad praedam visisse. Quae ad deter-
rendos a cupiditate animos nennciata erant, ea accenderunt;
et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus
ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit: nam extemplo Varro
signum dedit proficiscendi. Paullus, cum ei sua sponte
cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio 2 non addixissent, obnun-
ciari jam efferenti porta signa collegae jussit. Quod quam-
quam Varro aegre est passus, Flaminini tamen recens casus
Claudiique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis
clades 3 religionem animo incussit. Dii prope ipsi eo die
magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem
Romanis. Nam forte ita evenit ut, cum referri signa in castra
jubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani
unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio con-
sulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, pro-
fugerent eo die ad dominos: deductique ad consules nun-
ciant omnes exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes
sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules
imperii potentes fecit, 4 cum ambitio alterius suam primum
apud eos prava indulgentia majestatem solvisset. 5

1 'Conducted himself like one of the excited crowd of soldiers'—
joining in their shouts.
2 'In taking the auspices,' or 'at the auspices'; that is, when he
was consulting the birds as to the will of the gods. It is an ab-
lative of time or occasion. The observation of the sacred chickens,
particularly as to whether they greedily picked up from the ground
the food thrown down before them or not, was a different kind of
auspicium from that which consisted in watching the flight of birds,
and in later times, as well as in war, was more practised than the
latter.
3 'The memorable naval defeat.' This defeat was sustained by
the Romans in the year 249 B.C., near Drepana. The consul, P.
Claudius Pulcher, had despised the auspices. As to memorata, see
chap. 7, p. 275, note 3; and as to C. Flaminius, compare xxi. 63.
4 'Made the consuls masters of their command;' that is, gave
them authority.
5 'The exertions of the one consul to gain the affections of the
43. Hannibal postquam motos magis inobservata Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequirequam, detecta fraude, in castra redit. Ibi pluris dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequibat; novaque consilia in dies non apud milites soluta mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta voce heratio luisset exposcumentum stipendium debitum querentiunque annonom¹ primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipsae etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agi-tasse, ibi ut reheto peditatu omni cum equitibus se prori-peret. Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo matu-riora messibus² Apuliae loca, simul ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte; ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque pauciis in speciem relictis, ut insidiariam par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, cum rela-tum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepta. Cum utiusque consulis cedem, quae ante semper fuisset, sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paullo nemo praeter Servilium prioris anni con-sulem assentiretur, majoris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas, urgente fato, profecti sunt. Prope eum vicem Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vulturno vento,³ qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id cum ipsis castris percommumdo fuit, tum salutare praeci-pue futurum erat, cum aciem dirigentur, ipsi aversi, terga tantum ut eflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere effuso hostem pugnaturi.⁴

1 'Complaining of the dearness of corn: queri aliquam rem for queri de aliqua re is not uncommon. Annona is properly a year's produce in grain, and then the cheapness or dearness consequent on an abundant or poor harvest. Cara annona, consequently, or sometimes, as here, simply annona, is 'dearness.' In a similar manner valetudo, properly 'the state of health,' commonly means, when the attribute bona is not given to it, 'bad health.'

2 'Earlier for the harvests;' that is, places in which the harvest came on sooner.

3 The usual name in Italy for the south-east wind; the ἑφόρνοτος of the Greeks.

4 'When they should engage with the enemy, who would be blinded by the dust blown against them.'
44. Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, ubi in conspectu Poenum habeabant, bina castra communium, eodem lerne intervalllo quo ad Geronium, sicut ante, copius divisus. Aufidus annus, utrisque castris altius, aditum aquatorium ex sua cujusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantu Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium.1 Hannibal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit acem, laeessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flaminii temeritatem Varro, Varro speciosum tumidis ac segubus duebus exemplum Fabium offeceret,2 testareturque deos hominesque hic,3 nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal jam velut usucepisset Italiam, se constrictum a collega teneri, ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adsum multibus; ille, si quid projectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque imprudiam pugnam legionibus accideret,4 se omnis culpae exsorum, omnis eventus participem fore diceret: videret ut5 quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, aequi in pugna vigerent manus.

45. Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras recuperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans llumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in

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1 The Aulfidus (now Ofanto) flows mainly in the direction from west to east, rising in the Samnite hills, and passing through Apulia to the Adriatic. On the south bank was Hannibal, and immediately in front of him, on the same side, the larger of the Roman camps. On the other (north) side of the river stood the smaller camp, distant ten stadia, or about a quarter of a geographical mile from the larger, and a little further from the enemy's. The town of Cannae, on the south bank, further down the river, and consequently to the east of the various camps, was in the hands of the Romans.

2 Varro threw the example of Fabius in the teeth of Paulus as one which appeared beautiful, and was pleasing to timid and lazy generals.

3 The last-mentioned subject; namely, Varro.

4 If any misfortune should happen;6 for accidit is said of bad fortune, as contingit of good.

5 He ought to take good care that;7 pretty much the same as se mereiut. See Gram. § 352, note 2.
stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. 1 Id vero indignum visum, ab tumultiua-
rio auxilio2 jam etiam castra Romana terreni, ut ea modo una causa, ne exemplo transirent flumen dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die peres Paullum fuerit.3 Itaque Varro postero die, cui sors ejus
diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit, 
instructaque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paullo, quae magis non probare quam non adjutare consilium poterat.
Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus 
habuerant, copias suis adnugunt; atque ita instructa acie 
in dextro cornu (id erat fluminii propius) Romanos equites 
locant, deinde pedites. Laevum cornu extremi equites 
sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium juncti legionibus Ro-
manis tenuerunt. Jaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum 
auxiliiis prima acies facta.4 Consules cornua tenuerunt, 
Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio 
media pugna tuenda5 data.

46. Hannibal luce prima, Balearibus levique alia arma-
tura præmissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, 
ita in acie locabat. Gallus Hispanosque equites prope ripam 
laevœ in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum 
cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus 
firma, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornu6 essent, interponen-
tur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afris Romanam magna 
ex parte crederes aciem: ita armati erant, armis et ad 
Trebian, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasimenum captis. 
Gallis Hispanisque scuta ejusdem formae fere erant, dispare 
ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praetongi ac sine mucronibus, 
Hispano punctum magis quam caesim7 assueto petere hostem 
prehivitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Sane et alius habitus

1 Evecti sunt is here = inventi sunt, implying, however, that the 
Numidians merely made a sudden dash from the position which 
they had taken up against the Roman outposts, without making a 
very serious matter of it.
2 'By irregular auxiliaries.' The plural auxilia is commonly used 
in this sense. Compare Zumpt, § 675.
3 The indicative fuit would have suited the sense better; but the 
subjunctive stands in connection with the preceding tenuerit.
4 Or facti, as the editions read. Either is quite good; for in 
cases such as this the verb which forms the copula may agree 
either with the noun of the subject or that of the predicate. See 
Gram. § 241, note.
5 'To take charge of, superintend.'
6 Properly utrumque cornu. See Gram. § 120, note 3.
7 Punctum—caesium. See Gram. § 221.

47. Clamore sublato procursum auxilis, et pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris more pugnae: frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad evagandum relictum spatio hinc annis hinc pedium acies cladebant in directum utrimque nitentes. Stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrhebat equs; pedestre magna jam ex parte certamen factum erat. Acierius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est; pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub equestris fineem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna. Primo et viribus et animis pares constabant ordinis Gallis Hispanisque: tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, aquea fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimirum tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. 

1 Which had arisen unfavourable to the Romans.
2 So the manuscripts read; the editions ab auxilis. The dative of the agent occurs very frequently with the passive, particularly with the perfect.
3 'The horses standing still, and at last, by their numbers, being crowded against each other.'
4 This was the first turning-point of the battle. The Roman cavalry on the right wing were wholly put to flight; but the Carthaginians did not pursue them, for Hasdrubal led away his horsemen to the Carthaginian right wing, in order to settle matters there, and then to assist the infantry, and thus finish the fight.
5 This, according to Polybius, was the principal feature in Hannibal's arrangement of his troops. He placed the column of Gauls and Spaniards in the middle of his infantry, standing out a considerable way beyond the Africans. The Roman centre troops spent their strength on this column, and forcing it to retire, rushed on with eagerness; but were immediately attacked, surrounded, and annihilated by the still fresh Africans. On account, then, of the importance of this advanced position of the Gauls and Spaniards, Livy mentions it again immediately afterwards.
ac tenore uno per praecepta pavore fugientium agmen in medium primum aciem illati, postremo nullo resistentre ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum\(^1\) prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, deinde nitendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa jam cornua secerrant, irruentibusque in caute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes.\(^2\) Hinc Romani defuncti nequiquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceceiderant, et adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

48. Jam et in sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter consuetu arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis, parmas post terga habentes, adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et jaculis ante pedes hostium projectis in medium aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo jubentur: ac dum proelium ab omni parte consertitur, quieti manserunt. Postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriantur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplices caedentes stragem ingentem ac majorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala jam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat,\(^3\) subductos ex media acie Numidas,\(^4\) quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad

\(^1\) A good way.

\(^2\) As soon as this column of Gauls and Spaniards, being forced back, came to have its front on a line with the Africans, and, still retreating, in consequence of the eager advance of the Romans (\textit{nitendo}), made a bend in the centre of the line, the Africans formed wings on the flanks of the Romans. These were gradually extended, and at last joined in the rear of the rash Romans, who were thus completely surrounded.

\(^3\) \textit{Ex parte} is on the Carthaginian right wing. Livy, however, has forgotten to mention, by way of explanation, that Hasdrubal, who had originally been stationed with the Gallic and Spanish cavalry on the left wing, had, after putting to flight the Roman horsemen who were opposed to him, passed round from the left wing to the right, and assumed the command there.

\(^4\) \textit{Ex media acie} is here nothing else than \textit{from the middle of the}
persequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanics et Gallos equites Afris prope jam fessis caede magis quam pugna adjungit.

49. Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim proelio funda graviter iactus fuerat, tamen et occurring saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum deinde nuncianta cuidam jussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt 'Quam mallem, vincitos mihi tradeter!' Equitum pedestre proelium, quale jam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, vittores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen jam paucos superantes et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praetervehens eqquo sedentem in saxo eruere oppletum consulem vidisset, 'L. Aemili inquit, 'quem unum insontem culpae clads hodiernae dei respicere debent,' cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aulid superest, comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris: etiam sine hoc laerimarum sat is luctusque est.' Ad ea consul 'Tu

fight,' medita referring more to the position. The Italian cavalry had already given way, and the Numidians, therefore, were now to pursue them further.

1 That is, on the right wing of the Romans, but nearer the centre, and in the battle of the heavy infantry; for Aemilius, after the cavalry on his wing was put to flight, went over, accompanied by those of the horsemen who had not fled, or had returned, to the still undecided infantry struggle.

2 'With a dense band around him;' that is, with the body-guard that he had as a consul and general.

3 The ordinary reading is tum denuncianti; but denunciare has, generally speaking, only the signification 'to threaten.' Tum deinde are not infrequently connected by Livy.

4 'How much would I prefer that he should give them up to me bound!' Plutarch, in his Life of Fabius, chap. 16, states that Hannibal said Tò χορο μάλλον ἠδοκοφόραν ὡς ἐν ἐκκεμένους παρέλθαν, 'I like this better than if I had received them bound.' Livy's expression can have this sense only if understood ironically. Without irony, it contains an acknowledgment that the Carthaginians had still a hard fight before them with these men who had devoted themselves to death. And this appears to be more in accordance with Livy's representation.

5 'Such as it could not be with the victory already decided in favour of the enemy.’

6 'The gods ought to regard;' that is, care for, rescue.
Sed evita, frustra miserando, si ne exsurgat inannus hostium evadendi absurmus. \textit{Ah, nunca pablica Patribus, urbe Romanam muniant ac prins-quum hostis victor adveniat, praesidibus firment; privatum} \textit{Q. Fabio, L. Aemiliam praecipitorum ejus memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori.} Mement in hac stragie militum incornum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum ex consulatu sim, aut accusator collegae existam, ut alieno crimen\footnote{By accusing another.} innocentiem meam protegam. Hae exigentes\footnote{While they were making these requests to each other.} prins turbam fugientium civium, denique hostes oppressere: conselem, ignorantes quis esset, obturuere tehs; \textit{Lentulum} inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum inde effuse fugiunt; septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in majora, duo lerne in vicum ipsum Cannas persurgerunt; qui ex templo a Carthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. \textit{Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio, nulli fugientium insertus} agmini cum septuginta ferre equitibus Venusiam persugit. Quadraginta quinque milia peditum, duo milia septingenti equites, et tanta propie eivium sociorumque\footnote{The position in ordinary editions is \textit{et vixisse et adhuc mori}, which the meaning of \textit{adhuc} shows to be incorrect.} pars, caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, unus et viginti tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetorique et aedilicii (inter eos \textit{Cn. Serviliun Geminum et M. Municiun} numerant, qui magister equum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul fuerat), octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites trecenti dicuntur.

\footnote{Be blest for thy valour; an expression of approbation, derived from the fact that an animal led for sacrifice to the altar, when sprinkled with corn, salt, and wine, and thus, as it were, consecrated, was called\textit{ mactus, a, um.} From this ceremony came also the verbs\textit{ mactare} and\textit{ immolare}, which, in the language of priests, were used for\textit{ caedere}. In the phrase\textit{ macte esto}, it must be observed that the vocative is used for the nominative, which latter is required by grammatical rules.}

\footnote{See chap. 35.}

\footnote{By accusing another.}

\footnote{While they were making these requests to each other.}

\footnote{The manuscripts have\textit{ infestus}, which all editors admit to be incorrect. Varro fled separately, without falling in with and joining any of the other bands of fugitives.}

\footnote{\textit{Sociorumque} is here =\textit{quanta sociorum}. 'as great a number of the citizens as of the allies;' that is, an equal number of both.}
50. Haece est pugna Cannensis. Alliens cladi nobilitate par, ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accedere, levior, quia ab hoste est cessaturn, se strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Alliam sicut urbem prodit, ita exercitum servavit: ali Cannas fugit, tem consulem vix septuaginta secuti sunt alterius in remitos propo totus exercitus fuit.1

Bini in castris cum multitudo seminatis sive ducibus esset, nuncium qui in majoribus erat muturum, dum proehe, deinde ex lacteita epius fatigatis quies recutitna hostes premeret, ut al se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abuturos esse. Cium sententiam aut tam aspernari: cur cum illes, qui se accessant, ipsos non venire,2 cum acere conjungi possent! Quia videhcat plena hostium eminia in medio essent, et alorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallem objecere. Alis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum 'Capi ergo mavultus' in ut 'ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra et ex iuri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis s sit Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alterius' hos quaeatur! Non tu, si quidem L. Aemilius consulis, qui se bene mori quam cuspiter vivere maluit, et toti fortiis morum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati pacient, eves estus.3 Sed antequam oppinam, lux majoraque hostium agmina obsequiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompesiti obstrepet portis, erumpentes. Fero atque audacia via fit quamvis per confortos hostes.4 Cundo qualem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disjucies. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis." Haece ubi dicta detit, stringit gladium, cuneoque5 facto per medios vadit hostes. Et cum

1 'The genitive of possession Gram. § 278 not unfrequently expresses a sort of fanciful relation, as here: 'almost the whole army shared the fate of the consul who died.'

2 As to those indirect questions which are expressed by the accusative with the infinitive, see Gram. § 389. The subjunctive also might be used here, cur illi non venirent?

3 Namely, to the socius Latinus, who might hope that Hannibal would either let him free, as he had done after the battle of Lake Trasimenus (see chap. 7), or would fix a lower ransom for him, as really happened (chap. 52). The Roman tribunus militum is evidently speaking merely to Roman citizens.

4 For civis es, the tu in the preceding clause meaning, in reality, not one person, but a whole class. 'To the tu supply id patiérís.'

5 'Through enemies ever so thickly crowded.'

6 The author has inadvertently made a hexameter. Compare Zumpt, § 819. Dicta dare, poetical for dicere.
in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae jacularentur, translatis in dextrum securis in majora castra ad sexcentos\(^1\) evaserunt; atque inde protinus, alio magno agmine adjuncto, Canusium incolumes pervenient. Haec apud victos magis impetu animorum, quod\(^2\) ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cujusquam agebantur.

51. Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur, suaderentque ut tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reliquum esset noctisque sequentibus,\(^3\) quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal praefectus equitum minime cessandum ratus, ‘Immo, ut quid hac pugna sit actum scias, die quinto’ inquit ‘victor in Capitolio epulaberis.’\(^4\) Sequere: cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, praecedam.\(^5\) Hannibali nimis laeta res est visa, majorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait: ad consilium pensandum temporis\(^6\) opus esse. Tum Maharbal ‘Non omnia nimirum eidem dii dedere. Vincere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis.’\(^7\) Mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti suisse urbi atque imperio. Posterio diei ubi primum illuxit, ad spoliam legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandum stragem insistunt. Jacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna junxerat aut fuga.\(^8\) Assurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta\(^7\) matutino

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\(^1\) Or *ad sexcenti*. See Zumpt, § 296, middle, and above, chap. 31, p. 306, note 4.

\(^2\) *Quod* (for *quem, scil. impetus*, which is given in the ordinary editions) refers to the general *hac*: ‘these things were done among the conquered; namely, whatever (or just as anything) was suggested to any one by his mind or by chance.’

\(^3\) ‘For the rest of the day, and during the following night;’ literally, ‘and of the following night,’ which is plainly an inaccurate expression, since *reliquum*, ‘the rest,’ refers properly only to *diei*, ‘of the day;’ and we should therefore have *diei quod reliquum esset noctemque sequentem*. But we must suppose that at least a part of the army was engaged in following up the victory, even into the night.

\(^4\) ‘Thou wilt feast,’ is said instead of ‘thou must feast,’ in the sense of the imperative ‘feast;’ and in order to do so, commence thy march immediately.

\(^5\) For *tempore*. Similarly, in xxiii. 21, *quantl argenti opus fuit*. This construction must be explained by the analogy of *egere* with the ablative and genitive.

\(^6\) *Pugna* and *fuga* are ablatives, ‘in the battle or in the flight.’

\(^7\) *Vulnera stringuntur*, ‘wounds smart;’ that is, have a sort of cutting feeling on the surface.
frigore excitavert vulnra, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quos-
dam et jacentes vivos succisum feminibus poplitibusque inven-
nerunt, nudantes cervicem\textsuperscript{1} jugulumque, et reliquum san-
guinem jubitem haurire. Inventi quidam sunt mersis in
effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse loveas
obruentesque ora superjecta humo interclusisse spiritum
apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes substratus Numida
mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, naso auribusque
laceratis,\textsuperscript{2} cum, manibus a lapiendum telum inutilibus, in
rabiem ira versa laniando dentibus hostem expirasset.

52. Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora
ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum, brachio\textsuperscript{3} ob-
jecto, flu meine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore,
vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis matutior ipsius spe deditio
est facta. Pacti ut arma atque equos tradarent, in capita
Romana trecentis nummis quadrigratis,\textsuperscript{1} in sociis ducenis, in
servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent
vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt; traditique in custo-
diam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociiue. Dum ibi tempus
territur, interea cum ex majoribus castris, quibus satis virium
aut animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti
equites, aliis agmine, aliis palati passim per agros, quod haud
minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab
saueis timidisque eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti.
Praeda ingens parta est; et praeter equos virosque et si quid
argentum (quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat: nam
ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebant-
tur\textsuperscript{4}) omnis cetera\textsuperscript{5} praeda diripienda data est. Tum sepe-
liendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum jussit. Ad
octo milia suisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem

\textsuperscript{1} Livy uses both the singular and plural of this word in its proper
signification (see Zumpt, § 94, middle, and note), in its figurative
the plural only.
\textsuperscript{2} The Numidian was still alive, but his nose and ears were
bitten off.
\textsuperscript{3} Brachium, generally 'the arm.' here 'a fortified wall.'
\textsuperscript{4} 'They agreed on three hundred \textit{nummi quadrigrati} for each
Roman.' The ablative of price; the discharge which was to fol-
low the payment is mentioned in the next clause. A \textit{nummus
quadrigratus} was a silver denarius, stamped with the mark of a
\textit{quadriga}. Twenty-five of these made a \textit{nummus aureus}, so that
the ransom which was agreed upon for each Roman amounted to
twelve gold pieces.
\textsuperscript{5} For of silver wrought for feasting (that is, for services of
plate) they used very little at any time, and particularly when
engaged in war.'
\textsuperscript{6} The position \textit{cetera omnis} is much more common.
quamque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

Eos qui Canusium perfugerant mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitis, moenibus tantum teetisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam juvit; pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habitu sunt.


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1 Scil. esse, and as to this construction of the accusative with the infinitive, instead of the subjunctive, see Gram. § 386.
2 Some one of the kings of the Graeco-Macedonian dynasty, such as Ptolemaeus Philopator of Egypt, Antiochus the Great of Syria, both of whom reigned at that time, or other kings, of Pergamus, of Bithynia, or even Philip III. of Macedonia.
3 Equivalent to praeterquam quod atrox erat. See Zumpt, § 735.
4 Had fixed to the spot with amazement those who were present.'
5 'Destined by fate.'
6 A common formula of asseveration, equal to our 'on honour and conscience.' In looking at it, the addition of the personal pronoun must not be forgotten. Neque in the following clause (more frequently nec) is = ne—quidem, 'not even.' See Zumpt, § 277, middle.
Maxime, domum familiam remque meam pessimo leto afficias. In haec verba, L. Caesili, jures postulo, ceterique qui adestis: qui non juraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat. \(^1\) Haud secus pavidi quam si victorem Hannibalern cernerent, jurant omnes, custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

54. Eo tempore quo haec Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervener. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipientes curandosque cum divisiissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinuos vicenos, et pediti denos, et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt. \(^1\) Ceteraque publice ac privatim hospi-
taliter facta, certatunque ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat, et jam ad decem milia hominum erant. Appiusque et Scipio postquam incolunem esse alterum consul-
em acceperunt, nuncium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae essent. sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere juberet Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit. Et jam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat; moenibusque se certe, si non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium soci-
rumque, sed occidione occisum\(^2\) cum duobus consulibus ex-
ercitum deleatasque omnes copias allatum fuerat. Nunquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Ro-
mana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri, neque aggregiari nar-
rare, quae edissertando minora vero fecero. Consule exer-
citutque ad Trasimenum priore anno amissi non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades,\(^3\) cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nunciabantur, nec ulla jam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse, Hannibalis Apulum, Samnium ac jam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esse.

Compares\(^4\) cladem ad Aegates insulas Carthaginiensium

\(^1\) A noble help in time of need, such, indeed, as could have been expected only from a Roman colony, whereas Canisium was merely a city of the allies (Apulians).

\(^2\) Occidione occisi, a phrase for ad internecionem occidi, ad unum omnes, 'to be utterly annihilated, slain to a man.'

\(^3\) 'A much greater defeat.' Compare chap. 7, p. 275. note 5.

\(^4\) 'Will you compare?' that is, 'will any one compare?' See Gram. § 349. As to the distinction between vectigalis and stipendiarus, see xxi. 41, p. 236. note 6. Here, however, this is nothing but a heaping together of words, since the Carthaginians could, in
proelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere, inde veetigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt! aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit? Nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod1 minore animo latae sunt.

55. P. Furius Philus et M'. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consulerent: neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandum Romam, quod unum opus bellis brevius,2 venturum.2 Cum in malis, sicut ingentiobis, ita ignotis se consilium quidem satis expediret,3 obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et nondum palam factae sunt, vivi mortuique per omnes pene domos promiscue complorarentur. tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunctando (aliquis prolecto ex fuga dispersos referant, quae fortuna consulam atque exercitum sit; et si quid dii immortalis, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nomen5 secerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit; quid parat, quid agat acturusque sit. Haece exploranda noscendaque per impigros juvenes esse. Illud per Patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratum parum sit,6 ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant: comploratus familiarum coercent: silentium per urbem faciant; nuncius rerum omnium ad praetores deducendiis carent; suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem5 expectent; custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egressi urbem, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conti

truth, be called only stipendiarii, having for many years to pay a war contribution to the Romans.

1 That is, 'and if you do compare them, the result will be, not certainly that they were more severe defeats, but that,' &c.

2 As to dubito followed by the accusative with the infinitive, see Gram. § 352, note 4, sub fin.

3 'As they could come to no sufficiently prompt determination.' This is the idea contained in the verb expedire.

4 'No information having been given as yet;' namely, who of the soldiers had perished. See Zumpt, § 648.

5 Romanum nomen=cives Romani, 'men who bear the Roman name,' on the analogy of nomen Latinum.

6 'Since too few of the magistrates are at hand.' Parum with the genitive. See Gram. § 275, b.

7 'Messenger, news-bringer.'
Lucert recte tumultus, tum in curiam Patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

56. Cum in hane sententiam pedibus omnes issent, summotaque foro per magistratus turba Patres diversi ad sedandes tumultus discellasent, tum demum litterae a Terentio consulate allatae sunt. L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusius esse, reliquis tantae clades velut ex nausfragio colligentem. Ad decessum milia militum ferme esse incompositorum mordinatorumque. Poeni in sellere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretios praedaeque alia nec victoris animo nec magni dieis more nundinantem. Tum privatae quoque per domos clades vulgatae sunt; adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Ceneris uterum sit, quia nec lugentibus it facere est fas, nec uilla in illa tempestate matrona express luctus fuerat. Itaque nec ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata deserventur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum sedato urbis tumultu revocati in curiam Patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore, regnum Hieronis classe Punicae vastari: eui cum oper impolranti ferre velret, nunciatum sibi esse aliam classem ad Aegates insulas stare, paratam instructamque ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam aggregenderunt. Itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Sicilianamque tueri vellent.

1 'That when the disturbance has been properly put down, then the senators must again be summoned.' This is the position of the word recte in the manuscripts, not, as in the editions, in the following clause, and connected with revocandos esse.

2 'As all had agreed in this opinion,' for the voting in the Roman senate was by the members favourable to a proposal going to one side of the house, and those unfavourable to the other. Hence the expression discessioem facere, 'to come to a division,' and discedere or pedibus ire in aliquam sententiam.

3 From preceding chapters, it appears that there were about 14,500 men at Canusium with the consul. Probably, therefore, we should read here quindeceim instead of decem.

4 Nundinari is said of a person engaged in trade, buying and selling in the market. It is here probably not an expression used by the consul, but merely by the historian throwing in his own opinion.

5 'The other Roman province;' that is, the other part of Sicily—namely, the Roman province: for this part is not distinguished from a previously-mentioned province, but from that part of Sicily which formed the kingdom of Hiero.

6 Scil. nova, that which the praetor had being only sufficient to protect the province, not to assist the king.
57. Litteris consulis praetorisque lectis, M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Caesius ad exercitum mittendum censuerunt, scribendumque consuli ut, cum praetor exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Roma veniret. Territi etiam super tautas clades cum ceteris proligis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae, et altera sub terra, ut mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat. L. Cautilius scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera expiraret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire jussi sunt; et Q. Fabius Pector Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placere, et quacnam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro boario sub terra vixi demissi sunt in locum saxo conceptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, minimum Romano sacro, imbutum.

1 'Convicted, proved guilty.' This perfect participle of *comperire*, 'to discover,' is construed with the genitive of the crime. See *Gram.* § 282, note 1.

2 'A clerk belonging to the class now called lesser pontiffs.' A *scriba* was not a private writer, but one officially connected in some way with the state. The college of pontifices had, from the deep religious spirit of the Romans, many and important matters to superintend; for they had the management of all affairs relating to religion, whether concerning the living or the dead, and had, besides, the special duty of regulating the calendar. As the pontifices themselves were men of high rank, most of the hard work fell, as is usual in such cases, to the subordinates—the so-called 'lesser pontiffs.'

3 *Supplicia*, anciently for *supplicationes*. In this sense it is particularly common in Sallust. As to Fabius, compare chap. 7, p. 275, note 6.

4 'The place had already been made familiar with human sacrifices, a custom by no means Roman:' we should have translated *imbutum* by 'defiled,' if the word were not used of accustoming to what is good as well as to what is bad; for example, *adolescens imbutur studiis et virtutibus*, as well as *vitiis*. Livy calls these sacrifices 'by no means Roman;' but he cannot deny that the superstition of his countrymen carried them away occasionally into the practice of this abomination, only that the victims were foreigners. No doubt it was intended by the sacrifice of Gauls and Greeks to avert the calamity of the taking of Rome by a mighty foreign foe; and it appears that the Greek book of fate did not mention Carthaginians as enemies to be feared, else perhaps individuals of

58. Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum captivis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Tracinenumque lacum, beneigne allocutus sine pretio dimissis et, Romanos quoque vocatos, quod nunquam alias antea, satis miti sermone alloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse; et se id anniti ut suae invicem simul felicitati et virtut ei cedatur.

that nation might have been chosen in preference to avert the doom of fate.

1 This is the reading of the manuscripts and editions; but as—according to chap. 27, sub fin., and chap. 53, sub init.—the third legion had been all along engaged on land against Hannibal, we should probably read tertia decima. Teanum Sidicinum, now Teano, on the way to Capua, and not far from that city. The addition Sidicinum distinguishes this place from Teanum Apulum.

2 Or decem et septem, decem septem, septem decem—all of which forms have authority, whilst here septendecim is not at all confirmed by the manuscripts. However, on account of the negligence of editors, it is impossible to state with precision what is the form given in the best manuscripts. Compare Zumpt, § 115, note 2.

3 According to the contract, the written agreement defining the rights and duties of the civitates Latinae and Coloniae Latinae (which together formed the nomen Latinum), and of the civitates sociorum Italorum.

4 'A war of extermination.' To the following certare supply se.

5 'And that as his forefathers had yielded to the valour of the Romans, so he was exerting himself that,' &c. The Latin idiom is fond of connecting antithetical clauses by an et—et.
Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere: pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo centenos. Quanquam aliquantum adjiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepigerant1 dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcunque2 condicionem preciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi qui Romam ad senatum irent; nec pignus aliud fidei quam ut jurarent se redituros acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animos,3 condiciones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, jurisjurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites assequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nunciatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nunciaret ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis; legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatori datus est.

59. Quorum princeps M. Junius 'Patres conscripti,' inquit, 'nemo nostrum ignorat nulli unquam civitati viliores fuisset captivos quam nostrae. Ceterum nisi nobis plus4 justo nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus negligendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsepsi ab exercitu victore aqua arcemur, nec ulla jam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus quinqua-ginta milibus homium ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tum demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil jam auxillii erat, hosti tradidimus. Majores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auo redemisse; et patres vestros, asperrimo illos ad condicionem pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum5 misisse. Atqui

1 'On which they had agreed:' see chap. 52. The ablative of price with pangere, as well as pacisci, both verbs having to some extent the same signification. See Gram. § 157.
2 'Any,' properly quamlibet, because absolute. Zumpt, § 706.
3 'If he should incline their minds (those of the Romans) to peace.' This is the reading of the best manuscripts. The common one, si inclinarent animos = si Romani se inclinarent, excludes any agency of Carthalo, and such a state of mind in the Romans was rather more than Hannibal could venture to expect.
4 As to plus for magis, see Zumpt, § 725, fin.
5 Where the head-quarters of King Pyrrhus were in the winter
et ad Alliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho, utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore ac fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos accivi Romanorum corporum tegunt; nec supersumus pugnae nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem detecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui ne in acie quidem refugerunt, sed praesidio castris reliicti, cum castra traderentur, in potestate hostium venerunt. Hand equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicioni invideo, nec premendo alium me ex- tulisse velim:1 ne illi quidem, nisi perniciatis pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plurique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint.2 gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. Sed illis ut bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini, et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Delectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia servorum audio armari. Non miilior numeros nostor est, nec majore pretio redimi possimus quam hi emunter. Nam si conferam nos cum illis, injuriarum nominis Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, Patres conscripti, si tamen duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nosti hosti recti turri sitis. Pyrrho videlicet, qui vos4 hospitum numero habuit captivos, an barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum avario an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest? Si videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum expectantiumque respon- sum vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iiis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censeatis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Sed si, of 280 B.C., after he had conquered the Romans on the Liris, near Heraclea.

1 For me efferre velim. See Gram. § 371, note 2.

2 'Cannot have justly preferred themselves to us;' that is, have not acted justly, if they have preferred themselves to us.

3 'As good and brave soldiers.' The orator himself despises those who have saved themselves, but still will not oppose their being looked upon as good soldiers.

4 'You;' that is, your forefathers: hospitum numero, as friends to whom he was bound by the ties of hospitality; it might also have been in numero hospitum. See Gram. § 307, 1.
me dinis filibus. in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam
suam esse velt, ut eum tamen nobis vita opus esse senseamus,
cum indigum ut2 redimeremur a vobis vixi saeuis. Redihe
Roman quondam remiss a Pyrrho sine pretio capti; sed
redire et legatis, primordius civitatis ad redimendos
sece missis. Redeam ego in patrum trecentis munuis non
eaestimatus civis? Suum quisque habet animum. Patres
consenpi. Seno in discriminis esse vitam corpusque humum:
magis me lamae periculim movet, ut a vobis damnati ac
repulsae abeamus. Neque enim vos pretio pepercissse homines
credite.9

60. Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in
comitio erat, clamor flexibilis est sublatus, manusque al
eriam tendebant, orantes ut sibi liberae, fratres, cognatos
redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro ex
turbae virorum immisceraret. Senatus summoti arbitris
consali coepiis. Ibi cum sententia variaretur, et alii redi-
mendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam facien-
dam, nec prohibebdos ex privato redimi; si quibus argen-
tum in praesentia deesest, dandum ex aerario pecuniam
mutuam, praedibusque ac praedii4 cavendum populo cen-
serent; tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae,
ut plerisque videatur,5 severitatis, interrogatus sententiam
ita loentus fuitur. Si tantummodo postulasselegati pro
iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine
ullius insectatione cornui brevi sententiam peregissent. Quid
enim aliud6 quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum

1 As to the origin of this exclamation, see Zumpt, § 361, note.
2 Indigni sumus qui redimamur, or ut redimamur, or, poetical,
redihi. See Gram. § 360, 2, with note.
3 Prohibeo redimer, ‘I am hindered from ransoming another,’ is
nothing extraordinary. See Gram. § 375. But prohibeo with the
infinitives passive, as here, is somewhat odd: ‘I am prevented from
being ransomed;’ that is, by another. Similarly, however, in iii.
28, we find Jum se at prohibenda circumdari opera Aequi parabant,
‘the Aequi prepared to prevent the enemy’s works from being
brought all round them.’
4 Praedes are ‘sureties,’ praeda ‘estates handed over as se-
curity;’ so that the general signification of praedium, ‘farm, estate,
piece of ground,’ was derived from the fact that then, as now,
landed security was thought the best.’
6 So the manuscripts read, the editions generally videatur.
Livy’s meaning is, people now may think he was too severe. This
must be the meaning: for had he seemed too severe to most peo-
ple then—namely, at the time when he spoke these words—the
senatus consultum would have been different from what it was.
6 As to this ellipsis of a tense of facere or agere, see Zumpt,
§ 77
a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem cum prope gloriam sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, praeternique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam nis qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consul, acque censerunt, nihil vos eorum, Patres conscripti, quae illae acta sunt, ignorare parati. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusius apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cujusque et virtutis; aut unus hic saltem alisset P. Sempronius, quem si ipsis secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium postrate essent. Sed, cum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum victoria laetis et ipsis1 pluresque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad crundempud liberam habuisset, et septem armatorum hominum milia perrumpere etiam confertos hostes posset, neque per se ipsi id facere conat sunt neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocet prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditam non destitit monere, adhortari2 eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dumnox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequenter: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Sicut autum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Sammo, sicut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma3 trecentis voluntarum, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medhos duceret hostes, dixit Mortamur, milites, et morte nostra cripnamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones; si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros quidem nec Romanos4 vos duceret, si nemo tantae virtutis extitisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demon-

1 And also having retired, most of them, into their camp.' *Et ipse* is 'also;' the *et*, however, serving also as a copula.

2 *Adhoret* refers to the reproaches which Tuditamus threw against them, *adhortari* to his rousing and inflaming the flickerings of courage and energy which still existed among them. *Admonemus cunctantem, adhortamur proheiscemum.*

3 The patriotic self-devotion of two Roman *tribuni militum*, who, to save the rest of the army, threw themselves and their cohorts in the way of the enemy, is often spoken of with high commendation; and the more joyfully because they both escaped the death which appeared certain. The exploit of P. Decius Mus. in a war with the Samnites, is related in Liv. vii. 31: that of M. Calpurnius Flamma was performed in Sicily during the First Punic war; but from the loss of the second decade of Livy's work, we have not his account of it. It is related, however, in an extract from Cato's *Origines* preserved by Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, iii. 7.

4 'Neither as men nor as Romans; but as *quidem* is joined to the one *nee* with the sense that it has in the expression *ne—quidem*, the meaning here is *non modo Romanos sed ne viros quidem.*
strat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad conjuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus? Quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa jacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil unquam movebit; si tanta clades vitem non fecit, nulla faciet. Et liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam: immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives ejus estis. Sero nunc desideratis, deminiuti capitè, abalienati jure civium, servi Cathaginensis faci. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se jubentem: Hannibalem post paullo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi jubentem. Quam ego ignaviam istorum accuso, cum seclius possim accusare? Non enim modo sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes summovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret? quorum si ceteri similis fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet. Ex milibus septem armatorum sexcenti extiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent: neque iis quadraginta milia hostium obstitere. Quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmin futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusii, fortia, fidelia, Patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fideles que (nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint) cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest fuisse, ut erumpentibus, quin erumpent, obsistere conati sunt; aut non invidere eos cum incolumitati tum

1 *Immo* unsays the previous sentence, and puts a stronger in its place. Zumpt, § 277. The former sentence was, 'Long for your fatherland, whilst you are freemen;' the new one, 'nay, long for it whilst you have a country; but as you have now lost it by your cowardice, it is needless to speak of longing for it.'

2 One who loses his liberty, or his right of citizenship, or his position in his tribe, or the right of voting according to the census, underwent, according to Roman notions, a loss of *caput*; that is, civil existence. The degrees of this loss were of such a kind, that the *maxima deminutio capitis* (in the loss of the rights of citizenship) naturally included the less and least (*minima capitis deminutio*).

3 The manuscripts read *sexcenta milia*, which is evidently far too large a number; but the reading should probably be *sexaginta milia*.

4 Equivalent to *cum*, of time, 'unless a person can believe that they were so then, when they attempted.'

5 Dependent on * nisi quis credere potest*.
gloriae illorum per virtutem partae, cum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem expectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. Ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus; ad tuta praeter castra animum habuerunt. Dies noctesque aliquot obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi2 tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia vitae abessent affectisque fame viribus arma jam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallem accessit; auct0 secundam horam, nullam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. Haec vobis3 ipsorum per biduum militia fuit. Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, tandem in castra refugerunt; cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Vos redimam cum erumpere castris oportet, cunctiue ac maueis; cum maue, castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, Patres conscripti, ceiiseo, quam illos dedendos Hannibaii, qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriae restituerunt.1

61. Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam Patrum quoque plebierisque4 captivi cognitione attingebant, praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus5 indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit, qua nec aerarium exhaurire, magna jam summa erogata6 in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem maxime hujusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari7 volebant. Cum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot jactura civium adjectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam.

1 Supply here, for the sake of the connection, 'but it may be said'; Latin at enim.
2 Properly se ipsos; but when the subject and object of an action are the same, the Latin idiom is fond of giving prominence to the former. Zumpt, § 696.
3 Datius commodi, 'for you.' Gram. § 261.
4 Pleiere seems to have here as frequently (see xx. 1) the sense of 'very many.' Zumpt, § 109, note.
5 See Gram. § 220. The idea of 'from,' implied in the adverb, accounts for the addition of inde; which, however, is not common.
6 See chap. 23, p. 296, note 5.
7 It might also have been locupletare, and according to our feelings, we should prefer the active; but volo, followed by an accusative with the infinitive passive, is a very common construction.

29 *
prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra jurejurando se exsolvisset.\textsuperscript{1} Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehensendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama, decem primos venisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem nec ne; ita admisso esse; ne\textsuperscript{2} tamen iis senatus daretur. Morantibus dieinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium. Tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatu esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvisserant. De eis dedendis magna contentionem actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententias qui dedendos censuerint. Ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis iguominiiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores;\textsuperscript{3} quam quid veri sit discernere quas.

Quanto autem major ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel fides indicat sociorum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi, Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, praeter hos Uxentini\textsuperscript{4} et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique\textsuperscript{5} et Cisalpinii omnes Galli.

\textsuperscript{1} As to this subjunctive, see Gram. § 354; and as to the fact alluded to in the text, compare chap. 59.

\textsuperscript{2} Ita, 'with the proviso' ne—daretur, 'that an audience of the senate was not to be granted them.'

\textsuperscript{3} 'One can rather wonder that there is such a discrepancy of statement among the historians, than decide what is the truth.' For we say either discrepant auctores; or, impersonally, discrepat inter auctores. As to the statement, compare Cicero de officiis, iii. 32.

\textsuperscript{4} Uxentum was a town in Calabria, the south-eastern district of Italy. Surrentini, the reading in the editions, is incorrect; for Surrentum was a town on the Bay of Naples, and could not possibly desert to Hannibal at this time.

\textsuperscript{5} These four Greek colonies did not throw off the Roman alliance immediately after the battle of Cannae. Tarentum, indeed, did not fall into Hannibal's hands till the year 212 B.C.; that is, four years afterwards. Defecere, therefore, must here be understood rather
Nec tamen eae cades deflectionesque sociorum moverunt ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum, nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis. Quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cujus ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit, et gratiae actae, quod de re publica non desperasset; cui, si Carthaginensium dactor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.\footnote{That is, either in the senate or the popular assembly.} \footnote{Though he had himself been. \textit{Gram.} § 360, 6, note 3.} \footnote{The imperfect for the pluperfect. See \textit{Gram.} § 345, note.}

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