SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

HARRY EDWIN BURTON
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SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

EDITED, WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION,

BY

HARRY EDWIN BURTON, Ph.D.
PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

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Burton. Livy.

W. P.
PREFACE

The chief purpose of these selections from Livy is to give to college students a better appreciation of the genius and versatility of the historian than can be gained from the reading of a single book or of several books treating a single period. There is also a historical purpose. Chapters have been selected which treat the most important periods or events in the history of Rome which are covered by the remains of Livy's work. These have been found to be in general the most interesting as well as the most significant. It has been thought advisable to include only passages of some length,—that is, of several chapters,—giving a complete account of a single period or event, and many isolated chapters of considerable interest have therefore been omitted.

The text is that of Weissenborn, revised in part by M. Mueller, with somewhat numerous changes based upon a consideration of the manuscript readings and the suggestions of recent editors and commentators. The introduction is little more than a brief statement of facts, which every student should have in mind while he is reading Livy. The notes are intended to give such assistance and information as the student will find necessary in his independent reading of the text. In the belief that long notes containing a superabundance of illustrative material are often a source of confusion, brevity has always been
PREFACE

sought. In referring to Livy; passages included in this book have been used wherever it was possible; passages not included are given in full. With the same idea,—that the college undergraduate rarely looks up a reference not contained in the book he is using,—grammatical explanations are given in the notes, reference to grammars being in general omitted. The brief bibliography at the beginning of chapters or groups of chapters is inserted for the convenience of teachers and the possible use of students.

In the preparation of the notes, the commentary of the Weissenborn—H. J. Mueller edition has been of constant assistance. Professor Morris of Yale has made many valuable suggestions. To Professor Morgan of Harvard I am indebted more than I can say; he has read the manuscript carefully, and his many scholarly suggestions have been gratefully accepted.

HARRY EDWIN BURTON.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE,
HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE,
October, 1904.
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INTRODUCTION

1. The General Character of Roman History.—The Romans of Livy’s time had not developed the idea of minute scientific study, and their standard of historical accuracy was therefore different from our own. Moreover, the sources of information for the earlier periods were meager and inaccurate. Add to these fundamental disadvantages the fact that, simply to make his narrative interesting, a writer felt justified in passing lightly over an important incident or in magnifying the importance of a trivial one, and it is not surprising that we find very obvious inconsistencies and impossibilities. The statement of Quintilian (10, 1, 31), though written a century after Livy, indicates the general conception of historical writing: *historia est proëmio poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum, et scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum.*

2. Sources for the History of the Early Period.—The writing of history at Rome began with the *annales pontificum*, called also *annales maximi*, —a brief statement of important events, annually exhibited by the *pontifex maximus*, and preserved in his office, the *Regia*. Here were recorded the names of magistrates, the death of important men, decrees, campaigns, eclipses, prodigies, etc. The publication of these records began, according to Mommsen, in the first half of the fifth century B.C.—Another duty of the *pontifices* was the preparation of the annual calen-
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

dars (fasti). These designated the days for the celebration of festivals and sometimes affixed a brief statement of an important event to the anniversary of the day on which it had occurred. These calendars, first published in 304 B.C., were an occasional, though not important, source of historical information. — The same name (fasti) was applied to official lists of consuls (fasti consulares), priests (fasti sacerdotaes), and triumphs (fasti triumphales). The fasti Capitolini still extant (so called because they are kept on the Capitoline Hill in the Museo dei Conservatori) were inscribed on the outer wall of the Regia, and contained in their complete form a chronological list of consuls, censors, dictators, and magistri equitum down to about 13 A.D., with a list of triumphs down to about 12 B.C., and a record of the ludi saeculares, ending with those celebrated under Domitian. — Of the same nature were the libri lintei, mentioned several times by Livy, — lists of magistrates kept in the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitoline Hill. — Finally, there were the records kept by officials of the events of their magistracies, but to what extent these were preserved and were accessible appears to be doubtful.

These were the only general and official sources of information at the disposal of the earliest writers of Roman history. To these must be added various documents, which were of great historical value for the particular occasions to which they referred; many of these, inscribed on stone or bronze, survived for centuries. Dating from the early republican period, there were, for example, the treaty with Carthage of the year 509, the treaty with the Latins of the year 493, and the first tribunician law of the same year.

The written information accessible to the early historians consisted, therefore, in a body of brief statements, in little
INTRODUCTION

more than a chronological list of magistracies, battles, etc. Moreover, meager as this record was, much of it must have perished in one way or another from time to time, and especially when Rome was occupied by the Gauls in 390. How then did the earliest historians make up a readable narrative? Evidently from two sources,—oral tradition and their own imagination. The facts could be verified to a certain extent by consultation of written records, if, in an uncritical age, the writer felt the need of such verification; the details he must accept as he found them in popular legend, and sometimes, to make an interesting and consistent story, he must himself make alterations and additions. Hence, in the historians of the late republic and the empire, who, for the early period, were simply copying their predecessors,—and copying them often in an uncritical way,—it is not surprising to find confused and incredible statements.

3. Early Roman Historians. — The earliest historians of Rome wrote in Greek, because Latin had never been used for literary prose, and the possibilities of Greek for that purpose were well known to them. Their productions were called annales, a name that indicated the strict chronological sequence of the narrative. It was their custom to treat very briefly the earlier period and to discuss at greater length the events of their own time. The earliest and most famous of these was Q. Fabius Pictor, who lived during the Second Punic War, and wrote a history of Rome from Aeneas down to his own time, a work from which Livy, directly and indirectly, got much information. (See 22, 7, 4.)

The first Roman historian who wrote in Latin was M. Porcius Cato, censor in 184 B.C. He followed the custom
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

of all the early writers in beginning with the foundation of the city, and continuing the narrative to his own time. His work was called Origines, because he described at some length the settlement of the various Italian states.

The most important historian of Rome in this period was a Greek, Polybius, whose admirable history, in 40 books, covered the period from 220 to 146. Unfortunately only the first five books are preserved.

4. Historians of the First Century B.C. — Not until the first century B.C. did the historian begin to pay much attention to the form of his work. Hitherto he had set down in bald, mechanical fashion the events of successive years. Now there was an attempt to produce something more worthy to be regarded as literature. The best example of this tendency is L. Coelius Antipater, who wrote a valuable and, at the same time, interesting account of the Second Punic War. This subject illustrates another idea which appeared at this time,—the composition of detailed histories of single periods, instead of the more superficial treatment of the whole history of Rome. The old custom, however, still survived, as in the work of Valerius Antias, who wrote probably about the middle of the first century B.C., and whom Livy used perhaps more than any other of his predecessors.

In the Ciceronian and Augustan periods the literary treatment of historical subjects received still greater attention, and the history of the century was so varied and interesting that very many writers were tempted to enter this department of literature. And not only was more attention given to the form, but there was in some cases a more scholarly treatment of the facts. The antiquarian researches of such men as Varro eliminated from early
INTRODUCTION

history much that was false, and tended to make the naturally careless writer more careful in his statements. Still there was such carelessness in historical writing as would not now be tolerated. A good example of this is the De Viris Illustribus of Cornelius Nepos,—a thoroughly unscholarly work. When the subject was a contemporary one, there was less probability of error, and the works of Caesar and Sallust are in general trustworthy.

5. Titus Livius. — Historical writing reached its highest point in the latter half of the first century B.C., and Titus Livius is the best representative of the period. Of the details of his life we know little. He was born at Patavium, in northeastern Italy, probably in 59 B.C., but the date rests only upon a questionable statement of Jerome. His life was passed in Rome, where he seems to have been on intimate terms with Augustus, but took no part in public life. Of his family relations we know only that he had a son and a daughter. To the former he probably addressed a work in epistolary form on rhetorical training. He wrote also, according to Seneca, philosophical works and dialogues on philosophical and historical subjects.

6. Livy's History of Rome. — Livy's great work, the history of Rome, was begun between 27 and 25 B.C., when he was between thirty and thirty-five years old, and was continued till his death in 17 A.D. The date of composition of several books can be approximately determined. The title appears to have been ab urbe condita libri, though Livy once refers to his work as annales. Having begun in the old-fashioned way with the foundation of the city, he had at the time of his death written 142 books and carried the history down to the year 9 B.C. Like the annalists, he treated the early period in somewhat summary
fashion, and discussed contemporary history in great detail. In Books I–XXX he gives the history of 550 years; in Books XXXI–LXVIII, 100 years; in Books LXIX–CVIII, 50 years; in Books CIX–CXLII, 42 years. Though the work was not finished at his death, he had published from time to time sections of varying length.

The early part of the history, 45 books, fell naturally into three sections of 15 books each: Books I–XV, Aeneas to the Punic Wars; Books XVI–XXX, the Punic Wars; Books XXXI–XLV, the Macedonian Wars. Livy nowhere refers to an intentional arrangement of this sort, and it does not appear to have been carried further. The division into decades, which is to a large degree arbitrary, was adopted by the mediaeval copyists for their own convenience.

During Livy’s lifetime his confident expectation of glory was satisfied; Pliny relates that a man traveled all the way from Spain, with the sole purpose of beholding the famous historian. After his death, his work became the chief authority on Roman history. Seneca calls him *disertissimus*; Tacitus, *eloquentissimus* and *eloquentiae ac fidei praecellent praeclarus imprimis.* Quintilian speaks of him as *mirae facundiae viro* and elsewhere (10, 1, 101) gives this detailed estimate of his work: *Neque indignetur sibi Herodotus aequari T. Livium, cum in narrando mirae iucunditatis clarissimique candoris tum in contionibus supra quam enarrari potest eloquentem; ita quae dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum personis accommodata sunt. Affectus quidem praecipeque eos qui sunt dulciores, ut parcissime dicam, nemo historicorum commendavit magis.*

Of the 142 books, only 35 have survived,—namely, Books I–X, which contain the period from *Aeneas* to the end of the Third Samnite War (293 B.C.), and Books XXI–XLV, which
INTRODUCTION

begin with the Second Punic War and carry the history to the end of the Third Macedonian War (219–167 B.C.). Of the other books only small fragments have been preserved by later writers, but we have brief summaries (periarchae) of all except Books CXXXVI and CXXXVII, compiled perhaps in the fourth century A.D., when the work was still complete.

7. Livy's Sources.—Minute study of the work has shown that Livy made little use of original documents,—public records, inscriptions, etc. He apparently did not avail himself to any extent of the annales maximi and made no systematic use of the earlier writers, as, for example, Fabius Pictor and Cato. His narrative is based in large part on the works of later writers, but to what extent he is indebted to them individually it is impossible to say with certainty, as he rarely gives the names of his authorities. Those most often mentioned are the following: Valerius Antias (mentioned thirty-six times in the extant books), whose work was similar to Livy’s, covering the complete history of Rome in at least 75 books; Claudius Quadrigarius, who began his history with the Gallic invasion (see on 9, 5, 2); Licinius Macer, who was more reliable than many of his contemporaries and predecessors, in that he consulted original sources, e.g. the libri lintei; L. Calpurnius Piso, consul in 133, whose history, beginning with Aeneas, was brought down at least to the year 146; and Coelius Antipater, whose excellent history of the Second Punic War has been already mentioned. But Livy’s great authority for one of the most important parts of his work, the Second and Third Punic Wars and the wars with Macedonia, was Polybius. Though he is mentioned by name only five times, the extant books of Polybius show Livy’s indebtedness to him.

Livy — 2

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8. Livy’s Historical Value; his Style. — Taking into account the nature of his sources, the enormous extent of his work, and the standard of his time, we must regard Livy as a fairly careful and accurate historian. His work, he says (9, 17, 1), is not intended merely to give pleasure to the reader. He fully realized the insufficiency of his evidence, especially for the earlier period; in 6, 1, 2, speaking of the early history of the city, he says, res cum vetustate nimmia obscuras, velut quae magnus ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum, et quod, etiam si quae in commentariis pontificum aliique publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiure. Elsewhere (1, 8, 5; 8, 6, 3; 8, 40, 4), he suggests that the facts as he finds them have been intentionally misstated. He himself was anxious to discover and to state the truth. He did not lack industry, but did not attempt a decision where none was possible; 7, 6, 6, cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret. In using the writings of his predecessors, he weighed the probability of their statements; where there were conflicting stories, he accepted that which appeared to him most probable. He possessed a large fund of that quality which is most valuable to a historian — common sense; it was this which made him look askance at the legends of the early city (see Praef. 6 ff.) and in his later books reject the absurd exaggerations of Valerius Antias.

But, whatever may be said of its historical accuracy, the great merit of Livy’s history is the fact that it is always readable,—often intensely interesting. The thought is clear, the style simple. The sentences are usually short, the structure rarely complicated. The thought, not the
INTRODUCTION

language, holds the attention. And yet he does not restrict himself to a bare statement of facts; on the contrary, there is an abundance of picturesque detail, which gives color and life even to the dullest portions of the narrative. Understanding human nature and having a keen dramatic instinct, he was able to portray scenes of emotion or excitement with a power and reality which few historians have attained. Livy seems, therefore, to approach the ideal of historical writing. As a careful investigator, he was at least not below the standard of his time; as a writer, he has for many centuries aroused the interest and won the admiration of discriminating readers.

9. Manuscripts.—The Mss. of the first decade are divided into two classes. One is represented only by a palimpsest at Verona, of the fifth century, containing Books III–VI. The most important representative of the other class is the Mediceus of the eleventh century; there are, besides, a Paris Ms. of the tenth century, and several others of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.

The Mss. of the third decade also are divided into two classes. The best representative of the first class is a Paris Ms. (Puteanus), of the fifth century. There are also four copies of this, of the ninth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The second class is as old as the first, but only fragments of Books XXVII and XXIX are preserved in the earliest Ms., a Turin palimpsest of the fifth century. Another representative, the codex Spirensis of the eleventh century, is lost (all but one leaf), but its readings are preserved in the editio Frobeniana, published at Basle in 1535. There are other Mss. closely related to the lost Spirensis.

The fourth decade comes to us in a Bamberg Ms. of the eleventh century, containing Books XXXI–XXXVIII
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

(through chap. 46, sec. 4). Another, the Moguntinus, is now lost, but was used for the Mayence edition of 1518 and the Basle edition of 1535.

The first five books, which are all we have of the fifth decade, are contained in a fifth-century Ms. found at Lorsch in 1527 and now in Vienna.

10. Editions.—The editio princeps was published at Rome about 1469. On account of their use of Mss. now lost, the Mayence edition of 1518 and the Basle edition of 1535 are important. The edition of Drakenborch, 1820–1828, in fifteen volumes, contains a very full textual commentary. There is no complete edition with full critical apparatus; of critical editions of portions, that of Luchs, Berlin, 1888–1889, containing Books XXI–XXX, is perhaps the most important. The edition of Zingerle, Vienna, 1888–1890, contains a brief critical apparatus for Books I–XL. The edition of Weissenborn, revised by M. Mueller (Teubner, Leipsic, 1899–1901), contains a brief critical apparatus for the whole work. Most useful is the edition of Weissenborn, revised in part by H. J. Mueller (Berlin, 1873–1900), which contains an explanatory commentary for the whole work, as well as a brief critical apparatus.
TITI LIVI
AB VRBE CONDITA LIBRI
PRAEFATIO

Facturusne opera pretium sim, 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 cer-

Preface. §§ 1–5: Livy's object in writing history; his hesitation in undertaking so great a task. §§ 6–8: his treatment of the earliest period. §§ 9–13: the history of Rome presented to his readers as a moral lesson.

1. facturusne . . . sim: the first part of a hexameter verse; the MSS. have sim operae pretium, but the correct reading is given by Quint. Inst. 9, 4, 74. There are in Livy many poetical quotations, often not in the exact form of the original (see M. H. Morgan, Harvard Studies in Class. Philol., 1898), but such a rhythmical combination as this, which was generally regarded as a defect, was either purely accidental or was an arrangement which seemed to be demanded by the sense of the passage; cf. § 8 haud . . . illa.

The Annals of Tacitus begin with a hexameter verse.—primordio: the singular is rare; the position emphasizes the element in his purpose which makes him doubtful,—the fact that he is to write a complete history, including the earliest period. — perscripserim: the perf. subj. represents a fut. perf. indic., the mood being due to the attraction of futurus sim.—sciam: the present tense suggests that the knowledge is still a possibility.—ausim: originally an optative form, found, chiefly in poetry, in a potential sense, as an equivalent of the present subjunctive.

2. rem: the writing of Roman history.—videam: in causal clauses with quippe qui Livy uses either indicative or subjunctive.—dum: causal as well as temporal; cf. 9, 9, 11; 45, 9, 7.—semper: to
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

tius aliquid adlaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem
superaturos credunt. Vtcumque erit, iuvabit tamen rerum
gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili
parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba
mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum
me, qui nomini officient meo, consoler. Res est praeterea
et inmensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum
repetatur et quae ab exiguis profecta iniziis eo creverit, ut
iam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque haud
dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus
praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantis ad haec nova,
quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae con-

be connected with novi, as the position indicates; the idea is,
Writers are constantly appearing
who believe etc.; cf. 5, 42, 6.—
in rebus: in regard to the facts;
cf. 40, 55, 8.

3. utcumque: as in § 8 and
45, 8, 5; for a different meaning
see 21, 35, 2.—rerum . . . consu-
luisse: to have contributed myself
a man's part to the record etc.;
a remarkable accumulation of gen-
tives.—in obscuro: Livy likes to
use, in place of a pred. adj., a
prep. with the abl. of an adj. used
substantively; cf. 3, 45, 9 in tuto.
—nobilitate: renown.—nominis:
reputation; cf. 27, 49, 4; 45, 9, 7.

4. res . . . laboret sua: there
is a gradual change in the meaning
of res. With est and repetatur it
means the subject; but the sub-
ject is the Roman state, and it is
in the latter sense that the word
must be taken with creverit and
laboret.—et inmensis: this et is
correlative with the one before
legentium; its position is due to
the fact that Livy intended to make
res the subject of the second state-
ment also, an intention which was
forgotten in the length of the first
sentence.—ut quae: always with
the subjunctive in Livy; see on
§ 2 videam.—legentium: as res,
at the beginning of its sentence,
indicates the nature of the first
difficulty, so legentium, in its em-
phatic position, suggests that of
the second. For this use of the
participle cf. § 5 scribentis and see
on 21, 42, 4 spectantes.—origines
. . . originibus: it is a character-
istic of Livy to repeat a noun in-
stead of using a pronoun; cf. 1, 3,
3 urbem . . . urbis.—haec nova:
especially the civil wars.—iam
pridem: to be taken with conficiunt.
—se ipsae conficiunt: are working
their own destruction.

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PRAEFATIO

ficiunt. 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 etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.

Quae ante conditam condenamve urbem, poeticas magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis, traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat; et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quam imperium patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam dis-

5. curae: anxiety. — efficere: for this use with an adj. cf. 45, 7, 3; facere is more common. — posset: apodosis of a non-occurrent condition.

6. condenamve: referring to those events which led to the foundation of the city; inserted as a correction or restriction of ante conditam urbem, which would have included everything prior to the foundation of the city, and much which did not pertain to it. — fabulis, monumentis: datives with decora.

7. origines: the object of referre, as well as of consecrare. — potissimum ferat: chooses to present; the superlative implies that there were several from whom the choice might have been made. Livy's attitude toward the history of this period is clearly shown in this passage. It is evident that many things which he states as facts in the early part of his history, he does not himself believe.

8. his: with similis and dissimilis Livy uses only the dat. of words denoting things (except in the phrase veri similis), the gen. or dat. of words denoting persons. — animadversa: noted. — existimata: considered. — haud . . . discrimine: I shall not treat as matters of critical moment at any rate; the expression does not occur elsewhere, but is analogous with in incerto ponere, in aequo ponere etc.; the meaning
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

9 crimine; ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possimus, perversum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum in- ceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negoti suscepti fallit aut nulla umquam res publica nec

of discrimen is similar to that in Verg. Aen. 10, 108 nullo discrimine habebo.

9. mihi: ethical dative; the passage may be translated, let every one follow my advice and observe carefully etc.; cf. 24, 38, 7 tum mihi undique clamore sublato turbam invadite. — disciplina: moral discipline. — desidentis: the figure, which is continued in lapsi sint and ire praecipites, is from a falling building. — sequatur: with three objects,— the acc. mores and the two indirect questions, ut . . . lapsi sint and ut . . . coeperint; for the thought cf. 7, 2, 13. — remedia: there was some opposition to the reforms of Augustus.

10. cognitione rerum: the study of history. — te . . . intueri: the use of the 2d person in an indefinite sense, so thoroughly illus- trated in this passage, is like the English idiom. This te is especially noteworthy, for the subject of an infinitive, if indefinite, is regularly omitted; Lane, 2212. — omnis exempli documenta: instructive instances of every sort; exemplum, according to its etymology a sample, is used ordinarily of a thing to be imitated or avoided. — a precedent or warning; cf. 1, 28, i1. — in . . . monumento: on a monument that all may see. — inde foedum . . . vites: from capias supply a suitable verb, e.g. intellegas.

11. aut . . . aut: for a similar correlation, where the second member indicates what is intended to be an absolute certainty, cf. 9, 7, 4. — nulla . . . nec . . . nec: for the excess of negatives cf. 1, 26; 12 non tulit populus nec patris
PRAEFATIO

maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam cīvitatem tam sērae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit; adeo quōrum rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perendique omnia invexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantae ordiendae rei absint; cum bonis potius omnibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsī tantum operis successus prosperos darent.

lacrimas nec . . . animum. — in quam cīvitatem: for cīvitās in quam; the antecedent, which would naturally be in the same construction as res publica, has been taken into the relative clause and made to agree in case with the relative pronoun; cf. 1, 1, 3 in quem locum. — seerae: Livy often uses an adjective where earlier prose writers would have used an adverb; cf. 1, 4, 6 mitem; 1, 7, 1 priori; 1, 16, 2 sublimem. — adeo: here in the sense of immo, in fact.

12. nuper: in 39, 6, 7, where Livy is speaking of the campaign of Cn. Manlius Volso in Asia, in 187, he says, luxuriae peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est. Here, however, he is thinking of the general corruption of recent times, the beginning of which Sallust, Cat. 11, 6, ascribes to the return of Sulla’s army from Asia. — luxum atque libidinem: the combination of two words beginning with the same letter is very common in Livy; so, pereundi perendique; cf. 22, 3, 10; 22, 7, 6. luxum seems to be the “condition”, as distinguished from luxuria in § 11, which is the “tendency” (Seeley). libidinem includes excesses of every sort. — erunt: for the rare indic. with for- sitan cf. 21, 40, 11. — ab initio . . . rei: pleonasm is not uncommon in Livy; see on 22, 5, 7.

13. votisque et precationibus: the two nouns are in apposition with omnibus; que and et are cor- relates, as in 5, 49, 1; 21, 30, 2. — orsī: sc. nobis; tantum operis is its object. — successus prosperos: as in 22, 3, 4.
Book I

Aeneas in Italy. Alba Longa. The Founding of Rome.

1. Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Aeneae Antenori-que, et vetusti iure hospiti et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse. Casibus-deinde variis Antenorem cum multi-tudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerabant,


1. iam primum omnium: this marks a transition from the preface to the history and calls attention to the exact point at which the writer proposes to begin; cf. 9, 17, 5. This use of iam may be compared with our colloquial “now” or “well.” Livy has made no effort to begin his work in formal fashion.—constat: indicating, as elsewhere, a tradition rather than a historical certainty.—duobus: dat. with abstinuisse; the construction, common enough with other verbs denoting separation, does not occur elsewhere in classical Latin with abstineo; see, however, on 5, 47, 4 quibus.—vetusti... hospiti: not based upon any statement of the Iliad.—pacis... fuerunt: the Iliad makes this assertion only of Antenor; 7, 350 ff. According to Verg. Aen. 1, 242 ff., Antenor founded Pata- vium, Livy’s birthplace, a fact which explains, perhaps, his conspicuous position here at the beginning of the history.—fuerunt: Livy often uses the perf. where the plup. is expected, especially in relative clauses and clauses with ubi, ut, etc.; he thus makes the statement from his own point of view without reference to another verb; cf. 1, 25, 8 pugnatum est.

2. casibus deinde variis: the position favors the interpretation, their fortunes diverging from this point (Seeley).—Enetum: see II. 2, 852 ff.—Pylaemene: killed by Menelaus; II. 5, 576 ff.
venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum, Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolbant, pulsis Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primum egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pagoque inde Troiano nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati. Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Sicilian quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi

3. in quem ... locum: see on Praef. 11 in quam civitatem.—Troiano: this, according to Livy's general usage, is a pred. adj. attracted from the nom. into the dat. to agree with pago; cf. 1, 4, 7 Faustulo; 3, 48, 5 novis.—universa: Trojans and Eneti together. —Veneti: probably an Illyrian race, identified with the Paphlagonian Eneti only on account of the similarity of names. —appellati: for the agreement with the pred. nom. cf. 22, 45, 7 facta.

4. Aeneam ... venisse: the acc. and inf. construction with constat is resumed, in spite of the interruption of et in quem ... appellati.—ab simili clade: as Antenor had been driven from Paphlagonia, so Aeneas, though spared, was forced to leave Troy; Dion. Hal. 1, 47. The words indicate both the cause of his exile (cf. 30, 20, 8) and the time when it began; cf. 40, 56, 7; this use of ab is rarely found before Livy.—profugum ... fatis: cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 2; for this combination of an abl. abs. with an adj. modifier cf. 45, 7, 5. —maiora rerum initia: greater undertakings; if it is assumed that rerum initia presents a single idea, the agreement of maiora with initia, instead of with rerum, is natural; see, however, for a similar peculiarity of agreement, 1, 4, 4 insti; 22, 7, 5 focac- vatorum. —in Macedoniam: he was said to have founded the town of Aenea on the Thermen Gulf. —Laurentem agrum: Laurentum was about five miles south of the mouth of the Tiber. According to Verg. Aen. 7, 30 Aeneas landed close by the mouth of the river. —tenuisse: cursum may be supplied, but no object is necessary. The English verb to hold is sometimes used intransitively in a similar sense.

5. Troia: not attracted, as usual, into the dative; see on § 3 Troiano. The exact location of the place, though it evidently existed in Livy's time (est), is un-
Troiani, ut quibus aë... 

known.—ut quibus... superesset: a causal clause; see on Praef. 4.—

inmensō: as the word means literally unlimited, prope is justified;
cf. 45, 9, 5.—Latinus: son of Faunus, eponymous hero of the Latin race, worshiped after his death as Jupiter Latias.

6. duplex: Vergil follows the first story (Aen. 7, 147 ff.), though Latinus himself is represented as opposed to the war.

7. instructae... constitissent: cf. 22, 45, 5.—inter primores: into the front rank, or, possibly, in the midst of his chieftains.—percunctatum: like admiratum in § 8, a participle, not an infinitive.—aut... ve: disjunctives, where we should use copulatives.

8. audierit: the usual tense with postquam in ind. disc. when the principal verb is in the perfect infinitive; cf. 40, 55, 7.—multitudinem: Verg. Aen. 2, 796 in gentem comitum... numerum.

—patria: native city; cf. 3, 50, 15; 26, 13, 15.—et nobilitatem... et animum: the two conjunctions are correlative.

9. salutationem: 7, 42, 5 f. cum in aciem armati exercitus processissent, salutationem faciam et permixtos dextras iungere ac complici inter se lacerantem milites
BOOK I

apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus, filia Aeneae in matrimonium data. Ea res utique Troianis spem adfirmat tandem stabili certaque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum con-
dunt; Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere 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 certa-
mine abiit; victi Rutuli, victores Aborigines Trojanique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique difficilibus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque, regem corum, confugiunt, qui Caere, opulento tum oppido, imperitans, iam inde ab initio minime laetus novae origine urbis, et tum

cœpisse. — data: contemporaneous with adiunxisse; see on 21, 1, 5 inposito.

11. Lavinium: about fourteen miles south of Rome, not far from the coast; always an important reli-
gious center. — stirpis: old nom.
sing. in place of the usual form stirps; cf. 26, 13, 16. — cui: this must be explained as a dat. of ind. obj., due to the fact that dixere nomen is equivalent to dedere no-
men. dixere meaning to name is not uncommon, but dixere nomen is very rare; Verg. Aen. 3, 693 nomen dixere priores Ortygiam.

2. 1. Rutulorum: adjoining the Laurentian territory on the south. — pacta . . . fuerat: passive forms with fui, etc., which are common

in Livy, do not generally differ in meaning from the ordinary forms. They may emphasize, however, as here, the fact that a condition no longer exists; cf. 26, 13, 18; Lane, 1609.

2. Latinum amisere: Festus, p. 194 Latinus rex, qui proelio . . . nusquam apparuerit indicat
musque sit Iuppiter factus Latiaris.

3. Etruscorum: the Etruscans were at this time the most pow-
ful people in Italy; see Mommsen, 1, 150–161. — Mezentium: see Verg. Aen. 8, 481 ff. — Caere: dative or locative ablative; cf. 1, 3, 8 Albae regnaverunt.— tum: in
Livy's time Caere was an insignificant village. — iam inde ab initio: already at the very beginning;
nimio plus quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere ratus, haud gravatim soci arma Rutulis iunxit. 4 Aeneas, adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret nec sub eodem iure solum sed etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellant. Nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere. Fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui inplesset, tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quemcumque eum dici ius
cf. 1, 5, 5. — nimio = multo, as in 39, 40, 9; cf. 30, 30, 27 nims. — gravatim: a very rare substitute for gravate. — soci: rarely used as an adj. in prose before Livy.

4. nec ... solum = et non ... solum, the ut being carried over from the preceding clause; cf. 2, 32, 10; 3, 44, 5. — Latinos: see Verg. Aen. 12, 190 f. and 821 ff.

5. fretusque: the conjunction means and so, as often in Livy. — ut iam ... inplesset: 5, 33; 7 Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur, quantum potuerint, nomina sunt argumento. — cum ... posset: concessive. — moenibus: instrumental ablative.

6. secundum: though this is the second battle, the meaning is evidently successful (cf. 26, 10, 9), and the contrast is emphasized by the chiastic arrangement. — situs est: the common expression on tombstones, iex buried. Dion. 1, 64 says the body was never found. — quemcumque: the superstitious Romans, with their scrupulous observance of religious forms, were exceedingly careful to apply to a divinity his proper name, or, if he had several, the one most appropriate to the occasion. Here, Livy hesitates to call him Aeneas, because he has been deified under another name, and, on the other hand, he cannot use the words situs est, of Jupiter Indiges. — super: on the bank of; cf. 21, 45, 1 insuper. — Numicum: another form, less commonly used, is
fasque est, super Numicium fluvium; Iovem Indigetem appellant.

3. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius, Aeneae filius, erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume mansit. Tantisper tutela muliebri, tanta indoles in Lavinia erat, res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud ambigam—quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet?—hicine fuerit Ascanius, an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus—certe natum Aenea constat—abun-

_Numicus_. It is a small stream, flowing into the Mediterranean between Ardea and Lavinium. — _Indigetem_: probably derived from _indu_, an old form of _in_, and _gen_, the root of _gigno_. The name was applied especially to deified mortals. Dion. 1, 64 says a ἡρῶν was erected to Aeneas with the inscription, Πάτρος θεοῦ Χθονίου, ὁς ποταμὸν Νομικίον ρέυμα δίέτει, which would indicate that Aeneas was indentified with the river god. Ovid, _Met._ 14, 596–608.

3. 1. _indoles_: properly a colorless word, but here used in the sense of _virtus_; cf. 9, 6, 12. So _ingenium_ sometimes has a special meaning which does not properly belong to it; e.g. Cic. _Fam._ 13, 10, 2 _versabatur in hoc studio... cum ingenio_. — _res Latina_: _the Latin state_; cf. 1, 6, 3 _Albana re._ — _avitum_: referring to Latinus. — _stetit_: Livy often uses a sing. verb with two subjects; cf. 21, 40, 3; 33, 32, 5.

2. _haud ambigam_: _I shall not discuss._ — _certo_: the neuter of the adjective used substantively; cf. 9, 11, 4 _pro infecto_; see on _Praef._ 3 _in obscur._ In general, Livy is very free in the use of adjectives as substantives. — _hicine_: _hi-ce-ne_, the _e_ of the intensive _ce_ being weakened to _i_; _Lane_, 662, 663. — _maior = maior natu_, the noun being rarely added by Livy, if the context makes the meaning clear; cf. 30, 37, 6. — _quem Iulum eundem_: _the same one whom as Iulus_; see on _Praef._ 11 _in quam civitatem_. The question is whether the successor of Aeneas was Ascanius, the son of Lavinia, or another Ascanius, called also Iulus, the son of Creusa; _Verg. Aen._ 1, 267 f.
dante Lavini multitudine florentem iam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata.

4. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere 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 Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis

3. ut . . . erant: according to the standard of that time; cf. 5, 41, 1; 21, 34, 1. — sub: the town was built on the northern slope (dorsum) of the mountain, below the highest summit. — Albano monte: the modern Monte Cavo, about thirteen miles southeast of Rome, on the edge of the Roman Campagna. — urbis: for the repetition of the noun cf. § 9 and see on Praef. 4 originibus; after quae the use of the noun is conspicuously harsh. — Longa Alba: the name was Alba Longa, but Longa is here placed first for emphasis, as it is the word which is being explained; so in 1, 12, 6 Statori lovi. — appellata: Livy often omits the auxiliary in both independent and subordinate clauses.

4. Lavinium: sc. conditum. — coloniam deductam: this use of a perf. part. in agreement with a noun, to be translated by an abstract noun with a dependent genitive, was not common before Livy; Lane, 2285. deducere is the regular word with colonia. — triginta: Verg. Aen. 1, 269. — morte: abl. of time, but expressing also cause; cf. 45, 9, 7. — inter: during. — ausi sint: this use of the perf. subj. in clauses of result, where the sequence of tenses calls for the imperfect, is very common in Livy. In such cases there is a desire to emphasize the grammatically subordinate verb by partly freeing it from its dependence, the statement being made from the point of view of the writer, without reference to the principal verb.

5. Albula: Verg. Aen. 8, 332. — Tiberim: Serv. ad Aen. 8, 72 Tiberim alii a rege Aboriginum dictum volunt, qui iuxta dimicans interemptus est, alii ab eo rege quem Glaucus, Minoi filius, in Italia interemit, alii, inter quos et Livius, ab Albano rege, qui in eum

cecidit; cf. § 8. The name is connected with an Osca root teb, which appears to mean a mountain stream; cf. Tibur, Tifata, Tifer-nus. The meaning of the name would thus be similar to that of Albula, which is probably to be connected with Alpes and Alba, the mountain town.

6. Silvius: Livy does not give the common tradition; according to Dion. 1, 70 (cf. Verg. Aen. 6, 764), Silvius was the son of Aeneas and Lavinia, Ascanius or Iulus being the son of Creusa; the latter, on the accession of Silvius, became a priest. The earliest tradition ascribed the foundation of Rome to the Trojans themselves or to Romulus, the grandson of Aeneas. (Sall. Cat. 6; Serv. ad Aen. 1, 273.) This list of names was a fabrication of the first century B.C., invented to fill the gap of over four hundred years between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome.

7. creat . . . ortus etc.: there is a praiseworthy attempt at variety in the manner of stating the parentage of the successive kings. — appellati: for the agreement with the pred. noun see on 1, 1, 3 appellati.

8. Silvius: for the case see on 1, 1, 3 Troiano. — cognomen = nomen; cf. § 9.—Albae: locative. — Tiberinus: Verg. Aen. 8, 330 ff. — ad posteros: for ad in the sense of apud cf. 1, 4, 8 ad pecora.

9. per manus tradidit: the phrase occurs elsewhere (e.g. 9, 17, 10), and seems to indicate the immediate delivery or the uninterrupted transmission of the thing in question. — is sepultus: the fact that he was buried, the particle being the important word; see on § 4 coloniam deductam and cf. 21, 1, 5 Sicilia Sardiniaca amisae. — colle. . . collis: see on Praef. 4 origines . . . originibus.
qui nunc pars Romanae est urbis cognomen colli fecit.
Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque Amulium pro-
creat; Numitor, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetus-
tum Silvae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit quam
voluntas patris aut vercundia aetatis. Pulso fratre Amu-
lius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus; stirpem fratris virilem
interimit, fratris filiae Reae Silvae per speciem honoris,
cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem
partus admit.

4. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tanta origo urbis ma-

ximique secundum deorum opes imperi principium. Vi con-
pressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata,
seu quia Deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae
stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii nec homines aut
ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant; sacerdos
vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam
mitti iubet.

10. maximus: older; see on
§ 2 maior. For the superlative,
used of only two, cf. 2, 24, 4; 21,
36, 8 infimam.—aetatis: objective
genitive.

11. filiae: dat. with admit.—
Reae: this spelling is better than
Rhea, as the name is probably the
fem. of reus, and, as applied to a
Vestal, is explained by a passage
in Macrobi. Sat. 3, 2, 6 ut reus
vocetur qui suscepto voto se nu-
minibus obligat. Rea is identical
with Ilia, who, according to En-
nius (Serv. ad Aen. 6, 778), was
the daughter of Aeneas.—legisset:
the king here has the function
which later belonged to the ponti-

fex maximus.

4. 1. debebatur . . . fatis: was
owed to the Fates and therefore
demanded by them,—a debt due
to destiny. The English phrase
“was due to” in the sense “was
caused by” has lost its literal
meaning and hardly does justice
to debebatur.—secundum: next
to.

2. incertae: because the father
was unknown.

3. dii: with special reference
to Mars.—iubet: the subject rex
is to be supplied from regia, but
the omission is awkward. The
asyneton gives to the sentence
an abruptness which suggests the
summary nature of the punish-
ment.
Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusto cursum poterat amnis, et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabit. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima eluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est—Romularem vocatam.

4. forte quadam divinitus: two explanations are possible: that the expression embodies the question whether human affairs are regulated by the gods or by chance (cf. 5, 49, 1 dii . . . forte quadam; 22, 42, 10 dt . . . forte); or, that it is a translation of the Greek θεία τυχή. For, though τυχή commonly suggests divine power and is so used in this phrase, it is also used in the exact sense of the Latin foras, and the latter word would have been used to translate the Greek. Considered as a translation, therefore, the Latin phrase contains no contradiction. — divinitus: for the adv. qualifying a noun cf. 6, 39, 6 maximo privatum periculo, nullo publice emolumento; also the common phrase, forte temere, with which forte divinitus may be contrasted. — Tiberis effusus: Tiberis is the subject of poterat, Tiberis effusus (the fact that the river had overflowed; see on 1, 3, 9 is sepultus), the subject of dabat. — lenibus stagnis: abl. of manner. Such floods were of frequent occurrence before the valley of the Forum and that of the Circus Maximus were drained, and the river was confined by walls. The bend in the river throws the water especially into the valley between the Capitoline and the Palatine, the place, according to tradition, where Romulus and Remus were abandoned. — nec . . . et = et non . . . et, the two conjunctions being correlative; cf. 9, 4, 8; 30, 30, 29; 40, 56, 3 et . . . neque.—iusti: proper, ordinary; the adj. would naturally agree with cursum; there is a similar peculiarity of agreement in 1, 9, 13 violati hospiti foedus; see on 1, 1, 4 maiora. — amnis: this pleonastic use is quite in Livy's style and similar to that of urbis in 1, 3, 3. — quamvis: with one exception, always used by Livy as an adverb; in 2, 40, 7 it occurs as a conjunction with the indicative. — aqua: the loc. abl. without a prep., where the noun is unqualified, is a poetical construction, but is common in Livy.

5. in proxima eluvie: on the edge of the overflow. — ficus Ruminalis: near the Lupercal, at the western angle of the Palatine, opposite the Capitoline. Ov. Fast. 2, 411 f. arbor erat; remanent vestigia, quaeque vocatur Rumina nunc ficus, Romula ficus erat. It was not from Romulus, however, that the tree got its name. It was
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

6 ferunt — pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitutines erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expostiti erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus qui circa sunt ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam submissas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit — Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt —; ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastoris vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

probably sacred to Rumina (ruma = mamma, Fest. p. 270), goddess of nursing children, and came naturally to be regarded as the one under which the wolf suckled Romulus and Remus. Hence the incorrect derivation given by Livy and Ovid. It would appear from Ovid that the tree had almost disappeared in his time, and it is known that then and later a tree was venerated under this name in the Comitium, said to be the original one, brought from the Palatine by the augur, Attus Navius.

6. vastae: empty, waste, the original meaning, as in 3, 52. 5; cf. vanus, vacuus. The statement is inconsistent with Livy’s subsequent reference to Evander, unless in his locis refers, not to the site of Rome, but to the small district surrounded by the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine. — tenet: cf. 21, 46, 10 fama oblituit and the Greek λόγος κατέχει. — quo: see on § 4 aqua. — in sicco: see on 1, 3, 2 certo. — mitem: adjective for adverb; see on Praef. 11 serae.

7. Faustulo: attracted into the case of ei, to be supplied. The name is the diminutive of faustus. — ad: at; cf. ad pecora in § 8, and see on 1, 3, 8. — Larentiae: Acca Larentia was an old Italian earth goddess, identical with Dea Dia, and worshiped as the mother of the Lares. — uxori: dat. of ind. obj. with datos and dat. of agent with educandos. Another interpretation takes ad stabula with datos, translating the verb carried; cf. 30, 30, 19; 31, 37, 9 praecps ad terram datus, and the phrases in fugam dare, in vincula dare, etc. If this is correct, ad is used in its ordinary sense, and uxori is to be taken only with educandos. — sunt qui etc.: an attempt to rationalize the story, based upon the fact that the goddess Acca Larentia was called also Luperca, and upon the secondary meaning of lupa.
BOOK I

Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere, et cum his, crescente in dies grege iuvenum, seria ac iocos celebrare.

5. Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuerunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi iuvenes

8. nec in stabulis ... saltus: they did not pass their time lastily in the stables or with the flocks, but scoured the woods hunting.

9. iam ... subsistere: they no longer lay in wait only for wild beasts. This active use of *subsisto* seems to occur elsewhere only in 9, 31, 6. — seria ... celebrare: *seria* refers to such things as have just been described; *iocos* anticipates the next chapter; *celebrare* means to do anything in a crowd.

5. i. Palatio monte: the hill is usually called *mons Palatinus* or *Palatium*; *monte* must be taken as in app. with *Palatio*. — Lupercal: the cave on the western side of the Palatine sacred to Lupercus (*lupus-arceo*), who was identical with Faunus and Pan. Here, however, *Lupercal* is for *Lupercalia*, the festival of Lupercus, celebrated annually on the 15th of February, — a use of the word not found elsewhere. — hoc: *i.e.* the one still celebrated. Augustus enlarged and adorned the cave and restored the festival, which had fallen into disuse. — ludicrum: used elsewhere of public games or plays; nowhere else of a purely religious festival, but the use is justified by the nature of the festival (*lustum atque lasciviam*; cf. *iocos* at the end of the preceding chapter). — Pallanteo: Verg. Aen. 8, 54. The town was in the southeastern part of Arcadia. The real origin of the word *Palatium* is probably the root *pa*; cf. *pasco, pater, Pales.*

2. ex eo genere: the people living in Pallanteum and its neighborhood. genus = gens, as in 27, 48, 10. — tempestatibus: the length of time indicated by this word is quite indefinite; Dion. 1, 31 says sixty years before the Trojan War. — sollemne: a regular festival, with no idea of solemnity, as is shown by the fact that in § 1 it
Lycaenum Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inumum. Huic deonis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse ultrro accusantes. [Crimini maxime dabant] in Numitoris agros ab iis impetus fieri; inde eos collecta invenivm manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus quo ipse eos sustulisset ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem inmaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem noluerat. Necessitas prior venit; ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori,

is called *ludicum*. — *Lycaeum*: Pan was worshiped especially at Mt. Lycaeus in southern Arcadia, and on account of his similar character (note also the derivation of the name Λυκαῖος from λύκος) was identified with the Roman Faunus Lupercus. Justin 43, 1, 7 in *Pa- latii* radicibus templum Lycae, quem Graeci Pana, Romani Lupercum appellant, constituit; ipsum dei simulacrum nudum caprina pelle amicitm est, quo habitu Romae nunc Lupercalis decurritur. This passage explains *nudi* in the text. — *lusum atque lasciviam*: for the alliteration see on Praef. 12.

3. deditis: dat. with *insidiatos*. — *ultrro accusantes*: going so far as to accuse him; *ultrro commonly means beyond what is expected.*

4. *fieri . . . agere*: an abrupt change of voice sometimes interrupts the usual smoothness of Livy’s narrative; cf. 1, 4, 3; 3, 46, 5; 3, 49, 4. — *collecta . . . manu*: the phrase would have come more naturally in the preceding clause, as the band must have been collected before the attacks were made.

5. *iam inde ab initio*: see on 1, 2, 3. — *spes fuerat*: there is a similar use of *sperare* with the pres. inf. in the sense to believe, but only of a thing to be desired; see 5, 46, 3. — *ad . . . congruere*: a very rare construction; the dat. is regularly used with *congruere*; cf. 42, 17, 1.

6. *metu*: the fear that Remus might be punished by his own grandfather. — *Numitori*: not a
cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem perveint, ut multa procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum — nec enim erat ad vim aper- tam par —, sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obturcunt.

6. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendum avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio sclerus in se fratris, origi-

dat. of possession with animum, but a dat. of reference qualifying the whole sentence, a common construction in Livy. — comparando: such an abl. of the gerund is generally connected with the grammatical subject, as is sciscitando in the next sentence; here it is connected with the logical subject Numitori; cf. 9, 5, 11. — eodem: to the same conclusion as Faustulus. — esset: impersonal; cf. 9, 2, 3.

7. iuvenum: men of military age equipped for war. "In this and many other passages the notion of youth seems to have disappeared from the word iuvenis. It means simply a soldier. Those within the military age were iuvenes, in contrast with the senes, who were excused from service" (Seeley, on 1, 31, 5). — ad ... par: a rare construction with par, but found in several other passages in Livy. — ad regem: in is the usual prep. with impetum facere.

6. i. This sentence is a masterpiece of compact periodic structure; the succession of events is presented rapidly and chronologically, and monotony is avoided by a skillful variety of expression. — pubem: men of military age; cf. 1, 16, 2 and see on 1, 5, 7.

— avocasset: called them away; they had been going to defend the palace, which, it appears, was not situated on the arx. On the pretext that the latter must be defended, Numitor caused the palace and Amulius to be left unpro-
nem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, cae-
2 dem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit. Juvenes
per median contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem
salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox
ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.
3 Ita Numitori Albana re permessa, Romulum Remumque
cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant,
urbis condeändae. Et supereñat multitudo Albanorum Latini-
orumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes
facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium
4 prae ea urbe quae conderetur fore. Intervenit deinde his
cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde foe-
tected. — deinceps: equivalent to an adj. qualifying caedem; see on
1, 4, 4 divinitus, and cf. 6, 14, 6 aliisque deinceps bellis, and 22, 7,
11. — auctorem: i.e. he assumed
the responsibility, because he had
connived at the plot and Remus
had gone from his house.
2. contionem: the concilio of
§ 1. — agmine: abl. of manner.
In Verg. Aen. 2, 212 agmine certo
Laocoonta petunt, the word refers
to the straight course of the two
serpents. agmine ingressi there-
fore may be translated marching.
For a different use see 3, 50, 3.
— ratum . . . efficit: see on
Praef. 5.
3. Albanæ re: cf. 1, 3, 1 res La-
tina. — supererat: was excessive.
— ad id: in addition to this; i.e.
to the number of Albans and
Latinis. According to the earlier
tradition Rome was founded by
shepherds and refugees; Cic. Orat.
1, 37 Romulus pastores et conuenas
congressasse (cf. Livy 2, 1, 4). Livy
here combines this with the later
story of the colony from Alba.
The legend of Romulus and Remus
is rarely taken seriously nowadays.
Rome may have been established
as a commercial emporium for the
Alban towns, or a settlement al-
ready existing may have developed
and prospered contemporaneously
with them, on account of its geo-
graphical advantages, without any
regular colonization. 5, 54, 4 non
sine causa dii hominesque hunc
urbi condeändae locum elegerunt,
saluberrimos colles, flumen oppor-
tum quo ex mediterraneis locis
fruges devehantur, quo maritimis
commematus accipientur, mare vici-
num ad commoditates nec expositum
nimia propinquitate ad pericula
classium externalur, regionem
Italae mediam, ad incrementum
urbis natum unice locum.
dum certamen, coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam
gemini essent nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere
posset, ut dixi, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis lege-
rent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio
regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inau gu-
randum templum capiunt.

7. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures, imque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se
ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat;
tempore illi praecesso, at hi numero avium regnum trans-
bant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad
daedem vertuntur; ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Vulga-

4. essent, posset: the reason in
the minds of Romulus and Remus;
hence the subjunctive. — dixi: ac-
cording to 1, 12, 4 Jupiter alone
was responsible for the omen.
— tutelae: possessive genitive; cf.
21, 41, 12 and 24, 22, 15 quae suae
fidei tutelaque essent. The usual
expression is sub tutela. — auguriis:
Romulus was regarded as the
founder of the Roman system of
augury; Cíc. de Nat. D. 3, 5 mi-
hique illa persuasi Romulum aus-
piciis, Numam sacrís constitutís
fundamenta iecisse nostrae cíví-
tatis. — qui = uter; cf. 1, 24, 3.
1, 107), certabat, urbem Romam
Remoramne vocarent. — inau gu-
randum: to ask for a sign; usually,
to consecrate. — templae: open
spaces, regularly marked out for
the observation of signs; in app.
with Palatium and Aventinum.

7. 1. priori: see on Praef. 11
serae. — Remo: Livy sometimes
uses the dat. with venio, empha-
sizing the idea of interest rather
than the end of motion. — augu-
rium . . . augurio: for the repeti-
tion see on Praef. 4 originibus.
— utrumque . . . consalutaverat: cf.
1, 25, 1 cum sui utrosque adhor-
tarentur; 21, 29, 5. The plup. is
used because the writer is looking
forward to the next incident (inte . . . vertuntur), which occurred
when the act denoted by consal-
taverat was complete. — tempore . . . praecesso: on account of
priority of time; cf. 30, 8, 9 ali-
quanto ad fugam temporis . . .
praecipierunt. — traebant: sc.
ad se; they claimed; cf. 9, 18, 16.

2. irarum: the plural suggests
the anger of the individuals in the
crowd; cf. 9, 1, 3 and see Lane,
1109. — vulgator . . . muros:
tior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset "sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea," interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

The Deification of Romulus

1 16. His inmortalibus editis operibus, cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonibuscque tam denso regem operandi nimbo, ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit.

2 Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux reedit, ubi vacuum se-

according to the common story, therefore, Remus was not killed until the walls had been built by Romulus, who in accordance with the omen was laying the foundation of the city. The story is told by Ov. Fast. 4, 841–852, who, however, says that Remus was killed by Celer. — ludibrio: dat. of purpose. For the gen. fratris see on 9, 11, 12. — sic deinde: the verb is to be supplied from interfectum.

3. conditoris nomine: this derivation is no longer accepted, nor is that from ἁπόμη. The word has been connected with ruma (see on 1, 4, 5), with Rumon, said to have been an earlier name of the Tiber, both of these being derived from the root meaning to flow (Gr. ἄφω), and with Ramnes; but the derivation remains absolutely uncertain.


16. i. his . . . operibus: the omitted chapters give the history of the reign of Romulus. — inmortalibus: 1, 7, 15 iam tum inmortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fator.

campo = Campo Martio. — Caprae paludem: in the locality where the Circus of Flaminius was afterward built. — tempestas; Cic. Rep. 1, 25 says that Romulus disappeared during an eclipse of the sun. — contioni: see on 1, 1, 1 duobus. — abstulerit: for the tense see on 1, 3, 4 ausi sint.

2. pubes: see on 1, 6, 1. — ex
dem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus, qui proximi
steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis
metu icta maestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a
paucis initio facto deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis
Romanae, salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem preci-
bus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet
progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerp-
tum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent — manavit
enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama — ; illam alteram
admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Et consilio
etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Procu-
lus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus,
(gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor) in contionem

... die: for this use of ex cf. 22,
49, 11 e consulatu, and for the
similar use of ab see on 1, 1, 4;
Verg. Georg. 1, 393 ex imbri soles
et apertia serena. — sublimem: cf.
§ 7 and see on Praef. 11 sera;
the adv. subiune is used in 21, 30,
8. — orbitatis: properly used with
reference to Romulus, who in § 3
is called parens urbis. — obtinui:
cf. the intrans. use in 21, 46, 10.

3. deum: it was long afterward
that the deified Romulus was iden-
tified with the Sabine war-god
Quirinus and worshiped under
that name. — salvere iubent: they
hailed him. — pacem ... progeniem:
the alliteration is intentional, — a
characteristic of the language of
ritual. The asyndeton in volens
propitius and the archaic sponsio
also indicate that this is an an-
cient formula. — pacem: favor;
a sense similar to that in the com-
mon phrase, pace with a poss.
pron. or gen. case, e.g. pace tua
dixerim; cf. 7, 2, 2. — precibus:
the abl. of manner without an
attribute usually has cum.

4. discerptum: a later story,
originating in the hatred of ple-
beians for patricians. — illam alte-
ram: the former story.

5. et: connecting this sentence
with the preceding; etiam em-
phazises consilio ... hominis.—
Proculus: in early times a praeno-
men; later, a cognomen. — Iulius:
the Julian family, according to
this passage, was established in
Rome from the very foundation
of the city; cf. 1, 3, 2. For a
different version of this story see
Cic. Rep. 2, 20. — gravis ... auc-
tor: an authority of weight on any
matter, however great.
6 prodit. "Romulus" inquit, "Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitissem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset, 'abi, nuntia' inquit, 'Romanis, caelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.' Haec inquit "locutus sublimis abit."

8 Mirum quantum illi vire nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide inmortalitatis lenitum sit.

6. Quirites: Livy gives in 1, 13, what was in antiquity the generally accepted etymology of the word, — ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati; i.e. he derives it from the name of the town Cures. Mommsen derives it from quiris or curis, a spear, and the root of ire, comparing Iuno quiritis, (Mars) quirinus, and Ianus quirinus, where the epithet characterizes the divinities as spear-bearers. — huius: for the unusual position cf. 22, 46, 5. — horrore: awe. — contra: face to face; cf. 9, 6, 8.

7. velle ut: in no other place does Livy use ut and the subjunctive with velle; elsewhere he has the subjunctive without ut, the infinitive, or accusative and infinitive. Plutarch and Dionysius add to this speech of Romulus, ἔγω δ' ὧν εὕμερας ἵππων ἀλήμων Κυρίνως. — mea: note the emphasis given by the position before its noun.

8. quantum: to what extent; adv. acc. with fides fuerit. — fuerit: ind. quest. introduced by mirum (est). Ordinarily, mirum quantum is used adverbially, with no effect on the mood of the verb; e.g. 2, 1, 11. Cf. the use of nescio quid and the Gr. ἅπαντιν δεῖν; also Hor. Od. 1, 27, 6 immane quantum.

Chapters 17–23 contain an account of the interregnum following the death of Romulus, the election and reign of Numa Pompilius, and the beginning of the reign of Tullus Hostilius, of which the traditional dates were 672-640. While he was king, war was declared between the Romans and the Albans, but before they came to a battle, it was decided to settle the dispute in the manner described in the following chapters.
24. Forte in duobus tum exercitus erant trigemini fratres nec aetate nec viribus dispersae. Horatios Curiiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nomen un error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinat animus. (Cum trigeminis agunt reges) ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur; tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cuius populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret.

25. Foedere icto, trigemini, 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, feroques et suo pede.

24. i. trigemini: the word has here a distributive force. — nec ferme alia: almost no other. — nobilior: for the meaning cf. 9, i, 1 and 1, 16, 4 nobilitavit. — error: uncertainty, as in 40, 55, 4 — utroque: cf. 2, 30, 1. — trahunt: sc. rem and cf. 1, 7, i. — plures: on some points where there was no real evidence or basis of probability, Livy had to content himself with the view of a majority of the earlier writers.
2. unde: cf. 7, 29, 6 and 27, 45, 8 matura ex hostibus victoria esse. The Latin often prefers to emphasize the source of an action or impression, the place from which it proceeds, where the English would indicate the place in which it occurs; cf. 22, 4, 4 ex adverso.
3. foedus ictum: see on 9, 4, 5. — cuius: see on 1, 6, 4 gui.
25. i. sui utrosque: cf. 1, 7, i. — adhortarentur: introducing indirect discourse. — arma, manus: objects of intueri, to watch; cf.
ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus perculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium aechatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animos intendunt. Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Vt primo statim concursu concrepuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit, et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque.

Consertis deinde manibus, cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatique ancesp telorum armorumque sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis expirantes conruerunt.

5, 42, 8; 21, 41, 16. — et ... et: correlatives, both phrases being explanatory of feroce; the second, however, does not qualify it grammatically, vocibus depending upon pleni.

2. quippe: for in fact; explanatory of the preceding statement. — itaque ergo: pleonastic; for that very reason; see on 5, 37, 6. — animos intendunt: cf. Praef. 9.

3. animos: courage; with the idea that the courage of the armies which they represented was concentrated in these six young men. The plural is used in this sense even of a single person; e.g. 2, 27, 12; 3, 49, 5. — his, illis: see on 1, 5, 6 Numitori. — periculum ... imperium: chiasmus and adversative asyndeton.

4. arma: sometimes used by Livy in its original meaning, defensive armor, as in the next section; here he has in mind especially the shields, as in 1, 37, 2 fluitantia arma ... in Tiberi. torpebat ... spiritus: they remained silent with bated breath.

5. ancesp: not on both sides, but doubtful; i.e. not only was there a confusion of blows, of which the result was doubtful, but actual wounds and blood were
BOOK I

Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, affererat, cum respiiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit; et dum Albanus exercitus in clamor Curiatios, uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius, caeso hoste, victor secundum pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato fumentium solet, Romani adiuvant militem suum, et ille defungi proelio fes tinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Iamque aequato Marte, singuli supererat, sed nec spe nec viribus pares.

to be seen. — alium alius: for alterum alter; cf. 9, 2, 8.
6. ad: at; commonly used thus to indicate the occasion of an act, expressing both time and cause; cf. 9, 7, 7. — deseruerat: for the tense see on 1, 7, 1 consulutaverat.
— vice: as to the fate; the more common phrase appears in 2, 31, suam vicem.
7. ut ... sic: though... yet.
8. pugnatum est: for the tense see on 1, 1, 1 fuerunt. — videt: with two constructions, acc. object and ind. disc., the former expressing a condition, the latter a fact.
9. qualis ... solet: cf. 1, 29, 2; 22, 49, 4. — ex insperato: this substantive use of the abl. sing. neuter of an adj. in prepositional phrases is very common in Livy; these phrases regularly have an adverbial force, as here, but see on Praef. 3 in obscuro. — solet: sc. esse.
10. alter: the third; though the word is correctly used, as only two remained. alterum, however, is used with reference to the first.
— nec = non; this use is archaic, but is not uncommon in classical Latin; cf. 3, 52, 9.
Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat; alter fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exultans "duos" inquit "fratrum Manibus dedi; tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo." Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit; iacentem spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt eo maiore cum gudio, quod prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti. Sepulcra extant quo quisque loco ceedit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

27. Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica conmissa fuerat, vanum ingenium dictatoris conrupit, et, quoniam recta consilia

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11. ferocem: see on § 7. — dabat: with two subjects, intactum . . . corpus and geminata victoria; for the meaning of the verb cf. 30, 30, 19 and see on 1, 4, 7 uxor. — ante se: before his eyes; the phrase is used attributively as in 30, 30, 1.

12. fratrum: sc. meorum. — Manibus dedi: cf. 22, 6, 4. — causae: the desire for supremacy. — male: scarcely. — iugulo: the omission of the prep. with defigere is very unusual; but it is characteristic of Livy to omit the prep. with the locative ablative.


14. Romam versus: because the surviving Horatius had fled toward Rome. The so-called campus sacer Horatiorum was just outside the Porta Capena; here was the tomb of the sister of Horatius, who was slain by her brother, when she met him returning to the city and upbraided him for having killed the Curiatii, to one of whom she had been betrothed.

27. nec: but not; cf. 1, 28, 6. — conmissa fuerat: see on 1, 2, 1. — dictatoris: Mettius Fufetius, whom the Albans had recently appointed dictator on the death of
haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaebris, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos, sui per speciem societatis proditio- nem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consili adsumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus, Mettio exercituque eius ab Alba accito, contra hostes ducit. Ubi Anienem transitiit, ad confluentis conlocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi in acie prope flumen tenuere dexterum cornu; in sinistro Fidenates proprius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem derigit suos;

their king, Clullius. — pravis: instrumental ablative.

2. ex edicto: after a proclama-
tion; see on 1, 25, 9 ex insperato
and cf. 1, 28, 3 ex composito.—
gerundum: -undus instead of -en-
dus as a gerundive ending is found
in classical Latin chiefly in legal
phrases or in long-established for-
mulae; the origin of the forms and
the relation of one to the other
have never been determined.—
suis: after alias populos, suo would
have been more natural.—societ-
tatis: with the Romans; socii is
used even of subject peoples; cf.
1, 28, 4.

3. Fidenates: Fidenae was an
Etruscan town about five miles
north of Rome, on the east bank
of the Tiber. In chap. 14 Livy
describes the conquest of the town,
but does not mention the fact that
a colony was sent there. — Veien-
tibus: Veii was in southern Etu-
ria, about seven miles north of
Rome. — pacto ... Albanorum:
on the understanding that the
Albans would desert to them.

4. Tullus: Tullus Hostilius. —
ab Alba: Livy regularly, but not
always, uses the prep. with names
of towns denoting the place from
which motion proceeds, — a usage
rare in other writers; see on 25,
31, 3 ab domo. — Anienem: the
Anio flows into the Tiber about
three miles north of Rome and two
miles south of Fidenae. — con-
fluentes: a noun, used in singular
and plural, indicating a place where
two rivers meet, — here the Tiber
and the Anio; cf. Caes. B. G. 4,
15 ad confluentem Mosae et Rhent.

5. legio: army; cf. 1, 28, 3.  
6. subisse: cf. 1, 28, 5 subier ad montes.—erigit: led up hill; cf. 21, 32, 8 erigentibus in primos agmen clivis; 27, 48, 12 signa erigere. It is difficult to explain satisfactorily the clause ubi . . . ratus est, unless it is an awkward way of saying, when he thought he had withdrawn far enough.—explicat: deployed.—rem: success.  
7. esse: historical infinitive. —in re trepida: cf. 5, 36, 2; 26, 9, 4. —Salios: there were two collegia of Salii, — those of Mars, instituted by Numa, with their seat on the Palatine, and those here mentioned, established by Tullus Hostilius for the worship of Quirinus, with their headquarters on the Quirinal. Servius, ad Aen. 8, 285, misunderstanding this passage, says that this collegium was instituted for the worship of Pallor and Pavor, but these words are to be taken only with fana, not with Salios.  
8. equitem: to be taken with increpans and iubet.—invadant . . . erigerent: Livy often varies his subordinate tenses in this way, using now the imperfect required by the sequence, now the present to emphasize the fact; sometimes the change is made apparently to avoid monotony.  
9. id . . . rati: sc. esse; believing the thing to be true; cf. 1, 4, 2 seu ita rata; 6, 3, 5 id quod rebatur.—ab rege: from the king.
BOOK I  [CHAP. 27, 28

tum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit; et audiverant clara voce dictum et magna pars Fidenantium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latine sciebant. Itaque, ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum interclude rentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus fusoque Fidenarium cornu in Veientem alieno pavore percussum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum, sed ab effusa fuga flumen obiectum ab tergo arcebavit. Quo postquam fuga inclinavit, alii arma foede iactantes in aquam caeci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

28. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur; contra Tullum Mettium benigne adloquitur. Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet; sac-

—ut . . . essent: for an explanation cf. 8, 14, 8 Antium nova colonia missa cum eo, ut Antatibus permitteretur, si et ipsi adscribi coloni vellent. It appears that when the Roman colony was sent to Fidenae, some members of the original population were enrolled as colonists. It is hardly probable, however, that they had adopted or even learned the language of their conquerors.—esse: see on 1, 1, 5 supressent.

10. Veientem: the Veintines collectively; cf. 1, 25, 12 ut Romanus Albano imperet.—alieno: that of the Fidenates.—flumen . . . arcebat: the Romans, returning from the pursuit of the Fidenates, attacked the Veintines on their left flank, and they, facing east to meet the attack, had the river behind them.

11. inclinavit: cf. the transitive use in § 6.—in ripis: here and there on the bank; cf. 4, 33, 11 obruincantur in ripis. In 2, 11, 1, however, ipse in plano ripis Tiberis castra posuit, the plural appears to have the meaning of the singular.—This is apparently the end of the war. Livy, at least, says no more about it. Indeed, in 1, 30, 7 valuitque apud Veientes . . . pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides, he speaks as if it had not occurred, or, at any rate, as if the Veintines had not participated in it.

28. i. vertat: Livy generally uses the imperf. subj. in a clause denoting incomplete action, de-
2 rificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Vbi inluxit, para-
tis omnibus, ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque
exercitum iubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi primos excivere
Albanos. Il novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum
contionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex conposito
armata circumdatur Romana legio. Centurionibus datum
negotium erat, ut sine mora imperia exsequerentur. Tum
ita Tullus inft: "Romani, si umquam ante alias ullo in
bello fuit, quod primum dis inmortalis gratias ageris,
deinde vestae Ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit.
Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam, quae
dimiciatio maior atque periculosior est, cum pridione ac
5 perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, iniussu

dependent upon a historical present; here, in this stereotyped phrase,
the original pres. subj. of the wish
is retained. So in 3, 62, 5, and
also in 3, 35, 8, where it depends
upon a perfect tense; in 7, 39, 13.
on the other hand, he uses verteret
depending upon a perfect tense.
Cf. 3, 52, 10 videatur. vertat is
intransitive, to turn out.—castra
... castris: note the artificial
arrangement, by which the effect
of chiasmus is secured.—lustrale:
first used in prose by Livy; see on
24, 34, 9 cubitalibus.
2. ut adsolet: used commonly
by Livy of religious observances;
but cf. 40, 54, 8 (where, however,
the reading is doubtful).—ab
extremo: of the camp.—etiam:
interested also by the novelty of
the thing; a second reason for
their position near the king, added
to the fact that they were first
summoned.
3. ex conposito: see on 1, 25, 9
ex insperato.—circumdatur: was
drawn up in a circle, inclosing
the Albans; cf. 21, 42, 1.—legio:
see on 1, 27, 5.
4. Romani: the fact that he is
addressing only the Romans is
emphasized by the position of
Romani at the very beginning;
usually it is inserted after one or
more words.—umquam ... ullo:
there is a similar succession of
adverbs in 32, 5, 8 si quando um-
quam ante alias; see also 6, 42,
12.—fuit, quod: there was rea-
son why; Lane, 1841.—vestrae
ipsorum: cf. 30, 20, 7 suum
ipsius.
5. teneat: used loosely in a
parenthetical clause, as though
dependent upon some verb unex-
meo Albani subiere ad montes, nec imperium illud meum sed consilium et imperi simulatio fuit, ut nec vobis, igno-
rantibus deseri vos, averteretur a certamine animus, et hos-
tibus, circumveniri se ab tergo ratis, terror ac fuga iniceretur. 
Nec ea culpa quam arguo omnium Albanorum est; ducem 6
secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare vo-
luisset, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris huius, 
Mettius idem huius machinator belli, Mettius foederis Ro-
mani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in 
hunc insigne iam documentum mortalibus dedero.” Centu-
riones armati Mettium circumsistunt. Rex cetera, ut orsus 
erat, peragit: “Quod bonum faustum felixque sit populo 
Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani, populum omnem Alba-
um Romam traducere in animo est, civitatem dare plebi, 
primores in patres legere, unam urbem, unam rem publicam 
facere. Vt ex uno quondam in duos populos divisa Albana 
res est, sic nunc in unum redate.” Ad haec Albana pubes 
inermis ab armatis saepta, in variis voluntatibus, communi 
tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus “Metti 

pressed, as *hoc dico or audite.* —
*illud*: subject of *fuit*, to be taken 
in two senses; with the pred. nom. 
*imperium* it means *the withdrawal 
of the Albans*; with *consilium* . . . 
simulatio, what I said when they 
withdrew.— *consilium*: device; cf. 
1, 16, 5.— *ut nec*: *nec (= et non)* 
is correlative with *et*, and the first 
clause is one of negative, the 
second of affirmative, purpose.—
*vobis*: see on 1, 5, 6 Numitori.—
*fuga*: see on 21, 29, 3.

6. *nec*: see on 1, 27, 1.— *duc-
tor . . . ruptor*: note the position 
of the three verbal nouns; first 
before the dependent genitive 
phrase, then in the middle, finally 
after it.— *audeat*: subjunctive of 
wish.— *mortalibus*: Livy con-
stantly uses *mortales* as an equiva-

tent of *homines*.

7. *populum*: including *plebs* 
and *primores*. — *patres*: the *senate*.

— *urbem*: the *city*; *rem publicam*:
the *body politic*.

8. *pubes*: see on 1, 6, 1.—
silentium tenet*: cf. the intrans. 
use of the phrase in 3, 47, 6 and 
see 1, 16, 2 silentium obtinuit.
Fufeti” inquit, “si ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset; nunc, quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere, quae a te violata sunt. Vt igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim distrahendum dabis.” Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis in currus earum distentum inligat Mettium, deinque in diversum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque currus corpus, qua inhaesperant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertete 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 iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae

9. fidem ac foedera: for the alliteration see on Praef. 12.—vivo: note the position, which makes it the emphatic word of the sentence; I should have let you live after giving you that lesson, i.e. one which would have accomplished the result just indicated in discere . . . servare.—nunc: as it is; frequently used after a non-occurrence supposition, introducing a statement of the existing circumstances; cf. 7, 30, 3.—at: at least; in clauses of this sort Livy likes to use the personal pronoun following at, even where the personal element does not need this emphasis; cf. 9, 1, 8.—passim: here of only two directions, corresponding to ancipitem.

10. duabus . . . earum: in currus duarum admotarum quadrarum would have been more in accord with Latin usage. For various reasons Livy often uses an abl. abs. under these circumstances; here he has at least avoided the disagreeable succession of -arum endings. Cf. 39, 40, 7 cuius . . . vivo eo.—concitati: sc. sunt.—portantes: proleptic, giving the result of concitati (sunt).

11. exempli: see on Praef. 10 and cf. 3, 44, 2,—humanarum: humane, the laws of humanity; cf. 5, 40 4.

29. The graphic description of this chapter is one of the finest things in ancient literature. It is
ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non qui-
dem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse ur-
bium solet, cum effractus portis stratisve ariete muris aut
arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorium
omnia ferro flammaque miscet; sed silentium triste ac
tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu
[obliti], quid reliquerenent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente
consilio rogitantesque alii alios nunc in liminibus starent,
nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervaga-
rentur. Vt vero iam equitum clamor exire iubientium
instabat, iam fragor tectorum quae diruebantur ultimis

the ability to write passages of this
sort which distinguishes the in-
telligent and appreciative historian
from the mechanical and uninter-
esting annalist. The silent de-
spair of the Albans (expressed in
all its intensity by silentium triste
ac tacita maestitia), as they wan-
dered about looking upon their
homes for the last time, the distant
noise of falling houses, the arrival
of the hostile cavalry, and finally
the sad procession,—it is all told
with simplicity, but with a sug-
gestiveness which stirs the imagi-
ation and makes a distinct
impression upon the mind.

2. qualis...solet: cf. 1, 25, 9
and, for the thought, 25, 31, 9.—
clamor hostilis et cursus...arma-
torum = clamantes hostes et cur-
rentes armati; the reading of
the text, however, emphasizes the act
rather than the actor; cf. § 4 equi-
tum clamor; so in 1, 13, 2 dirimere
iras (= iratos).

3. silentium...maestitia: there is no difference between the
two ideas, except that in the former
silence is emphasized, in the latter
sadness. — prae = propter; but in
classical Latin in this sense it is
always used of a preventive cause.
Its proper force may sometimes be
retained by translating in view of
or in face of. — oblii: the diffi-
culty of explaining the word in its
proper sense makes it probable
that it is an interpolation; the
following indirect questions would
thus depend upon deficiente consilio
and rogitantes. This practical de-
tail adds much to the reality of the
picture. — rogitantes: a frequenta-
tive almost unknown outside of
Plautus and Terence, but here very
effective. — domos: the object of
visuri and pervagarentur; cf.
1, 27, 8 equitem. — ultimum illud:
connect with visuri; to look that
last sad look.

4. ut: the force of this word
urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia inpleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes 5 exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium inpleverat vias, et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur mulierum praecepue, cum obsessa ab armatis templum augustum praeteri-
rent ac velut captos relinquuerent deos. Egressis urbe Albanis Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit; templis tamen deum — ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat — tempera-
tum est.

continues through the first inple-
verat. — quibus: this would natu-
really be the acc. as object of efferre to be supplied, but is attracted into the case of its antecedent eis; cf. 4, 39, 9 quibus poterat saucis ductis secum. — larem: the lar familia-
is; in the time of Augustus the plural conception began to sup-
plant the singular.

5. mulierum: in describing such scenes Livy always emphasizes the grief of the women; cf. 5, 40, 3; 22, 7, 11 ff.; 26, 9, 7.

6. Romanus: the Roman army; cf. 1, 27, 10 Vetientem. — quadringen-
torum: i.e. according to Livy, as well as Vergil (Aen. 1, 272), Alba was founded 300 years before Rome, as, according to the tra-
dition, Rome had now been in existence about 100 years. Dion. Hal. says that Alba flourished for 487 years. — quibus: abl. of dura-
tion of time; cf. 21, 4, 10. — tem-
plis: dative, as in 2, 23, 9 and 30, 20, 1. The town was never rebuilt.
BOOK II

Beginning of the Republic

1. Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus imperiaque legum potentiora quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbat. Nam priores ita regnarunt, ut haud inmerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambigitur, quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immatura cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, trans-

Book II. 1. Liber: the position of this word calls attention at once to the period about to be described,—that of the free republic, as opposed to the subject of the first book, the regal period. — iam hinc: from this time on, henceforth, qualifying liber, though its meaning is felt also with peragam; used in the same way in 7, 29, 1.

2. proximi regis: Tarquinius Superbus. — partium: Tullus Hostilius added the Coelian, Ancus Martius the Aventine, Servius Tullius the Quirinal, Viminal, and a part of the Esquiline not before included. — numerentur: “The main and subordinate sentences may express wholly different spheres of time by tenses not commonly used together, when the thought requires it;” Lane, 1744; see also 1757.

3. pessimo publico: with the greatest injury to the state; a superlative of malum publicum, the first adj. serving as a substantive. — facturus fuerit: this represents facturus fuit (cf. futurum fuit in § 4), the subjunctive being due to the fact that the clause is introduced by quin; cf. 26, 13, 3; 40, 56, 7. Lane, 2100, 1986. — alicui: see on 1, 1, 1 duobus.

4. convenarum: Livy is thinking of the rabble which found refuge in the asylum (templum) of Romulus on the Capitoline. — transfuga: in app. with plebs, though it should logically be applied only to convenarum, not to the pastores, who formed a part of the original settlement; see 1, 6, 3. That Livy is thinking only of the former is shown by aliena below. The verbal element in transfuga is sufficient to justify the following
fuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe inpunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tribuniciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent, quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem liber tatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres. Omnia iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces preposition. — inviolati: inviolable; see on 24, 34, 9 intacti. — libertatem: some of the convenae had been slaves. — inpunitatem: for former crimes. — regio = an objective genitive, regis. — coepta esset: the pass. form is properly used with the pass. inf. agitari, but from it an act. form must be supplied with serere.

5. cui adsuescitur: for which an attachment is formed; the verb is impersonal. Livy uses the dat. regularly with adsuesco; there is only one certain instance of the abl., 31, 35, 3.

6. adultae: the metaphor is continued in fovi, nutriendo, frugem ferre. — iam: qualifying maturis; see on § 1 iam hinc.

7. annuum: the emphatic word of the clause. — deminutum sit: this second clause giving the incorrect reason is like one intro-duced by non quod; hence the subjunctive; Lane, 1855. Livy disregards the fact that the consular power was restricted not only by brief tenure, but also by the fact that either consul could veto the decision of the other, and by the right of appeal established by the Valerian Law.

8. iura, insignia: of the kings. The king wore a purple toga, sat on an ivory throne, and was preceded by twelve lictors, each bearing the fasces. Later, the consuls wore a white toga with a purple border (toga praetexta). They retained the twelve lictors with the fasces, but within the city the axes were removed. — primi: later, the consular power was limited by the creation of new offices with special functions. — collega: L. Tarquinius Collatinus. — fasces: a bundle of rods inclosing an ax
haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior, conce-
dente collega, fasces habuit, qui non acrior index libertatis
fuerat, quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum
novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut
donis regis posset, iure iurando adegit neminem Romae
passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu fre-
quentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum
patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad
trecentorum summam explevit; traditumque inde fertur, ut
in senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent;
conscriptos videlicet novum in senatum appellabant lectos.
Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungen-
dosque patribus plebis animos.

with the head protruding,—the
emblem of the king’s absolute
authority. It became the custom
for the consuls, when both were in
the city, to perform the duties and
assume the insignia in alternate
months; cf. 3, 36, 3 and see on 9,
8, 1.

9. postmodum: a rare adv. found
only four times in Livy; postmodo
is used frequently. Neither is
found in Cicero or Caesar.—iure
iurando: they took the oath indi-
vidually for themselves and their
posterity, and although nearly five
centuries later the state again
came into the power of a single
ruler, the forms of republican gov-
ernment were maintained and the
name of king never ceased to be
hateful.—passuros: sc. se; the
plural represents the collective
noun populum.

10. frequentia: better regarded
as nominative.—etiam: i.e. as
well as the power which the per-
manency of their office gave, in
contrast with the temporary tenure
of the new magistrates.—primori-
bus: that some of these were ple-
beians is a necessary inference from
the next section.

11. ut ... essent: the subject
of traditum (esse).—patres: those
whose families entitled them to the
position; conscripti: those spe-
cially appointed. Later, the name
conscripti came to be applied to
all the senators, patres conscripti
being a shortened form of patres
et conscripti.—conscriptos . . .
lectos: conscripti was of course
the name of those selected for the
new senate.—mirum quantum:
sc. profuerit; the phrase is par-
enthetical but practically has an
adverbial force; see on 1, 16, 8.

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Secession of the Plebeians. Election of Tribunes.

1 23. Sed et bellum Volscum inminebat et civitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabit odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Fremebant se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam in pace et inter hostis quam inter civis libertatem plebis esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius calamitas accen-dit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et capilli effeaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse aiebant aliaque militiae decora vulgo miserantes eum iacta-


23. 1. nexos: Varro, L. L. 7, 101 liber, qui suas operas in servitu tute pro pecunia quam debebat dat, dum solveret, nexus vocatur.

2. foris . . . dimicantes: there had been recent wars with the Etruscans and the Latins, who attempted to reëstablish Tarquiniius, and with the Sabines. — sua sponte: see on 9, 7, 8.

3. magno natu: except in this phrase, which is used frequently by Livy (e.g. 21, 34, 2), the adj. usually agrees with the noun or pronoun indicating the person, natu being then an abl. of specification; cf. 2, 28, 9. — foedior . . . habitus: i.e. the condition of his body was more repulsive than that of his garments. — pallore . . . perempti: zeugma; only the second noun can be connected with perempti in its proper meaning; cf. 21, 40, 9 squalore eneti.

4. ad hoc: besides; often used by Livy, e.g. 21, 40, 9. — promissa: to be connected in sense with capilli as well as with barba. — noscitabatur: the frequentatives in this section add much to the liveliness of the picture. — in: in spite of; cf. 1, 24, 1. — ordines duxisse: had been a centurion; ordo = century, as in 3, 44, 2; the plural indicates that he had served in several
bant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum in quo suo tempore imperatum, aes alienum fecisse. Id cumulatum usuris primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis, postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus; ductum se ab creditor non in servitium sed in er gastulum et carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditique clamor ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi, vincti solutique, se undique in publicum proripiant, in pluram Quiritium campaigns. — iactabant: talked of. — aliquot locis, adverso pectore: both phrases are used attributively, as in 1, 25, 11 ante se.

5. sciscitantibus: Livy often leaves the subject of the abl. abs. construction to be supplied from the context; cf. 3, 50, 4; 42, 16, 7. — circumfusa . . . modum: cf. 2, 28, 6. — in . . . modum: see on 21, 28, 7 and cf. 22, 7, 7. — non fructu modo: the phrase anticipates another noun parallel with fructu; instead, we come unexpectedly upon another causal clause. — villa: farm. — fuerit: the force of the auxiliary must be maintained through direpta, abacta, and imperatum. — tributum: a special tax levied in time of pressing need. — suo = sibi; cf. § 9 and 31, 31, 12 tempore nostro adverso.

6. usuris: the rate of interest was unrestricted until the passage of the Laws of the Twelve Tables in 451 B.C., which established a yearly rate of 8½%, a regulation that was, however, constantly violated. The evil was increased by the fact that it was the custom to add unpaid interest to the principal. — servitium: theoretically, it was not slavery; practically, at least in this case, it was the worst kind of slavery; cf. 6, 36, 12 ubi cumque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse.

7. ad: see on 1, 25, 6.

8. vincti solutique: in app. with nexi; some wearing chains, others without them. — in publ-
fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes; multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo qui forte patrum in foro erant in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temp\_eratum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, ad conprimendum seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformatatemque aliam. Haec se meritos dicere exprobrantes suam (quisque alius alibi militia); postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter, ut senatum vocarent, cur iamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consili circumsissent. 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 extrahi se multitudo putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impedientiae rei causa absesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari, nec dubie ludibrio esse miseras suas. Iam prope

cum: cf. 3, 24, 7 ex privato; 9, 7, 11 publicum. — fidem: protection. — multis agminibus: in many bands; cf. 21, 30, 8, 10. manibus: dative; cf. 1, 29, 6.

11. haec se meritos: ironical. — exprobrantes: with the same meaning as in 2, 27, 2. — quisque: in partitive app. with the subject of the hist. inf. dicere. — alibi: the attributive use of adverbs is common in Livy; see on 1, 4, 4- divinitus. — vocarent: the subject is consules. — curiam: the senate-house, built, according to tradition, by Tullius Hostilius, stood at the back of the Comitium, a rectangular space projecting from the northern corner of the Forum. — futuri: expressing purpose.

12. infrequentiam: the number required for a quorum in the senate is uncertain, but it seems to have varied with the nature of the business to be transacted.

13. extrahi: put off; the use of the verb in this sense with a personal subject is unparalleled. — patrum: depending upon eos, to be supplied as the antecedent of qui and the subject of abesse; cf. 22, 7, 5 captivorum.

14. erat: the subject is the fol-
erat, ut ne consulum quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti, morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo inter patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingeni vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concertatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

24. Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita—adeo duas ex una civitate discordia fecerat—longe aliter patres ac plebe adfecere. Exultare gudio plebes, ulores superbiae patrum ades adicere deos. Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent: cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros; patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia essent. At vero curia maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare, ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem publicam.

ollowing clause; cf. 2, 30, 2. With this use of the adv. prope cf. 5, 36, 6 clam esse potuit.—veniunt: sc. patres. —non modo: not only not, the negation in the second member being applied also to the first; Lane, 1682.

15. fecti quam frangi: see on Praef. 12 luxum atque libidinem.

24. 1. adeo: to such an extent; cf. the meaning in Praef. 11.

2. plebes: nominative singular; this form, as well as plebis, occurs often in the Mss. of Livy. —ulores: cf. 9, 1, 8.—alius . .

darent: they encouraged one another not to enlist. —cum omnibus: i.e. all together, including the patricians; there is an implication that the patricians will not be able to save the state from the enemy, as the plebeians have done.

—praemia: especially possession of the conquered territory.

3. curia: the senate; cf. 2, 28.

4. C. L. Smith, on Hor. Od. 2,
4 Tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi; ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis, metum pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeverti se quicquam; nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta arma pro patria non cepisse, aut patribus satis decorum, per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate adfictis civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut ven- 

deret, liberos nepotesve eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto, et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et

1, 14, compares our expression, "the House." — terroribus: to be taken with expediret, as well as with circumventam.

4. maxima . . . parte: the larger part, to be sure, but still only a part. For this use of the superlative see on 1, 3, 10.

5. nec posse . . . quicquam: and they could allow nothing to take precedence of the war. — praeverti: deponent; the act. form occurs in 9, 17, 9. — laxamenti: relief for the people from debt.

6. contioni: speech; cf. the meaning in § 4. Verr. Fl. (Gell. 18, 7, 5) contionem tria significare: locum suggestumque, unde verba fient, . . . coelum populi assis- tentis, item orationem ipsam, quae

ad populum dicaretur. — edicto: by a proclamation; this gave them relief only during the present war. They might have demanded more permanent concessions, but it is evident (see 2, 27, 1) that they expected further assistance from the consul after the war. — edendi: cf. § 2 nomina darent and § 7 profiteri nomina. — possideret: from possido. — liberos . . . moraretur: according to the letter of Roman law, a man's children and even grandchildren were his slaves and could therefore be confiscated like any other property.

7. nexi: debtors; the word is used here in its general sense, of all who had incurred the obligation of debt; for the more restricted meaning see on 2, 23, 1.
undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum re-
tinendi ius creditorí non esset, concursus in forum, ut
sacramento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit, neque 8
aliorum magis in Volsci bello virtus atque opera enituit.
Consul copias contra hostem eduit; parvo diriménte
intervallo castra ponit.

* * * * * * * *

27. Fusiis Auruncia victor tot intra paucos dies bellis 1
Romanus promissa consulís fidemque senátus expectabat,
cum Appius, et insita superbia animo et ut collegae vanam
faceret fidem, quam asperríme poterat, ius de creditís
pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nexit fuerant credí-
toribus tradebantur et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui 2
mílití inciderat, collegam appellabat. Concursus ad Ser-

--- ex privato: i.e. from the houses of their creditors. The English
has the indefinite phrase only to indicate place where. Cf. 2, 23,
7 in publicum. — ius: theoretically the creditor had never had this
right, as the debtor did not lose the rights of a citizen. — sacra-
mento dicerent: Livy always uses the abl. in this phrase, where
others have the accusative. It is
regarded as an abl. of manner,—
according to the formula of the oath. One soldier in each legion
recited the oath in full; the others
came forward singly and said idem
in me.

27. 1. tot . . . bellis: in
chapters 25 and 26 successful
operations against the Volsciáns,
Sabines, and Aurunciaéns are
described. — Romanus: the Roman;
here, of course, with special refer-
ce to the poor plebeians who
had gone to war. Cf. 1, 27, 10
Veientem. — promissa . . . ex-
pectabat: i.e. they demanded the
fulfillment of the consul's promise
and appealed to the honor of the
senate. It had been naturally
assumed (see 2, 24, 3 ff.) that Ser-
vílius spoke with the authority of
the senate, but, as a matter of fact,
so far as Livy tells us, he had
made no definite promises for the
time after the war. — ius dicere:
gave judgment. Beginning with
Sallust, the hist. inf. with cum,
when, occurs occasionally. It is
not surprising that we do not have
the subjunctive here, as this clause
contains the main statement of the
sentence; Lane, 1539, 1869.

2. collegam: Servílius. — iacta-
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

vilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant, ut aut referret ad senatum aut auxilio esset consul civibus suis, imperator militiae. Movebant consulem haec, sed tergiversari res cogebat; adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps erat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita medium se gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium nec apud patres gratiam inuit. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem; brevique adparuit adaequasse eum Appi odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercuri aedem. Senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit; utri eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum praesesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollemnia pro pontifice iussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni; quod facile

bant: the whole description, with its short sentences, the succession of imperf. tenses, and this frequentative verb, is a very lively one. The emphatic repetition, illius . . . illi, is especially effective.

3. res: the situation.—adeo: see on 2, 24, 1.—praeceps: a pred. adj. giving with erat the idea of motion which justifies in alteram causam.

4. ambitiosum: eager for popularity.—plebes: see on 2, 24, 2. —eum: brachylogy for odium eius; cf. 22, 46, 5 alios; 26, 9, 10 consulibus; 26, 12, 14 hoste.—Appi: objective genitive.

5. annonae: the charge of the markets was later given to the aediles.—mercatorum collegium: the guild of merchants, one of the objects of their organization being the worship of Mercury, their patron divinity. The members were called Mercuriales. There is, therefore, a natural combination of the three duties here mentioned,—the dedication of the temple of Mercury, the organization of the merchants' guild, and the supervision of the market.—sollemnia: the rites at the dedication of the temple.—pro pontifice: in the presence of the pontifex maximus; 9, 45, 6 pontifex maximus verba praetere.

6. primi pili centurioni: the first centurion of the first maniple of the triarii,—the chief centurion of a legion.—adpareret: the imperf. subj. denotes an action
adpareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum quam ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter patresque, sed plebi creverant animi, et longe alia quam primo insti-
tuerant via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum sena-
tusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, cum decresset, quis-
quam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum [libertatis], cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectuque decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiceret, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet: non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam neque proiectum consulare imperium; se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, adrapi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, provocavit;
nec cessisset provocatiio consul, quia non dubium erat
populi iudicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio
magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore;
13 adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere
inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertas sed, quod
multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque conloquiis.
Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratuabeunt, Servilius
neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.


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 ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, pernicio-
sam ad patres deferunt, sed delatum consulere ordine non
licuit; adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et
indignatione patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exsequen-

consul was compelled to submit
a case thus appealed to the Co-
mittia Centuriata.—adeo . . . invi-
diam: such exceeding courage had
he for enduring unpopularity.—
supererant: cf. 1, 6, 3.—animi:
see on 1, 25, 3.

28. 1. Vetusius: the old form
of Veturius; 3, 4, 1 Furios Fusios
scripser e quidam. s between vow-
els regularly changed to r; eram
stands for esam, lares for lases,
etc. At this time there were no
cognomina, the use of which did
not become general till the fourth
century B.C.—Esquiliis: locative,
as if it were the name of a town;
cf. 26, 10, 1, and 5. The Esqui-
line in particular was so treated,
perhaps because it was so exclu-
sively the home of the poor peo-
ple that it was almost regarded as
a separate settlement. Both hills
were on the outskirts of the city,
but were included within the wall
of Servius Tullius.—trepidaret:
might become confused, as in 3,
51, 1.

2. delatum consulere: the acc.
of the question under discussion
is rarely found with consulere; cf.
39, 40, 6 si ius consuleres; Verg.
Aen. 11, 343–344 rem nulli obscu-
ram . . . consulis.—indignatione
. . . si: they were angry because
of the possibility of such an occu-
currence; cf. 7, 31, 6.—quod: the
antecedent is eius.

4. nunc: see on 1, 28, 9.—curias: see on 2, 24, 3.—id = virum esse; cf. the use of the neuter pronoun in 30, 30, 12.

5. conrepti: thus attacked.—ergo: rarely used in an indirect question. It suggests here the impatience of the question, in fact gives to it almost the force of the direct form; this effect is strengthened by the use of the pres. placeat; see on 1, 27, 8.—nihil . . . acturos: the ind. disc. is introduced by a verb of saying implied in percunctarentur.—decernunt: the subject is patres. For a similar change in subject, the second being indicated by the context, see 1, 4, 3 datur, iubet.

6. iuniores: Gell. 10, 28, 1 eos (milites) ad annum quadragesimum sextum iuniores, supraque eum annum seniores appellasse (Servium Tullium).—circumfusa: reflexive, as in 22, 7, 11.

7. habituros: the subject is patres.—fides publica: see on 2, 27, 1 fidem senatus.
invidiae suae participem. Et adparebat atrox cum plebe
certamen. Prius itaque quam ultima experirentur, senatum
iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum
propere convolavere minimus quisque natu patrum, abdi-
care consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod
tuendum animus deesset.

29. Utgraque re satis experta tum demum consules:
"Ne praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens
seditio. Postulamus ut ii, qui maxime ignaviam increpant,
adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque
arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus." Redeunt in
tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis, qui in conspectu
erant, dedita opera iubent. Cum staret tacitus, et circa
eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, coi-statisset
globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso
tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes, qui patrum
consilubis aderant, devolant, de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio
essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam prendere pro-

8. suae: refers to the consuls.
—et: and yet; see on 24, 34, 1.
adparebat: was at hand.
9. convolavere: Livy uses freely
a plural verb with a singular col-
lective subject, with optimus quis-
gue etc.; cf. 7, 2, 5; 27, 48, 16.
—minimus quisque: cf. 3, 50, 1
iuniores patrum.— abdicare con-
sulatum: the usual expression is
abdicare se consulatu; cf. 2, 31, 10.
29. utgraque re: they had
tried both to enforce the levy and
to impress upon the senate the
necessity of compromise.— ex-
perta: for the passive use cf. 21, 1, 2.— ne . . . negetis: their pur-
pose in making the following
statement; see on 1, 28, 5 teneat.
2. nominatim: an irregularity,
of course, to call upon a man ex-
cept in the order of the list. This
was done purposely (dedita opera),
that there might be no question of
his receiving the summons.
3. qui patrum = ei patrum gui;
cf. 2, 23, 13.
4. nihil aliud quam: adv. only.
This usage, not in Caesar or Cicero,
is common in Livy; cf. 2, 32, 8 and
9. The meaning is, No violence
was done to the lictor; he was
only prevented from making the
arrest.

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hibito, cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam iniuriae fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consulitur, quaestionem postulantibus iis, qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihil plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius rem non vulgabant; de iis tantum qui fidem secuti P. Servili consulis Volsco, Aurunco Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. T. Larcius non id tempus esse, ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse, ni omnibus consulatur; quin, si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis

5. tumultuose . . . tumultuosius: see on 27, 51, 5.—decernente: this may be regarded as transitive, with quaestionem as its object, or, better, as intransitive, contending. It is often used of physical conflict, and perhaps there is a suggestion of that here, an effect which is strengthened by ferocissimo.

6. consuli coepit: Livy sometimes uses the act. coepi with a pass. inf. (e.g. 22, 4, 4); but nowhere else with an impersonal subject.

7. P. Verginius: it was the custom for the consulares to express their opinions first. As no Verginius with this praenomen had been consul, we must suppose that there is a mistake in the praenomen or that on this occasion the custom was disregarded. It is possible, however, that Livy is not giving the opinions in the order in which they were offered, and that Verginius was not at the head of the list.—vulgabant: i.e. did not wish to treat all alike; note the force of the imperfect.—qui . . . Servili: see 2, 24, 6.

8. T. Larcius: sc. censebat.—id: pred. adj. = eius modi; the situation demanded something more than pay for services rendered.—nec sisti posse: imper. use of the intrans. siste; there could be no peace.—ni omnibus consulatur: he was advocating the cancellation of all debts,—tabulae novae.—accendi, sedari: present for future; Lane, 1593.
9 discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura inmitis et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis ait sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lascivire magis plebe quam saevire; id adeo malum ex provocacione natum; quippe minus esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos, qui una peccaverint, provocare liceat. "Agedum," inquit "dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, creamus! iam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, contemptiscet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem, qui sciet ius de tergo victaque sua penes unum illum esse, cuius maiestatem violarit."

30. Multis, ut erat, horrida et atroc videbatur Appi sententia; rursus Vergini Larci que exemplo haud salubres, utique Larci [putabant sententiam], quae totam fidem tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium


10. adeo: emphasizing id; it was just this evil. — provocacione: the right of appeal.

11. agedum: this familiar combination is rather an interjection than a verb, as is shown by the fact that we have here the singular addressed to more than one person. For the same use of age alone, see 26, 13, 7. Ordinarily, however, Livy uses the plural where more than one person is addressed; e.g. 21, 43, 7. — provocatio non est: 2, 18, 8 neque enim ut in consulis, qui pari potestate esset, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ullam usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium.

12. pulset: the antecedent of qui is the subject. — mihi: ethical dative; then let me see, etc. — ius ... sua: the right of corporal and capital punishment.

30. rursus: on the other hand. — Vergini ... salubres: sc. sententiae videbantur. — exemplo: because of the precedent they would establish; i.e. the plebeians would henceforth think they could secure any demand by threats of violence. — quae ... tolleret: because it destroyed all credit. — utroque: in both directions; cf. 1, 24, 1.

2. factione: the natural hostility of patricians toward plebeians;
BOOK II [CHAP. 30, 31

Vergini habebatur; sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit, ut dictator ille idem crearetur; quae res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aequisque et Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut magistratus imperio suo vehemens mansueto permittetur ingenio. M'. Valerium dictatum, Volsci filium, creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatum videbat, tamen, cum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos Servili fere consulis edicto conveniens; sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi omissa certamine nomina dedere. Quantus numquam ante exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quattuor dictator usus.

31. Ita trifarium re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat;

party feeling. — respectu ... privatarum: the senators were themselves the chief creditors. — prope fuit: see on 2, 23, 14.

4. senioribus patrum: see on 2, 28, 9 minimus quisque. — magistratus: office. For the thought of this clause cf. Cic. ad Q. fr. 1, 1, 37 nihil est tam deforme, quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturae adiungere.

5. creant: the dictator was appointed by one of the consuls, who, in theory at least, was not bound by the selection or suggestion of the senate. — plebes: see on 2, 24, 2. — fratris lege: see on 2, 27, 12.

6. Servili edicto: 2, 24, 6. — sed: introducing a thought contrasted with that suggested by Servili ... conveniens; i.e. they remembered that the edict of Servilius was disregarded, but thought it better to trust a man of the Valerian family, whose power, moreover, was not restricted, as that of Servilius had been.

31. 7. trifarium: in the omitted sections, 30, 8–31, 6, is a description of successful campaigns against the Aequians, Volsciunians,
tanta cum gratia tum arte praeparaverant faeneratores, quae non modo plebem sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius post Vetusii consulis reeditum omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo rettulitque quid de nexit fieri placeret. Quae cum reiecta relatio esset, “non placeo” inquit “concordiae auctor; optabitis, mediusfidius, propediem, ut mei similis Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustraver ultra cives meos, neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum externum fecere, ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica; pax foris parta est, domi inpeditur; privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero.” Ita curia egressus dictatura se abdicavit. Adparuit causa plebi, suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse. Itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset, quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

and Sabines.—patribus, plebi: see on 1, 1, 1 duobus.—tanta: abl. with gratia and arte.

8. reeditum: from the war with the Aequians.—omnium . . . populo: proposed action in the senate first of all in behalf of the victorious people.—rettulit: introduced the question; cf. 9, 8, 1.

9. reiecta: shelved; as a parliamentary term reicere usually means to refer a matter to another magistrate or body.—concordiae: harmony between patricians and plebeians, whereas pax is properly used of the relation between different peoples; in § 10 pax is used with domi inpeditur in the sense of concordia.—mediusfidius: the first element, me, is perhaps the object of a verb to be supplied, e.g. invet; cf. mehercule. Dius Fidius was an old Sabine god of oaths and, in general, of fidelity and honor, having a temple on the Quirinal.

10. dictatura se abdicavit: the usual expression; cf. 2, 28, 9.

11. suam vicem: on their account; adv. acc., referring to plebi, which is the logical subject of the sentence; 1, 25, 6 vice.—quoniam . . . praestaretur: since it was not due to him that the promise was not fulfilled.
32. Timorindepatresincessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fient. Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis bellis educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem ex-solvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse; trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum.—Ea frequentior fama est quam, cujus Piso auctor est, in Aventinum secessionem factam esse.—Ibi sineullo duce, vallo fossaque communitas castris, quieti, rem nullam nisi necessarium ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque laccissiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere.

32. 1. *habitus esset:* for the subjunctive, rare with *quamquam* in Livy’s time, see Lane, 1900. — *in consulum verba:* the oath had been administered by the consuls; see on 2, 24, 7 *sacramento dicerent.* — *militem:* see on 2, 27, 1 *Romanus:* — *per causam:* on the pretext; the statement might well have been true, however, as the victory over the Aequians was by no means final.—*legiones:* Livy leaves us to suppose that the dictator had not disbanded his four legions, and that they acted with the other six in the events that follow. Dion. Hal. 6, 43, on the other hand, says that Valerius had dismissed his army and that only the legions of the consuls participated in the rebellion.

2. *religionem:* religious obligation. — *Sacrum montem:* after their return, the hill was consecrated to Jupiter under this name. It is usually written in this way; for the other order see 3, 52, 3.

3. *frequentior:* more commonly accepted; cf. 1, 7, 2 *vulgator* and see on 1, 24, 1 *plures.* — *Piso:* L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who was consul in 133 B.C. and wrote a history of Rome from Aeneas to his own time. Livy himself in 3, 54, 9 accepts the other story. The double tradition is explained if the statement of Cic. *Rep.* 2, 58 is correct, that the plebeians occupied first the Sacred Hill and later the Aventine.

4. *sumendo:* see on 1, 5, 6 *conparando.* — *aliquot:* many, as
5 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 mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam quae secesserit multitudinem fore? Quid futurum deinde, si quod exterior num interim bellum existat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere: eam per aequa, per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti, Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.

Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse furtur: tempore quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia 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 icta dum ventrem fame domare vellent,

is clear from the following chapters; in 7, 2, 8 aliquot annos is used of a century.

6. quid . . . existat: the same fear is expressed in 3, 52, 7.

7. ducere: hist. inf. parallel with timere. — per aequa, per iniqua: i.e. whether the demand of the people were just or unjust.

8. oratorem: envoy. — Menenium Agrippam: the name would be naturally in the other order, as Agrippa is a praenomen; this interchange of praenomen and nomen occurs elsewhere in Livy. According to Cic. Brut. 54, Valerius was still dictator, and it was he who acted as envoy; Livy himself in 8, 18, 12 speaks as if there had been a dictator at this time. — inde: from the plebeians; a branch of this family had probably been taken into the patrician order in 509; see 2, 1, 10. — horrido: rough, untrained. — nihil aliud quam: elliptical as in 2, 29, 4; sc. fecisse.

9. consentientia: sc. fuerint from the following fuerit. — indignatas: sc. esse. — ventri: dat. of interest.

10. nec: et ne; see on 1, 2, 4.
ipsa uma membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde adparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divi- sum pariter in venas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.


12. flexisse: depending upon fertur in § 8, the intervening story having been introduced by narrasse.

33. i. coep tum: see on 2, 29, 6. — concessumque . . . ut: concessions were made to the effect that. The great evil, the condition of the debtors, seems to have been forgotten. The creation of tribunes might prevent persecution in individual cases, but would not improve the condition of the poor in general. — sui: in the emphatic position before its noun; their own. — sacrosancti: 3, 55, 7 qui tribunis plebis . . . nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacram esset, familia ad aedem Cерeris Liberi Liberaeque venum iret. — patrum: patricians.

2. plebei: this fifth declension gen. is found occasionally with tribunus, aedilis, and scitum; the third declension form is more common. — creati: by the concilium plebis, which was organized at this time. Granrud's Roman Constitutional History, p. 45. — tres collegas: it is very probable, as the plebeian tribunes were to be especially the opponents of the two patrician consuls, that at first there were only two.

3. ibique: there appears to be an inconsistency here, for Livy himself has allowed us to think that the law was passed (i.e. proposed, and approved by Menenius Agrippa as representative of the patres) on the Sacred Hill. — sacratam legem:

the law that made the tribunes sacrosancti. A person who violated a lex sacra was sacer, devoted as an offering to the gods; see on § 1.


33. i. anno ... altero: the decemvirs were elected in 452 and began their duties in 451. — quam: cf. 6, 29, 10 die vicensimo quam creatus era dictatura se abdicavit. — mutatur forma civitatis: Livy speaks here as if there were actually a fundamental change of government and, in § 2, as if the change might have been a permanent one. This is inconsistent with what he says elsewhere; e.g. in 3, 34, 7. In fact, the decemvirs were only a temporary commission, appointed to draw up a written code of laws, their full title being decemviri consulari imperio légibus scribendis.

2. luxuriavere: the premature development of a plant is the idea that underlies this passage. — duobus: note the emphatic position.

3. Ap. Claudius: either the son or the grandson of the consul of the same name in 2, 23, 10 ff.

4. designati ... fuerant: i.e. the regular consular election had taken place before the election of decemvirs was decided upon. — collega invito: according to Dion. Hal. 10, 55, both consuls had been unwilling to bring the matter be-
suales in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus, et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem collega invito ad patres retulerat. (His proximi habiti legati tres,) qui Athenas ierant, simul ut pro legatione tam longinquaque praemio esset honos, simul peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova iura usui fore credebant. Supplevere ceteri numerum. Gravibus quoque aetate electos novissimis suffragiis ferunt, quo minus ferociter aliorum scitis adversarentur. Regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat favore plebis; adeoque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repente omnisque auroiri popularis captator evaderet pro truci saevoque insectori plebis.

(Decimo die ius populo singuli reddabant. Eo die penes praefectum iuris fasces duodecim erant, collegis novem fore the senate, but while Menenius was ill, Sestius had been overborne by the consuls-elect and the tribunes.

5. proximi habiti: cf. Cic. ad Att. 1, 1, 3 observat L. Domitium maxime, me habet proximum. habere has here a pregnant force, to esteem, and therefore to select. — legati tres: they were Manlius, Sulpicius, and Postumius, who had been sent to Athens to study the laws of Solon and those of the other Greek states. — peritos . . . credebant: an independent clause, where the correlation of the second simul with the first leads us to expect a quod clause.

6. quoque: i.e. not only were they of no great consequence (supplevere . . . numerum), but in addition they were old. — novissimis suffragiis: by the last votes; implying that the members were elected singly.

7. magistratus: the collective use is very rare. — adeoque etc.: explaining favore plebis. — auroiri popularis: the same figure occurs in Hor. Od. 3, 2, 20.

8. decimo die: i.e. they administered justice in rotation, so that each had his turn every tenth day. The sentence is misleading and difficult to understand, as court was not held on dies nefasti. The account of Dion. Hal. 10, 57 is quite different; he says that each assumed the supremacy for a fixed number of days, but that all administered justice. — praefectum iuris: the one who administered justice; the phrase does not occur elsewhere and is not a formal title.
singuli accensi adparebant. Et in unica concordia inter ipsos, qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis est, summa adversus alios aequitas erat. Moderationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notasse satis erit. Cum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso cadavere domi apud P. Sestium, patriciae gentis virum, invento prolatoque in contentionem, in re iuxta manifesta atque atroci C. Iulius decemvir diem Sestio dixit et accusator ad populum extitit, cuius rei iudex legitimus erat, decessitque iure suo ut demptum de vi magistratus populi libertati adiceret.

34. Cum promptum hoc ius velut ex oraculo incorruptum pariter ab iis summi infimique ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur; ingentique hominum expectatione propositis decem tabulis populum ad contentious advocaverunt ct, quod bonum, faustum felixque rei publicae ipsis liberisque eorum esset, ire et legere leges propositas iussere: se, quantum decem hominum ingenii provideri potuerit, omnibus, summis infimisque, iura aequasse; plus pollere multorum ingenia consiliaque. Versarent in animis secum

—in: see on 2, 23, 4.—unica: cf. the meanings of the English word singular.—adversus: see on 5, 35, 4.
9. defosso: adj.; a buried body.—P. Sestium: not the decemvir.
10. iuxta . . . atroci: cf. 5, 6, 5 iuxta hieme atque aestate; with iuxta used in this way the emphasis is always on the first word.—cuius . . . erat: he was legally entitled to try the case and pass judgment, and the defendant had no right of appeal.—rei: gen. of reus; for the position see on Praef. 11 civitatem.—demptum: used substantively.—vi . . . libertati: chiasmus.
34. 1. promptum hoc ius: this prompt execution of justice.—velut ex oraculo: cf. 9, 3, 8.—ferrent: received.
2. quod . . . esset: cf. 1, 29, 7; imperf. because it is in ind. disc. introduced by iussere.
3. iura aequasse: though these laws included the ius publicum as well as the ius privatum (see § 6), there was of course no equalization of the political privileges of patricians and plebeians.

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BOOK III

unamquamque rem, agitarent deinde sermonibus atque in
medium, quid in quaque re plus minusve esset, conferrent;
esae leges habiturum populum Romanum, quas consensus
omnium non iussisse latas magis quam tulisse videri posset.
Cum ad rumores hominum de unoquoque legum capite
editos satis correctae viderentur, centurias comitiiis decem
tablurum leges perlatae sunt, qui nunc quoque in hoc-in-
menso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo fons
omnis publici privatique est iuris. Vulgatur deinde rumor
duas deesse tabulas, quibus adiectis absolvi posse velut
corpus omnis Romani iuris. Ea expectatio, cum dies com-
tiorum adpropinquaret, desiderium decemviros iterum
creandi fecit. Iam plebs, praeipue quod consulum
nomen haud secus quam regum perosa erat, ne tribunicium
quidem auxilium (cedentibus in vicem appellatio decem-
viris) quaeretabat.

35. Postquam vero comitia decemviris creandis in trinum
nundinum indita sunt, tanta exarit ambitio, ut primores
| 2 quoque civitatis — meō, credo, ne tanti possessio imperi vacuo ab se relictō loco haud satis dignis pateret — prensarent homines, honorem summa ope a se inpugnatum ab ea plebe, cum qua contenderant, suppliciter petentes. Demissa iam in discrimen dignitas ea aetate iisque honoribus actis stimulabat Ap. Claudium. Nescires, utrum inter decemviro an inter candidatos numerares. Propior interdum petendo quam gerendo magistratui erat; criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humillimumque, ipse medius inter tribunicios, Duillios Iciliosque, in foro volitare, per illos se plebi venditare, donec collegae quoque, qui unice illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, conicere in eum oculos, mirantes quid sibi vellet: adparere nihil sinceri esse; profecto haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem fore; 

3 pum in ordinem se ipsum cogere et vulgari cum privatis non tam properantis abire magistratuu quam viam ad continuandum magistratum quaerentis esse.

4 Propalam obviam ire cupiditati parum ausi obsucandando

election was announced seventeen days (two Roman weeks) in advance; i.e. for the second market day (nundinae) after the one on which it was announced.

2. *credō*: it is difficult to believe that this is not ironical. — *relictō*: conditional, like *adiectis* in 3, 34.

3. — *prensarent homines*: began to buttonhole voters. — *inpugnatum*: the patricians had vigorously opposed the appointment of the decemvirs. — *contenderant*: the indicative emphasizes the fact.

4. *criminari*: hist. inf.; *optimates* is the object.


6. *fore*: would prove to be. — in ordinem cogere: a military term, to reduce to the ranks. — *se*: object; the subject is indefinite. — *cogere, vulgari*: subjects of esse. *vulgari* is a good example of the middle voice; to make one's self intimate with; cf. 22, 7, 11 circumfundebantur.

36. Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit; suo iam inde vivere ingeni coepit novosque collegas, iam prius.

7. cupiditati: it seems to have been understood that the decemvirs were not to be re-elected, and for that reason the others opposed the desire of Appius. — obscundando: i.e. by pretending to acquiesce.

8. creare: i.e. to receive votes for himself and declare himself elected; see on 9, 7, 15. — plebi: an unusual gen. from the nom. plebes. — enimvero: to be taken with professus; actually agreeing. — quod . . . vertat: see on 1, 28, 1; these are the words of Appius. — impedimentum . . . adripuit: took a hindrance for an opportunity.

9. per coitionem: by an arrangement between Appius and the candidates whom he was supporting. — fastigi: cf. 2, 27, 6.

10. quod . . . crediderat: their disapproval was as great as their surprise.

11. Livy thinks (4, 3, 17) that these were all patricians, but, according to Dion. Hal. 10, 58, three of them, Poetilius, Duillius, and Oppius, were plebeians. It has been suggested that Rabuleius and Antonius also were plebeians, in which case there would be an equal division.

36. i. suo, suos: note the emphatic position.
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

quam inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare. Cotidie
coebant remotis arbitris; inde inpotentibus instructi con-
siliis, quae secreto ab aliis coquebant, iam haud dissimu-
lando superbiam, rari aditus, conloquentibus difficiles, ad
idus Maias rem perduxere. Idus tum Maiae sollemnes
ineundis magistratibus erant. Inito igitur magistratu pri-
um honoris diem denuntiatione ingentiis terroris insignem
fecere. Nam cum ita priores decemviri servassent, ut unus
fasces haberet et hoc insigne regium in orbem suam cuius-
que vicem per omnes iret, subito omnes cum duodenis fas-
cibus prodiere. Centum viginti lictores forum inpleverant,
et cum fascibus secures inligatas praeferebant; nec atti-
nuisset demi securem, cum sine provocatione creati essent,
interpretabantur. Decem regum species erat multiplicatus-
que terror non infinis solum sed primoribus patrum, ratis
caedis causam ac principium quaeri, ut, si quis memorem
libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset, statim

2. arbitris: witnesses. — inpo-
tentibus: i.e. plans in which there
was no attempt at self-control or
moderation. — secreto ab: Livy
uses the adj. secretus with ab in
several places, the adv. with ab
apparently nowhere else. — dis-
simulando: see on 1, 5, 6 conpa-
rando. — aditus: gen. of quality.
— rem perduxere: continued their
course.

3. sollemnes: fixed; 1, 31, 4
mansit certe sollemne, ut, quando-
que idem prodigium nuntiaretur,
sferiae per novem dies agerentur.
The date of the beginning of the
consular year was altered from
time to time until in 154 B.C. it
was fixed at January 1; see on 9,
8, 1. — terroris: obj. gen. with de-
nuntiatione. — ut . . . haberet:
the object of servassent; had ob-
served the rule that only one etc. —
fasces: see 2, 1, 8 and note. —
suam . . . vicem: to each in his
own turn; for the combination
suam cuiusque see on 22, 7, 10;
for the adverbial accusative vicem
cf. 2, 31, 11, where it is used in a
different sense.

4. secures: the consuls were not
allowed to carry axes in the city;
only a dictator had that privilege.
See on 2, 1, 8. — nec attenuisse
. . . interpretabantur: they ex-
plained that there was no reason
vrgae securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum expedientur. 
Nam praeterquam quod in populo nihil erat praesidi sub-
lata provocatione, intercessionem quoque consensu sustu-
lerant, cum priores decemviri appellatione collegae corrigi 
reddita ab se iura tulissent, et quaedam, quae sui iudici 
videri possent, ad populum reieicisset. Aliquamdiu aequa-
tus inter omnes terror fuit; paulatim totus vertere in 
plebem coepit. Abstinebatur a patribus; in humiliores 
ludidinose crudeliterque consulebatur. Hominum, non 
causarum, toti erant, ut apud quos gratia vim aequi haberet. 
Iudicia domi conflagrant, pronuniant in foro. Si quis 
collegam appellasset, ab eo, ad quem venerat, ita discede-
bat, ut paeniteret non prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio 
etiam sine auctore exierat non in praesentis modo temporis 
eos inuiiram conspirasse, sed foedus clandestinum inter 
ipsos iure iurando ictum, ne comitia haberent perpetuoque 
decemviratu possessum semel obtinere imperium.

why the ax should be removed. 
attinus is the inf. of the imper-
sonal verb attest, it is of impor-
tance, and demi securem is its 
subject.
6. appellatione: see 3, 34, 8. — 
collegae: objective genitive; cf. 
Cic. Quinct. 65 appellatio tribu-
norum. — quaedam: see 3, 33, 10. 
— possent: see on 3, 34, 5.
7. ludidinose: arbitrarily. — 
hominum, causarum: possessive 
genitive; cf. 3, 59, 4 quod adeo 
toti plebis fuissent, and Cic. Fam. 
15, 7 sum totus vester. The mean-
ing is, They were influenced en-
tirely by the rank of the individual 
concerned, not by the facts of the 
case. — ut apud quos: see on Praef. 
4 ut quae. — gratia: influence.
8. appellasset: subj. of repeated 
action; the use of the imperf. and 
plup. subj. in this sense began 
with Catullus and Caesar, and is 
common in Livy; Lane, 1730. See 
on 27, 51, 4. — stetisse: had been 
content with.
9. perpetuoque: an adversative 
conjunction would have been more 
natural. — possessum: from pos-
sido.

Chapters 37-42 describe the op-
pressive rule of the decemvirs, the
44. Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas, ab libidine ortum, haud minus foedo eventu quam quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed causa etiam eadem imperi amittendi esset. Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiae stuprandae libido cepit. Pater virginis, L. Verginius, honestum ordinem in Algido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi militiaeque. Perinde uxor instituta fuerat liberique insti-
tuebantur. Desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri et pro causa plebis expertae virtutis. Hanc virginem adultam, forma excellentem, Appius amore amens prétio ac spe perlicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore sagra
animadvertit, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum con-
vertit. M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit, ut virginem in servitutem adsereret, neque cederet secundum libertatem
difficulty of enlisting an army to repel attacks of the Sabines and Aequians, and unsuccessful operations against those peoples. In chap. 43 there is an account of the murder of L. Siccius, a soldier in the army fighting against the Sabines, who was agitating the question of a secession of the people.

44. 1. quod: sc. nefas; subject of expulerat.
2. honestum ordinem ducebat: was a centurion of high rank; cf. 2, 23, 4. — Algido: he was serving against the Aequians, who had recently routed the Roman army on Mt. Algidus, near Tusculum. — exempli recti: exemplary; see on Praef. 10. — perinde: i.e. to be like himself. — liberique instituebantur: his children were being trained; so far as is known, Virginia was his only child; see 3, 45, 9.
3. tribunicio: see 3; 35, 5.
4. spe: promises.
5. Claudio: the client took the gentle name of his patron. In the earlier period, a client could not go to law in person, but was represented by his patron. It is doubtful when the privilege of independent action was secured. — in servitutem adsereret: a rare phrase, as the process itself was rare. On the other hand, in libertatem adserere or adserere alone, describing one of the regular methods of manumission, is of common occurrence. For the exact near-
BOOK III

postulantibus vindicias, quod pater puellae abesset, locum
inuriae esse ratus. Virgini venienti in forum—ibi nam-
que in tabernaculis litterarum ludi erant—minister decem-
virii libidinis manum iniecit, serva sua natam servamque
appellans, sequi se iubebat: cunctantem vi abstractu-
rum. Pavida puella stupente, ad clamorem nutricis fidem
Quiritium inplorantis fit concursus. Vergini patris sponsi-
que Icili popularare nomen celebratur. Notos gratia eorum,
turbam indignitas rei virgini conciliaat. Iam a vi tuta erat,
cum adsertor nihil opus esse multitudine concitata ait: se
jure grassari, non vi. Vocat puellam in ius. (Auctoribus
qui aderant, ut sequeretur, ad tribunal Appi perventum est.
Notam iudici fabulam petitor, quippe apud ipsum aucto-
rem argumenti, peragit: puellam domi suae natam furtoque

ing of adsereret, cf. § 6 manum
iniecit. — neque = et ne; see on 1,
2, 4; cf. 3, 52, 11. — cedere ... vindicias: according to the Laws
of the Twelve Tables (see § 12),
until a case of this sort could be
tried, the custody of the person
was assigned to those who claimed
that he was free, and they gave
security for his appearance at the
trial. In this case, Appius simply
directed his client to disregard the
law. — secundum = in; cf. 3, 45, 2.
The literal meaning is, that he
should not yield to those who
claimed her for freedom; with
postulare vindicias, to lay claim,
cf. § 12 vindicias det.

6. namque: often in Livy the
second word in the sentence; cf.
22, 50, 3; earlier prose writers
placed it always first. — taberna-
culis: schools in tents were evi-
dently temporary affairs, intended
for the poorer people. — litterarum:
reading and writing.

7. notos: friends and acquaint-
ances, contrasted with turbam.—
gratia eorum: regard for them;
eorum is objective genitive.

8. adsertor: claimant; cf. § 5
adsereret. — grassari: see on 2,
27, 7. He had attempted at first
to take the girl by force, but now,
on account of the threatened dis-
turbance, was going through the
form of a legal process.

9. auctoribus: note the verbal
force of this noun; those who were
on, her side advising her to follow.
Cf. the use of transfuga in 2, 1, 4. —
derant: sc. puellae; her support-
ers. — fabulam, argumenti: stage
terms; see 7, 2, 8. fabula is the
indo in domum Vergini translatam suppositam ei esse; id se indicio conpertiun adferre probaturumque vel ipso Verginio iudice, ad quem maior pars injuriae eius pertineat; interim dominum sequi ancillam aequum esse. Advocati puellae, cum Verginium rei publicae causa dixissent abesse, biduo adfuturum, si nuntiatum ei sit, iniquum esse absentem de liberis dimicare, postulat, ut rem integram in patris adventum differat, lege ab ipso lata vindicias det secundum libertatem, neu patiatur virginem adultam famae prius quam libertatis periculum adire.

45. Appius decreto praefatur, quam libertati faverit, eam ipsam legem declarare, quam Vergini amici postulationi suae praetendant; ceterum ita in ea firmum libertati fore praesidium, si nec causis nec personis variet; in iis enim qui adserantur in libertatem, quia quivis lège agere possit,

story of the play in detail; argumentum is the plot. — suppositam ei esse: had been fraudulently represented to him as his child; i.e. palmed off on Verginius as his own daughter.

10. ad quem . . . pertineat: he was injured more than any one else, as he had believed that the girl was his own child. — interim: until the case should be tried; see on § 5.

11. advocati: friends who aided her by their presence and advice. Under the empire the word was applied to lawyers who pleaded in court. — Verginium . . . dimicare: the omission of connectives gives a very businesslike appearance to this enumeration of facts.

12. dimicare: to incur danger.

—famae . . . adire: she might be exposed to any indignity, before the question of her freedom was settled.

45. 1. Appius . . . praefatur: before giving his decision, Appius said; cf. 3, 47, 5. — quam . . . faverit: ind. quest. introduced by declarare. — postulationi . . . praetendant: made the basis of their claim.

2. ita: refers forward to si . . . variet; only on this condition. — variet: for this rare intrans. use cf. 21, 28, 5. — in iis: in the case of those. — lege agete: bring suit, to establish the freedom of the individual. The emphasis is on quivis; a distinction is set up between the ordinary case, in which any one may introduce the claim,
id iuris esse; in ea quae in patris manu sit, neminem esse alium, cui dominus possessione cedat; placere itaque patrem arcessiri, interea iuris sui facturam adsertorem non facere, quin ducat puellam sistendamque in adventum eius, qui pater dicatur, promittat. Adversus iniuriam decreti cum multi magis fremerent quam quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius, puellae avus, et sponsus Icilius interveniunt; dataque inter turbam via, cum multitudo Icili maxime interventu resisti posse Appio crederet, lictor decessisse ait, vociferantemque Icilium submovet. Placidum quoque ingenium tam atrox iniuria accendisset. "Ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum, Appi," inquit, "ut tacitum

and the present case in which Virginia is demanded as a slave, and according to Appius, only her father can assert her freedom and have custody until the decision of the case. Until his return, therefore, for lack of other guardian, she must be consigned to the one who claims to be her master.—id: i.e. lege agere.—iuris: possessive genitive; within the law, legal.

3. placere: here begins the decree; a verb of saying must be supplied, as, otherwise, this would depend upon praefatur in § 1, which would be an absurdity.—arcessiri: the fourth conj. form of this inf. is not found elsewhere in Livy.—adsertorem: M. Claudius.—quin: justified by the idea of the principal clause, should not be prevented from; Lane, 1986.—sistendam...eius: should be produced for his arrival; sistendam instead of the more natural fut. act. inf., either because the latter form of sistere did not exist, or to emphasize the idea of obligation.

4. iniuriam: there was danger that the same thing might befall any Roman citizen in the absence of his father.—quishquam unus: any single man; i.e. even one. Cf. 2, 9, 8 nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.—recusare: either intrans., to protest, or sc. iniuriam.

5. cum...crederet: explanatory of data...via.—decrease: without a subject, representing the lictor's decrivit.—submovet: co-native; the word is used technically of the lictor when he clears the road; cf. 3, 48, 3.

6. tacitum: passive, qualifying the object of feras; that you may
feras quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus
7 nuptamque pudicam habiturus. Prinide omnes collegarum
quoque lictores convoca; expediri virgas et secures iube;
8 non manebit extra domum patris sponsa Icili. Non, si
tribunicium auxilium et provocationem plebi Romanae,
duas arcas libertatis tuendae, ademistis, ideo in liberos
quoque nostros coniugesque regnum vestrae libidini datum
9 est. Sacvite in tegum et in cervices nostras; pudicitia
saltam in tuto sit. Huic si vis adferetur, ego praesentium
Quiritium pro sponsa, Verginius militum pro unica filia,
omnes deorum hominumque inplorabimus fidem, neque tu
10 istud umquam decretum sine caede nostra referes. Pos-
tulo, Appi, etiam atque etiam consideres, quo progrediare.
11 Verginius viderit de filia, ubi venerit, quid agat; hoc tan-
tum sciat, sibi, (si huius vindicis cesserit) condicionem
filiae quaerendam esse. Me vindicantem sponsam in li-
bertatem vita citius deseret quam fides.”

46. Concitata multitudo erat certamenque instare vide-
batur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant; nec ultra minas

carry through in silence.—virgi-
num: note the significance of the
position.
9. in tuto: see on Praef. 3
in obscuro.—huius: Verginia.—
fidem: protection.—referes: two
interpretations have been sug-
gested; one, that the verb means
to renew, i.e. that Appius will not
repeat to him what he has said to
the advocati and persist in his
decree; the other, that decretum
referes is suggested and explained
by the common phrase victoriam
referre.

11. viderit: hortatory subjunc-
tive.—huius: M. Claudius. Ap-
pius had already admitted that the
father, if present, should have the
custody of his daughter until
the trial, but apparently Icilius
put no faith in this promise.—
condicionem: match.—fides: his
fidelity to her; the meaning is,
While I am responsible for her
freedom, I shall die rather than
betray the trust.

46. 1. nec: but not; cf. 1, 27,
1 and 21, 44, 5 neque.
2. tribunatum . . . spirantem:
see 3, 44, 3. The phrase is poeti-
tamen processum est, cum Appius non Verginiam defendi 2 ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem et tribunatum etiam nunc spirantem locum seditionis quaerere diceret. Non praecipitum se illi eo die materiam; sed ut iam sciret non id petulantiae sua, sed Verginio absenti et patrio nominet et libertati datum, ius eo die se non dicturum neque decretum interpositurum; a M. Claudio petiturum, ut decederet iure suo vindicariique puellam in posterum diem pateretur; quod nisi pater postero die adfuisset, denuntiare se Icilio similibusque Icili neque legi suae latorem neque decemviro constantiam def SSE; nec se utique collegarum lactores convocaturn ad coercendos seditionis auctores; contentum 10 se suis lоторibus fore. Cum dilatum tempus iniuriae esset secessissentque advocati puellae, placuit omnium primum fratrem Icili filiumque Numitori, inpigros iuvenes, pergere inde recta ad portam, et, quantum adcelerari posset, Virgini mum acciri e castris: in eo verti puellae salutem, si postero die vindex iniuriae ad tempus praesto esset. Iussi pergunt citatisque equis nuntium ad patrem perferunt. Cum instaret aseptor puellae, ut vindicaret sponsoresque 15 cal; Hor. Od. 4, 13, 19 quae spira- ba amores.—locum: opportunity; cf. 3, 50, 14.

3. materiam: sc. seditionis.— ius dicturum: give a decision; i.e. he would withdraw his decree and Verginii would be free until the next day.— decederet iure: cf. 3, 33, 10.— vindicari: sc. in libertatem.

4. quod: but.— defore: see on 3, 50, 10.

5. dilatum tempus: cf. 27, 46, 7.— placuit: it was decided.— pergere ... acciri: see on 1, 5, 4 fieri ... agere.— portam: the Porta Capena; they would follow the course of the Via Latina. The camp was perhaps fifteen miles from Rome.

6. in eo: see on 3, 45, 2 ita; the safety of the girl turned on this. Cf. 35, 18, 8 in eo enim victoriam verti, si et loca opportuna et socii praecoccuparentur.— vindex iniuriae: he who would protect her from injury.

7. ut vindicare: ... dare:
daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret Icilius, sedulo tempus terens, dum praecipserent iter nuntii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo et se quisque paratum ad spondendum Icilii ostendere. Atque ille lacrimabundus "gratum est" inquit; "crastina die vestra opera utar, sponsorum nunc satis est." Ita vindicatur Virginius spondentibus propinquis. Appius paulisper moratus, ne eius rei causa sedisse videretur, postquam ommissis rebus alius prae cura unius nemo adibat, domum se recepit collegisque in castra scribit, ne Virginius commeatum dent atque etiam in custodia habeant. Inprobum consilium serum, ut debutit, fuit, et iam commeatu sumpto prefectus Virginius prima vigilia erat, cum posteri die mane de retenendo eo nequiquam litterae redduntur.

47. At in urbe prima luce cum civitas in foro expectatione erecta staret, Verginius sordidatus filiam secum ob-

there has been no formal decision, but M. Claudius interprets the words of Appius as allowing the vindiciae secundum libertatem; see on 3, 44, 5. Therefore he expects Icilius to act as the defendant and to offer surety that the girl will be produced on the following day. — atque ... Icilius: and when Icilius said that that was the very thing which was being done; i.e. he pretended that he was looking for sponsores. — tempus terens: he understands that as soon as Appius leaves the tribunal, he will send an order that Verginius shall not be allowed to leave the camp. — praecipserent iter; 39, 19, 9 aliquantum viae praecipserat res.

8. crastina: dies is rarely feminine; cf. 5, 42, 2.
9. sedisse: used technically of a judge, as in English; cf. 38, 51, 6 consederunt. — prae: see on 1, 29, 3. — adibat: the imperf. with postquam usually denotes the cause of the main action; cf. 45, 1, 4. Lane, 1930.
10. prima vigilia: the evening of the same day. — redduntur: the clause is not temporal, but contains the main idea; it therefore has the indic. and is put last. Lane, 1869.

47. 1. civitas: the citizens; 2, 37, 5 spectaculo intenta civitas erit. — sordidatus, obsoleta: mourning was indicated not so much by the
soleta veste, comitantibus aliquot matronis, cum ingenti advocatione in forum deducit. Circumire ibi et prensare homines coepit et non orare solum precarium opem, sed pro debita petere: se pro liberis eorum ac coniugibus cotidie in acie stare, nec alium virum esse, cuius strenue ac fortiter facta in bello plura memorari possent; quid prodesse, si incolumi urbe, quae capita ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda? Haec prope contionabundus circumbat homines. Similia his ab Icilio iactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu quamulla vox movebat. Adversus quae omnia obstinato animo Appius—tanta vis amantiae verius quam amoris mentem turbaverat—in tribunal escendit, et ultro queren te paucapetitore, quod ius sibi pridie per ambitionem dictum non esset, priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret, aut Verginio respondendi daretur.

color of the garments, though that was commonly black (see 45, 7, 4), as by a studied carelessness in dress and in the care of the body. Such an appearance might indicate, as it does here, not mourning, but serious danger. So, in 6, 20, 1, Manlius appears at his trial sordidatus, and Livy, commenting upon the fact that none of his relatives were with him, says, quod ad eum diem nuncquam usus venisset, ut in tanto discrimine non et proximi vestem mutarent. —advocatione: abstract for concrete, like civitas; cf. 27, 51, 1, aetas; 39, 40, 9 nobilitas.

2. precarium: voluntary, as opposed to pro debita.—ultima: pred. adj. agreeing with quae; for the meaning cf. 21, 41, 11. The relative clause is the subject of sint patienda.

3. haec: object of contionabundus, which is used like a participle. prope contionabundus: almost as if he were addressing an assembly.

4. comitatus . . . movebat: Morgan (see on Praef. 1) suggests that Livy had in mind an iambic trimeter verse, Plus tacito fletu mulier quamulla vox moveit.—movebat: this absolute use of moveo is common in Livy.—ultimo: see on 1, 5, 3.—paucacognate accusative; cf. 22, 3, 11 haec . . . increpans.—per ambitionem: he claims that Appius was influenced by a love of popularity; cf. the meaning of circumbat in § 3.
locus, Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem praetenderit, forsan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint; quia nusquam ullum in tanta foeditate decreti veri similem invenio, id quod constat nudum videtur proponendum, decrese vindiciae secundum servitum. Primo stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit; silentium inde aliquam diu tenuit. Dein, cum M. Claudius, circumstantibus matronis, iret ad prehendendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum conploratio excepisset, Verginius intentans in Appium manus "Icilio," inquit, "Appi, non tibi filiam despondi, et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promiscue in concubitus ruere? Passurine haec isti sint, nescio; non spero esse passuros illos qui arma habent." Cum repelleretur adserit virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praecœnum.

48. Decemvir alienatus ad libidinem animo, negat ex hesterno tantum convicío Icili violentiaque Vergini, cuius

5. decreto, praetenderit: cf. 3, 45, 1. The connection of the ind. quest. with the verb on which it depends, tradiderint, is somewhat broken by the insertion of aliquem verum.—tradiderint: subj. of action conceivable in past time,—a rare use of the perfect; Lane, 1554, 1557.—in: in view of.—vindiciae, servitum: this is simply a violation of his own law (3, 44, 12), made necessary by the unexpected appearance of Verginius. How he justified it, if at all, we are not told.

6. stupor, defixit: cf. 1, 29, 3; 5, 39, 1.—tenuit: continued; for the intrans. use cf. 1, 4, 6.

7. ferarumque ritu: 4, 2, 6 ut ferarum prope ritu vulgentur concubitus plebis patrumque.—isti: the bystanders.

8. advocatorum: see on 3, 44, 11.

48. 1. alienatus: cf. the phrases not himself, beside himself.—ad: in consequence of; cf. 1, 7, 7 ad desiderium, relictarum mugissent; ad, however, in this sense almost always introduces an external cause (see § 6), and it is possible that the meaning here is estranged from other things and
testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indiciis conpertum se habere, nocte tota coetus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem. Itaque se haud inscium eius dimizationis cum armatis descendisse, non ut quemquamquietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro maiestate imperi coerceret. "Proinde quiesse erit melius; i," inquit, "lictor, submove turbam, et da viam domino ad prendendum mancipium." Cum haec intonuisset plenus irae, multitudo ipsa se sua sponte dimovit, desertaque praeda iniuriae puella stabat. Tum Verginius, ubi nihil tisquam auxili vidit, "quaesum," inquit, "Appi, primum ignoscere patrio dolori, si quo inclementius in te sum inventus; deinde sinas hic coram virgine nutricem percontari, quid hic rei sit, ut, si falso pater dictus sum, aequiore hinc animo discedam." Data venia seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinae ad tabernas, quibus nunc novis est nomen, atque

given to lust. — negat . . tantum = dicit non . . tantum. — con-
pertum . . habere: according to Lane, 2297, such a combination ex-
presses an action that continues in its consequences; cf. 21, 40, 5.
2. dimicationis: danger; cf. the meaning of dimicare in 3, 44, 12. —
descendisse: the Forum was surrounded by hills, on one of which Appius evidently lived.
3. da viam: dare is here used in the sense of facere; see on 5, 38, 3.
— haec: cognate accusative; in-
tonare is an intrans. verb. —
praeda: in app. with puella. —
iniuriae: a striking instance of the use of the abstract for the concrete; cf. 3, 47, 1 advocatone. The geni-
tive is possessive.

4. quo: abl. of measure of differ-
ence; in any degree too unkindly.
5. Cloacinae: sc. aedem; so, in English, we say "to St. Peter's.
This was the shrine of Venus Cloacina on the north side of the
Forum. According to Pliny 15, 119 the name is derived from an
old verb clure = purgare, and was given to Venus because at this
place, before their union, the Romans and Sabines under Romulus
and Titus Tatius were purified with myrtle, which was sacred to
Venus. — tabernas: in the republi-
can period there was a row of
shops on the southern and another
on the northern side of the Forum;
the former were called tabernae
vetere, the latter, in Livy's time,
ibis ab lanio cultro adrepto "hoc te uno quo possum" ait "modo, filia, in libertatem vindico." Pectus deinde puellae transfigit respectansque ad tribunal "te," inquit, "Appi, tuumque caput sanguine hoc consecro." Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius conprehendi Verginium iubet. Ille ferro quacumque ibat viam facere, donec multitudine etiam prosequi tuente ad portam perexit. 7 Icilius Numitoriusque exsangue corpus sublatum ostentant populo; scelus Appi, puellae infelicem formam, necessitatem patris deplorant. Sequentes clamitant matronae, eamne liberorum procreandorum condicionem, ea pudicitiae prae-mia esse? cetera, quae in tali re muliebris dolor, quo est maestior inbecillo animo, eo miserabilia magis querentibus subicit. Virorum et maxime Icili vox tota tribuniciae po-testatis ac provocationis ad populum ereptae publicarumque indignationum erat. 49. Concitatur multitudo partim atrociate sceleris, partim spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis. Appius

having probably been rebuilt after a fire, *tabernae novae* or, from the fact that they were used by bankers, *tabernae argentariae* (see 26, 11, 7). — *novis*: attracted into the case of *quibus*; see on 1, 1, 3 Troiano. — *caput*: life; cf. 3, 55, 7 qui tribunis plebis, aedilibus, iudici-bus decemviris nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum esset; also 30, 20, 7.

6. *etiam*: i.e. these also, besides his sword.

8. * clamitant*: there are two objects, the ind. disc. *eamne...esse*, and the acc. *cetera.* — *quae...subicit*: *which on such an occasion womanly grief suggests to those in distress, the more pitiful as grief in a weak mind is more intense.*

9. *virorum...vox tota*: *all the talk of the men was of the loss etc.* The genitives *potestatis, provocatio-nis, and indignationum are pos-sessive.* — *publicarum indignationum*: *public expressions of indignation*; cf. 38, 53, 1 and, for the use of the plural, cf. 5, 39, 5 *luctus*; 22, 7, 12 gaudia et luctus. It is doubtful whether *indignatio* ever means *indignity, a cause for indignation.*

49. 1. *sceleris*: of Verginius.

2. *nunc...nunc*: these correlates make the description a very
nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retractantem adripi, postrelo, cum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daret, ipse cum agrine patriciorum iuvenum per turbam vadens in vincula duci iubet. Iam circa Icilium non solum multitudo sed duces quoque multitudinis erant, L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui repulso lectore, si iure ageret, vindicare se a privato Icilium aiebant; si vim adferre conaretur, ibi quoque haud inpares fore. Hinc atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit; franguntur a multitudine fasces. In contionem Appius scenedit; secuntur Horatius Valeriusque. Eos contio audit; decemviro obstrepitur. Iam pro imperio Valerius decedere a privato lictores iubebat, cum fractis animis Appius vitae metuens in domum se propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto recipit. Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegae esset, in forum ex altera parte inruptit. Videt imperium vi victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis atque ex omni parte adsentiendo multis auctoribus

vivid one. — apparitoribus: a general term, including praecones, scribae, etc., as well as lictors.

3. L. Valerius et M. Horatius: they had already made themselves conspicuous by active opposition to the decemvirs. — ageret: sc. Appius. — a privato: it was now the middle of the year 449, the third year of the decemvirate, but there had been no election for this year; they claimed, therefore, that Appius was a private citizen, inasmuch as his year of office had expired and there had been no new appointment; that, therefore, he had not this power of summary arrest. — fore: sc. se.

4. contionem: the word has three distinct meanings,—an assembly, a speech, and, rarely, a place for speaking; the first and third occur in this passage; see on 2, 24, 6.

5. pro imperio: as if he had the imperium. — animis: see on 1, 25, 3. — vitae: dat. of interest; cf. Verg. Georg. 1, 186 inopi metuens formica senectae.

6. atque: connecting agitatus and adsentiendo; confused then in his purpose and agreeing with many advisers on every hand, he had hesitated. The plup. is used because the writer already has in mind the ultimate decision; see
7 trepidaverat; senatum postremo vocari iussit. Ea res, quod
magnae parti patrum displicere acta decemviorum vide-
bantur, spe per senatum finiendae potestatis eius multitudi-
nem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem inritandam censuit et
mundo magis providendum, ne quid Vergini adventus in
exercitu motus faceret.

1 50. Itaque missi iuniores patrum in castra, quae tum in
monte Vecilio erant, nuntiant decemviris, ut omni ope ab
2 seditione milites contingant. Ibi Verginius maiorem, quam
3 reliquerat in urbe, motum excivit. Nam praeterquam quod
agmine prope quadringentorum hominum veniens, qui ab
urbe indignitate rei accensi comites ei se dederant, con-
spectus est, strictum etiam telum respersusque ipse cruore
tota in se castra convertit. Et togae multifariam in castris
visae maioris aliquanto quam erat speciem urbanae multitu-
4 dinis fecerant. Quaerentibus quid rei esset, flens diu vocem
non misit; tandem, ut iam ex trepidatione concurrentium
turna constitit ac silentium fuit, ordine cuncta, ut gesta
5 erant, exposuit. Supinas deinde tendens manus, commili-
tones appellans orabat, ne, quod scelus Ap. Claudi esset,
on 1, 7, 1 consalutaverat. — adsen-
tiendo: see on 1, 5, 6 conparando.
8. nec ... et = et non ... et;
cf. 1, 4, 4.
50. 1. iuniores: cf. 2, 30, 4
senioribus patrum. — monte Ve-
cilio: the location is unknown; ac-
cording to Dion. Hal. 11, 40 and
Diod. 12, 24 the army was still on
Mt. Algidus, and this may have
been a part of that mountain.—
decemviris: five of the decem-
virii were fighting against the
Aequians.

2. quam reliquerat: brachylogy
for quam is erat quem reliquerat.
3. agmine: abl. of accompani-
ment; for a different use cf. § 13
and see on 1, 6, 2. — conspectus
est: attracted attention; cf. 21, 4,
8 arma atque equi conspiciebantur;
45, 7, 3. — strictum, respersus:
these are the emphatic words; cf.
3, 48, 9 ereptae.
4. quaerentibus: see on 2, 23, 5
sciscitantibus.
5. supinas: with the palms up-
ward in the attitude of prayer; cf.
sibi adtribuerent neu se ut parricidam liberum aversare- 6
itur: sibi vitam filiae sua cariorem fuisse, si liberac ac pud-
cae vivere licitum fuisse; cum velut servam ad stuprum
rapi videret, morte amitti melius ratum quam contumelia
liberos, misericordia se in speciem crudelitatis lapsum.
Nec se superstitem filiae futurum fuisse, nisi spem ulcis-
cendae mortis eis in auxilio commilitonum habuisset. Illic
quoque enim filias, sorores coniugesque esse, nec cum filia
sua libidinem Ap. Claudi extinctam esse, sed quo inpuni-
tior sit, eo effrenatiorem fore. Aliena calamitate docu-
mentum datum illis cavendae similis injuriae. Quod ad se
adtineat, uxorom sibi fato ereptam, filiam, quia non ultra
pudica victura fuerit, miseram sed honestam mortem occu-
buisse. Non esse iam Appi libidini locum in domo sua;
ab alia violentia eis eodem se animo suum corpus vindica-
turum, quo vindicaverit filiae; ceteri sibi ac liberis suis
consularent. Haec Verginio vociferanti subclamabat mul-
titudo, nec illius dolori nec suae libertati se defuturos. Et
inmixti turbae militum togati simul eadem illa querendo

26, 9, 8. — parricidam: used here in a general sense, murderer.
6. fuisse: representing fuit in the direct form; Lane, 2103. —
liberae: sc. ei; cf. 9, 4, 9 armatis.
7. filiae: Livy uses either gen.
or dat. with superstes. — enim: in
the third place because quoque
cannot well be separated from
illis; cf. 2, 18, 4 id quoque enim
traditur. — sit: note the change
to the primary sequence; see on
1, 27, 8.
8. aliena . . . datum: for the
thought cf. 21, 34, 2. — documen-
tum: warning; cf. Praef. 10 and
1, 28, 6. — victura fuerit: repre-
senting victura fuit in the direct
form, the apodosis of a non-occur-
rent condition in past time; the
protasis is contained in ultra.
10. defuturos: i.e. they would
avenge his sorrow and maintain
their own freedom, the verb hav-
ing somewhat different meanings
with the two nouns; cf. 3, 46, 4. —
togati: this word and insecuti
are the subjects of pepulerunt. —
eadem: the object of querendo,
serving also as the subject of po-
tuerint. — potuerint: see on 3, 34,
5. — prodigatam: at its last gasp;
docendoque, quanto visa quam audita indigniora potuerint videri, simul profiigatam iam rem nuntiando Romae esse, insecutique, qui Appium prope interemptum in exilium abisse dicarent, perpulerunt, ut ad arma concludamaretur vellerentque signa et Romam proficiscerentur. Decemviri simul iis quae videbant iisque quae acta Romae audierant perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum ad sedandos motus discurrunt. Et leniter agentibus respondum non redditur; imperium si quis inhiberet, et viros et armatos se esse respondetur. Eunt agmine ad urbeb et Aventinum insidunt, ut quisque occurrerat, plebem ad repetendam libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis adhortantes. Alia vox nulla violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. Oppius habet. Nihil placet aspere agi: quippe ab ipsis datum locum seditionis esse. Mittuntur tres legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Iulius, P. Sulpicius, qui quaererent senatus verbis, cuius iussu castra deseruissent, aut quid sibi vellent, qui armati Aventinum obsedissent belloque averso ab hostibus patriam suam cepissent. Non defuit quod responderetur; deerat qui darem respondum, nullo modo certo duce, nec satis auden-

for a somewhat different meaning see 21, 40, 11. — rem: the decemvirate.

11. vellerentque signa: the usual preliminary to the march; cf. 5, 37, 4; 22, 3, 11.

12. imperium inhiberet: exerted authority; contrasted with leniter agentibus; for the mood see on 3, 36, 8.

13. agmine: abl. of manner; see on 1, 6, 2 and cf. § 3. — ut . . . occurrerat: connect with adhor-tantes; cf. 22, 46, 1 ut quosque traduxerat and see on 27, 51, 4. — Sp. Oppius: the only decemvir who had remained in the city with Appius.

15. C. Julius: one of the first decemvirs; see 3, 33, 3. — senatus verbis: in the name of the senate; cf. 7, 31, 10. — quid sibi vellent: cf. 3, 35, 5. — bello . . . hostibus: abandoning the war against the enemy. — patriam: see on 1, 1, 8.

16. nullo modo = nondum ullo, a combination peculiar to Livy; cf. 3, 60, 10 nec omnes dum.
tibus singulis invidiae se offerre. Id modo a multitudine conclamatum est, ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent: iis se datumos responsum.

51. Dimissis legatis admonet milites Verginius in re non maxima Paulo ante trepidatum esse, quia sine capite multitudine fuerit, responsuque, quamquam non inutiliter, fortuito tamen magis consensu quam communi consilio esse. Placere decem creari, qui summae rei praesent, militari-que honore tribunos militum appellari. Cum ad eum ipsum primum is honos deferretur, "mellioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate" inquit "ista de me iudicia; nec mihi filia inulta honorem  ullam iucundum esse patitur, nec in perturbata re publica eos utile est praesse vos, qui proximi invidiae sint. Si quis usus mei est, nihilominus ex privato capiatur." Ita decem numero tribunos militari creant.

Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus. Ibi quoque auctore Icilio Numitorioque secessio ab decemviris facta est, non minore motu animorum Sicci caedis memoria renovata, quam quem nova fama de virgine adeo foede ad libidinem petita accenderat. Icilius ubi audivit tribunos militum in

51. 1. trepidatum esse: there had been embarrassment, because there was no one to answer the representatives of the senate; for the meaning of the verb cf. 2, 28, 1.

2. placere: historical infinitive. — decem: the number was the same as that of the plebeian tribunes, which had been increased in 457 to ten. — honore: abl. of cause, elsewhere in Livy, in similar context, with the prep. a; cf. 1, 8, 7 patres certe ab honore... ap-

pellati. militari = an obj. gen.; to do honor to the soldiers.

3. melioribus... rebus: for an occasion more happy for you and me.

4. proximi invidiae: most exposed to ill will.

5. ex privato: sc. me.

7. Icilio Numitorioque: we are not told elsewhere that they had left the city. — Sicci caedis: see on chaps. 37–43. — quem: i.e. motum animorum.

8. comitiorum: the word is used
Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militarum praerogativam urbana comitia iisdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium inminensque ei potestati et ipse, priusquam iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat. Porta Collina urbem intravere sub signis mediaque urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi coniuncti alteri exercitui viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt, ut ex suo numero duos crearent, qui summae rerum praeesseant. M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium creant.

Patres solliciti de summa rerum, cum senatus cotidie esset, iurgii saepius terunt tempus quam consiliis. Sicci caedes decemviris et Appiana libido et dedecora militiae obiciebantur. Placebat Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros, quam si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratus eius, quo anno iam ante abissent. Decemviri, querentes se in ordinem cogi, non ante quam perlatis legibus, quarum causa creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant.

loosely of the crowd of soldi−rs because they had elected the tribunes.—praerogativam: properly, the century to which it fell by lot to vote first; then, as here, the choice of those voting first. This was regarded by the superstitious Romans as an omen, and was likely to determine the result of an election. Cf. 21, 3, 1 haud dubia res fuit, quin praerogativam militarem... favor plebis sequeretur. —tribunis plebis: see on § 2 decem.

9. inminens ei potestati: eager for that office; that of tribunus plebis.

10. porta Collina: at the north−eastern corner of the Servian city; abl. of the way by which; so, media urbe. —agmine: see on 1, 6, 2. —summae rerum: the con−duct of affairs, as in § 2; in the next section the same expression means the State.

12. dedecora militiae: their lack of success in war.—quo: the antecedent is magistratus; for the construction cf. 2, 27, 13 magistratu. Their term had expired at the end of the preceding year.

13. in ordinem cogi: see on 3, 35, 6.
52. Per M. Duillium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior
facta plebs contentionibus adsiduis nihil transigi, in Sacrum
montem ex Aventino transit, adfirmante Duillio non prius
quam deseri urbem videant, curam in animos patrum
descensuram; admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiae
plebis, sciturosque, sine restituta potestate tribunicia redigi
in concordiam res ne queant. Via Nomentana, cui tum
Ficulensi nomen fuit, prefecti castra in monte Sacro loca-
vere, modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati.
Secuta exercitum plebs, nullo, qui per aetatem ire posset,
retractante. Prosecuntur coniuges liberique, cuinam se
relinquenter in ea urbe, in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas
sancta esset, miserabiliter rogitantes.

Cum vasta Romae omnia insueta solitudo fecisset, in foro
praeter paucos seniorum nemo esset, vocatis utique in sena-
tum patribus desertum adparuiisset forum, plures iam quam

5. vasta: used in its original meaning, empty, suggesting the
desolate appearance of the city, while solitudo is a colorless
word, indicating only a lack of people; cf. 1, 4, 6. — insueta: used abso-
lutely as in 21, 35, 3. — fecisset... esse... adparuiisset: asyndeton
is common between clauses introduced by cum, the temporal con-
junction appearing only with the first or being repeated; cf. 22, 49,
4. — seniorum: unable on account
of their age to leave the city. —
vocatis... forum: especially when
the senators were summoned to the
senate-house, the Forum appeared
deserted.

6. ruere ac desagrarre: not a
6 Horatius ac Valerius vociferabantur: "Quid expectabitis, patres conscripti? Si decemvirī finem pertinaciam non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare omnia passūri estis? Quod autem istud imperium est, decemvirī, quod amplexi tenetis? Tec-
tis ac parietibus iura dicitūri estis? Non pudet lictorum
vestrorum maiorem prope numerum in foro conspici quam
togatorum aliorum? Quid, si hostes ad urbem veniant, fac-
tūri estis? Quid, si plebs mox, ubi parum secresione mo-
veamur, armata veniāt? Occasūne urbīs vultīs finīre impe-
rium? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda aut habendi sunt
tribūni plebei. Nos cītius caruērimus patriciis magistrati-
bus quam illi plebei. Novam inexpertamque eam potes-
tatem eripuere patribus nostrīs; ne nunc dulcedine semel
captī ferant desiderium, cum praedaēm nec nos tempere-
mus imperiīs, quo minus illi auxili ēgeant." Cum haec ex
omni parte iactarentur, victi consensu decemvīri futuros se,
quando ita videātur, in potestate patrum adfīrmanīt. Id
modo simul orant ac movent, ut īpsis ab īnvidia caveātur,
nec suo sanguine ad supplicia patrum plebeī adscīciant.

8. non est habenda: must be
given up; instead of non habēre,
another verb would naturally have,
been used, if Livy had not thought
to gain emphasis by bringing to-
tgether the negative and the affirm-
ative of the same verb. — carueri-
mus: potential subjunctive.

9. inexpertam: used passively,
as experta in 2, 29, 1. — ne . . .
ferant desiderium: still less would
they bear the lack of it; ne for the
more usual nēdum. — cum prae-
sertim: always in this order in Livy.
— nec = non: see on 1, 25, 10.
10. quando: used often by Livy
for quandoquidem; with this ex-
ception, its use in this sense is con-
fined almost entirely to poetry and
post-Augustan prose; cf. 9, 8, 4.
— videātūr: for the tense see on
1, 28, 1 vertat; Lane, 1752.
11. ut . . . caveātur: that they
be protected from the animosity of
the people. — ad supplicia: there
appears to be no other example of
this construction with adsumfaciō.
Book V


35. Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente 3 flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem 396 Clusium Romamque inde venisse conperio; id parum cer-
tum est, solamne an ab omnibus Cisalpinorum Gallorum
populis adiutam.

Clusini novo bello exterriti, cum multitudinem, cum 4 formas hominum invisitatas cernerent et genus armorum,
audirentque saepe ab iis cis Padum ultrade legiones Etru-
sorum fusas, quamquam adversus Romanos nullum eis ius
societatis amicitiaeae erat, nisi quid Veientes consangui-


35. 3. Senones: from Gallia Lugdunensis, not far south of the Seine. — recentissimi: Livy has mentioned as earlier invaders Cenomani, Saluvii, Boii, Lingones, and many others who had come still earlier. — Utente: the Utens or Utis, flowing into the Adriatic near Ravenna; now the Montone. — Aesim: flowing into the Adriatic near Ancona; now the Esino. The Senones established themselves south of the Gauls who had preceded them, the Lingones, on the coast of Umbria. — habuere: took and held, the first idea being only implied. — Clusium: in the east central part of Etruria, about eighty miles north of Rome. — solamne... adiutam: the construction of the ind. disc. introduced by conperio is continued, in spite of the fact that this is properly an indirect question.

4. novo: strange; cf. Hor. Od. 2, 15, 20 templum novo decorare saxo. — genus armorum: see 22, 46, 5. — adversus: toward, with; cf. 3, 33, 8; 45, 8, 4. The word indicates usually, as in the next clause, a hostile attitude rather than a friendly one. — societatis: formal alliance; amicitiae: a friendly relation. — Veientes: Veii had been taken by Camillus in 396. This had been the first conquest of the Romans outside of Latium, but it is evident that their power was already recognized. 105
neos adversus populum Romanum non defendissent, legatos Romam, qui auxilium ab senatu peterent, misere. De auxilio nihil impetratum; legati tres M. Fabi Ambusti filii missi, qui senatus populique Romani nomine aegerent cum Gallis, ne, a quibus nullam iniuriam accepiissent, socios populi Romani atque amicos oppugnarent: Romanis eos bello quoque, si res cogat, tuendos esse; sed melius visum bellum ipsum amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potius cognosci quam armis.

36. Mitis legatio, ni praeferoes legatos Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus, postquam manda data ediderunt in concilio Gallorum, datur responsum: etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium a Clusinis in re trepida sit inploratum. Et quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem quam illi adferant aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium concedant;

5. de auxilio . . . impetratum: this is decidedly inconsistent with the words of the Roman envoys in § 6 Romanis . . . tuendos esse. Livy may well have been in doubt as to the facts; according to Diod. 14, 113, the Roman envoys were sent only to discover the strength of the Gauls. — socios . . . amicos: to avoid an inconsistency (cf. § 4 nullum . . . erat), we must understand that the envoys from Clusium arranged with the senate terms of societas and amicitia.

36. 1. mitis legatio: sc. erat; the purpose of the embassy was conciliatory, and it would have accomplished its purpose if etc. For the form of the apodosis, see Lane, 2104, 2106.

2. novum: for the first time. — credere, esse: the subject of each inf. is omitted; cf. § 4 velle. — in re trepida: cf. 1, 27, 7.

3. ne se quidem: i.e. they, too, as well as the Romans, desired peace. — Gallis: used instead of sibi, to emphasize the contrast between the poverty of the Gauls and the superfluous wealth of the people of Clusium. Note the chias tic arrangement. — concedant: sc. Clusini as subject.
aliter pacem impetrari, non posse. Et responsum coram Romanis accipere velle, et, si negetur ager, coram ipsidem Romanis dimicaturos, ut nuntiare domum possent, quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent. Quodnam id ius esset, agrum a possessoribus petere aut minari arma, Romanis quaerentibus, et quid in Etruria rei Gallis esset, cum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium viorum esse ferociter dicerent, accensis utrimque animis ad arma discurrir et proelium consenitur. Ibi, iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis, legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt. Nec id clam esse potuit, cum ante signa Etruscorum tres nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae iuventutis pugnarent; tantum eminebat peregrina virtus. Quin etiam Q. Fabius evectus extra aciem equo ducem Gallorum ferociter in ipsa signa Etruscorum incursantem per latus transfixum hasta occidit; spoliaque eius legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem Romanum legatum esse signum datum est. Omissa inde in Clusinos ira, receptui canunt minantes Romanis. Erant qui extemplo Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores.

4. negetur, possent: such variation of tense in the subordinate clauses of ind. disc. is common, but it is often difficult to give a satisfactory explanation; see on 1, 27, 8.—quantum: for this acc. form used adverbially with a verb indicating comparison, cf. 5, 38, 4 tantum and 27, 47, 11 quantum a mari abscedebat, tanto altioribus coercentibus annem ripis non inveniret vada.—virtute . . . mortales: for the construction cf. 7, 30, 4.

5. quaerentibus: with two dependent questions, quodnam . . . esset and quid . . . esset.—ferociter: boldly.—ad arma dis currir: they ran to arms. The Gallic army and that of Clusium were apparently present at the interview.

6. clam: cf. 2, 23, 14 prope.—ante signa: in the front rank. It seems that on this occasion the front rank consisted of cavalry, as these young men would naturally have fought on horseback; see § 7 equo.

8. ut . . . mitterentur: a sub-
ut legati prius mitterentur questum iniurias postulatumque
9 ut pro iure gentium violato Fabii dederentur. Legati Gal-
lorum cum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent, senatui
nec factum placebat Fabiorum, et ius postulare barbari
videbantur. Sed ne id quod placebat decerneret in tantae
nobilitatis viris, ambitio obstabat. Itaque ne penes ipsos
culpa esset, si clades forent Gallico bello acceptae, cogni-
tionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum reiciunt; ubi
tanto plus gratia atque opes valuere, ut, quorum de poena
agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in insequentem
annum crearentur. Quo facto haud secus quam dignum
erat infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes ad suos
redeunt. Tribuni militum cum tribus Fabiis creati Q.
Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius quartum, P. Cornelius
Maluginensis.

1 37. Cum tanta moles mali instaret—adeo obcaecat
309 B.C. animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non
vult—, civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem
hostem aliosque finitimos populos ultima experiens auxilia
dictatorem multis tempestatibus dixisset, ea tunc, invisitato

stantive clause, object of *vicere*,
equivalent to an acc. of kindred
meaning; cf. 9, 3, 8.
9. nec . . . et: see on 3, 49,
8. — in: in the case of; cf. 3, 45,
2. — ambitio: interest, policy; cf.
3, 47, 4. The senate did not want
to offend the powerful Fabian *gens*.
10. cognitionem: decision, as
well as consideration.—reiciunt:
regularly used when a judicial
body gives up its authority, in
order to avoid responsibility; cf.
2, 28, 2.—gratia: popularity.—
quorum: sc. the antecedent *ei* as
subject of *crearentur*; *tribuni* is
predicate nominative.

37. 1. *Fidenatem ac Veientem*
*hostem*: the Romans had had
constant wars with these two
peoples until their final subjugation
in 438 and 396 respectively.
—*dixisset*: a relative clause of
concession.

2. *ea*: modifying *civitas*, which
is subject of *quaesivit*; cf. 1, 58,
11 *cultum, quem sub veste abdi-
tum habebat, cum in corde desigit.*

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atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extraordinarii imperi aut auxili quaesivit. Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat, summae rerum praerant, dilectumque nihilum accuratiorem quam ad media bella haberi solitus erat, extenuantes etiam famam belli, habebant. Interim Galli, postquam accepere ultra honorem habitum violatoribus iuris humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantes ira, cuius inpotens est gens, confestim signis convulsis citato agmine iter ingeniuntur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumultum cum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore significabant, quacumque ibant, equis virisque longe ac late fuso agmine inmensum obtinentes loci. Sed antecedente fama nuntiusque Clusinorum, deinceps inde aliorum populorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium tulit, quippe quibus, velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto, aegre ad undecimum lapidem occurrum est, qua flumen Alia, Crus-

ea emphasizes the fact that it was the same state which on other occasions had appointed a dictator. — ab ... oris: referring to the Gauls in general. — auxili: i.e. they held no special levy.

3. summae rerum: see on 3, 51, 10. — media: cf. 2, 49, 5 nihil medium ... sed inmensa omnia volventium animo.

4. uto: see on 1, 5, 3. — habitum: for this use of habere in place of dare cf. 25, 31, 10; 45, 8, 8. — cuius: the gen. with inpotens is first found in Livy.

5. ad: see on 1, 25, 6; cf. 5, 47, 3. — Romam: note the emphatic position. — equis virisque: cavalry and infantry; cf. 21, 27, 1 equites virique.

6. deinceps inde: then in succession; not pleonastic.

7. quippe quibus ... est: for the mood see on Praef. 2 and Lane, 1827. The indic. with quippe qui occurs four times in the first decade and twice in the remaining books (H. J. Mueller). — tumultuario: cf. 22, 45, 4; according to Plut. Camil. 18, a majority of the troops were inexperienced. — aegre: they would be anxious to stop the enemy as far as possible from Rome. — lapidem: on an
tuminis montibus praelato defluens alveo, haud multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur. Iam omnia contra circaque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta conpleverant sono.

38. Ibi tribuni militum, non loco castris ante capto, non praemunito vallo, quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem, si non hominum, memoris, nec auspicato nec litato instruunt aciem diductam in cornua, ne circumveniri multitudine hostium possent; nec tamen aequari frontes poterant, cum extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem medium aciem haberent. Paulum erat ab dextra editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleti placuit; eaque res ut ini-

early road following the line of the later Via Salaria, which began at the Colline Gate. — Crustuminis: though the exact site cannot be determined, Crustumerium was probably about eight miles northeast of Rome.

38. contra circaque: in front and on each side. — nata: cf. 9, 9, 11.

38. praemunito: constructed in advance. — receptus: cf. 44, 39, 2 maiores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus duciant esse . . . quo iactati tempestatem pugnae receptum haberent. — hominum: the enemy. The thought is, If they had no fear of the enemy, it was equally true that they had no fear of the gods.

non . . . saltem has almost the meaning of ne . . . quidem. — litato: litare ordinarily means to get favorable omens from a sacrifice, but, as it was the custom when the signs were unfavorable to repeat the sacrifice until good results were obtained, we may assume that on this occasion no sacrifice at all was offered; here, then, litare means to sacrifice. — instruunt aciem: the battle occurred, according to Livy and other authorities, on July 18; the dies Aliensis was afterwards declared a dies religiosus. — diductam: proleptic. They placed the ends of the line as far apart as possible and, to fill the gap, extended the centre, with the result described in the next section. Cf. 31, 21, 14 ut extenuatam medium didicitis cornibus aciem Gallorum vidit.

2. aequari: i.e. their line was not so long as that of the Gauls, although (cum) etc. — ut initium
tium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in paucitate hostium 3 artem maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum, ut, ubi Galli cum acie legionum recta fronte concurrissent, subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos loco depulisset, haud dubius facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudine victoriam fore; adeo non fortunâ modo sed ratio etiam cum barbaris stabat. In altera acie nihil simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaeque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium oblivio, ut molto maior pars Veios, in hostium urbem, cum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus; in reliqua acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene

... fugientibus: the Gauls first attacked this hill, and while the fight there was in progress, the rest of the Roman army made its escape.

3. recta fronte: cf. 22, 47, 2 frontibus adversis.—in aversos transversosque: on their rear and flank.—darent: dare is elsewhere used for facere in this phrase and others; cf. 3, 48, 3; 7, 2, 4; 21, 32, 8 fugam stragemque dedissent. —si . . . depulisset: the apodosis is facilem . . . fore.

4. in aequo campi: a phrase apparently without parallel, the intention being to emphasize the idea in aequus; in view of the flatness of the field. Livy uses very freely, instead of an attributive adj., a neut. adj., sing. or plur., with a genitive, but usually to express a partitive idea; cf. 5, 47, 6 reliquum noctis; 21, 34, 7 extrema agminis; 9, 3, 1 adversa montium.—tantum: see on 5, 36, 4.—superanti: better taken as a dat. referring to Brennus, though it may be regarded as an abl. abs. with multitudine; cf. 5, 21, 4 superante multitudine, and, for the form of the participle, 21, 43, 14 ignorantii.

5. fuga: see on 21, 29, 3.—hostium urbem: an inaccurate statement, as Veii had succumbed to Rome six years before.

6. simul = simul ac.—proximis: those nearest the hill; ultimis: those farthest away. Both
quam viderent, non modo non temptato certamine sed ne
7 clamore quidem reddito, integri intactique fugerunt. Nec
ulla caedes pugnantium fuit; terga caesa suomet ipsorum
8 certamine in turba inpedientium fugam. Circa ripam
Tiberis, quo armis abiectis totum sinistrum cornu refugit,
magna strages facta est, multosque inperitos nandi aut
invalidos, graves loricis aliisque tegminibus, hauere gur-
gites. Maxima tamen pars incolomis Veios perfugit, unde
non modo praesidi quicquam sed ne nuntius quidem cla-
dis Romam est missus. Ab dextro cornu, quod procul a
fumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes pe-
tiere, et ne clausis quidem portis urbis in arcem confu-
gerunt.

1 39. Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum vic-
toriae tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore defixi primum
steterunt velut ignari quid accidisset; deinde insidias ve-
reri; postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumu-
los, ut mos eis est, coacervare. Tum demum, postquam

are datives of agent; Lane, 1216.
It is not clear how the Gauls had
managed to reach the rear of the
Roman left wing. — **non modo non**:
usually the second *non* is omitted;
cf. § 9 and see on 22, 3, 14.

7. **terga . . . fugam**: cf. 37,
43, 9 erat sua ipsorum turba, cum
solutis ordinibus velut caeci super
alios alií ruerent.

8. **circa = ad**; cf. 45, 2, 8. —
tegminibus: *tegumentum* is the
usual word in the prose of this
period.

9. **non modo**: see on § 6.

10. **monte**: this can hardly be
the elevation of § 2, but is rather
one of the hills mentioned in the
previous chapter, § 7. — **Romam . . . petiere**: Paul. Diac. p. 119
Lucaria festa in luce coelebant Ro-
mani, qui permagnus inter viam
Salaria et Tiberim fuit, pro eo,
quod victi a Gallis fugientes e
proelio ibi se occultaverint. — ar-
cem: the Capitoline Hill.

39. 1. **quoque**: explained by
*et ipsi . . . steterunt*; the Ro-
mans were paralyzed by defeat
and fear, the Gauls by success.

2. **postquam**: *since*; see on 3, 
46, 9. — **ante solis occasum**: ac-
cording to Diod. 14, 115, the Gauls
reached Rome on the second day
nihil usquam hostile cernebatur, viam ingressi, haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Vbi cum praegressi equites non portas clausas, non stationem pro portis excubare, non armatos esse in muris retulissent, allud priori simile miraculum eos sustinuit; noctemque veriti et ignotae situm urbis inter Romam atque Anienem consedere exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas, quaenam hostibus in perdita re consilia essent. Romani, cum pars maior ex acie Veios petisset quam Romam, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos qui Romam refugerant crederet, conplorati omnes pariter vivi mortuique totam prope urbem lamentis inpleverunt. Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam hostes adesse nuntiatum est. Mox ululatus cantusque dissonos vagantibus circa moenia turmatim barbaris audiebant. Omne inde

after the battle and then encamped outside the walls for two days. Livy implies in 5, 41, 4 that they entered the city on the day after the battle. — non portas clausas: Diod. says that the Gauls were obliged to break down the gates. — sustinuit: checked.

3. aliasque portas: other than those already visited.

4. Romani . . . conplorati: see on 1, 3, 4 coloniam deductam. Until we reach conplorati, we do not realize that Romani refers, not to the Romans in the city, whose condition Livy would naturally have described after speaking of the enemy outside the walls, but to those who had fought at the Alia. The unexpected is the more conspicuous in Livy, because his narrative ordinarily runs so smoothly. If there is anything illogical here, however, it is a matter of language only, for the sentence describes what was taking place in the city. — petisset, crederet: for the asyndeton see on 3, 52, 5; it should be noted that here the second clause indicates the result of the first. — vivi mortuique: those who had fled to Veii and those who had been killed at the Alia.

5. luctus: expressions of grief; cf. 3, 48, 9 indignationum. — stupefecit: stifled; the simple verb, except in the perf. part., is apparently not used elsewhere in prose. — ululatus: cf. the description of the Gauls in 21, 28, 1.

Livy—8

II3
tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem iam in urbem futurus videretur impetus: primo adventu, quia accesserant ad urbem—mansuros 7 enim ad Aliamuisse, nisi hoc consili foret; deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, ante noctem rati invasuros; tum in noctem dilatum consilium esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent; postremo lux adpropinquans examinare; timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit, cum signa infesta portis sunt inlata. Nequaquam tamen ea nocte neque insequenti die similis illi 9 quae ad Aliam tam pavide fugerat civitas fuit. Nam cum defendi urbem posse tam parva relicita manu spes nulla esset, placuit cum coniugibus ac liberis iuventutem militarem senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque concedere

6. identidem: they constantly found reason to fear that the attack would occur immediately (iam). identidem is explained in the following words by reference to four successive periods.—primo adventu: sc. futurus videbatur impetus.—mansuros . . . foret: ind. disc., justified by the idea of thinking implied in videretur; the ind. disc. is continued in the two following clauses, but, as if to explain their relation to the sentence, rati (sunt) is inserted.

7. sub occasum solis: soon after their arrival, for they reached the city not long before sunset; see § 2. For the meaning of sub see on 7, 31, 5.—invasuros: sc. hostes as subject.

8. examinare: historical infinitive.—continens fuit: followed close upon; lit., was adjoining. Cf. 37, 40, 6 continens his grex sedecim elephanto rum.—similis . . . civitas: cf. 5, 38, 5.—pavide: Livy has used here a very rare adverb when he might have used the adjective.

9. senatusque robur: the younger senators, whose aid in defense of the Capitoline would be valuable.—arcem Capitoliumque: the arx was the northern summit of the Capitoline Hill; the name Capitolium was applied to the whole hill, but also especially, as here, to the southern summit. On the former was the temple of Juno, the latter was almost entirely occupied by the great temple of Jupiter; cf. § 12 sedes deorum. Though practically inaccessible on
armisque et frumento conlato ex loco inde munito deos hominesque et Romanum nomen defendere; flaminem sacerdotesque Vestales sacra publica a caede, ab incendiis procul auferre nec ante deseri cultum eorum quam non superessent qui coherent. Si arx Capitoliumque, sedes deorum, si senatus, caput publici consili, si militaris iuven-tus superfuerit iniminenti ruinae urbis, facilem iacturam esse seniorum relictae in urbe utique periturae turbae. Et quo id aeque de animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes triumphales consularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere obturatos nec his corporibus quibus non arma ferre, non tueri patriam possent oneraturos inopiam armatorum.

40. Haec inter seniores morti destinatos iactata sola-cia. Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum, quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequabantur, commen-

the northwestern side, the hill was protected there by the wall of Servius Tullius, of which a fragment still remains. There were cliffs also on the southeastern side, which faced the Forum, but here the top of the hill was reached by the Clivus Capitolinus, which led from the Forum to the depression between the two summits.

10. inde: used in this way, it is almost equal to a demonstrative; from that fortified place; cf. 5, 43. 3.

11. flaminem: the flamen Quirinalis; see 5, 40, 7. There were three flamines maiores,—the flamen Dialis (of Jupiter), the flamen Martialis, and the flamen Quirinalis,—and twelve flamines minores, attached to less important divinities. — sacerdotes Vestales: usually called virgines Vestales, Vestales, or virgines.— sacra publica: these sacred objects were kept in the temple of Vesta with the greatest care and secrecy. What they were is unknown, but ancient writers mention most commonly the Trojan Palladium and Penates. Serv. ad Aen. 7, 188 gives a list of seven, including the ashes of Orestes, the sceptre of Priam, and the shields of Mars, but this is evidently a late invention.

12. urbis: the rest of the city, as distinct from the Capitoline. — utique: anyway.

13. id: referring to periturae.

40. i. prosequabantur: sc. seniores as subject. The repeti-
dantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis, per trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis, quaecumque reliqua esset fortuna. Digredientibus qui spem omnem atque opem secum ferebant ab his qui captae urbis non superesse statuerant exitio, cum ipsa res speciesque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris fletus et concursatio incerta nunc hos nunc illos sequentium rogitantiumque viros natosque cui se facto darent, nihil quod humani superesset mali relinquebant. Magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos persecuta sunt nec prohibenteullo nec vocante, quia, quod utile obsessis ad minuendam inbellem multitudinem, id parum humanum erat. Alia maxime plebis turba, quam

tion of in makes it clear that the young men were distributed between the two summits.—iuventae: youthful vigor; the word is rarely used in this sense.—urbis: gen. with fortunam, which, however, instead of appearing in that form as object of commendantes, has been taken into the relative clause as its subject.—trecentos sexaginta: in round numbers; in 5, 54, 5 Camillus refers to this same year as the 365th of the city.—omnibus bellis: this statement is approximately true and is repeated in 7, 33, 6 Romanis contra quadrirgentorum annorum decora et conditae urbi aequalis victoria.

2. urbis: see on 5, 39, 12.

3. Livy is very effective in the description of such scenes as this; cf. 1, 29 and 22, 7.—sequentium rogitantiumque: sc. mulierum from muliebris; cf. 2, 53, 1 Veiens bellum exortum, quibus Sabini arma coniunxerunt; see on 21, 41, 4.—rogitantium: cf. 1, 29, 3; 3, 52, 4; 22, 7, 11 sciscitantes; this idea of constant and anxious questioning is prominent in such descriptions.—nihil...relinquebant: i.e. they reached the extreme of human misery.

4. nec vocante: this apparent indifference on the part of the defenders does not speak well for the family affection of the Romans.—quia...erat: explaining the fact that the women were neither urged nor forbidden to take refuge on the Capitoline; because the thing that would have helped the besieged by diminishing the crowd of non-combatants was somewhat cruel.

5. maxime: connect with plebis; the rest of the crowd, mostly plebeians; cf. 5, 7, 2 multitudo facibus maxime armata.—exiguus collis: the length of the
nec capere tam exigus collis nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa velut agmine iam uno pettit Janiculum. Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quiseque sperm, sua consilia communibus deploratis sequentes. Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales omissa rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae, quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant, relinquenda essent consultantes, quisve ea locus fidelis adservaturus custodia esset, optimum ducunt condita in diloliis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc despuit religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito ferunt via quae Sublicio Ponte ducit ad Janiculum. In eo clivo eas cum

Capitoline Hill, from northeast to southwest, is about one quarter of a mile, and the greatest width less than one eighth of a mile. — in tanta inopia frumenti: cf. 5, 48, 1; only a small amount could be collected in the short time allowed for these preparations. — Ianiculum: crossing the Tiber by the Pons Sublicius, the only bridge at that time, they would be at the foot of the Janiculum, which is considerably higher than any of the hills on the left bank.

6. urbes: of southern Etruria. — deploratis: despaired of; cf. 9, 7, 1; 26, 12, 4. The word appears not to have been used in this sense before Livy.

7. omissa . . . cura: with no thought of their property; the contrast is between their property and the sacred relics.

8. diloliis: rough earthen vessels. The place where these were buried, in the Forum Boarium near the river, was called Doliola and is described by Varro, L.L. 5, 157 doliola ad cluacam maximam, ubi non licet despüere, a doliolis sub terra. — sacello: Plut. Camillus 20 says they were buried under the temple of Quirinus, but the location of the temple, like that of the flamen’s house, is unknown. — despuit religio est: it is a sacrilege to spit. Besides this tradition connected with the place, it seems to have been the custom to bury here in earthen vessels offerings to the gods of the lower world; so there were religious scruples against profaning a holy place. — Sublicio Ponte: see on § 5.

9. in eo clivo: on the road which crossed the Janiculum. —
L. Albinius, de plebe [Romana] homo, conspexisset plaus tro coniugem ac liberos avehens inter ceteram turbam quae inutilis bello urbe excedebat, salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum, religiosum ratus sacer dotes publicas sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferri que, se ac suos in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem ac pueros iussit, virgines sacraque in plaustrum inposit et Caere, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

41. Romae interim satis iam omnibus ut in tali re ad tuendum arcem conpositis turba seniorum domos regressi adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo expectabant.

Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque ac virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus triumphanti-

plaustro: a heavy, two-wheeled cart.

10. religiosum: for the meaning cf. religio in § 8. — publicas: the Vestals, having charge of the public hearth on which burned the eternal fire, were guardians of the welfare of the whole people. — iri ferrique: to be taken with sacerdotes and sacra respectively. — Caere: about twenty miles northwest of Rome near the coast of Etruria. Val. Max. 1, 1, 10 tells the story of Albinius and the reception of the Vestals by the people of Caere, and adds that, in recognition of their kindness, sacred rites were henceforth called caerimoniae.

41. 1. ut in tali re: restricting both omnibus and conpositis; see on 1, 3, 3 and cf. 21, 34, 1. — arcem: used here of the whole hill; see on 5, 39, 9. — turba . . . expectabant: see on 2, 28, 9 convolavere.

2. curules magistratus: offices which gave the imperium and the right to use the curule chair, — at this time those of dictator, consul, censor, and master of horse; later, the praetorship and the curule aedileship were instituted as curule offices, though the latter did not carry the imperium. — augustissima vestis: the toga picta, of purple embroidered with gold, and the tunica palmata, embroidered with palm branches. For the construction see on Praef. 11 in quam civitatem. — tensas: the cars on which the images of the gods were carried to the games in the Circus. The magistrates con-
busve, ea vestiti medio aedium ebuneis sellis sedere. Sunt 3 
qui M. Folio pontifice maximo praefante carmen devovisse 
eos se pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis tradant. Galli et 
quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant ani-
mos et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio 
nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore 
amorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collina porta 
in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templum deum 
arcemque solam belli speciem tenentem. Inde modico re-
licto praesidio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio 
impetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursu hominum 
viis pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars 
ultima, velut ea demum intacta et referta praeda, petunt. 
Inde rursus ipsa solitudine absterriti, ne qua fraus hostilis 6 

ducting them were dressed as if for a triumph. The wearing of 
these garments had a peculiar sig-
nificance here, as it was the cus-
tom for a man to be buried in 
the insignia of the highest office 
he had held.—medio aedium: 
this would naturally mean inside 
the house, probably in the atrium, 
but see on § 8. medio and sellis 
without in, as often in Livy. 
3. praefante carmen: dictating 
the formula; cf. 8, 9, 4 praei verba. 
For the complete formula see 8, 9, 
6 ff. In the ceremony of devoto 
the individual offered was regarded 
as a sacrifice, by which the wrath 
of the gods was appeased, or in 
return for which active coöpera-
tion was secured.—Quiritibus 
Romanis; see on 1, 16, 6; the 
combination is uncommon, but is 
found in 26, 2, 11 and 45, 37, 9; 
the usual form is populus Romanus 
Quiritium; see 9, 10, 9. 
4. nocte: see 5, 39, 3; this is 
the night after the battle.—con-
tentione: strain.—in acie: in ac-
tual line of battle; the same idea 
is more often expressed without 
the preposition.—capiebant: note 
the tense.—postero die: the day 
after the battle, i.e. July 19; see 
on 5, 39, 2 ante solis occasum.— 
porta: abl. of the way by which, 
or abl. absolute.—arcem: see on 
§ 1. 
5. quis: instead of the more 
regular qui; cf. 3, 51, 5.—oc-
cursu: abl. with vacuis.—agmine: 
in a body, or (see on 1, 6, 2) ag-
mine ruunt may be translated 
they rush straight on.—demum: 
especially.
vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca congloto-
bati redibant; ubi eos plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus
atriis principum maior prope cunctatio tenebat aperta quam
clausa invadendi; adeo haud secus quam venerabundi in-
tuebantur in aedium vestibulis sedentes viros, praeter orna-
tum habitumque humano augustiorem maiestate etiam
quam vultus gravitasque oris prae se ferebat simillimos
dis. Ad eos velut ad simulacra versi cum starent, M.
Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum
 omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in
caput incuso iram movisse; atque ab eo initium caedis
ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos; post principum

7. atriis: the atrium was the large central room in the front
part of the house, into which the surrounding rooms opened. It
was reached from the street by a short passage, and could be easily
seen from the street when the front door was open.

8. adeo: introducing the reason
for the preceding statement; cf. 2,
27, 3. — in aedium vestibulis: there
has been much discussion as to the
meaning of vestibulum; it seems
best taken as meaning a space be-
tween the front door and the street,
— a very small space if it was due
only to the slight recession of the
front doorway, but larger if the
house had wings projecting toward
the street. If the front line of the
house was absolutely unbroken,
there was no vestibulum. See 2,
49, 3 consul paludatus in vestibulo
gentem omnem suam instructo ag-
mine videt. The word is best taken
here in its proper sense; the Gauls
hesitated to enter because of the
impressive dignity of the old men
sitting before their houses. If this
is correct, we must admit that
medio aedium in § 2 is an incon-
sistency, unless it could mean
the space between two project-
ing wings. — prae se ferebat: dis-
played. — dis: see on Praef. 8.

9. simulacra: used especially of
statues of the gods. — Gallo: see
on 1, 5, 6 Numitori. — suam: re-
ferring to the subject of the main
verb, without regard to the parti-
ciple permulcenti; cf. 2, 1, 2 se. —
scipione eburneo: those who had
had a triumph carried an ivory
staff decorated with a golden
crown of oak leaves, or, later,
with the eagle. — initium caedis
ortum: for the pleonasm cf. Praef.
12. ortum and trucidatos are in
ind. disc., as if dicitur had been
used impersonally.
caedem nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis inici ignes.

42. Ceterum — seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, et ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si compelli ad deditionem caritate sedum suarum obsessi possent, et non omnia concremari tecta, ut quodcumque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent, — nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe prima die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes vagosque per vias omnes cursus, cum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum constare sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis concipere poterant. Quocumque clamor hostium, mulierum puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque et

10. nulli: referring to the plebeians who, on account of age or other infirmities, were neither taken to the Capitoline nor able to leave the city. — mortalium: see on 1, 28, 6. — parci, diripi, inici: best taken as historical infinitives.

42. i. seu . . . seu . . .: either there was no general desire for destruction, or the leaders, with a definite purpose in mind, restrained their men. — ita: referring forward to the two inf. clauses, ostentari incendia and concremari tecta. — et . . . et: though . . . yet. — si . . . possent: this clause takes the place of an indirect question; Lane, 1777. — sedum: objective genitive.

2. prima: see on 3, 46, 8.

3. cursus: for the use of the abstract noun cf. 1, 29, 2, and for the prepositional phrase depending on cursus see on 2, 1, 4 transfiga. — alia atque alia parte: now in one quarter, now in another. — non . . . solum: see on 2, 23, 14.

— non mentibus . . . poterant: not only were they disturbed in mind (lit. could not stand firm in mind), but they could not even fully believe (lit. take in with) their ears and eyes.

4. mulierum: it appears that some of the women had neither taken refuge on the Capitol nor left the city. — avertisset: had attracted their attention; the object is easily supplied; for the iterative subjunctive see on 3, 36, 8. — ad
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

oculos flectebant velut ad spectaculum a fortuna positi occidentis patriae nec ullius rerum suarum relictii praetern quam corporum vindices, tanto ante alios miserandi magis qui umquam obsessi sunt, quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur, omnia sua cernentes in hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam foede actum exceptit; lux deinde noctem inquietam insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus quod a nova semper cladis alciuus spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen tot onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos, quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidisset, quamvis inopem parvumque quem tenebant collem libertati relictum virtute defenderent. Et iam, cum eadem cotidie acciderent, velut adsueti malis abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos arma tantum ferrumque in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

43. Galli quoque per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequiquam bello gesto, cum inter incendia ac ruinas captae

omnia: to be taken both with pavanetes (cf. 25, 38, 17 pavanetes ad necopinatum tumulum; also 5, 37, 5; 46, 2; 47, 3) and with flectebant. — ullius: the rare substantive use; cf. 5, 40, 4 and 9, 2, 10; for the neuter cf. 2, 59, 8 nemo ullius nist fugae memor. — relictī: nominative plural.

5. With his usual appreciation of a distressing scene, Livy gives us here the most painful element; but he forgets that such a position as that in which the Romans now found themselves must have been a common one in a country where most of the towns were built about a central citadel, in which the inhabitants, if necessary, could take refuge. — umquam: see on 21, 1, 1.

6. exceptit: followed; used also without an object in this sense; 2, 61, 1 turbulentior inde annus exceptit. — lux: the qualifying idea corresponding to nec tranquillior and iam foede actum is supplied by nec ullum . . . cessaret, which serves also to prolong indefinitely the period of their suffering. — semper: see on Praef. 2.

7. tamen: introducing a thought which is in opposition to the preceding sentence and also to the following words tot . . . malis; cf. 1, 24, 1.
BOOK V

urbs nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent, nequaquam tot cladibus territos nec flexuros ad deditio nen animos ni vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima et impetum facere in arcem statuunt. Prima luce signo dato multitudo omnis in foro instruitor; inde clamore sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepide; ad omnis aditus stationibus firmatis, qua signa ferri videbant, ea robore virorum oppriso scanderere hostem sinunt, quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli posse per proclive facilius rati. Medio fere clivo restitere, atque inde ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte in hostem inferebat, impetu facto strage ac ruina ludere Gallos, ut numquam postea nec pars nec universi temptaverint tale pugnae genus.

43. 1. nihil superesse: cf. 5, 49, 4 semirutae urbis. Diod. 14, 115 says the city was destroyed with the exception of a few houses on the Palatine. — nequaquam: correlative with nec. — experiri ultima: cf. 2, 28, 9.

2. testudine facta: 34, 39, 6 sublatis deinque supra capta scutis continuatisque ita inter se, ut non modo ad cae cos iactus sed et ad inserendum quidem ex propinquio telum loci quicquam esset, testudine facta subiabant. — nihil: sc. faciebant. — ad omnis aditus: in Livy's time the top of the hill could be reached, not only by the Clivus Capito tinus (see on 5, 39, 9), but by the Gradus Monetae, a flight of stairs leading from the Forum to

the Arx, and by the Centum Gradus, probably at the southern end of the hill, serving as an approach from the Forum Boarium. To explain the plural aditus, we may suppose that even as early as 390 B.C. stairs had been built at these points or at others, or that Livy has in mind those places where it would be less difficult to climb up over the rocks.

3. clivo: the ascent was attempted, therefore, by the Clivus Capito tinus. — restitere: they stationed themselves; the subject is Romani. — inde: see on 5, 39, 10.

— sua sponte: i.e. without any effort on their part; see on 9, 7, 8.

— temptaverint: see on 1, 3, 4 ausi sint.
urbe fuerat frumentum incendiis urbis adsumpserant, et
ex agris per eos ipsos dies raptum omne Veios erat. Igi-
tur exercitu diviso partim per finitimos populos praedari
placuit, partim obsideri arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum
populatorum agrorum praeberent.

* * * * * * * * * *

1 46. Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrim-
que silentium esse, ad id tantum intentis Gallis, ne quis
hostium evadere inter stationes posset, cum repente iuvenis
Romanus admiratione in se cives hostesque convertit.
Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae.
Ad id faciendum C. Fabius Dorsuo Gabino cinctu sacra
manibus gerens, cum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias

4. et...et...: the continuity of the sentence is broken by the
second clause, which is not properly correlative with the first; for
similar confusion cf. 22, 6, 2; 39, 40, 9.

The plundering expedition of
the Gauls went into the territory of
Ardea, about eighteen miles south
of Rome. While they were en-
camped at night outside the walls
of the town, they were attacked by
the men of Ardea under the leader-
ship of Camillus, then living there
in exile from Rome, and either
killed or scattered. During the
same time, the Romans in Veii won
a victory over the Etruscans, who,
taking advantage of the misfor-
tunes of the Romans, were plun-
dering their territory and preparing
to besiege Veii.

46. 1. ad id: ad is rarely used
with intentus; cf. 5, 47, 11. —
convertit: this clause contains the
main idea and therefore has the
indicative and stands at the end of
the sentence.

2. statum: regular. — Dor suo:
a rare cognomen of the Fabian gens,
found again in 7, 28, 1. — Gabino
cinctu: the toga was drawn up
and fastened in such a way as to
give greater freedom of movement.
There seems to have been a
religious connection between Rome
and Gabii, a colony of Alba Longa
about ten miles east of Rome; there
was a school of augury there, and
the method of taking the auspices
in the two cities was the same.
Hence, perhaps, the name of this
style of dress, which was originally
customary at Rome in religious
festivals involving a procession.
hostium stationes egressus, nihil ad vocem cuiusquam terroremve motus, in Quirinalem collem pervenit; ibique omnibus sollemniter peractis eadem revertens similiter constanti vultu graduque, satis sperans propitios esse deos, quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium ad suos reedit, seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae seu religione etiam motis, cuius haudquaquam neglegens gens est.

Veis interim non animi tantum in dies sed etiam vires crescebant. Nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris, qui aut proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus, ut in parte praedae essent, matrum iam videbatur repeti patriam eripique ex hostium manibus. Sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat, qui ductu auspicioque eius res prospere ges-

sacra: the implements used at the sacrifice. — ad vocem: see on 5, 42, 4 ad omnia. — terrorem: threats; this active use is very rare; cf. 4, 21, 5 vis morbi ingravescens curae erat terroresque ac prodigia.

3. eadem: sc. via. — esse: see on 1, 5, 5 spes fuerat. — neglegens gens: such unpleasant repetition of sound occurs rarely in Livy; e.g. 4, 7, 3 eius ius; 9, 9, 1 profanos nos. Caes. B.G. 6, 16 says of the Gauls, natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus. The structure of this sentence is noteworthy. It illustrates admirably the ability of the writer to say many things, even to tell a complete story, in a single sentence,—an ability largely due to a skillful use of the ablative absolute, and of other participial constructions.

4. animi: see on 1, 25, 3. — proelio, clade: abl. of cause. — palati fuerant: see on 1, 2, 1.

5. ut . . . essent: that they might share the plunder; Verg. Aen. 3, 222 ipsum vocamus in partem praedamque iuvem. . . The confidence of the Latins in the ability of the Romans to defeat the Gauls, is, under the present circumstances, remarkable.

6. Camilli: M. Furius Camillus was the Roman general who, after a long siege, took Veii in 396 B.C., — an event that marks the beginning of Rome's long career of foreign conquest. According to the
serant; et Caedicius negare se commissurum, cur sibi aut deorum aut hominum quisquam imperium finiret potius quam ipse memor ordinis sui posceret imperatorem. Consensus omnium placuit ab Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romae esset; adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant. Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominius, inpiger iuvenis, operam polllicitus incubans cortici secundo Tiberi ad urbem defertur. Inde, qua proximum fuit a ripa, per praeeruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodia saxum in Capitolium evadit et ad magistratus ductus mandata exercitus edit. Accepto inde senatus consulto, uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo

tradition, he was accused of dishonest appropriation of the plunder, and at the time of the Gallic invasion was in exile at Ardea.—Caedicius: a centurion under whose command the Romans at Veii had placed themselves.—se commissurum, cur: i.e. he would do nothing that would give any one reason; cf. Caes. B.G. 1, 14, 2 neque commissum a se, quare timeret. Forms of facio are sometimes used in this way; e.g. 42, 29, 11 fecerat potius, cur suspectus esset. The meaning is, He would not wait for them to supersede him in command, but would himself as centurion (memor ordinis suit) demand the appointment of a general.

7. pudor: respect for law and custom.—discrimina . . . servabant: they maintained the proper

relations of things, when the things themselves had nearly perished. For discrimina cf. 5, 40, 10.

8. secundo Tiberi: down the Tiber; abl. of the way by which. Veii was about five miles from the river.

9. qua . . . ripa: i.e. where it was the shortest distance from the river to the hill; the subject is indefinite; cf. 21, 5, 12 qua cuique proximum est, in annum ruunt; 22, 4, 6. The distance is not more than two hundred yards.—custodia: abl. of want with neglectum; the same phrase occurs in 24, 46, 1. —magistratus: six military tribunes with consular power had been elected for this year.

10. comitiis curiatis: dat. of agent with revocatus. The old assembly of the early regal period
diceretur, militesque haberent imperatorem quem vellent, eadem degressus nuntius Veios contendit; missique Ar- deam legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu — quod magis credere libet, non prius profectum ab Ardea quam conpererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari finibus posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in exercitu habere — lex curiata lata est dictatorque absens dictus.

47. Dum haec Veis agebantur, interim arx Romae Capi- toliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli seu vesti-

had at this time lost most of its powers. All Roman citizens were members, but it was not until later that plebeians and clients gained the right of voting in the curies. See Grunrud, Roman Constitutional History, pp. 35-36. — re- vocatus: i.e. when he should be recalled; the senate assumed that this would be done. — iussu populi; connect with diceretur. — eadem: see on § 3.

II. seu: the question is whether Camillus went immediately to Veii and received his appointment to the dictatorship there, or preferred to remain at Ardea until the decree of exile was recalled and his appointment was actually voted. Livy has the former idea in 9, 4, 13; 22, 3, 10; and 22, 14, 11 quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios adlatum est, . . . descendit in aecum atque ipso die . . . cecidit Gallorum legiones. Val. Max. 4, 1, 2, on the other hand, says non prius Veios . . . iret, quam de dictatura sua omnia sollemni ture acta conperisset. — legem: the lex curiata. — finibus: abl. of separation. — auspicia: only a properly appointed magistrate could preside at the taking of the auspices, and no act of importance could be begun until the auspices had been taken. — lex curiata: a vote of the comitia curiata approving the appointment of a magistrate; this was a necessary preliminary and there is no evidence that it was ever refused. When the comitia curiata had gone out of existence, thirty lictors, representing the defunct assembly, still met and voted on the lex curiata. In this place Livy means possibly not the formal vote just described, but one recalling Camillus from exile, a matter within the authority of the comitia curiata. — absens: while he was still at Ardea.

47. 1. fuit: for the number cf. 21, 40, 3 voluit.
gio notato humano, qua nuntius a Veis pervenerat, seu sua
spontie animadverso ad Carmentis saxo ascensu aequo,
nocte sublustri, cum primo inermem, qui temptaret viam,
preamississet, tradentes inde arma, ubi quid iniui esset,
alterni innixi sublevantesque in vicem et trahentes alii alios,
prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere,
ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sol-
llicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent. Anseres
non fefellere, quibus sacris Iunonis in summa inopia cibi
tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit; namque clan-
gore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui trien-
nio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis adreptis,
simul ad arma ceteros ciens, vadit et, dum ceteri trepidant,
Gallum, qui iam in summo constiterat, umbone ictum de-
turbat. Cuius casus prolapsi cum proximos sterneret,
trepidantes alios armisque omissis saxa quibus adhaere-

2. sua sponte: see on 3, 43, 3.
— Carmentis: see on 3, 48, 5
Cloacinae. Carmentis (another
form of the name was Carmenta),
the mother of Evander (see 1, 5, 2),
was worshiped at Rome as a birth-
goddess of prophetic power, and
had an altar between the Capitoline
and the river, near the Porta Car-
mentalisis of the Servian Wall.—
ascensu: abl. of quality.—aequo:
easy; in comparison with other
parts where the cliff was perpen-
dicular; cf. 44, 33, 4 qua descen-
sus facitis armatis, qua in ulterio-
rem ripam minime inicus ascensus
esse.—tradentes: i.e. one would
give his arms to another until he
had passed a difficult place, when
they could be passed up to him.—
esse: see on 3, 36, 8. — in vicem:
pleonastic after alterni.
3. ad: see on 5, 37, 5, and cf.
5, 42, 4; 46, 2.
4. quibus: see on 1, 1, 1 duobus;
this also may be dative, but the
ablative is the usual construction.
— Iunonis: poss. genitive; cf.
Cic. Verr. 2, 1, 48 illa insula
eorum deorum sacra putatur.—
in: in spite of. — M. Manlius: the
cognomen of his family, Capitolinus,
derived from the fact that they
lived on the hill (see § 8), hence-
forth took on a new meaning.
5. casus: rarely used in its
original meaning; cf. 21, 35, 6. —
omissis: cf. 22, 49, 2.
6. reliquum noctis: Livy often uses a neuter adjective with a dependent genitive where earlier prose would have had an attributive adjective: cf. 5, 38, 4; 41, 2. — cum ... sollicitaret: when even danger that was past agitated them.

7. ad ... ad ...: cf. 8, 7, 12 ad praetorium ad patrem tendit; usually, under these circumstances, different prepositions are used. — tribunos: see on 5, 46, 9 magistratus.

8. cui: unnecessary, in view of the following eius; but see on 1, 5, 6 Numitor. — selibras: a libra was about three quarters of a pound. — quartarios: a quarter of a sextarius, which was about a pint. — rem: in app. with the preceding statement, regarded as the object of a verb of saying. — ceterum ... caritatis: the independent clause gives greater emphasis than a relative clause would have given; for a similar change see 3, 33, 5. — corpori: corpus and animus are sometimes used where we should say “myself,” “himself,” etc., with reference, however, to bodily or mental qualities respectively; cf. 21, 41, 16. — usibus necessariis: cf. 27, 45, 11.

9. fefellerat: cf. the construction of λαμβάνω with a participle. — more militari: 2, 59, 11
sentiente clamore militum in unum vigilem conicientium culpam deterritus a ceteris abstinuit, reum haud dubium eius noxae adprobantibus cunctis de saxo deiecit. Inde intentiores utrimque custodiae esse, et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat inter Veios Romamque nuntios commere, et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria.

48. Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellique mala fames utrumque exercitum urgebát, Gallos pestilentia etiam, cum loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque, non pulvere rem modo, ferente, cum quid venti motum esset. Quorum intolerantissima gens umorique ac frigori adsuetæ, cum aestu et languore vexata, vulgatis velut in peca morbis, morerentur, iam pigritia singulos sepeliendi promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum urebant; bustorumque inde

milites . . . virgis caesos securi percussit.

10. saxo: in early times the Capitolium, the southwestern summit of the hill, was sometimes called Mons Tarpeius; later the name saxum Tarpeium was applied to a part of this summit from which criminals were thrown; the exact location of this place of execution cannot be determined.

11. custodiae: cf. 5, 46, 1 ad id tantum intentis.—ab: because of; cf. 1, 1, 4.

48. 2. pestilentia: this would naturally have developed toward the end of summer, the worst part of the year in Rome. — loco: qualified by iacente, torrido, pleno, and ferente.— tumulos: the Forum is surrounded by hills except toward

the river, with which it is connected by the valley of the Velabrum. It was originally a swamp, and even in 390 B.C. was not so well drained as it was under the empire.—ab incendiis: see on 5, 47, 11. — vaporis: heat.—cineremque . . . modo: for this phraseology cf. § 7 spe . . . cibo.—ferente: producing, sending up.—esset: see on 3, 36, 8.

3. intolerantissima: cf. 10, 28, 4 Gallorum . . corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus; 27, 48, 16. — umori: for the dat. see on 2, 1, 5.—morerentur: for the plural with gens, referring to the individuals, cf. 5, 37, 8; see on 2, 28, 9.—pigritia sepeliendi: cf. 5, 41, 7 cunctatio invadendi.—bustorum Gallicorum: in 22, 14, 11
Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere. Indutiae de-
inde cum Romanis factae et conloquia permisso impera-
torum habita; in quibus cum identidem Galli famem
obicerent eaque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dici-
tur avertendae eius opinionis causa multis locis panis de
Capitolo iactatus esse in hostium stationes. Sed iam
neque dissimulari neque ferri ultra fames poterat. Itaque
dum dictator dilectum per se Ardeae habet, magistrum
equitum L. Valerium a Veis adducere exercitum iubet,
parat instruitque quibus haud inpar adoriatur hostes, in-
terim Capitolinus exercitus stationibus, vigiliiis fessus supe-
reatis tamen humanis omnibus malis cum famem unam
natura vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans, ecquod
auxilium ab dictatore adpareret, postremo spe quoque iam,
non solum cibo, deficiente et, cum stationes procederent,

Livy says that the *busta Gallica*
were in the middle of the city; 
more definite information than this
is not given. Huelsen places them
in the Forum Boarium.

4. *famem*: *i.e.* of the Romans.

5. *dum*: the force of the con-
junction is maintained through
*parat instruitque*. The asyndeton
may be compared with that be-
tween *cum* clauses; see on 3, 52, 5.
— *per se*: *in person.* — *parat...*
*hostes*: makes such preparations
and arrangements as will enable
him to attack the enemy on equal
terms. *quibus* is neuter.

6. *stationibus, vigiliiis*: *watch-
ing by day and night*. *statio* is
usually a word of general meaning,
applied to a guard of any kind.
Asyndeton between two words is
not uncommon in Livy; cf. 39, 40,
10. — *tamen*: there is some rhe-
torical confusion here; the con-
cession that justifies *tamen* is
contained in *fessus*, but *superatis...malis* is itself a concession
for the following clause, which
therefore calls for a second *tamen*.
In general it may be said that this
is not a good example of Livy’s
ability to say much in a single
sentence. The mind inevitably
becomes fatigued with the multi-
plicity of ideas presented.

7. *spe...cibo*: cf. § 2 cine-
remque...modo, and for this use
of *quoque* cf. 9, 38, 12 *qui sua*
*quoque eum, non publica solum*
auctoritate moverent. — *cum...*
procederent: *since guard duty was*
continuous. — *vel dedi...iussit:*
prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis vel dedi vel redimi se quacumque pactione possent iussit, iactantibus non obscure Gallis haud magna mercede se adduci posse ut obsidionem relinquant. Tum senatus habitus tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut paciscerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum, regulum Gallorum, conloquio transacta res est et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. Rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est; pondera ab Gallis adlata iniqua, et tribuno recusante additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox: vae victis.

49. Sed diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos. Nam forte quadam, priusquam infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro adpenso, dictator intervenit auferrique aurum de medio et Gallos submoveri iubet. Cum illi renitentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pacionem ratam esse quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, iniussu suo ab inferioris iuris magis-

i.e. they ordered their commanders either to surrender or to buy off the Gauls on whatever basis they could. 8. pondo: an old abl., meaning literally by weight. It came to be used with numerals as an indeclinable noun, meaning pounds. The present value of this amount of gold would be about $225,000. Varro, quoted by Nonius, p. 228, gave the amount as 2000 pounds, but Pliny 33, 14 explains that this was a mistake.

9. per se: connect with foedissimae. — indignitas: insult.

49. 1. diique et homines: see on Praef. 13. — redemptos: pred. adjective. — forte quadam: see or 1, 4, 4. — dictator: other writers do not mention the intervention of Camillus; Livy himself, in fact, in 10, 16, 6 and 22, 59, 7 speaks as if the transaction had been completed. If Livy's story here is correct, we must assume that Camillus took advantage of the truce to enter the city, and that, during the same interval, the Roman forces established themselves on the lower ground (see § 4).

2. ratam: valid. — ab... magistratu: see 5, 48, 8.
BOOK V

tratu facta esset, denuntiatque Gallis, ut se ad proelium expediant. Suos in acervum concere sarcinas et arma aptare ferroque, non auro, recuperare patriam iubet, in conspectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme belli malis et omnia, quae defendi repeti-que et ulcisci fas sit. Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in semirutae solo urbis et natura inaequali, et omnia quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praepararie pote- rant providit. Galli nova re trepidi arma capiunt iraque magis quam consilio in Romanos incurrunt. Iam verterat fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud maiore momento fusi Galli sunt quam ad Aliam vicerant. Iustiore altero deinde proelio ad octavum lapidem Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, eiusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit; castra capiuntur, et ne nuntius quidem cladis relictus. Dictator recuperata ex hostibus patria triumphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militares, quos inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae

3. ulcisci: parallel with defendi and repeti; and therefore passive, — a rare use of the word; cf. 2, 17, 7 ob iras graviter ulitas.

4. semirutae: cf. 5, 43, 1. — et . . . inaequali: which was more- over naturally uneven; inaequali qualifies solo.

5. nova re trepidi. alarmed by the unexpected event. — momento: cf. 21, 43, 11; 24, 34, 2; with no greater impulse, i.e. as easily. — fusi . . . sunt: according to an ancient calendar this battle occurred on Feb. 13 (389 B.C.);

Varro, L.L. 6, 18, seems to put it shortly before July 5; but the general statement that the Gauls remained in the city seven months supports the earlier date.

6. iustiore proelio: a more regu- lar battle; cf. 39, 2, 8 coactus in aciem descendere inuto proelio Nevicit. — Gabina via: leading east from Rome to Gabii and Praeneste.

7. inconditos: in rude verse; cf. 7, 2, 5; a regular custom at triumphs. — iaciunt: sc. milites from militares.
conditorque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur. 8 Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubie servavit, cum prohibuit migrari Veios, et tribunis rem intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per se inclinata magis plebe ad id consilium. Eaque causa fuit non abdicandae post triumphum dictaureae, senatu obsecrante ne rem publicam in incerto relinquueret statu.

Book VI

The Licinio-Sextian Laws

1 35. Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes nisi suis in summo imperio locatis nullum speraret: accingendum ad eam cogitationem esse; conando agendoque iam eo gradum fecisse plebeios, unde, si porro adnitantur, per-

8. tribunis . . . urbem: after the capture of Veii in 396, a proposal had been urged to transfer the Roman population to that town on account of its better location and finer buildings.

9. abdicandae dictaureae: see on 2, 28, 9.


35. 1. occasio . . . novandarum: there seemed to be an opportunity to introduce changes. It was not an especially favorable time, as no war was in progress, and the plebeians could not support their demands by a refusal to respect the levy. The vis aeris alieni constituted the occasio. res novare is a technical phrase; cf. res novae. — plebes: see on 2, 24, 2. — nisi . . . locatis: unless some of their own number were placed in the highest office, i.e. the consulship. — speraret: said that they expected; subj. in informal ind. disc.; Lane, 1725.

2. accingendum esse: impersonal. — conando agendoque: by their persistent efforts. — eo gradum fecisse: i.e. they could be consular tribunes. In 445 B.C. an arrangement had been made that
venire ad summa et patribus aequari tam honore quam virtute possent. In præsentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, quo in magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad ceteros honores aperirent. Creatique tribuni C. Licinius et L. Sextius pro-mulgavere leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis plebis: unam de aere alieno, ut deducto eo de capite quod usuris pernumeralum esset, id quod super-esset triennio aequis pensionibus persolveretur; alteram de modo agrorum, ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret; tertiam, ne tribunorum militum comitia fierent, consulumque utique alter ex plebe crearetur: cuncta in-

each year the senate should determine whether two consuls or six military tribunes with consular power should be elected; if the latter, they might be plebeians. But, although consular tribunes were often elected, the senate managed almost always to prevent the election of plebeians. Only in a few cases did the plebeians contrive to elect a majority from their own order. — plebeios: the use of this noun instead of plebs is rare. — virtute: character.


4. leges: these were proposed in the comitia tributa (see on § 7), but required the sanction of the senate before they went into effect. It was not until 286 B.C. that the Hortensian Law removed the necessity of this sanction. — omnes: to be closely connected in translation with the following words. — patriciorum: there were, of course, also many rich plebeians who would be affected by the first two proposals. In fact, ten years after the passage of his laws Licinius himself was fined for possessing a thousand iugera of land. — usuris: see on 2, 23, 6. — triennio: abl. of time within which. The numerical element in this word must be used also with aequis pensionibus.

5. de modo agrorum: it is maintained with much probability that this refers only to the ager publicus, that portion of conquered territory which was assigned to individuals for occupation, not for actual ownership; possideo is technically used of such occupation. Others believe that the law applied also to land in the absolute ownership of individuals. — quingenta iugera: 330 acres. — ne... fient: i.e. that the office of consular tribune should be abolished, and that
gentia et quae sine certamine maximo obtineri non possent. 6 Omnium igitur simul rerum quarum inmodica cupidio inter mortales est, agri, pecuniae, honorum discrimine proposito conterriti patres cum trepidassent publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem invento, collegas adversus tribunicias rogationes comparaverunt. Qui ubi tribus ad suffragium inendum citari a Licinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praesidiis nec recitari rogationes nec sollemne quidquam aliud ad scissendum plebi fieri passi sunt. Iam-

henceforth only consuls should be elected; see on § 2. — consulum-que . . . crearetur: sc. ut from the preceding ne.— utique: at least. — possent: a relative clause of characteristic; cf. Praef. 11 inmi-graverint. — There were other less important clauses not included here,—that a certain proportion of free laborers should be employed; that no one should pasture more than 100 cattle and 500 sheep on the public lands; that the duoviri sacris faciundis should be increased to ten, and of these five should be plebeians; this last proposal, according to Livy, was made several years later. Appian, B.C. 1, 8.

6. simul: such a law, containing several diverse clauses, was called lex satura.—discrimine proposito: a contest having been set on foot involving all those things etc.—publicis . . . consiliis: in their public and private deliberations.—nullo remedio alio: the senate seems to have felt that its own unsupported refusal to sanction the law would be followed by such disastrous consequences that other means must be employed. — intercessionem: the veto of other tribunes (collegas). In 457 the number of tribunes had been raised to ten.

7. tribus: the comitia tributa was probably first organized in 447 B.C. and included both patricians and plebeians, the latter, of course, in a large majority. In § 8 the same body is called concilium, and it should be said that some authorities maintain that the comitia tributa and the concilium plebis were the same thing, a body composed of plebeians only.—rogationes: rogatio is the technical name of a bill for which a magistrate asks the approval of the people. It was read (recitare) by a clerk.—sollemne: cf. 39, 15, 1 sollemne carmen precationis, quod praefari solent priusquam popu-
que frustra saepe consilio advocato cum pro antiquatis rogationes essent, "bene habet" inquit Sextius; "quando quidem tantum intercessionem pollere placet, isto ipso telo tutabimur plebem. Agitatum, comitia indicite, patres, tribunis militum creandis; faxo ne iuvet vox ista 'veto,' quam nunc concinentes collegas nostros tam laeti auditis." Haud inritae cecidere minae; comitia praeter aedilium tribunorumque plebi nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis refecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt; eaque solitudo magistratum et plebe reficiens duos tribunos et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus per quinquennium urbem tenuit.

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6. adloquantur magistratus.—
ad sciscendum plebi: i.e. leading to the approval of the people; plebi is dat. of agent with the gerundive.
8. pro antiquatis essent: were considered as rejected; the verb antiquo (lit. to leave in its ancient condition) is the technical term for the rejection of a bill. Approval, on the other hand, was expressed by the words uti rogas. —bene habet: a colloquial expression; all right.
9. agitatum: see on 2, 29, 11. —faxo: an old fut. perf. form, sometimes, as here, having the force of the future.—veto: the protest of the tribune; intercedo and intercessio are the technical words referring to such action.—concinentes: chanting.
10. aedilium tribunorumque plebi: apparently the election of these magistrates could not be prevented by the tribunician intercessio. Otherwise, the senate would have made use of tribunes to prevent the re-election of Licinius and Sextius. For the form plebi see on 3, 35, 8.—curules magistratus: see on 5, 41, 2.—per quinquennium: this statement is not generally accepted, as it is thought that the state could not have existed for five years without magistrates of controlling power. According to Diod. 15, 75 (cf. Plin. 16, 44) the interregnum lasted only one year.

The proposals were first introduced in 377. The struggle for their passage was continued for ten years, Licinius and Sextius being elected every year. Meanwhile, on account of a war with Velitrae, they had allowed the
9 42. Vixdum perfunctum eum bello atrocior domi seditio 367 B.C. exceptit; et per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut rogationes tribuniciae acciperentur; et comitia consulum adversa nobilitate habita, quibus L. Sextius de plebe primus consul factus. Et ne is quidem finis certaminum fuit. Quia patricii se auctores futuros negabant, prope secessionem plebis res terribilesque alias minas civilium certaminum venit, cum tandem per dictatorem condicionibus sedatae discordiae sunt concessumque ab nobilitate plebi de consule plebeio, a plebe nobilitati de praetore uno, qui ius in urbe diceret, ex patribus creando. Ita ab diutina ira tandem in concordiam redactis ordinibus cum dignam eam election of consular tribunes. But the plebeians were so turbulent that the senate at last appointed Camillus dictator; having abdicated the office, he was followed by P. Manlius, but was again appointed in 367, to repel an attack of the Gauls. The following sections describe the passage of the laws.

42. 9. **eum**: Camillus. — **bello**: with the Gauls. — **exceptit**: claimed him, demanded his attention. — **ingentia certamina**: the persistent efforts of the plebeians during the last ten years. — **victus**: sing. verb with two subjects, as in 1, 3, 1. — **acciperentur**: the senate allowed the *plebiscitum* to pass without obstruction and gave it the necessary approval. — **nobilitate**: the whole body of patricians. — **L. Sextius**: his colleague was a patrician, L. Aemilius Mamercus. Consuls were elected by the *comitia centuriata*.

10. **patricii . . . negabant**: the election of consuls was not complete until it received the official sanction of the patrician members of the senate, the *patrum auctoritas*. Elsewhere Livy uses *patres*, not *patricii*, in this sense. — **prope**: cf. 1, 25, 13.

11. **condicionibus**: by an agreement, compromise. — **sedatae sunt**: see on 5, 46, 1 *convertit*. — **praetore**: in 242 B.C. a second praetor was added, one having charge of cases between citizens (*praetor urbanus*), the other of cases in which one or more of the parties were foreigners (*praetor peregrinus*). The number was constantly increased until under Julius Caesar there were sixteen. A plebeian held the office for the first time in 337 B.C. — **patribus = nobilitate**, the whole class of patricians.
rem senatus censeret esse, meritoque id, si quando umquam alias, deum inmortalium fore, ut ludi maximi fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiceretur, recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis, con clamatum a patriciis est iuvenibus se id honoris deum inmortalium causa libenter facturos, ut aediles fierent. Quibus cum ab universis gratiae actae essent, factum senatus consultum, ut duoviros aediles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret, patres auctores omnibus eius anni comitiis fierent.

12. si ... alias: see on 1, 28, 4. — deum immortalium: connect with merito; according to the merit of the gods, i.e. as they deserved. — ut ... adiceretur: this clause was anticipated in dignam, but the intervening words, merito ... fore, unless they are to be taken as entirely parenthetical, compel us to explain it as a substantive clause, in app. with id. — ludi maximi: first celebrated, according to Livy 1, 35, 9, by Tarquinius Priscus, — sollemnes (celebrated in fulfillment of a vow), deinde annui, mansere ludi, Romani magnique variis appellati. They came to be celebrated regularly in the fall, and the number of days, originally one, was constantly increased until, under Augustus, the celebration continued from the 4th of September to the 15th; see on 45, 1, 2. After they were regularly established as an annual festival, they were called ludi Romani. They included a procession, char-

lot races, athletic contests, and, after 364 B.C., dramatic performances.

13. recusantibus: as the state furnished the money, it is hard to find a reason for this refusal; probably this is an attempt to explain another concession on the part of the plebeians. — aedilibus plebis: first appointed in 494 as assistants of the tribunes, but their powers had been gradually increased; they had a general supervision of certain festivals. — ut: provided that; cf. Sen. Ben. 2, 15, 1 dabo agenti, sed ut ipse non egeam.

14. aediles: curule aediles were elected by the comitia tributa, and some years later acquired membership in the senate. The patricians relinquished in a few years the exclusive right to the office. — rogaret: used with two accusatives in the technical sense, to propose for election. — auctores: see on § 10.
Book VII

Beginning of the Drama

1 2. Et hoc et insequenti anno C. Sulpicio Petico, C. Licinio Stolone consulibus pestilentia fuit. Eo nihil dig-num memoria actum, nisi quod pacis deum exposcendae causa tertio tum post conditam urbem lectisternium fuit. Et cum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina levaretur, victis superstitione animis ludi quoque scaenici, nova res bellicoso populo — nam circi modo spectaculum fuerat —, inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti di-


2. 1. C. Licinio Stolone: his colleague in the tribuneship, L. Sextius, had been consul two years before, in 366, the first plebeian who held the office.

2. eo: i.e. the year of the consulship just mentioned. — pacis: favor; see on 1, 16, 3. — tertio: for the third time; the usual adverb in this sense is tertium. The first lectisternium was celebrated in 399 after consultation of the Sibylline Books. The date of the second is unknown. — lectisternium: a sacrifice offered to the gods in times of great distress; images of the gods were placed on couches, food was placed be-

fore them, and prayers were offered at all the shrines.

3. quoque: with reference not to lectisternium, but to the follow-
ing inter alia. — nova res: no doubt there had been before this rude performances of a more or less dramatic nature, especially at the festivals of rural gods, but they had never been given officially before, or with any formality. Verg. Georg. 2, 385 ff.; Hor. Epist. 2, 145–146; Tibull. 2, 1, 51 ff. It is probable that this innovation is to be connected with the extension of the ludi Romani and the appointment of curule aediles to manage the festival; see 6, 42, 12–14. — circi: the valley of the Circus Maximus, between the Palatine and the Aventine, was used for games, according to the tradition, as early as Romulus, but no seats were constructed until the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. — spectacu-
unctur. Ceterum parva quoque, ut ferme principia omnia, et ea ipsa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmineullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu ludiones, ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant. Imitari deinde eos iuventus simul inconditis inter se iocaria fundentes versibus coepere, nec absoni a voce motus erant. Accepta itaque res saepiusque usurpando excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum; qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versus similem inconpositum temere ac

lum: chariot races and athletic contests.

4. quoque: with reference to peregrina; see on § 3 and cf. 4, 49, 6 Bolas quoque, sicut Labicos, coloni mitterentur.—et...peregrina: and imported at that.—sine carmine...actu: with no words, and with no action to express the meaning of words; i.e. it was neither play nor pantomime, but only a dance.—ludiones: lit., players, but here dancers; another form is ludius. Tac. Ann. 14, 21 maiiores quoque non abhorruisse spectaculorum oblectamentis pro fortuna quae tum erat, eoque a Tuscis accitos histriones.—dabant: see on 5, 38, 3.

5. imitari...coepere: Livy treats the earlier and purely original efforts of the Romans as not coming properly under the head of the drama; cf. § 7 and see on § 3 nova res.—inconditis: see on 5, 49, 7; rude verses in the Saturnian meter, a native Roman production.—coepere: for the number see on 2, 28, 9.

6. accepta...excitata: thus the drama was introduced and through frequent practice gathered strength.—usurpando: a loose and awkward use of the abl. of the gerund; see on 1, 5, 6 comparando and cf. 9, 5, 11 experiundo.—artificibus: cf. our use of the word "artist" as applied to players, musicians, etc.—ludio: a word of general meaning, which might have been applied to any one who took part in ludi; histrio is the regular word for actor.—histrionibus: see on 1, 1, 3 Troiano.

7. sicut ante: referring to the young men of § 5. This section describes the third stage in the development of the drama, the first being represented by the Etruscan dancers, the second by the inventus of § 5. —Fescennino: Hor. Epist. 2, 1, 145–146 Fescennina per hunc invenia licentia morem Versibus alternis opprobria
rudem alternis iaciebant, sed inpletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant. Livius post aliquot annis, qui ab saturis ausus est

*rustica fudit.* The name is probably connected with that of the Etruscan town Fescennium (cf. § 11 *Atellanis*), though the reason for this connection is not clear. This was one of the primitive forms of native Latin comedy, consisting of rude dialogue in Saturnian verse with appropriate gestures and dancing. As the Romans had long been familiar with this sort of performance, it is hard to see why Livy regards the arrival of the Etruscan dancers and the subsequent exhibitions of the young men as a real invention, and as marking the introduction of the drama; what he describes in § 5 is not different from the *Fescennini versus.* — *versu:* dat. with *similem;* cf. 9, 5, 6 *exercitu.*

The word does not mean here a particular kind of verse, but the whole performance, usually expressed by the plural. — *similem:* sc. *versum.* — *incompositum temere:* with a careless lack of continuity; *compositum temere* would have meant the same thing, but it seems better to connect *temere* with *incompositum* than with *iaciebant.* — *alternis:* an adverb; *versibus* is not to be supplied, though the meaning is the same as in the passage from Horace quoted above; the two actors recited alternate lines. — *iaciebant:* note the contrast between the meaning of this word and that of *peragebant.* — *inpletas modis:* all in verse. — *saturas:* *satura* (sc. *fabula* and cf. *lex satura, lanx satura*) was another primitive form of Latin comedy, — a variety show, including probably recitation, singing, and dancing. Livy here applies the word to a more definite form of entertainment, approaching the legitimate drama, all in verse, properly adapted to a musical accompaniment. It may be said here that certain recent writers have discredited all statements regarding a native Roman drama (*satura, fabula Atellana,* etc.), believing them to be based upon an attempt to parallel the theories of Aristotle and other Greek writers.

8. Livius: Livius Andronicus came to Rome as a slave after the capture of Tarentum in 272. He was freed and became a teacher of Greek and Latin. Besides translating the *Odyssey* into Latin saturnians, he translated Greek plays, especially tragedies, into Latin, using the simpler meters of the originals. The first public performance of a play of this sort was in 240 B.C. — *post aliquot annis:* grammatically connected
BOOK VII

primus argumento fabulam serere, idem scilicet, id quod omnes tum erant, suorum carminum actor, dicitur, cum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem cum statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis usus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari histrioribus coeptum, diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voci relictà. Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et

with egisse, but in sense rather with the whole sentence. The structure of this sentence is remarkable, in that the important fact is expressed in a relative clause, qui ... serere, and is made subordinate to the statement of a custom that must have been of brief popularity. For the meaning of aliquot, see on 2, 32, 4. — ab saturas: after the saires; those described in § 7. For this use of ab, see on 1, 1, 4. — argumento fabulam serere: to compose a play with a plot; see on 3, 44, 9. argumento is abl. of means. This is the fourth stage in the development of the drama. — idem: often used referring to a person or thing just mentioned, introducing an additional fact or a restriction; thus used, it is often well translated moreover or however; cf. 21, 43, 17; 39, 40, 6.

9. cum saepius ... statuisset: for the asyndeton see on 3, 52, 5. — venia petita: after asking permission. — canticum: passages which were sung or chanted to a musical accompaniment; the de-

vice of Livius was to have a younger member of the company give the words of these musical parts, while he supplied the action. The importance of gesture in the speech of southern Europe is well illustrated by the adoption of this practice. In the fully developed drama the name canticum was applied to all parts not in iambic trimeter, the latter, which was without musical accompaniment, being known as diverbium.

10. ad manum ... coeptum: the songs began to be sung to the gesticulation of the actors. histrioribus is dat. of interest; Lane, 1207. How long this custom survived cannot be said. If it still prevailed in the time of Plautus and Terence, it could be applied to the cantica only in a limited sense, i.e. to the purely lyrical passages. — diverbia: see on § 9.

11. lege: regulation; referring to all the improvements of Andronicus that made the drama what is with us known technically as “legitimate.” — histrioribus: professionals. — fabellarum: different
ludus in artem paulatim vererat, iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relictio ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit; quae exodia postea appel-
12 lata consortaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt. Quod
genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum tenuit iuventus nec ab
histrionibus pollui passa est; eo institutum manet, ut
actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur et stipendia,
tamquam expertes artis ludicrae, faciant. Inter aliarum

from *fabula* in that it almost always means *story*, rarely *play*; it
suggests here, therefore, the narrative of a regular play, as opposed
to the trivial and disconnected efforts of the young men. — inter
se: cf. § 5 and § 7 alternis. —
ridicula: cf. § 5 iocularia. —
iactitare: cf. § 7 iaciebant. This
was a revival of the Fescennine verses. — *exodia*: afterpieces, fol-
lowing regular plays, as at Athens
tragedies were followed by a satyr
play. — consortaque . . . sunt:
were merged exclusively in the
Atellan plays. For *potissimum*
see on Praef. 7. Livy means that
the Fescennine verses were re-
placed by plays of a more definite
nature, though the use of *consertia*
would indicate that the character-
istic humorous and responsive ele-
ments of the former were retained.
There are two explanations of the
name of the Atellan plays. Either
the form of the play was adopted
from the town of Atella in Cam-
pania, or it was a native Roman
production, the scene being laid
in Atella. There is a similar
question about the Fescennine
verses; see on § 7. The Atel-
lan plays were burlesques with
stock characters; the general plot
was arranged in advance, the
details were improvised. Early
in the first century B.C. they
began to receive literary treat-
ment and then came to be used
as *exodia*.

12. *Oscis*: the general name
of the inhabitants of Samnium
and their descendants in Cam-
pania, Apulia, and Lucania. Livy,
then, did not regard the Atellan
play as a native production. —
*ab histrionibus pollui*: profes-
sional actors were in disrepute,
and no Roman citizen could ap-
ppear on the stage without being
disgraced; it seems that for a time
an exception was made in favor of
the Atellan plays, but after they
came to be used as *exodia* and
were presented before a paying
public, it is probable that they too
were given over to professionals.
— *stipendia faciant*: *serve in the
army*. — *artis ludicrae*: the actor’s
profession.
parva principia rerum ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa est, ut adpareret quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit.

Beginning of the Samnite Wars

29. Maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium et longinquitate regionum vel temporum [spatio] quibus bellatum est, dicentur. Namque eo anno adversus Samnites, gentem opibus armisque validam, mota arma; Samnitium bellum ancipiti Marte gestum Pyrrhus hostis, Pyrrhum Poeni secuti. Quanta rerum moles! quotiens in extrema periculorum ventum ut in hanc magnitudinem, quae vix sustinetur, erigi imperium posset! Belli autem causa cum Samnitibus Romanis, cum societate amicitiaque iuncti essent, extrinsecus venit, non orta inter ipsos est. Sam-

13. vix... tolerabilem: though old-fashioned Romans had always looked askance at the drama and until 55 B.C. had prevented the erection of a permanent theater in the city, by the end of the first century B.C. plays were being produced with great display and at great expense; see Praef. 9.

29. 1. iam hinc: see on 2, 1, 1.
— longinquus, used of both space and time.
— quibus: with two antecedents, regionum and temporum; therefore combining the functions of a loc. abl. and an abl. of duration of time. — Samnites: numerous tribes of the same Italic stock, occupying the mountainous region of central Italy, east of Latium and Campania; they all spoke the Oscan language, but their political union was a loose one.

2. ancipiti Marte: the war continued with interruptions from 343 to 290. Two centuries later the Samnites were again conspicuous in the Social War and were finally defeated at the Colline Gate in 82.
— extrema periculorum: see on 5, 38, 4 and cf. 21, 34, 7. — ut... posset: cf. Praef. 9.

3. Romanis: see on 1, 7, 1
Remo. — societate: Rome had made a treaty of alliance with the Samnites in 400.
nites Sidicinis iniusta arma, quia viribus plus poterant, cum intulissent, coacti inopes ad opulentiorum auxilium confugere Campanis sese coniungunt. Campani magis nomen ad praesidium sociorum quam vires cum attulissent, fluentes luxu ab duratis usu armorum in Sidicino pulsi agro, in se deinde molem omnem belli verterunt. Namque Samnites omissis Sidicinis ipsam arcem finitimorum Campanos adorti, unde aeque facilis victoria, praedae atque gloriae plus esset, Tifata, inminentis Capuae colles, cum praesidio firmo occupassent, descendunt inde quadrato agmine in planitiem quae Capuam Tifataque interiacet. Ibi rursus acie dimicatum; adverso proelio Campani intra moenia conpulsi, cum robore iuventutis suae acciso nulla propinqua spes esset, coacti sunt ab Romanis petere auxilium.

30. Legati introducti in senatum maxime in hanc sententiam locuti sunt: "Populus nos Campanus legatos ad

5. fluentes: enervated. The difference is very striking between the highly civilized and luxurious Campanians, and the hardy mountaineers of Samnium.
6. arcem: in app. with Campanos; cf. 3, 45, 8. — unde = e quibus; see on 1, 24, 2. — aequo: i.e. as easy as a victory over the Sidicini. — esset: informal indirect discourse, expressing the thought of the Samnites; therefore, the subjunctive; see on 6, 35, 1 speraret. — Tifata: a range of hills east of Capua. — quadrato agmine: marching in order of battle. — interiace: for a different construction with this verb see 21, 30, 11.

30. i. maxime: approximately; cf. 25, 31, 11. In speeches of this sort, which are a prominent characteristic of Livy’s work, the author, like Thucydides and other ancient historians, does not pretend to give the exact words of the original. In many cases, if such a speech had been delivered at all, it had entirely disappeared, and what Livy gives is all his own composition. Sometimes he inserts speeches quite arbitrarily, thinking thus to portray a character or describe a situation more effectively. — locuti
vos, patres conscripti, misit amicitiam in perpetuum, auxilium praesens a vobis petition. Quam si secundis rebus nostris petissemus, sicut coepta celerius, ita infirmiore vinculo contracta esset; tunc enim, ut qui ex aequo nos venisse in amicitiam meminissemus, amici forsitan pariter ac nunc, subjecti atque obnoxii vobis minus esset; nunc, misericordia vestra conciliati auxilioque in dubii rebus defensi, beneficium quoque acceptum colamus oportet, ne ingrati atque omni ope divina humanaque indigni videamus. Neque hercule, quod Samnites priores amici sociique vobis facti sunt, ad id valere arbitror, ne nos in amicitiam accipiamur, sed ut vetustate et gradu honoris nos praestent; neque enim foedere Samnitium ne qua nova iungeretis foedera cautum est. Fuit quidem apud vos semper satis iusta causa amicitiae, velle eum vobis amicum esse, qui vos adpeteret; Campani, etsi fortuna praesens magnifice loqui prohibet, non urbis amplitudine, non agri ubertate ulli populo praeterquam vobis cedentes, haud parva, ut arbitror, accessio bonis rebus vestris in

sunt: the chief man of the embassy is supposed to speak for all; see § 4 arbitror and cf. 7, 31, 3.

2. sicut coepta celerius: though it (amicitia) might have been arranged more quickly; the Romans would have been more ready to form an alliance with a prosperous people.— tunc: serving as the protasis for essemus and contrasted with nunc in this and the following sections.— ut qui: see on Praef. 4.


4. quod . . . facti sunt: the argument of the envoys is fallacious; they were asking the Romans to undertake at least a defensive war against a people with whom they had entered into alliance. — valere: cf. 38, 28, 6 metus ad omnes valuit, ne deditio nem reconsarent.— vetustate . . . nos praestent: for the construction cf. 5, 36, 4.

5. velle: sc. vos as subject; that you wished him who sought you to be your friend.

6. urbis: Capua, the prosperous capital of Campania; cf. 7, 31, 1.
7 amicitiam venimus vestram. Aequis Volscisque, aeternis hostibus huius urbis, quandocumque se moverint, ab tergo erimus, et quod vos pro salute nostra priores feceritis, id
8 nos pro imperio vestro et gloria semper faciemus. Subactis his gentibus quae inter nos vösque sunt, quod prope diem futurum spendet et virtus et fortuna vestra, continens imperium usque ad nos habebitis. Acerbum ac miserum est quod fateri nos fortuna nostra cogit: eo ventum est, patres conscripti, ut aut amicorum aut inimicorum Campani simus.
10 Si defenditis, vestri, si deseritis, Samnitium erimus; Capua ergo et Campaniam omnem vestris an Samnium viribus accedere malitis, deliberate. Omnibus quidem, Romani, vestram misericordiam vestrumque auxilium aequum est patere, iis tamen maxime, qui ea implorantis aliiis [auxilium] dum supra vires suas praestant, ante omnes ipsi in hanc necessitatem venerunt. Quamquam pugnavimus verbo pro Sidicinis, re pro nobis, cum videremus finitimum populum nefario latrocinio Samnitium peti et, ubi conflagrassent Sidicini, ad nos traiecturum illud incendium esse. Nec enim nunc, quia dolent injuriam

The surrounding district was famous for its pleasant climate and the fertility of its soil.

7. Aequis Volscisque: dat. of interest with ab tergo erimus.—quod . . . faciemus: salutae is contrasted with imperio and gloria, priores with semper; in fact, every word in the first clause has its correspondent in the second.

8. prope diem: an idiomatic adverbial phrase, often spelled as one word.

9. amicorum: the poss. gen. already suggests the complete surrender of their independence, cf. § 2.

10. defenditis, deseritis; pres. for fut. in a conditional clause, though it is the regular English idiom, is comparatively rare in Latin.

11. ea: i.e. misericordiam and auxilium.—alii . . . praestant: see 7, 29, 5.

12. re pro nobis: sc. pugnavimus.

13. nec enim: not like the
acceptam Samnites, sed quia gaudent oblatam sibi esse causam, oppugnatum nos veniunt. An, si ultio irae haec et non occasio cupiditatis explendae esset, parum fuit, quod semel in Sidicino agro, iterum in Campania ipsa legiones nostras cecidere? Quae est ista tam infesta ira, quam per duas acies fusus sanguis explere non potuerit? Adde huc populationem agrorum, praedas hominum atque pecudum actas, incendia villarum ac ruinas, omnia ferro ignique vastata; hiscine ira expleri non potuit? Sed cupiditas explenda est. Ea ad oppugnandam Capuam rapit; aut delere urbem pulcherrimam aut ipsi possidere volunt. Sed vos potius, Romani, beneficii vestro occupate eam quamillos habere per maleficium sinatis. Non loquor apud recusantem iusta bella populum; sed tamen, si ostenderitis auxilia vestra, ne bello quidem arbitror vobis opus fore. Vsque ad nos contemptus Samnitium pervenit, supra non escentit; itaque umbra vestri auxili, Romani, tegi possumus, quidquid deinde habuerimus, quidquid ipsi fuerimus, vestrum id omne existimaturi. Vobis arabitur ager Campanus, vobis Capua urbs frequentabitur; conditorum, parentium, deorum inmortali numero nobis eritis; nulla colonia vestra erit quae nos obsequio erga vos fideque superet.

Greek καὶ γὰρ introducing a statement that explains the preceding one; enim is here used with its early intensive force, in fact.

14. an, si . . . fuit: cf. 9, 9, 12.
15. hominum: taken as slaves.
—villarum: farms; in the fourth century B.C. Campania was not covered with Roman villas as it was in Livy's time.

16. hiscine: see on 1, 3, 2.
17. occupy, sinatis: cf. 3, 21, 6 aliiorum exemplo peccate potius quam alii vestro recte faciant.—ostenderitis: note the emphatic position.
18. umbra: cf. 38, 51, 4. —id omne: i.e. what we have and what we are; cf. 25, 6, 23 quidquid postea vivimus, id omne destinatum ignominae est.

31. Submotis deinde legatis cum consultus senatus esset, etsi magnae parti urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae, uberrimus ager marique propinquus ad varietates annonaes horreum populi Romani fore videbatur, tamen tanta utilitate fides antiquior fuit, responditque ita ex auctoritate

20. **adnuite nutum numenque:** the verb has two objects of kindred derivation, but, by a sort of zeugma, the relation of the first object to the verb is different from that of the second; *adnuite nutum* means *nod assent*, the noun adding nothing to the meaning of the verb; *adnuite numen* means *grant the assistance of your power.*

22. **stare . . . prospectantes:** Livy shows a keen dramatic sense in the description of such scenes. — *animi:* locative; cf. 6, 36, 8 *stupentes animi;* 7, 34, 4 *territo animi;* Lane, 1339.

23. **nusquam ullis futuris:** *will not exist at all;* cf. 6, 18, 8 *nullus repente fui.*

31. **consultus:** by the consul. — *uberrimus ager:* Flor. 1, 11, 3 *omnia non modo Italiae sed toto orbe pulcherrima Campaniae plaga est, nihil mollius caelo . . . nihil uberius solo.* — *marique propinquus:* so that transportation to Rome would be easy. — **ad varietates annonaes:** *in view of the irregularity of the corn supply;* for this use of *ad* see on 5, 37, 5. — *fides:* see on 7, 30, 4. — *antiquior:* *stronger;* cf. 1, 32, 2 *antiquissi-**
senatus consul: "Auxilio vos, Campani, dignos cense\textsuperscript{2} natus; sed ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia ac societas violetur. Samnites nobiscum foedere iuncti sunt; itaque arma, deos prius quam homines violatula, adversus Samnites vobis negamus; legatos, sicut ius fasque est, ad socios atque amicos preca\textsuperscript{3} tum mittemus ne qua vobis vis fiat."

Ad ea princeps legationis—sic enim domo mandatum attulerant—: "quoando quidem" inquit "nostra tueri adversus vim atque injuriam iusta vi non vultis, vestra certe defendetis; itaque populum Campanum urbemque Capuam, \textsuperscript{4} agros, delubra deum, divina humanaque omnia in vestram, patres conscripti, populique Romani dicionem dedimus, quidquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri." Sub \textsuperscript{5} haec dicta omnes, manus ad consules tendentes, pleni lacrimarum in vestibulo curiae procubuerunt. Conmoti \textsuperscript{6} patres vice fortunarum humanarum, si ille praepotens opibus populus, luxuria superbiaque clarus, a quo paulo ante auxilium finitimi petissent, adeo infractos gereret animos ut se ipse suaque omnia potestatis alienae faceret. Tum \textsuperscript{7} iam fides agi visa deditos non prodi; nec facturum aqua Samnitium populum censebant, si agrum urbemque per deditionem factam populi Romani oppugnarent. Legatos

\textit{mum (most important) ratus sacra publica ... facere. Cf. the meaning of \textit{vetustior} in \S 2.}

\textit{2. deos ... violatur: i.e. they would violate not only the Samnites but, what was more serious, the oaths sworn in the name of the gods.}

\textit{5. sub: in such phrases \textit{sub} means just before, as in 5, 39, 7, or just after, as here. — vestibulo: see on 5, 41, 8. — curiae: see on 2, 23, 11.}

\textit{6. conmoti: sc. sunt. — vice: change; for a different meaning see on 1, 25, 6. — si: see on 2, 28, 2.}

\textit{7. tum iam: besides now; sc. the proposal of the Campanians having been accepted. — fides agi}
8 itaque extemplo mitti ad Samnites placuit. Data mandata, ut preces Campanorum, responsum senatus amicitiae Samnitium memor, dediticiis suis parcerent neque in eum agrum qui populi Romani factum esset hostilia arma inferrent; si leniter agendo parum proficerent, denuntiarent Samnitis populi Romani senatusque verbis ut Capua urbe Campanoque agro abstinerent. Haec legatis agentibus in concilio Samnitium adeo est ferocter responsum ut non solum gesturos se esse dicerent id bellum, sed magistratus eorum et curia egressi stantibus legatis praefectos cohortium vocarent iisque clara voce imperarent ut praedatum in agrum Campanum extemplo proficiscerentur.

Book IX

Battle of the Caudine Pass

1. Sequitur hunc annum nobilis clade Romana Caudina pax, T. Veturio Calvin, Sp. Postumio consulibus. Samnites eo anno imperatorem C. Pontium, Herenni filium, visa: honor seemed to be at stake; Livy apparently did not recognize the absurdity in his use of this word under the present circumstances.


11. concilio: a meeting of representatives from the various Samnite tribes, — Caudini, Pentri, Caraceni, and Hirpini. — praefectos cohortium: a name applied later to officers appointed by the consuls to command the auxiliares; here used loosely of the Samnite commanders.

habuerunt, patre longe prudentissimo natum, primum ipsum bellatorem ducemque. Is, ubi legati qui ad deden-
das res missi erant pace infecta redierunt, "ne nihil actum" inquit "hac legatione censeatis, expiatum est quidquid ex
foedere rupto irarum in nos caelestium fuit. Satis scio, quibuscumque dis cordi fuit subigi nos ad necessitatem
dedendi res quae ab nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant, iis non fuisse cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expia-
tionem spretam. Quid enim ultra fieri ad placandos deos
mitigandosque homines potuit quam quod nos fecimus?
Res hostium in praeda captas, quae bellii iure nostrae
videbantur, remisimus; auctores bellii, quia vivos non

1. i. nobilis: famous; cf. 22, 7, 1.—pax: it was guaranteed by
the consuls and other officers in
order to save their army (see 9,
5, 4); but it was not ratified by
the senate, and there was there-
fore, strictly speaking, no peace.
2. C. Pontium: the name is of
course Latinized; the Oscan form
was Gavios Pompties.—Herenni:
a praenomen; in 23, 43, 9 it is
a nomen.—primum: of the first
rank.
3. legati: after an overwhelm-
ing defeat in the preceding year,
the Samnites had sent envoys to
Rome to offer restitution (ad de-
dendas res); the Romans had
accepted the prisoners and such
articles of plunder as were identi-
fied by their owners, but refused
to entertain proposals of peace.—
ne... censeatis: a parenthetical
clause of purpose; see on 1, 28, 5
teneat.—foedere: the one made
at the end of the First Samnite
War in 341, which, according to
Livy, had been violated by the
Samnites in 327.—irarum: see on
1, 7, 2.
4. dis: the gods were witnesses
(cf. § 7 arbitris) of the treaty and
exacted restitution from those who
violated it.—cordi fuit: it was
pleasing; a peculiar use of the
predicate dative; cf. the use of
frugi as an indeclinable adjecti-
tive, and for a full discussion of
such datives see Roby's Latin
Grammar, Part 2, Preface, p. xxv
ff. — repetitiae fuerant: by the
gods; the Romans had made no
demands. For the form of the
verb see on 1, 2, 1.
5. in praeda: as plunder; cf.
the similar use of in beneficio; e.g.
4, 7, 9 tribuni quoque plebi certa-
men sine effectu in beneficio apud
primores patrum reliquere.
6. auctores: according to Livy
potuimus, perfunctos iam fato dedidimus; bona eorum, ne quid ex contagione noxae remaneret penes nos, Romam
7 portavimus. Quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid foederi, quid dis arbitris foederis debo? Quem tibi tuarum irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iudicem feram? Neminem
8 neque populum neque privatum fugio. Quod si nihil cum potentiore iuris humani relinquitur inopi, at ego ad deos
vindices intolerandae superbiae confugiam et precabor ut
9 iras suas vertant in eos quibus non suae redditae res, non alienae acdumulatae satis sint; quorum saevitiam non mors
noxiorum, non deditio examinatorum corporum, non bona sequentia domini dediti Nexistant; qui placari ne-
queant, nisi hauriendum sanguinem laniandaque viscera
10 nostrae praebuerimus. Iustum est bellum, Samnites, quibus
necessarium, et pia arma quibus nulla nisi in armis relinqui-
11 tur spes. Proinde, cum rerum humanarum maximum mo-
mentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam adversis agant dis,

8, 39, 12 ff. only one man, Brutulus Papius, was named as the instiga-
tor of the war, and the Samnites
decided to surrender him to the
Romans; he, however, committed
suicide, and they delivered his
body, together with his property.
In this passage Livy has in mind
another tradition, the one followed
by Appian, that several authors
of the war were named and their
bodies surrendered.—noxae : guilt;
connect with both guid and con-
tagione.

7. arbitris: the word means
more than witnesses. The gods
were judges, who determined
whether or not the conditions
had been fulfilled, and, if not, in-
flicted punishment.—feram: pro-
pose; a reference to the custom
of appointing an arbitrator to
decide between two parties in
dispute.—neminem: i.e. as judge.

8. cum: in his relations with.
— at ego: see on I, 28, 9.—vin-
dices: cf. 2, 24, 2.

10. iustum, pia: the first adj.
has reference to man, the second
to the gods.—necessarium: the
Romans had gladly accepted an
excuse for war and now threatened
the complete subjugation of the
Samnites.

11. momentum: influence, de-
termining factor; the subject of
pro certo habete priora bella adversus deos magis quam homines gessisse, hoc quod instat ducibus ipsis dis gesturos."

2. Haec non laeta magis quam vera vaticinatus exercitu educto circa Caudium castra quam potest occultissime locat; inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam consules Romanos castraque esse audiebat, milites decem pastorum habitu mittit pecoraque diversos, alium alibi, haud procul Romanis pascere iubet praesidiis; ubi inciderint in praedatores, ut idem omnibus sermo constet: legiones Samnitium in Apulia esse, Luceriam omnibus copiis circumseedere, nec procul abesse, quin vi capiant. Iam is rumor, et ante de industria vulgatus, venerat ad Romanos, sed fidem auxere captivi, eo maxime, quod sermo inter omnes congruebat.

Haud erat dubium, quin Lucerinis opem Romanus ferret,

sit is the following clause, the question whether they are acting with or without the approval of the gods. — agant: sc. homines.— gessisse, gesturos: sc. vos, and for the omission of the subject cf. 9, 10, 10.

2. i. circa: near.—Caudium: in the western part of Samnium, on the line of the Via Appia, which was constructed from Rome to Capua nine years after the battle at Caudium, and later extended to Brundisium. There was an earlier road here at this time.

2. Calatiam: in Campania, about fifteen miles west of Caudium, also on the line of the Via Appia.—diversos: explained by alium alibi.

3. ut . . . constet: introduced by iubet; i.e., he gave orders that all should tell the same story. Livy uses with iubeo the inf., the subj. with ut, and the subj. alone. For the meaning of constet cf. the common phrase ratio constat; idem is unnecessary.—Luceriam: an important town in northwestern Apulia, where a Roman force had been operating in the previous year.—abesse: impersoval; cf. 1, 5, 6.

4. de industria: Livy uses many adverbial phrases of this sort; for the similar use of an adj. with the prep. see on 1, 25, 9 and compare 9, 7, 10.

5. Romanus: see on 1, 27, 10 Veientem. — ferret: must carry; cf. 21, 36, 4. — bonis . . . sociis:
bonis ac fidelibus sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem deficeret; ea modo, qua irent, consultatio fuit. Duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaque, sed quanto tutor, tanto fere longior, altera per furculas Caudinas, brevior. Sed ita natus locus est: saltus duo alti, angusti silvosique sunt, montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti; iacet inter eos

the Apilians had entered into alliance with Rome in 326, but had revolted in 323; we are not informed as to the action of Luceria, but, to explain this passage, we must assume that it had not participated in the revolt, or that it had been conquered and had renewed the alliance. The adjectives bonis and fidelibus make the former explanation the more probable. — simul: introducing a second reason for their decision; the first is given in bonis ... sociis. — ad: see on 5, 37, 5 and cf. 7, 31, 1. — ea consultatio = consultatio de ea re; cf. 3, 34, 7 ea expectatio.

6. altera ... maris: to reach this road and avoid Samnium altogether, a long detour would have been necessary, through Campania, southern Latium, and the countries of the Marsi, Paeligni, and Frentani. The shorter road led directly across Samnium. The distance from Calatia by the longer road was approximately 175 miles, by the shorter 65 miles. — patens apertaque: wide and open. — furculas Caudinas: usually identified with a narrow defile between the modern villages of Arpaja and Montesarchio, the latter probably occupying the site of the ancient Caudium.

7. natus: formed by nature; cf. 22, 4, 2. — saltus duo etc.: the topography is not unlike that of the battleground at Lake Trasimennus (cf. 22, 4, 2), except that here there are mountains on the south as well as on the north. The road passes through a defile, emerges into an inclosed plain, then enters a second defile. — circa: for the attributive use of the adv. cf. 21, 37, 2, and for the meaning, on both sides, cf. 26, 11, 7. — inter se iuncti: i.e. unbroken chains of mountains extended on both sides from the beginning of the first defile to the end of the second. Livy was evidently not familiar with the region. The first defile was probably the valley now called Valle Caudina. The campus was the opening through which runs the little river Isclero (see § 13); here there was a break in the mountains on the north, of which Livy did not know, and we

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satis patens, clausus in medio, campus herbidus aquosus-
que, per quem medium iter est; sed antequam venias ad 8
eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt, et aut eadem qua te
insinuaveris retro via repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas,
per alium saltum, artiorem inpeditioremque, evadendum.

In eum campum via alia per cavam rupem Romani de-
misso agmine cum ad alias angustias protinus pergerent,
saeptas deiectu arborum saxorumque ingentiium obiacente
mole invenere. Cum fraus hostilis adparuisset, praesidium
etiam in summo saltu conspicitur. Citati inde retro qua 10
venerant pergunt repetere viam; eam quoque clausam sua
obice armisque inveniunt. Sistunt inde gradum sine ulius
imperio, stuporque omnium animos ac velut torpor quidam
insolitus membra tenet, intuentesque alii alios, cum al-
terum quisque conpetom magis mentis ac consili ducerent,
diu inmobiles silent; deinde, ubi praetoria consulum erigi 12
videre et expedire quosdam utilia operi, quamquam ludibrio
fore munientes perditis rebus ac spe omni adempta cerne-

are therefore not told how that was guarded. The second defile
was the one in which Montesarchio is located. — patens: broad;
cf. § 6. — in medio: the substantive use of this adj. is very com-
mon in Livy; cf. 5, 41, 2.

8. venias: see on Praef. 10. — angustiae: note how repetition is
avoided by the use of angustiae, via, and saltus, all referring to the
same thing. — ire perragis: cf. 21, 30, 1. — alium: for alterum; cf. 1,
25, 5; so alia and alias in the next section.

9. demisso: led down; cf. 26,
9, 12. — deiectu: see on 21, 37, 2
deiectis. — saxorumque: the noun
depends upon mole, and the con-
junction connects deiectu and mole.
— etiam: connecting fraus and
praesidium. — in summo saltu:
at the head of the pass beyond the
barricade.

10. citati: adj. for adv.; see
on Praef. 11 and cf. 2, 10, 3 citatos
decurrere hostes vidisset. — sua:
referring to via. — armisque: there
was a body of Samnites at this end
also.

11. alterum quisque: an un-
usual combination; each one re-
garded his neighbor.

12. fore: sc. se as subject.
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

bant, tamen, ne culpam malis adderent, pro se quisque nec hortante ullo nec imperante ad munidum versi castra propter aquam vallo circumdant, sua ipsi operae laboremque inritum, praeterquam quod hostes superbe increpabant, cum miserabili confessione eludentes. Ad consules maestos, ne advocantes quidem in consilium, quando nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset, sua sponte legati ac tribuni conveniunt, militesque ad praetorium versi opem, quam vix di inmortales ferre poterant, ab ducibus exposcunt.

3. Querentes magis quam consultantes nox oppressit, cum pro ingenio quisque fremerent, alius: “per obices viarum, per adversa montium, per silvas, qua ferri arma poterunt, eamus, modo ad hostem pervenire liceat, quem per annos iam prope triginta vincimus; omnia aequa et plana erunt Romano in perfidum Samnitem pugnanti;”

13. propter aquam: see on § 7.
14. praeterquam quod: besides the fact that. — eludentes: de-riding.
15. legati: these had at this time no well-defined official position, but accompanied a general as his advisers, and were assigned at times to the command of a part of the army. A legatus in this capacity is mentioned by Livy as early as 499 (2, 20, 8). — tribuni: there were six of these for each legion, young men of senatorial or equestrian rank. After the beginning of the civil wars, a legatus commanded each legion, the tribunes serving as his staff. — praetorium: the particular one in which the officers had gathered; cf. § 12.
3. 1. pro ingenio: according to his nature. — fremerent: the meaning of the word is broad enough to include the shout of the first man and the groan of the second. — adversa montium = adversos montes; see on 5, 38, 4 and cf. 27, 48, 12 in adversum collem. — qua = quacumque.
2. modo = dummodo. — triginta: an exaggeration; the first Samnite War had lasted only two years, and the second was now in its sixth year; only twenty-two years had passed since the beginning of the first war. — vincimus: the present is used, as commonly with iam and iam dudum, to represent the action as still continuing; Lane, 1589. — aequa et plana: the two adjectives are identical in meaning. — perfidum: see on 9, 1, 3.
alius: "quo aut qua eamus? Num montes moliri sede sua paramus? Dum haec inminebunt iuga, qua tu ad hostem venias? Armavi inermes, fortes ignavi, pariter omnes capti atque victi sumus; ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblatus est hostis; sedens bellum conficiet." His in vicem sermonibus qua cibi, qua quietis inmemor nox traducta est.

Ne Samnitibus quidem consilium in tam laetis suppetebat rebus; itaque universi Herennium Pontium, patrem imperatoris, per litteras consulendum censent. Iam is gravis annis non militaribus solum sed civilibus quoque abscesserat muneribus; in corpore tamen adfecto vigebat vis animi consilique. Is ubi accepit ad furcularas Caudinas inter duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos, consultus ab nuntio fili censuit omnes inde quam primum inviolatos dimittendos. Quae ubi spreta sententia est iterumque eodem remeante nuntio consulebatur, censuit ad unum-

3. eamus, venias: expressions of surprise and disapproval; hence the subjunctive; Lane, 1566. — moliri; to move; rarely found in this sense, in which the difficulty of the act is emphasized. — tu: not to be taken as a general question; the second man is answering the first, and meets his three propositions,—that they must get out, must meet the enemy, and will certainly conquer,—with the statements that escape is impossible, that they cannot reach the enemy, and that they will certainly be conquered. — ad bene moriendum: i.e. to give us a chance to die bravely; cf. 21, 42, 4. This despair is somewhat exaggerated, for the Samnites would certainly have had to fight if the Romans had attempted to scale the barrier and make their way out through the pass. See on 9, 4, 1.

4. in vicem = inter se; cf. 3, 71, 2 multis in vicem cladibus, and, for the attributive use of the adverb cf. 9, 2, 7 circa. — inmemor nox: for the use of memor qualifying an impersonal noun cf. 7, 31, 8. According to Appian they passed several days thus imprisoned. 6. ad: see on 1, 4, 7 and cf. 1, 20, 5 ad quae templorum sacra fierent.

— exercitus: the two consular armies; see § 10.

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8 omnes interficiendos. Quae ubi tam discordia inter se velut ex ancipiti oraculo responsa data sunt, quamquam filius ipse in primis iam animum quoque patris consenuisse in adfecto corpore rebatur, tamen consensu omnium victus est, ut ipsum in consilium acciret. Nec gravatus senex plaustro in castra dicitur adventus vocatusque in consilium ita ferme locutus esse, ut nihil sententiae suae mutaret, causas tantum adiceret: priore se consilio, quod optimum duceret, cum potentissimo populo per ingens beneficium perpetuam firmare pacem amicitiamque; altero consilio in multas aetates, quibus amissis duobus exercitibus haud facile receptura vires Romana res esset, bellum differre; tertium nullum consilium esse.

11 Cum filius aliique principes percutiendo exsequerentur, "quid, si media via consili caperetur, ut et dimitterentur incolumes et leges iis iure belli victis inponerentur", "ista quudem sententia" inquit "ea est quae neque amicos parat nec inimicos tollit. Servate modo quos ignominia irrita-

8. oraculo: cf. 3, 34, 1. — victus est, ut: for a similar clause with the active vicere cf. 5, 36, 8; in both cases it is a substantive clause. — in consilium: to a conference; cf. the meaning of the word in § 10.
10. firmare: secured; cf. 22, 46, 3. — quibus: abl. of time within which, here scarcely to be distinguished from the abl. of duration of time, which is found occasionally in Livy; see 1, 29, 6. — res: the state; cf. 1, 6, 3. — differre: he realized that it was simply a postponement; Romans and Samnites must at some time fight for the supremacy of Italy.
12. ista: that of yours. — ea est quae: is one which; introducing a simple relative clause. The same words below introduce a clause of characteristic, is of such
a nature that. _servate_: consider.
— _quaes... nesciat_: cf. 26, 41, 9
ea _fato quodam data nobis sors est ut magnis omnibus bellis victi vici erit._; and 27, 14, 1 _seu victi est, instaurat cum victoribus cer-
tamen._

13. _vivit... quidquid istuc... inusserit = vivit... istuc, quidquid... inusserit._

4. 1. _conatus... capti essent:_
cf. 21, 29, 5 and 22, 5, 6 _impetus capti._ Cicero, Dio, and Appian all speak of a battle, but whether it occurred before the imprisonment of the Romans in the pass or in an attempt to escape, we are not told. That an important battle actually occurred and that Livy, for love of Roman glory, intentionally omits all reference to it is an almost inevitable conclusion. Niebuhr says that nowhere does

Livy deserve severer censure than in this part of his history.

2. _pacem... pugnam:_ it is hardly necessary to point out the absurdity of both propositions.

3. _quoniam... scirent:_ cf. 9, 3, 12. — _victi... capti:_ for the order see on 21, 43, 14 _caeso, victo, circumsesso._ — _cum singulis vestimentis:_ with only their tunics; cf. 9, 6, 1 _seminudi_ and Oros. 3, 15 _tantum singulis vilioribus ope-rimentis ob verecunda corporum tegenda concessis._ — _iugum:_ formed by fixing in the ground two spears and fastening a third across the top of these. — _alias:_ for _ceteras_ or _reliquas_; cf. 7, 26, 9 _inter pri-mos... atrox proeliium fuit; alia multitudo... terga vertit._ — _aequas:_ i.e. he would impose upon the Romans no condition of tribute.
bus fore: si agro Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abdu-
cerentur, suis inde legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo
foedere victurum; his condicionibus paratum se esse foed-
dus cum consulibus ferire; si quid eorum displiceat, lega-
tos redire ad se vetuit.

Haec cum legatio renuntiatetur, tantus gemitus omnium
subito exortus est tantaque maestitia incessit ut non gravius
accepturi viderentur, si nuntiaretur omnibus eo loco mortem
oppetendam esse. Cum diu silentium fuisset nec consules
aut pro foedere tam turpi aut contra foedus tam necessa-
rarium hiscere possent, tum L. Lentulus, qui princeps lega-
torum virtute atque honoribus erat: “patrem meum”
inquit, “consules, saepe audivi memorantem se in Capitolio
unum nonuisse auctorem senatui redimendae auro a
Gallis civitatis, quando nec fossa valloque ab ignavissimo

or service of any sort; each nation
should be independent.

4. coloniae: referring to col-
ones in southern Latium and
Campania, e.g. Fregellae, colo-
nized in 328, and Cales, in 334.
There were of course as early as this
no Roman colonies in Samnium.

5. ferire: cf. 1, 24, 3 foedus
ictum; so also, in late Latin, per-
cutio; the use of all these verbs
is derived from the custom of
sacrificing an animal when a
treaty was made. Cf. the Greek
\( \sigma\pi\nu\nu\delta\gamma. \)

6. haec . . . renuntiatetur: when
the result of this embassy was re-
ported; cf. 7, 32, 1 hac legatione
Romam relata. — incessit: for this
absolute use of the verb cf. 2, 27,
10. — accepturi: the periphrastic
form may take the place of either
imperf. or plup. subj. in the apod-
osis of a non-occurrent condition;
cf. 2, 1, 3 and 4. It is so difficult,
however, to explain nuntiaretur,
which would indicate a non-occurr-
ent action coincident with vi-
derentur, instead of the expected
past action represented by the
plup. subj., that it is perhaps better
to explain nuntiaretur as a less
vivid future protasis, of which
accepturi would be the natural
apodosis.

7. Lentulus: he had been con-
sul in 327. Later members of
the family had the cognomen
Caudinus. — legatorum: see on 9,
2, 15.

8. se . . . civitatis: not men-
tioned by Livy in 5, 48, 8. — nec
ad opera ac muniendum hoste claudi essent et erumpere si
non sine magno periculo, tamen sine certa pernicie possent.
Quod si, ut illis decurrere ex Capitolio armatis in hostem
licuit, quo saepe modo obsessi in obsidentes eruperunt, ita
nobis aequo aut iniquo loco dimicandi tantummodo cum
hoste copia esset, non mihi paterni animi indoles in consilio
dando deesset. Equidem mortem pro patria praeclaram
esse fateror et me vel deovere pro populo Romano legio-
nibusque vel in medios [me] inmittere hostes paratus sum;
sed hic patriam video, hic quidquid Romanarum legionum
est, quae, nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem ruere volunt, quid
habent quod morte sua servent? 'Tecta urbis' dicat ali-
quis 'et moenia et eam turbam a qua urbs incolitur.'
Immo hercule produntur ea omnia deleto hoc exercitu, non
servantur. Quis enim ea tuebitur? inbellis videlicet atque
inermis multitudo. Tam hercule, quam a Gallorum impetu
defendit. An a Veis exercitum Camillumque ducem in-
plorabunt? Hic omnes spes opesque sunt, quas servando
patriam servamus, dedendo ad necem patriam deserimus
ac prodimus. 'At foeda atque ignominiosa deditio est.'
Sed ea caritas patriae est ut tam ignominia eam quam
morte nostra, si opus sit, servemus. Subeatur ergo ista,
quantacumque est, indignitas et pareatur necessitati, quam ne di quidem superant. Ite, consules, redimite armis civitatem, quam auro maiores vestri redemerunt."

5. Consules profecti ad Pontium in conloquium, cum de foedere victor agitaret, negarunt iniussu populi foedus fieri posse nec sine fetialibus caerimonialique alia sollemni. Itaque non, ut vulgo credunt Claudiusque etiam scribit, foedere pax Caudina, sed per sponsionem facta est. Quid enim aut sponsoribus in foedere opus esset aut obsidibus,


5. 1. negarunt . . . posse: the terms were, however, discussed and settled in the senate, and the decision of the senate would probably be approved without question by the people. — fetialibus: a college of priests whose chief duty was to make declaration of war and to preside at the ratification of peace; Cic. Leg. 2, 9, 21 foederum, pacin, beli, indutiarum oratores fetiales indicesque sunt; bella disceptanto. The agreement of the Romans and Albans (1, 24, 3) was ratified in this way. At the conclusion of the Second Punic War, fetiales were sent to Africa carrying herbs (verbenae) gathered on the Capitoline Hill and flint stones for killing the sacrificial victim (30, 43, 9). — caerimonia: this collective use of the singular is very rare; there appears to be no other example in Livy.

2. Claudius: Claudius Quadri- garius lived at the end of the second and beginning of the first centuries B.C., and wrote a history of Rome from the invasion of the Gauls, bringing it down at least as late as the year 82. Only fragments are preserved. Livy seems to have used Claudius especially for the second half of his first decade and for the fourth and fifth decades. — sponsionem: an agreement in which the two parties pledged themselves that the terms would be carried out. There was, then, no definite treaty, but a promise on the part of the consuls that the proposed conditions would be accepted by the Roman people. If Livy is correct, it is apparent that Pontius had absolute confidence in the honor of the consuls and in their ability to fulfill their promises; otherwise he would never have given up his great advantage.

3. sponsoribus: and yet a foedus was sometimes guaranteed by the general and his officers; e.g.
ubi precatione res transigitur, per quem populum fiat, quo minus legibus dictis stetur, ut eum ita Iuppiter feriat, quem ad modum a fetialibus porcus feriatur? Spoponderunt 4 consules, legati, quaestores, tribuni militum, nominaque omnium qui spoponderunt extant, ubi, si ex foedere acta res esset, praeterquam duorum fetialium non extarent; et propter necessarium foederis dilationem obsides etiam sescenti equites imperati, qui capite luarent, si pacto non staretur. Tempus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus exer- 6 cituque inermi mittendo.

Redintegravit luctum in castris consulum adventus, ut vix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temperitate in eum locum deducti essent, quorum ignavia foedius inde quam

the foedus Numantinum, which was, however, rejected by the senate just as the present sponsio was rejected. — obsidibus: these, too, were sometimes given in connection with a foedus; see 30, 37, 6. — precatione: imprecation; the formula of the curse follows, per . . . feriatur. — per . . . stetur: the people whose actions were such that it did not abide by the terms agreed upon. — populum: the antecedent of quem; see on Praef. 11 civitatem. — legibus dictis: cf. 33, 12, 2 quas leges pacis placeret dixi. — stetur: impersonal; cf. § 5 and, for the active use of the verb in the same sense, 4, 44, 9 stetit in eadem sententia. — Iuppiter: it was the original conception that Jupiter, the god of lightning, struck with his thunderbolt those who violated their oaths. — porca: the regular oath sacrifice; the porca, on the other hand, was for both Greeks and Romans the expiatory offering.

4. legati: see on 9, 2, 15. — quaestores: a quaestor militaris accompanied each consul. They had the care of the money for the campaign, paid the soldiers, took charge of the spoils, and in general occupied the same position in the field which the quaestor urbanus held in the city. — ubi: whereas. — fetialium: sc. nomina.

5. foederis: the officers pledged themselves that a formal treaty would be made; cf. 9, 10, 9. — etiam: in addition to the guarantee of the officers. — staretur: see on § 3.

6. exercitu: for this dat. form cf. 7, 2, 7 versu. — mittendo: sc. sub iugum. — abstinerent: sc. mili-
7 venissent abituri: illis non ducem locorum, non exploratorem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos in foveam lapsos.
8 Alii alios intueri, contemplari arma mox tradenda et inermes futuras dextras obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria victoris et vultus superbos et per armatas inermium iter,
9 inde foedi agminis miserabilem viam per sociorum urbes, reditum in patriam ad parentes, quo saepe ipsi maioresque eorum triumphantes venissent: se solos sine vulnere, sine ferro, sine acie victos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non manum cum hoste conferre; sibi nequiquam animos datos.
10 Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae advenit, omnia tristiora experiendo factura quam quae praecipenter animis.
11 Iam primum cum singulis vestimentis inermes extra vallum exire iussi, et primi traditi obsides atque in custodiam abstractive in place of suus is explained by the fact that the writer is using his own point of view; Lane, 2370. — venissent: for the subj. see on § 6 deducti essent.
10. conferre: conserere is more common in this phrase. — animos: see on 1, 25, 3.
11. frementibus: sc. eis, which may be abl. abs., or dat. with advenit; cf. 21, 57, 3 ita territis Sempronius consul advenit.—ignominiae: either dat. depending upon fatalis or gen. with hora. — experiendo: a very loose use of the abl. of the gerund; see on 1, 5, 6; cf. 7, 2, 6 usurpando and 45, 32, 7 quas ne usus quidem longo tempore, qui unus est legum corrector, experiendo argueret.
ducti. Tum a consulibus abire lictores iussi paludamentaque detracta: id tantam inter ipsos, qui paulo ante eos exsorantes dedendos lacerandosque censuerant, miseratio-nem fecit ut suae quisque condicionis obtitus ab illa defor-matione tanta maiestatis velut ab nefando spectaculo averteret oculos.

6. Primi consules prope seminudi sub iugum missi, tum ut quisque gradu proximus erat, ita ignominiae obiectus, tum deinceps singulae legiones. Circumstabant armati hostes, exprobrantes eludentesque; gladii etiam plerisque intentati, et vulnerati quidam necatique, si vultus eorum indignitate rerum acrior victorem offendisset. Ita traducti sub iugum et, quod paene gravius erat, per hostium oculos, cum e saltu evasissent, etsi velut ab inferis extracti tum primum lucem adspiceret visi sunt, tamen ipsa lux ita deforme intuentibus agmen omni morte tristior fuit. Itaque cum ante noctem Capuam pervenire possent, incerti de fide sociorum et quod pudor praepediebat, circa viam haud

13. paludamenta: the general’s cloak of purple and gold. In 1, 26, 2 Livy uses the word of the ordinary soldier’s cloak. — ipsos, qui: for the omission of eos cf. 21, 45, 5.

6. i. seminudi: see on 9, 4, 3.

2. gladii . . . intentati: very many of them were threatened with swords. For a different construction with intento see 3, 47, 7. — necatique: and others were killed; cf. 9, 18, 13 denos vicenose; 9, 18, 9 viveret morereturque; 27, 45, 5 metumque. — offendisset: iterative; see on 3, 36, 8.

3. per hostium oculos: i.e. through the midst of the enemy, who were watching them; cf. 2, 38, 3 vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum. — visi sunt: sc. sibi; the dat. is usually omitted only with the first person of videri. — omni morte: every kind of death; cf. 6, 22, 6 materia ad omnem laudem.

4. Capuam: about twenty-two miles from the pass. — sociorum: see 7, 31, 4. In spite of their prom-ises they had aided the Latins in the Latin War, and, as a penalty, had been deprived of a part of their territory. — circa: on both sides of;
procul Capua omnium egena corpora humi prostraverunt. 5 Quod ubi est Capuam nuntiatum, evicit miseratio iusta 6 sociorum superbiam ingenitam Campanis. Confestim insignia sua consulibus, fasces lictoribus, arma, equos, vestimenta, commeatus militibus beneigne mittunt; et venientibus Capuam cunctus senatus populusque obviam egressus iustis omnibus hospitalibus privatisque et publicis fungitur officis. 8 Neque illis sociorum comitas vultusque benigni et adloquia non modo sermonemelicere, sed ne ut oculos quidem attolerent aut consolantes amicos contra intuerentur efficere poterant; adeo super maerorem pudor quidam fugere con-loquia et coetus hominum cogebat.

Postero die cum iuvenes nobiles, missi a Capua ut pro-ficiscentes ad finem Campanum probequerentur, revertissent vocatique in curiam percunctantibus maioribus natu multo sibi maestiores et abiecioris animi visos referrent: adeo silens ac prope mutum agmen incessisse; iacere inolem illam Romanam, ablatosque cum armis animos; non red-
cf. 9, 2, 7. — egena: on the other hand, Appian says καὶ τινα ὅποιον-γα ἔδωκεν (Πόντιος) αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἄρρωστοντας καὶ τροφήν ἄχρι τῆς Ρώμης φίλεσθαι. — corpora: see on 5, 47, 8.
5. sociorum: objective genitive.
— superbiam: see 7, 31, 6.
6. insignia . . . lictoribus: see on 2, 1, 8. — insignia sua: their proper insignia; i.e. the paluada-
menta.
8. neque: but not; see on 1, 27, 1. — illis: dat. of interest with elicere. — quidem: emphasizing the whole clause, as is indicated by the position of ut between ne and quidem. — contra: cf. 1, 16, 6.
10. cum: the effect of this word is felt through the rest of the chapter; this long introduction is summarized in § 1 of the next chapter, cum haec dicerentur, and the conclusion is finally reached in § 2.
11. maioribus natu: see on 1, 3, 2. — maestiores: than on the preceding day. — visos: sc. Romanos.
12. indolem: see on 1, 3, 1 and cf. 9, 4, 9. — animos: cf. 9, 5, 10.
dere salutem salutantibus, non dare responsum, non hiscere quemquam prae metu potuisse, tamquam ferentibus adhuc cervicibus iugum sub quod missi essent; habere Samnites victoriam non praetulam solum sed etiam perpetuam; cepisse enim eos non Romam, sicut ante Gallos, sed, quod multo bellicosius fuerit, Romanam virtutem ferociamque:

7. Cum haec dicerentur audirenturque et deploratum paene Romanum nomen in concilio sociorum fideliem esset, dicitur Osilius Calavius, Ovi filius, clarus genere factisque, tum etiam aetate verendus, longe aliter se habere rem dixisse: silentium illud obstinatum fixosque in terram oculos et surdas ad omnia solacia aures et pudorem intuen-dae lucis ingentem molem irarum ex alto animi censis indicia esse. Aut Romana se ignorare ingenia, aut silen-tium illud Samnitibus fœbles brevi clamores gemitusque excitaturum, Caudinaeque pacis aliquanto Samnitibus quam Romanis tristiorem memoriam fore; quippe suos quemque eorum animos habiturum, ubicumque congressuri sint; saltus Caudinos non ubique Samnitibus fore.

—prae: as always, of a preventive cause; see on 1, 29, 3.

13. bellicosius: a more warlike deed, indicating greater military power, and promising more permanent results.

7. 1. deploratum paene: almost mourned as lost; see on 5, 40, 6.

2. Osilius Calavius, Ovi: all Oscan names; the first is not found elsewhere; the second as cognomen, the third as praenomen, are of frequent occurrence.

3. ingentem . . . esse: were indications of a mind that was stirring from its depths a great flood of wrath.—irarum: for the plural see on 1, 7, 2.

4. aut . . . aut: see on Praef.

11.—tristiorem: for the position of the comparative cf. 22, 4, 6 densior.

5. animos: see on 1, 25, 3. The implication is that the Roman spirit is better than the Samnite, and the Samnites, lacking the advantage they had secured at the Caudine Pass, will be ultimately conquered.—saltus: cf. 9, 2, 7.
Maximus, M. Valerius Corvus. Is consules creavit Q. Publilium Philonem tertium et L. Papirium Cursorem iterum haud dubio consensu civitatis, quod nulli ea tempestate duces clariores essent.

8. Quo creati sunt die, eo — sic enim placuerat patriibus — magistratum inierunt, sollemnibusque senatus consultis perfectis de pace Caudina rettulerunt; et Publlius, penes quem fasces erant, "dic, Sp. Postumi," inquit. Qui ubi subrexit, eodem illo vultu quo sub iugum missus erat, "haud sum ignarus" inquit, "consules, ignominiae, non period a member of the senate, probably chosen by lot,—a privilege restricted, however, to patrician members,—assumed the powers of the consulship; his term of office was five days, at the end of which he was succeeded by another senator and so on until consuls were elected. This election took place in the comitia centuriata, under the direction of the interrex.

15. creavit: used regularly of the transfer of power by the interrex to the new consuls; cf. the similar use of creare in 3, 35, 8. — Publlium: consul in 339 and 327. — Papirium: consul in 327. Both appointments violated the law of 342, that no one should be elected to the same magistracy a second time within ten years.—consensu: the election was unanimous.

8. 1. quo . . . die: prior to 217 the consular year began at various times. The death or resignation of both consuls during their term of office sometimes necessitated an immediate election; the newly elected consuls entered upon their duties at once and served for a year from the time of taking office. From 217 to 154, consuls assumed their office regularly on March 15; after 154, on January 1. — senatus consultis: those relating to their inauguration and the division of their powers. In this early period, though the two consuls theoretically held equal power throughout the year, in practice, to avoid conflict, they assumed the initiative in alternate months, the older of the two taking the first month; cf. penes . . . erant in the next section and see on 2, 1, 8. So, when in command of an army, they alternated in power from day to day. — rettulerunt: introduced the question; the technical word with reference to the senate, and used occasionally of other deliberative bodies; cf. 2, 31, 8.
honoris causa me primum excitatum iussumque dicere, non tamquam senatorem, sed tamquam reum qua infelicitis belli, qua ignominiosae pacis. Ego tamen, quando neque de noxa nostra neque de poena rettulistis, omissa defensione, quae non difficillima esset apud haud ignaros fortunarum humanarum necessitatumque, sententiam de eo de quo rettulistis paucis peragam; quae sententia testis erit, mihi ne an legionibus vestris pepercerim, cum me seu turpi seu necessaria sponsione obstrinxi, qua tamen, quando in iussu populi facta est, non tenetur populus Romanus, nec quicquam ex ea praeterquam corpora nostra debentur Samnitibus. Dedamur per fetiales nudi vinctique; exsolvamus religione populum, si qua obligavimus, ne quid divini humanive obstet, quo minus iustum piumque de integro inae tur bellum. Interea consules exercitum scribere, armare, educere placet nec prius ingredi hostium fines quam omnia iusta in deditione nostra perfecta erunt. Vos, di immortales, precor quaesoque, si vobis non fuit cordi Sp. Postumium, T. Veturium consules cum Samnitibus prospere

3. primum: the opinions of senators were asked in regular order, according to the rank of the highest office which they had held. The most distinguished of the consulares was called first. In the present instance Postumius interprets correctly the fact that he is invited to speak first.—tamquam: as; more often it means as if, introducing an imaginary object of comparison.

4. quando: see on 3, 52, 10. — esset: i.e. if I saw fit to offer one; hence the imperfect subjunctive. —peragam: cf. 3, 47, 4 postulatum perageret.—me: emphatic; he is calling attention to the fact that he has sacrificed himself to save the legions.

5. quando: see on § 4.—debetur: agreeing with the nearest subject.

6. fetiales: see on 9, 5, 1.—si qua obligavimus: if we have put them under any religious obligation; cf. 9, 9, 4.—iustum piumque: referring chiasistically to divini and humani.

7. nec: but not; cf. 1, 27, 1.—iusta: see on 9, 6, 7.

8. cordi: see on 9, 1, 4.
bellum gerere, at vos satis habeatis vidisse nos sub iugum
missos, vidisse sponsione infami obligatos, videre nudos
vinctosque hostibus deditos, omnem iram hostium nostris
capitibus excipientes; novos consules legionesque Romanas
ita cum Samnite gerere bellum velitis, ut omnia ante nos
consules bella gesta sunt."

Quae ubi dixit, tanta simul admiratio miseratioque viri
incessit homines ut modo vix crederent illum eundem esse
Sp. Postumium qui auctor tam foedae pacis fuisset, modo
miserarentur, quod vir talis etiam praecipuum apud hostes
supplicium passurus esset ob iram diremptae pacis. Cum
omnes laudibus modo prosequentes virum in sententiam
eius pedibus irent, temptata paulisper intercessio est ab
L. Livio et Q. Maelio, tribunis plebis, qui neque exsolvi
religione populum aiebant deditione sua, nisi omnia Sam-
nitibus, qualia apud Caudium fuissent, restituerentur, neque
se pro eo, quod spondendo pacem servassent exercitum
populi Romani, poenam ulla meritos esse neque ad extre-
mum, cum sacrosancti essent, dedi hostibus violarive posse.

11. homines: the senators.
12. praecipuum: not only was
he consul, but the Samnites would
probably be informed that he had
advised the renewal of war.—
diremptae pacis: see on 1, 3, 4
coloniam deductam, and 3, 50, 3
strictum.
13. laudibus modo: with noth-
ing but praise. — virum: used, as
in § 11, in place of the demon-
strative pronoun, to emphasize
his heroism. — pedibus irent: the
senate voted by the process of
division (discessio), those favoring
the motion going to one side of the
house, those opposing it to the
other. — intercessio: the tribune’s
veto; a measure thus protested
had no legal value, but was written
down, and a record of it was pre-
served as representing the wish
of a majority of the senate. In
the present case the veto was
withdrawn. These tribunes were
among the sponsores of the peace,
and, unless we assume that they
had entered upon their office since
the return of the army, they must
have accompanied the army, as
tribunes rarely did, for some
special purpose.
BOOK IX

9. Tum Postumius "interea dedite" inquit "profanos nos, quos salva religione potestis; dedetis deinde et istos sacrosanctos, cum primum magistratu abierint, sed, si me audiatis, priusquam dedantur, hic in comitio virgis caesos, hanc iam ut intercalatae poenae usuram habeant. Nam quod deditione nostra negant exsolvi religione populum, id istos magis, ne dedantur, quam quia ita se res habeat, dicere quis adeo iuris fetialium expers est qui ignoret? Neque ego infitias eo, patres conscripti, tam sponsiones quam foedera sancta esse apud eos homines apud quos iuxta divinas religiones fides humana colitur; sed iniussu populi nego quicquam sancti posse quod populum teneat.

15. sacrosancti: see on 2, 33, 1.
9. 1. profanos nos: see on 5,
46, 3 neglectens gens.— salva religione: i.e. without the sacrilege involved in the violation of the tribunes.

2. in comitio: i.e. in as public a place as possible. The Comitium was an open space projecting from the northern corner of the Forum; on the side away from the Forum and facing it was the senate-house, and in the southeast corner adjoining the Forum was the Rostra.

— intercalatae: used humorously, and not elsewhere in this sense. intercalare is used of the more or less regular insertion of an extra month in the ordinary year of twelve months, a necessary device, as the Roman year, prior to 45 B.C., was several days shorter than the solar year. intercalatae here refers to the fact that a part of a year will be added to the time preceding the infliction of the penalty.
3. iuris fetialium: the decision, of course, would rest with the senate; the ceremony would be performed by the fetiales.

4. infitias eo: the noun occurs only in this phrase; acc. of limit of motion.— sponsiones... fides humana: note the emphasis gained by the chiastic arrangement.— sancta: binding, not sacred, since he does not regard the sponsio as a religious obligation.— iuxta: always an adv. in Livy except here and possibly in 39, 9, 6.— sed iniussu... teneat: he takes the position that the parties to a sponsio bind themselves only, not the states which they represent, — that it is a personal and legal obligation, not public or sacred. Elsewhere (e.g. 9, 41, 2) the sponsio appears to be a final arrangement, not merely the introduction to a
5. An, si eadem superbia qua spoisionem istam expresserunt nobis Samnites coegissent nos verba legitima dedentium urbes nuncupare, deditum populum Romanum vos, tribuni, diceretis et hanc urbem, templa, delubra, fines, aquas Samnitium esse? Omitto deditionem, quoniam de sponsione agitur; quid tandem, si spoondonissemus urbem hanc relicturnur populum Romanum? si incensurum? si magistratus, si senatum, si leges non habiturum? si sub regibus futurum? Di meliora, inquis. Atqui non indignitas rerum spon- 

sionis vinculum levat: si quid est in quod obligari populus possit, in omnia potest. Et ne illud quidem quod quosdam

doedus; it is possible, however, that in these cases it had been preceded by senatorial sanction. Whatever was the custom, whatever freedom from obligation a literal interpretation of the agreement allowed, it is certain that in the present instance honor demanded that the senate should abide by the terms which the officers had made. Mommsen, however, says that it was right and necessary that the senate should reject the agreement.—sanciri: the regular word for the passage of a law, the ratification of a treaty, etc.

5. verba ... nuncupare: the formula is given in 1, 38, 2 f. *Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Conlatinno, ut vos populumque Conlatinum dederitis?* "Sumus." "Est populus Conlatinus in sua potestate?" "Est." "Deditisne vos populumque Conlatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populuque Romani dicionem?" "Deditus." "At ego recipio."

6. omitt... agitur: I say no more about surrender, as the discussion is on the subject of guarantee. deditionem refers, not to the surrender at Caudium, but to such a one as that suggested in the previous section. The implication is that if they would not abide by the terms of a deditio made under such circumstances, they surely would not regard themselves as bound by a sponsio.—di meliora: sc. dent.—inquis: the 3d person inquit is used of more than one person, especially when introducing an objection to a statement just made; the 2d person appears not to be used elsewhere in this way.—atqui: the thought is this, that if a sponsio involving such disgrace is not binding, neither is a less sweeping one.
BOOK IX  [CHAP. 9

forsitan moveat refert, consul an dictator an praetor spo-
ponderit. Et hoc ipsi etiam Samnites iudicaverunt, quibus 8
non fuit satis consules spondere, sed legatos, quaestores,
tribunos militum spondere coegerunt. Nec a me nunc 9
quisquam quaeiverit quid ita sponderem, cum id nec
consulis ius esset, nec illis spondere pacem, quae mei non
erat arbitri, pro vobis, qui nihil mandaveratis, possem.
Nihil ad Caudium, patres conscripti, humanis consiliis ges-
tum est; di inmortales et vestris et hostium imperatoribus
mentem adegerunt. Nec nos in bello satis cavimus, et 11
illi male partam victoriam male perdiderunt, dum vix locis
quibus vicerant credunt, dum quacumque conditione arma
viris in arma natis auferre festinant. An, si sana mens 12
fuisset, difficile illis fuit, dum senes ab domo ad consultan-
dum accersunt, mittere Romam legatos? cum senatu, cum

7. illud: referring forward to
the indirect question. — moveat:
see on Praef. 12 erunt.
8. Postumius argues that if the
word of the consul was not final,
as the Samnites had themselves
admitted, neither was that of other
officials, and mere accumulation did
not make the agreement binding.
9. nec = et ne; cf. 21, 43, 11;
22, 3, 10. — quaesiverit: for the
tense see on 9, 11, 13.
10. imperatoribus: for the case,
see on I, I, I duobus. The ab-
surdity of this argument would
not have appeared so great in
antiquity as it seems to us. The
Roman generals had not appreci-
ciated the military skill of the
Samnites, and the latter had ac-
cepted promises of very doubtful
value. But Postumius fails to note
that the action of the Samnites
was honorable, that of the Romans
dishonorable.
11. nec = et non, the conjunc-
tion being correlative with et in
the next clause. — male partam:
the adv. refers to the Romans; a
victory won through the folly of
the conquered. — dum: see on
Praef. 2. — quibus: ablative of
means, or, since Livy often omits
the prep., locative ablative. —
quacumque = quavis; i.e. their
one thought was to remove the
arms, on any terms whatever, from
men who knew so well how to use
them. — natis: cf. 5, 37, 8.
— fuisset, fuit: for this combina-
tion see Lane, 2103. — ab domo:
populo de pace ac foedere agere? Tridui iter expeditis erat; interea in indutiis res fuisset, donec ab Roma legati aut victoriam illis certam aut pacem adferrent. Ea demum sponseo esset quam populi iussu spoondonissemus. Sed neque vos tulissetis nec nos spoondonissemus nec fas fuit alium rerum exitum esse quam ut illi, velut somnio laetior, quam quod mentes eorum capere possent, nequiquam eluderentur et nostrum exercitum eadem quae inpedierat fortuna expediret, vanam victoriam vanior inritam faceret pax, sponsio interponeretur, quae neminem praeter sponsorem obligaret.

"Quid enim vobiscum, patres conscripti, quid cum populo Romano actum est? Quis vos appellare potest, quis se a vobis dicere deceptum? hostis an civis? Hosti nihil spoondonistis, civem neminem spondere pro vobis iussistis. Nihil ergo vobis nec nobiscum est, quibus nihil mandastis, nec cum Samnitibus, cum quibus nihil egistis. Samnitibus sponsores nos sumus rei satis locuplettes in id quod nos-

see on 25, 31, 3. — de pace ac foedere: a peace secured by a treaty. 13. tridui: the distance is approximately one hundred and fifty miles. If the statement of 9, 4, 1 is correct, the Samnites would have had to supply the Romans with provisions during the six days' absence of the embassy. — in indutiis res fuisset: cf. 6, 13, 4 pedium labor in perseverando fuit. — ab Roma: see on 1, 27, 4.


15. nequiquam: does not negative eluderentur, but intensifies it;

cf. 22, 43, 1 nequiquam detecta fraude. This use resembles the proleptic use of an adjective. — vanam . . . vanior: such repetition is common in Livy; cf. 33, 44, 7 nisi avertisset vana spes, ex vaniore rumore oria.

16. appellare: to call to account; cf. 9, 11, 3 and Cic. Att. 1, 8 Tulliola tuum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsorem appellat.— civem neminem: nemo is rarely used as adj.; see on 27, 50, 2.

18. nos: note the effect of the emphatic repetition of the first person, — nos, nostrum, nostra. — rei: from reus, which has here the
trum est, in id quod praestare possimus, corpora nostra et animos; in haec saeviant, in haec ferrum, in haec iras acuant. Quod ad tribunos attinet, consulite utrum praesens deditio eorum fieri possit an in diem differatur; nos interim, T. Veturi vosque ceteri, vilia haec capita luendae sponsoni feramus et nostro supplicio liberemus Romana arma.”

10. Movit patres conscriptos cum causa tum auctor, nec ceteros solum sed tribunos etiam plebei, ut se in senatus dicerent fore potestate. Magistratu inde se ex templo abdicaverunt traditique fetialibus cum ceteris Caution ducendi. Hoc senatus consulto facto lux quaedam adfulsisse civitati visa est. Postumius in ore erat, eum laudibus ad caelum ferebant, devotioni P. Deci consulis, aliis claris facinoribus aequabant: emersisse civitatem ex obnoxia pace rare meaning, debtor. — locupletes: the figure is a mercantile one; rich enough as to that which is our own, as to that which we can offer. — in id: cf. 21, 42, 2 and 32, 30, 8 in id fides data.

19. in diem: to a future day; i.e. until their term of office expired. — liberemus: he has maintained throughout his speech that the action of the officers has not been in any way binding upon the state, and yet at the very end he admits that the Romans cannot resume the war until the officers have surrendered themselves. It is evident that Roman sophistry, in which Postumius has shown himself such an adept, could not justify immediate resumption of the war. — arma: see on 22, 47, 1.

10. 1. plebei: see on 2, 33, 2.
2. magistratu: see on 2, 28, 9.
— senatus consulto: according to Livy, the matter was decided by the senate, not by the people, as might be expected from 9, 9, 12 cum populo. Gell. 17, 21, 36, however, says the officers were sent back populi iussu.

3. in ore: usually with a dependent genitive, e.g. omnium. — eum: as object of aequabant this is an example of a common form of brachylogy; the meaning is, they compared his heroism with the devotion etc.; cf. 9, 18, 11. — devotioni P. Deci: see on 5, 41, 3. In 340, during the Latin War, P. Decius Mus had sacrificed himself to save the army.

4. obnoxia pace: in 6, 28, 7
illius consilio et opera; ipsum se cruciatibus et hostium
5 irae offerre piaculaque pro populo Romano dare. Arma
cuncti spectant et bellum: en umquam futurum ut con-
gredi armatis cum Samnitate liceat?
6 In civitate ira odioque ardente dilectus prope omnium
voluntariorum fuit. Rescriptae ex eodem milite novae
7 legiones ductusque ad Cauidum exercitus. Praegressi
fetiales ubi ad portam venere, vestem detrahi pacis spon-
soribus iubent, manus post tergum vinciri. Cum apparitor
vereundia maiestatis Postumi laxe vinciret, "quin tu" inquit
8 "adducis lorum ut iusta fiat deditio!" Tum ubi in coetum
Samnitium et ad tribunal ventum Ponti est, A. Cornelius
9 Arvina fetialis ita verba fecit: "quandoque hisce homines
iniussu populi Romani Quiritium foedus ictum iri spo-
ponderunt atque ob eam rem noxam nocuerunt, ob eam rem,

the same phrase means a peace
involving the subjection of one
party; as this was not true of the
terms proposed by the Samnites,
the adj. must have here the less
definite meaning, ignominious.
This sentence emphasizes again
the fact that the state was tem-
porarily bound by the sponsio of
the officers; see on 9, 9, 19.
5. en: closely connected with
umquam (often written with it,
enumquam), and expressing im-
patience. — Samnite: see on 1,
27, 10 Veientem.
6. dilectus . . . fuit: there
was a levy of men almost all
volunteers. — rescriptae: enrolled
again; not used elsewhere in this
sense.
7. fetiales: i.e. those accom-
panying the sponsores, who were
sent ahead of the army. The
omission of a statement to this
effect is somewhat awkward and
not characteristic of Livy's style.
— sponsoribus: dat.; cf. 22, 47, 3.
— apparitor: the general name for
all attendants of the magistrates.
— quin tu: see on 9, 18, 17. — iusta:
cf. 9, 8, 7.
8. fetialis: it appears that at
least two fetiales were always em-
ployed (see on 9, 5, 4), the leader
and spokesman having the title
pater patratus.
9. hisce: an old form of the
nominative plural; archaisms are
common in formulae; see on 1,
16, 3. — populi Romani Quiritium:
see on 5, 41, 3. — noxam nocu-
rentur: another archaism. — ob eam

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quopopulus Romanusscelere inpio sit solutus, hosce homines vobis dedo.” Haec dicenti fetiali Postumius genu femur quanta maxime poterat vi perculit et clara voce ait se Samnitem civem esse, illum legatum fetialem a se contra ius gentium violatum; eo iustius bellum gesturos.

i. Tum Pontius “nec ego istam deditio nem accipiam” inquit, “nec Samnites ratam habebunt. Quin tu, Spuri Postumi, si deos esse censes, aut omnia inrta facis aut pacto stas? Samniti populo omnes quos in potestate habuit aut pro iis pax debetur. Sed quid ego te appello, qui te captum victori cum qua potes fide restituis? Populum Romanum appello, quem si sponsionis ad furculas Caudinas factae paenitet, restituat legiones intra saltum quo saeptae fuerunt. Nemo quemquam deceperit; omnia pro infecto sint; recipient arma, quae per pactionem tradiderunt; redeant in castra sua; quidquid pridie habuerunt quam in conloquium est ventum, habeant; tum bellum et fortia consilia placeant,

rem: referring to the following clause; with this purpose.
10. fetiali: see on i, 5, 6 Numa tori. — maxime: cf. 21, 41, 4. Livy usually has the adj. maximus agreeing with quantus; see 42, 15, 1. — Samnitem: this act of Postumius can appear only unnecessary and absurd, and his statement that he is a Samnite is not correct; he was in the power of the enemy, but not one of them. Cic. Caec. 98 quem pater patratus dedidit, . . . cum est acceptus, est eorum quibus est deditus; — contra ius gentium: which protected the fetials. — gesturos: i.e. the Romans; cf. 9, 1, 11.

11. i. ratam habebunt: admit its validity.
2. omnia inrta facis: i.e. restore all things to the condition in which they were before the sponsio. The same suggestion was made by the tribunes in 9, 8, 14.
3. appello: see on 9, 9, 16. — captum: proleptic. — cum qua . . . fide: see on 1, 16, 3 precibus. — quem si = qui, si eum; cf. 21, 41, 8. — saeptae fuerunt: see on 1, 2, 1.
4. nemo . . . deceperit: a delicate generalization; only the Romans had been guilty of deceit. — pro infecto: cf. 1, 3, 2 pro certo. — pridie . . . quam: a rare combination.

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6 Non probat populus Romanus ignominiosa pace legiones servatas; pacem sibi habeat, legiones captas victori restituat; hoc fide, hoc foederibus, hoc fetialibus caerimoninis dignum erat. Ut quidem tu quod petisti per pactaem habeas, tot cives incolumes, ego pacem quam hos tibi remittendo pactus sum non habeam, hoc tu, A. Corneli, hoc vos, fetiales, iuris gentibus dicitis? Ego vero istos quos dedi simulatis nec accipio nec dedi arbitror nec moror, quo minus in civitatem obligatam sponsione commissa, iratis

5. quae . . . habuimus: referring to both fortuna and locis.
6. defiet: deajo, in place of deficior, is a colloquialism, not found elsewhere in Livy.—obside: the story is told in 2, 13, 6 ff., but the release of the hostages is there ascribed to the courage of Cloelia and the generosity of Porsinna.—auro . . . caesi sunt: see 5, 48, 8 f. In 6, 11, 5 Manlius says ille (Furius) inter aurum accipientum et in spem pacis solutis animis Gallos aggressus sit.

8. non probat: equivalent to a condition, of which habeat and restituat are the conclusion.—sibi habeat: keep, i.e. take back, annul.—erat: the imperf. indic. is sometimes used to indicate a non-occurrence action in present time; Lane, 1497.

9. ut quidem: but that; quidem sometimes introduces a thought which is in opposition to what precedes.—tibi: dat. of interest with remittendo.—iuris: part. gen. with hoc.

10. nec dedi arbitror: he means that the surrender of the officers is of no importance unless the army is restored to its dangerous position.—sponsione commissa:

Alexander the Great. General Survey of Roman Military Successes.

17. Nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis videri potest, quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declina-

by participation in an agreement. —dis: those invoked in the sponsio.


13. moratus sit nemo: the pres. subj., not the perf., is the regular thing in prohibitions unless the verb is in the 2d person sing.; cf., however, 9, 9, 9 quaesiverit. — forsitans et publica: here for the first time Livy expresses doubt as to the honorable nature of the Roman position.

The war was immediately resumed by the consuls, Publilius and Papirius. The former won a victory in Samnium; the latter marched into Apulia, where he was soon joined by his colleague, and together they laid siege to Luceria. When the consuls had overrun and secured a large part of Apulia and cut off the supplies of the besieged, the town surrendered. In the next year Papirius, who had been again elected consul (though it is admitted that there is some doubt as to the identity), took the town of Satricum, which had revolted to the Samnites, and then returned to Rome to celebrate a triumph. Livy discusses at some length the character and ability of Papirius, and says that he was regarded as the one who

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rem varietatibusque distinguendo opere et legentibus velut
deverticula amoena et requiem animo meo quaererem;
tamen tanti regis ac ducis mentio, quibus saepe tacitis
cogitationibus volutavi animum, eas evocat in medium, ut
quaerere libeat quinam eventus Romanis rebus, si cum
Alexandro foret bellatum, futurus fuerit.

3 Plurimum in bello pollere videntur militum copia et virtus,
ingenia imperatorum, fortuna per omnia humana,
maxime in re bellica potens; ea et singula intuenti et universa,
sicut ab aliis regibus gentibusque, ita ab hoc quoque
facile praestant invictum Romanum imperium.

5 Iam primum, ut ordiar ab ducibus conparandis, haud
equidem abnuo egregium ducem fuisse Alexandrum; sed
could successfully resist Alexander
the Great, if the latter, having fin-
ished the conquest of Asia, should
proceed into Italy.

17. 1. varietatibus: abl. of
means with distinguendo. — legen-
tibus . . . animo meo: chiasric.
— requiem: after the more serious
and monotonous labor of tracing
the chronological progress of Ro-
man history.

2. cogitationibus: see on Praef.
11 in quam civitatem.— volutavi
animum: an unusual expression;
elsewhere in Livy always aliquid
in animo (or without the prep.)
volutare. — quinam: nam here has
its early intensive force, easy to
express orally by stress of voice,
but difficult to translate; cf. the
similar use of the Greek γάρ in
the combination τίς γάρ. — futurus
fuerit: representing futurus fuit
(Lane, 2100), the subj. being due
to the fact that it is an indirect
question.

3. ingenia imperatorum: ac-
cording to Cic. de imp. Pomp. 28
the four qualities of the great gen-
eral are scientiam rei militaris,
virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem.— fortuna . . . potens: Caes.
B.G. 6, 30, 2 expresses the same
idea, multum cum omnibus re-
bus, tum in re militari potest for-
tuna, and again in B.C. 3, 68, 1.

4. ea: obj. of intuenti, quali-
fied by singula and universa;
another ea must be supplied as
subject of praestant. — intuenti:
the dat. of relation (Lane, 1217),
here equivalent to a protasis; cf.
9, 19, 8 partienti.

5. iam primum: see on 1, 1,
1. — quod unus fuit: he shared

his power with no one as the Roman consul did, and he was not obliged soon to relinquish his com- 
mand, as was the Roman dictator. — adulescens: he died at the age of thirty-two, after a reign of twelve years and eight months. — in in- 
cremento rerum: in the progress of success. — alteram: the other; i.e. unfavorable.

6. Cyrum: obj. of praebuit, of which quid is the subject. Cyrus, founder of the Persian Empire, ruled from 559 to 529. He was defeated and killed in a great battle with one of the tribes east of the Caspian Sea. — Magnum Pompeium: interchange of nomen and cognomen is found occasionally in the republican period, frequently under the empire. After his de- 
feat at Pharsalus in 48, Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was mur- 
dered on his arrival. He was then fifty-eight years old.

7. recenseam: I might enu- 
merate; the subj. of action con- 
ceivable; Lane, 1556. — aetatum: cf. 26, 9, 13. — Alexandro fuit bel- 
landum: Alexander would have had to fight; Lane, 2103.

8. Corvum: the tribune who in 349 killed a gigantic Gaul in single combat; Livy, 7, 26. He was six times consul and twice dictator. — Rutilum: first plebeian dictator, in 356; Livy, 7, 17. He triumphed over the Privernates and the Etrus- cans. — Sulpicium: consul in 314, in which year he won a victory over the Samnites; Livy, 9, 27. — Torquatum: dictator in 353 and, 
later, three times consul; famous for killing a Gaul in single combat in 360; Livy, 7, 10. — Philonem, Cursorem: see 9, 7, 15 and note on chapters 10–16. — Maximum: consul for the first time in 322; he defeated the Samnites when dictator in 315. — Decios: two

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secuntur viri, si Punicum Romano praeventisset bellum
seniorque in Italiam traiecisset. Horum in quolibet cum
indolet eadem quae in Alexandro erat animi ingenique,
tum disciplina militaris, iam inde ab initiis urbis tradita per
manus, in artis perpetuis praerentibus ordinatae modum ve-
nratur. Ita reges gesserant bella, ita deinde exactores regum
Iunii Valeriique, ita deinceps Fabii, Quinctii, Cornelli, ita
Furii Camillus, quem iuvenes ii quibuscum Alexandro
commanders, each named P. De-
cius Mus, of whom the first sacri-
ficed himself to save the army at
the battle of Mt. Vesuvius in 340
(Livy, 8, 9), and the second did
the same thing at the battle of
Sentinum in 295 (Livy, 10, 28). —
Voluminium: consul for the first
time in 307 and victorious over
the Samnites in the Third Samnitude
War; Livy 10, 18 ff. — Curium:
called Dentatus, consul first in
290, when he triumphed over the
Samnites and Sabines. The two
men last mentioned and the
younger Decius would have fought
against Alexander only if he had
lived much longer than he did.
Livy's anxiety to display the
heroes of early Rome has led
him into the absurdity of this
assumption.

9. si ... traiiecisset: sc. the
apodosis, who would have opposed
him. — praeventisset: used as a
deponent in the same sense in 2,
24, 5. Justin 21, 6 says the Car-
thaginians feared an invasion of
Alexander, and sent an envoy to
discover his plans.

10. indoles: see on 1, 3, 1. —
disciplina ... venerat: military
training handed down from the
very beginning of the city had come
into the nature of an art based on
permanent principles. — iam inde
ab initiis: cf. 1, 2, 3. — tradita per
manus: see on 1, 3, 9.

11. ita: i.e. with that general
disciplina mentioned in the pre-
vious section. The introduction
of the manipular system, which in
the fourth century B.C. replaced
the old phalanx, is not regarded
as interfering with the military
tradition and development. — ex-
actores: apparently not used
elsewhere in this sense. — Iunii:
L. Junius Brutus expelled Tarquini-
us Superbus in 510 and was
elected the first consul. — Valeri:
P. Valerius Publicola aided Brutus
in the expulsion of the Tarquins
and was ultimately his colleague
in the consulship. — Fabii, Quinc-
tii, Cornelli: it is doubtful if Livy
has particular individuals in mind.
Cincinnatus was the great hero of
the Quinctian gens. — Furius Ca-
millus: the conqueror of the
dimicandum erat senem viderant. Militaria opera pugnando obeunti Alexandro—nam ea quoque haud minus clarum eum faciunt—cessisset videlicet in acie oblatus par Manlius Torquatus aut Valerius Corvus, insignes ante milites quam duces, cessissent Decii, devotis corporibus in hostem ruentes, cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corporis robore, illo animi! Victus esset consilliis iuvenis unius, ne singulos nominem, senatus ille, quem qui ex regibus constare dixit unus veram speciem Romani senatus cepit! Id vero erat periculum, ne solletius quam quilibet unus ex iis quos nominavi castris locum caperet, commetatus expedi ret, ab insidiis praecaveret, tempus pugnae deligeret, aciem instrueret, subsidiiis firmaret! Non cum Dareo rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunae apparati bus suae, praedam verius quam hostem, nihil aliud quam bene ausus vana contemnere, incruentes devicit. Longe alius Italiae quam Indiae, per quam temulentos agmine comisabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanos cernenti et vestigia recentia domes-
ticae cladis, ubi avunculus eius nuper, Epiri rex Alexander, absuntus erat.

1 18. Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum mero secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui si ex habitu novae fortunae novique, ut ita dicam, ingeni, quod sibi victor induerat, spectetur, Dareo magis similis quam Alexander in Italiam venisset et exercitum Macedoniam oblitum degeneranterque iam in Persarum mores adduxisset. Referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem vestis et desideratas humi iacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, sedum victoribus, et foeda supplicia et inter vinum et epulas caedes amicorum et vanitatem ementiandae stirpis. Quid, si vini amor in dies fieret acrior? quid, si trux ac praefervida ira? — nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero, nullane haec damna imperatorii virtutibus ducimus? Id vero periculum erat,

arrival from Greece. — Alexander: see on 9, 19, 11.

18. 1. quarum . . . fuit: which no one was less capable of resisting.

2. ex habitu: according to the nature. — quod . . . induerat: cf. 3, 33, 7. — spectetur: it should be noted that this is not the protasis of venisset; it is necessary to supply a protasis for venisset and an apodosis for spectetur; i.e. the sentence might be completed thus, si spectetur, adpamet eum, si venisset, venturum fuisset etc.

4. in: in the case of; cf. 5, 36, 9. — desideratas . . . adulationes: the flattery demanded of people prostrate on the ground. Curt. 8, 5, 6 iussitque more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora. — etiam victis: even if they had been conquered; cf. 9, 19, 9 victus; 21, 43, 5 victoribus. — sedum: found first in Livy with no preceding negative expressed or implied. — supplicia: especially the torture of Philotas, accused of conspiring against Alexander. — caedes amicorum: at a banquet, Alexander killed his intimate friend Clitus, because the latter declared that the deeds of Philip were greater than those of his son. — vanitatem . . . stirpis: Curt. 8, 5, 5 lovis filium non dici tantum se, sed etiam credi volebat.

5. ira: sc. fieret acrior.

6. id . . . erat: cf. 9, 17, 15.
quod levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra
omen Romanum gloriae faveant, dictitare solent, ne maies-
tatem nominis Alexandri, quem ne fama quidem illis
notum arbitror fuisse, sustinere non potuerit populus Ro-
manus, et adversus quem Athenis, in civitate fracta Mac-
donum armis, cernentes tum maxime prope fumantes
Thebarum ruinas contionari libere ausi sint homines, id
quod ex monumentis orationum patet, adversus eum nemo
ex tot proceribus Romanis vocem liberam missurus fuerit!

Quantalibet magnitudo hominis concipiatur animo, unius
tamen ea magnitudo hominis erit, collecta paulo plus decem
annorum felicitate; quam qui eo extollunt, quod populus
Romanus, etsi nullo bello, multis tamen proelii victus sit,
Alexandro nullius pugnae non secunda fortuna fuerit, non
intellegunt se hominis res gestas, et eius iuvenis, cum
populi iam octingentesimum bellantis annum rebus con-
ferre. Miremur, si, cum ex hac parte saecula plura nume-
rentur quam ex illa anni, plus in tam longo spatio quam
in aetate tredecim annorum fortuna variaverit? Quin tu

—levissimi: for Livy's general
estimate of the Greeks, cf. 8, 22, 8
a Graecis, gente lingua magis stre-
nua quam factis.—illis: the Ro-
mans. The truth of this statement
is very doubtful.—potuerit: rep-
resenting potuit, the apodosis of
a non-occurent past condition
(Lane, 2103), the subj. being due
to the fact that the clause depends
upon periculum erat.

7. prope: best taken locally;
close by.—Thebarum ruinas: the
city was destroyed by Alexander
in 335. — homines: Demosthenes,
Lycurgus, etc. — monumentis: sur-

viving copies. —missurus fuerit:
like potuerit in § 6; see on 9, 17,
2 futurus fuerit.

8. quantalibet . . . felicitate:
whatever idea of the man's great-
ness we may form, it still will
prove to be the greatness of one
man, based upon the success of a
little more than ten years.

9. octingentesimum: i.e. now
in its eighth century of warfare;
cf. Praef. 4.

10. saecula: generations, of
thirty-three years. — tredecim an-
norum: from his accession to the
throne in 336 to his death in 323.
hominis cum homine et ducis cum duce fortunam confers?
12 Quot Romanos duces nominem, quibus numquam adversa fortuna pugnae fuit! Paginas in annalibus magistratuum-que fastis percurrere licet consulum dictorumque, quorum nec virtutis nec fortunae ullo die populum Romanum paenituit. Et, quo sint mirabiliares quam Alexander aut quisquam rex, denos vicenosque dies quidam dictaturam, nemo plus quam annum consulatum gessit; ab tribunis plebis dilectus inediti sunt; post tempus ad bella ierunt, ante tempus comitiorum causa revocati sunt; in ipso co-
15 natu rerum circumegit se annus; collegae nunc temeritas nunc pravitas impedimento aut damno fuit; male gestis rebus alterius successum est; tironem aut mala disciplina institutum exercitum acceperunt. At hercle reges non

11. quin tu . . . confers: why don't you compare the fortune of one man with that of another; or one commander with that of another? For homine and ducem see on 9, 10, 3 euum. Questions introduced by quin are almost equivalent to commands, and the imperative effect is here emphasized by tu; cf. 9, 10, 7.

12. paginas: as applied to ancient book-making. pagina means the single sheet, several of which pasted together side by side formed the roll. — annalibus: the annales maximi or pontificum, published annually by the pontifices, containing a brief statement of the principal events of the year. — fastis: lists of years giving the names of the consuls (fasti consulares). There were also fasti triumphales and fasti sacerdotales. See Introd. § 2. — consulum dictorumque: dependent on paginas.

13. quo sint: see on 1, 28, 5 teneat. — quisquam: for this adj. use cf. 27, 50, 4. — vicenosque: see on 9, 6, 2 necatique, and cf. § 19 morereturque.

14. post tempus: after the right time, too late. — ante tempus: too early; cf. with these two expressions in tempore. — comitiorum: only a consul could preside at a meeting of the comitia centuriata for the election of consuls, censors, and praetors. — in ipso conatu: cf. 24, 8, 8 nobis autem in apparatu ipso ac tantum incohanibus res annus circumagitur.

15. male . . . successum est: they took the command after some one else had failed; under these
liberi solum impedimentis omnibus sed domini rerum temporumque trahunt consiliis cuncta, non secuntur. Invictus ergo Alexander cum invictis ducibus bella gessisset et eadem fortunae pignora in discrimen detulisset; immo etiam eo plus periculi subisset, quod Macedones unum Alexandrum habuissent, multis casibus non solum obnoxium sed etiam offerentem se, Romani multi fuissent Aleandro vel gloria vel rerum magnitudine pares, quorum suo quisque fato sine publico discrimine viveret morereturque.


circumstances they might find their own army weak and discouraged, the enemy confident.


17. invictus ergo . . . : to be referred to the whole of the argument, not to the part of it immediately preceding; otherwise, ergo would appear somewhat illogical. At the best, the sentence is abrupt. For invictus = invincible see on 24, 34, 9 intacti. — eadem . . . detulisset: would have pledged the same stakes on the result.

19. vel . . . magnitudine: the two things are not mutually exclusive, as they would have been if aut had been used. The use of vel indicates that the reader may choose his point of comparison. — rerum: sc. gestarum. — suo fato: suo is emphatic; i.e. a fate that was distinctly his own, one which would have no permanent influence on the destiny of the state. — morereturque: see on 9, 6, 2 necatique and cf. § 13 vicenosque; the meaning is, One might live or die.

19. x. eius aetatis: the period of Alexander’s activity. In view of the plural lustris and the number of citizens, which is evidently an indefinite one, it is apparent that Livy is not referring to a particular census, but to the whole period of Alexander’s campaigns. — lustris: the purificatory sacrifice, which regularly, though not always, followed the taking of the census, — an institution of Servius Tullius; 1, 44, 2 ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit; idque conditum lustrum

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SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

8 paulo quam hasta vehementius icu missuque telum. Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans; sed illa phalanx in-mobilis et unius generis, Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans, facillis partienti, quacumque opus esset, facillis iungenti. Iam in opere quis par Romano miles, quis ad tolerandum laborem melior? Vno proelio victus Alexander bello victus esset; Romanum, quem Caudium, quem Cannae non fregerunt, quae fregisset acies?

9 Ne ille saepe, etiam si prima prospere evenissent, Persas et Indos et inbellem Asiam quaesisset et cum feminis sibi bellum fuisset dixisset, quod Epiri regem Alexandrum, mortifero vulnere icu, dixisse ferunt, sortem bellorum

a thrust, as opposed to a cast (missu), on the assumption that the pilum was sometimes used for that purpose, for it would not be, when used in that way, a more effective weapon than the hasta.

8. statarius: as opposed to light-armed troops with the tactics of skirmishers; in 22, 18, 3 Livy speaks of the Roman army as campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque. — unius generis: i.e. without distinction of service or arms, whereas in the Roman legion there was a systematic arrangement based on length of service, and the men were variously armed. — partienti: see on 9, 17, 4 intuenti. — esset: see on 3, 36, 8. The advantage of the Roman manipular organization, which was introduced about 390 B.C., is well illustrated in 44, 41, 6 ff. disiecerunt phalangem, cuius conseratae et intentis horrentis hastis intolerabiles vires sunt; si carpit ad-grediendo circumagere inmobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strue implicantur; si vero aut ab latere aut ab ergo aliquid tumultus increpit, ruinae modo turbantur, sicut tum adversus catervatim incurrentes Romanos et interrupa multifariam acie obviam ire cogebantur; et Romani, quecumque data intervalla essent, insinuabant ordines suos.

9. iam: moreover. — victus: see on 9, 18, 4.

10. quaesisset: would have missed.

11. Alexandrum: surnamed Molossus, uncle of Alexander the Great; he came into Italy in 341 to help the Tarentines against the
in Asia gestorum ab hoc ipso iuvene cum sua conferentem. Equidem cum per annos quattuor et viginti primo Punico bello classibus certatum cum Poenis recordor, vix aetatem Alexandri suffecturam fuisse reor ad unum bellum; et forsitan, cum et foederibus vetustis iuncta res Punica Romanae esset et timor par adversus communem hostem duas potentissimas armis virisque urbis armaret, simul Punico Romanoque obrutus bello esset. Non quidem Alexandro duce nec integris Macedonum rebus, sed experti tamen sunt Romani Macedonem hostem adversus Antiochum, Philippum, Persen non modo cum clade ulla, sed ne cum periculo quidem suo. Absit invidia verbo et civilia bella sileant: [numquam ab equite hoste] numquam a pedite, numquam aperta acie, numquam aequis, utique numquam nostris locis laboravimus; equitem, sagittas, saltus inpedi-

Romans, and died there in 327. Gell. 17, 21, 33 eum Molossum, cum in Italian transiret, dixisse accepimus se quidem ad Romanos ire quasi in andronitin, Macedonem ad Persas quasi in gynaeconiitin. — sua: sc. sorte; i.e. cum sorte suorum bellorum.

13. foederibus: the first treaty with the Carthaginians mentioned by Livy was made in 349. Polyb. 3, 22 gives one of the year 509, but his statement is doubted. — res Punica: cf. 1, 3, 1 res Latina.


15. absit ... verbo: may my words excite no envy, i.e. in the minds of the gods; cf. 5, 21, 14 f. dicitur manus ad caelum tollens precatus esse, ut, si cui deorum hominumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam invindicem lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo publicoque populi Romani liceret. — sileant: i.e. let them say nothing to controvert my statement; let them not be taken into account. — numquam ... laboravimus: even if numquam ... hoste is bracketed.
tos, avia commeatibus loca gravis armis miles timere 17 potest; mille acies graviiores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri avertit avertetque, modo sit perpetuus huius, qua vivimus, pacis amor et civilis cura concordiae.

Book XXI

Beginning of the Second Punic War. Hannibal.

1 i. In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari quod in principio summæ totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, as an interpolation, the statement is still an absurd exaggeration, as the Roman defeat at Cannæ, for example, was due in large part to the enemy’s infantry, and the battle was fought on a field which offered equal advantages. It is difficult to say whether numquam aperta . . . locis should be regarded as a restriction of numquam a pedite . . . laboravimus, or is to be applied to cavalry as well as infantry. Finally, utique . . . locis constitutes an almost ridiculous anticlimax. The sentence is extremely puzzling and unsatisfactory. — a pedite: used as if victi sumus were to follow. — nostris: favorable.

16. equitem . . . potest: balancing the previous sentence, — equitem, sagittas being contrasted with a pedite, saltus . . . loca with aperta . . . locis. Livy probably had in mind the comparatively recent victory of the Parthians at Carrhae; Hor. Od. 2, 13, 17 miles sagittas et celerem fugam Parthi (perhorrescit).


1. 1. parte: Bks. XXI–XXX. — totius: qualifying summæ pleonastically and serving simply to emphasize the fact that some other writers had treated short periods, while Livy was writing a complete history of Rome. — rerum: sc. gestarum; history. — scriptores: those who had confined themselves to the history of a single period, as that of the Second Punic War; e.g. L. Coelius Antipater (see Introd. § 4). Cf. the statement of Thuc. 1, 1 regarding the im-
bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae umquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum umquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese sed expertas primo Punico conferebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis quod superbe avareque crederent imperatum victis esse.

importance of the Peloponnesian War. — umquam: rarely used in affirmative clauses, but the thought is, never was a more memorable war; cf. 5, 42, 5. — duce: Hannibal was not only the general but the instigator of the war, though his acts were approved by the Carthaginian senate; after their final defeat, however, the Carthaginians held him alone responsible. See 30, 22, 2 cum iniussu senatus non Alpis modo sed Hiberum quoque transgressum, nec Romanis solum sed ante etiam Saguntinis privato consilio bellum intulisse; 39, 51, 2.

2. nam . . . vicerunt: four reasons are given for the statement bellum . . . memorabile; these are grouped in two pairs, the members of the first being connected by neque . . . neque, those of the second by et . . . et. — inter se: connect with contulerunt. — civitates gentesque: civitas is the body politic; gens, the nation without reference to political condition. — virium aut roboris: cf. 21, 40, 8; the only distinction between the two words is that the former is the more concrete; resources or strength. — inter sese: connect with ignotas. — sese sed: see on 5, 46, 3 neglegens gens. — expertas: passive, as in 2, 29, 1. — propius . . . vicerunt: cf. 25, 11, 11 propiusque inopiam erant obsidentes quam obsessi. All degrees of the adv. prope are used by Livy with the acc.; see on 22, 45, 6. — fuerint: see on 1, 3, 4 ausi sint.

3. etiam: introducing still another reason for the statement in § 1 bellum . . . memorabile. — Romanis . . . Poenis: nominatives in app. with the subject of certarunt would have been more regular; but see Lane, 1369. — ulter: see on 1, 5, 3. — inferrent, crederent: the reasons of the Romans and the Carthaginians respectively, as the
mood indicates. — superbe avar-eque: cf. 21, 44, 5. After the end of the first war with Rome Carthage was occupied for five years. (see on 21, 2, 1) with a revolt of the mercenary troops employed in that war. Rome, taking advantage of this opportunity, seized Sardinia and forced Carthage to pay an indemnity of 1200 talents in addition to the 3200 ($3,840,000) required at the close of the war.

4. fama: used both of oral tradition and of the written statements of historians. Hannibal himself tells this story in 35, 19, 3; cf. Nepos, Hanno. 2, 3 ff. — annorum: gen. of quality. — blandientem: coating; apparently not used elsewhere with a substantive clause. — Africo bello: the war with the mercenaries; see on § 3. — altaribus: the plural, as elsewhere, of a single altar; the sing. is not found in classical Latin. — iure iurando adactum: the regular formula; cf. 2, 1, 9. — hostem: so App. Spain, 9 and Val. Max. 9, 3, ext. 3; the oath as given by Polyb. 3, 11, 7 is somewhat different, — μηδέποτε Ἄρμανως εὖνόσων, —and so Nepos, Hann. 2, 4, and Livy himself in 35, 19, 3 numquam amicum fore populi Romani.

5. angebant: the subject is Sicilia ... amissae, the loss of Sicily and Sardinia; see on 1, 3, 4 coloniam deductam. The Carthaginians had held and at the end of the war had surrendered only the western part of Sicily; the eastern part was the kingdom of Hiero, an ally of Rome. — nimir ... desperatione: Hamilcar was still on Mt. Eryx unconquered, when, after the battle of the Aegatian Islands, the war was ended by a treaty. — fraude: cf. Scipio's opinion of the same thing in 21, 40, 5. — stipendio: see on § 3. — imposito: not of past time with reference to interceptam, but with reference to the time of the writer; the act was really later than that indicated by interceptam; cf. 21, 4, 10 praetermissa; 22, 47, 2 relictó; 42, 15, 10 congestís.
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 cessit, ut adpareret maius eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bellum et, si diutius vivisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisse, quae Hannibalis ducti intulerunt.

4. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit; Hamilcarem iuvenem redditum sibi veteres milites credere, eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri.

2. i. sub: immediately after.
   — quinque: Diod. 25, 6 says that the war lasted four years and four months; Polyb. 1, 88, 7, three years and four months. Livy evidently includes the time up to Hamilcar's departure for Spain in 237 or 236. — novem: until 228, if Polyb. 3, 10, 7 is correct in his statement that Hamilcar died ten years before the beginning of the Second Punic War. He secured for Carthage the south coast and part of the east coast of Spain. —annis: for the case see on 1, 29, 6.

   In the remainder of chap. 2 and in chap. 3 Livy describes the successful operations of Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, in Spain. At his request, Hannibal, while still a boy, was sent there to gain a knowledge of military service.

4. i. primo . . . adventu: it is evident from this and from Hamilcarem . . . redditum that Livy is following here an authority who held that the request of Hannibal (21, i, 4) was not granted. Polybius and others, on the other hand, state that he went to Spain as a young boy with his father, and Livy in the following narrative inconsistently follows that version of the story; see 21, 43, 15 and 30, 37, 9 novem . . . annorum a vobis profectus.

2. iuvenem: Nepos, Hamil. 1 Hamilcar . . . admodum adulescentulus in Sicilia praesesse coepit exercitui. Hamilcar took command of the Carthaginian fleet in 247, and many of the veterans now in Spain would have remembered his appearance at that time. — vigorem . . . vimque: see on Praef. 12. — oris: to be taken with both habitum and lineamenta, the former indicating the general expression, the latter the individual features. Four elements are here arranged in pairs, the former sug-
Dein brevi effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parentem atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce: plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturalis, non voluptate modus finitus; vigilium somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora; id quod gerendis rebus superesset quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accessita; multi saepe militari saguito opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vesti-

suggesting the personality of the man, the latter his appearance.—*pater in se*: *i.e.* resemblance to his father.—*momentum ad*: cf. 29, 12, 2 momentum ad opem ferendam.

3. *numquam ingenium* etc.: the short sentences and many antitheses render the description clear and forceful. From a literary point of view, however, something might have been gained by greater variety. Though the long succession of short and carefully balanced sentences gives a very definite idea of Hannibal's character, it becomes a little monotonous.—*haud . . . discerneres*: you would not easily have discovered; the subj. of action conceivable in past time; see on 2, 27, 6.

4. *praeficere*: rarely used without a dependent dative.—*agendum esset*: see on 3, 36, 8 *appellasset*.

—*audere*: used absolutely, as in 21, 40, 6.

6. *desiderio naturalis*: cf. 27, 45, 11. —*discriminata*: a very rare word, found only here in Livy.

7. *id . . . superesset*: only that time which remained after necessary things were done. *superesset* means literally survived; for the dat. cf. 5, 40, 2.—*multi saepe*: see on 26, 14, 2. —*custodias stationesque*: the former were small outposts at some distance from the camp; the latter, larger detachments near the camp, from which the *custodiae* were at regular intervals relieved.
tus nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque avarice. It is remarkable that in this careful characterization Livy does not mention avarice, a fault which he, too, elsewhere ascribes to Hannibal. In contrast with the unqualified assertion of inhumana crudelitas are several passages (e.g. 22, 7, 5) in which Hannibal's clemency is illustrated. Mommsen says, "Nothing occurs in the accounts regarding him which may not be justified in the circumstances and according to the international law of the times." — perfidia: the perfidy of the Carthaginians was proverbial among the Romans. — nihil veri: for lack of words indicating the absence of a quality, e.g. untruthfulness, Livy is compelled to use substantives of positive meaning with nihil or nullus. — sancti: piety; see 26, 11, 9; but cf. 21, 45, 8. — nullus deum metus: cf. 26, 11, 9; 30, 20, 6. — religio: conscience; cf. 22, 6, 12; the exact meaning is, scrupulousness in the performance of duty.

8. inter aequales: brachylogy for inter aequalium vestitum; see on 9, 10, 3 cum and cf. 21, 45, 6 secum. — arma . . . conspiciebantur: but his arms were conspicuous; adversative asyndeton. The omission of connectives and introductory words (e.g. § 4 neque for neque enim; § 7 id for id tantum) makes the passage exceedingly abrupt. For conspiciebantur see on 3, 50, 3. — primus: cf. 9, 1, 2; princeps here and primus in the next clause would have been more natural. princeps gives, however, a local idea which primus would not have given. Nepos, Hann. 3, 1 says that Hannibal commanded all the cavalry.

9. viri virtutes . . . vitia: a notable instance of alliteration; the use of viri is due partly to Livy's fondness for alliteration, but it emphasizes at the same time the contrast between the virtues which were and the vices which were not worthy of a great man; cf. 9, 8, 11. — crudelitas: Polyb. 9, 22, 7 and 9, 26, 11 states that Hannibal was charged by the Romans with cruelty, by the Carthaginians with

10. indole: equipment; cf. 9, 17, 10 and see on 1, 3, 1. — triennio: abl. of duration of time; cf. 1, 29, 6. According to Livy, Hann-
vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re quae agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset praetermissa.

Crossing of the River Rhone

1 27. Iamque omnibus satis conparatis ad traiciendum terrebant ex adverso hostes omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem, Bomilcaris filium, vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis; adverso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostes. Ad id dati ducès Galli edocent inde milia quinque

nibal was eighteen years old at the time of his father's death and Hasdrubal was in command for eight years; therefore Hannibal, when he took command, was twenty-six years old.—magnus: pred. adjective.—praetermissa: see on 21, 1, 5 inposito.

Chaps. 5–26. Hannibal attacked the neutral town of Saguntum, and, in spite of the protest of the Romans, continued the siege until the town was taken. Rome declared war and Hannibal decided to lead his army through Gaul into Italy. He crossed the Pyrenees in the spring of 218 and reached the river Rhone.

27. ex adverso: see on 1, 25, 9 and cf. 22, 4, 4.—hostes: the Volcae, a Gallic tribe living near the mouth of the Rhone, which had gathered on the east bank to resist the invasion of its territory.—equitum virique: horse and foot; cf. 9, 19, 5. For the usual phrase see 5, 37, 5 equis virisque.

2. averteret: sc. Hannibal.—noctis: unnecessary, as only the night was divided into watches. Polybius says it was the third night after Hannibal's arrival at the river.—Hispanis: selected because they were good swimmers.—iter: such an acc. of kindred derivation is commonly qualified by an adj., here represented by unius diei.

3. ubi primum possit: for the meaning cf. 27, 47, 10 ubi prima lux ... ostendisset.

4. ad id: for this purpose.—Galli: those of the Volcae who had remained in their homes on the west bank and the other tribes
et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum annem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi virique et alia onera traicenterur. Hispani sine ulla mole in utres vestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quieta unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex conposito fumo significat transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accept

of the neighborhood, who were doing all that they could to hasten Hannibal's departure from their territory. — inde: from the place where Hannibal was: — milia quinque et viginti: about twenty-three English miles. — insulae: probably the island just above the mouth of the Ardèche. — latiore . . . alveo: ablative absolute. — dividebatur: the indic. shows that this is Livy's explanation, not that of the guides.

5. ibi: at the crossing just mentioned; the march is not described. — materia: timber. — equi virique: here not in the usual sense (see on § 1), but to be translated literally, horses and men. — alia onera: i.e. other things, namely supplies etc. The Latin sometimes uses alius with a noun indicating a thing of entirely different nature from that indicated by the preceding noun, if existing conditions have put the two things into the same class. Here horses, men, and supplies were all burdens to be transported. Cf. 21, 2, 4 flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus; cf. also 21, 46, 9; 27, 43, 10; 27, 49, 6. — mole: difficulty. — in utres . . . tranavere: i.e. they put their clothing into skins, which they then inflated; upon these they placed their shields and, thus supported, swam across the river. This method of crossing a river is mentioned again in 21, 47, 5. — caetris: dat. with incubantes. The castra was a small wicker shield covered with leather.

6. alius = reliquis; cf. 21, 46, 9. — iunctis: constructed; so pontem inungere means to construct a bridge by putting the timbers together. — operis labore: cf. 5, 2, 7 opere et labore.

7. ex conposito: connect with significant. — transisse: for the
Hannibal, ne tempori deesses, dat signum ad traiciendum.  
8 Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tran-
quillitatem intra traiciendibus lintribus praebebat. Equo-
rum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur praeter
eos quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in
ripam equiti usui essent, inposuerant in naves.

1 28. Galli occurrant in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantuque
moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dextris
tela, quamquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium
cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum, mili-
tum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui
ex altera ripa traiciens suas hortabantur. Iam satis
paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor

omission of the subject cf. 9, 1, 11.
— ne . . . deesses: cf. 22, 39, 21
naque occasioni tuae desis.— sig-
num ad traiciendum: see on 22,
4, 5.
8. paratas aptatasque: ready
and equipped, i.e. with oars etc.—
fere: inconsistent with pars magna
in § 9.— ad . . . fluminis: to break
the force of the current.— parte
superiore: above; locative abla-
tive.
9. pars magna . . praeter
eos: a large part, all except those
e tc.— nantes: with collective
nouns Livy often uses plural ad-
jectives and verbs; see on 2, 28,
9 and cf. 21, 46, 4 expedebant.—
instratos frenatosque: saddled and
bridled; the saddle was only a
cloth, with or without a pad; the
bridle, including the bit, was sim-
ilar to that now in use, except that
the bit was ordinarily flexible.

28. 1. occurrant: frequentative, ran back and forth.— ulula-
tibus cantuque: cf. 5, 39, 5.—
moris: possessive genitive.

2. et: used in anticipation of
a correlative before ab tergo in the
next sentence; this is forgotten
in the length of the first sentence.
— nautarum, militum: for the asynd-
deton see on 5, 48, 6; nautarum
refers to the Gauls who were aid-
ing Hannibal (see on 21, 27, 4),
to whom, living near the mouth
of the river, the term might be
properly applied. — perrumpere im-
petum: see on § 5 impetu . . .
rapiente.

3. adortus clamor . . . terror
castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat anicepsque
terror circumstaban, et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in
terram evadente et ab tergo improvisa premente acie.
Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, qua
patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt trepidique in vicos
passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal, ceteris copiis per otium
traiectis, spennens iam Gallicos tumultus, castra locat.

Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo,
certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad
ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab
rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam sequeretur, nantem
traxisse grægem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitue-
ret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente.

Ceterum magis constat ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius con-
silium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est.
Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam,
a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua
deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae

circumstaban: the personification makes the scene more vivid.

4. vim facere: to make a stand.— pellebantur: for the imperf. with postquam denoting the
continuance or repetition of an action, cf. 5, 39, 2.

5. variat: for this rare intrans. use cf. 3, 45, 2. — irritatum: Frontin. Strat. 1, 7, 2 iussit feroci-
simum elephatum sub aure vuïnerari. — nantem: qualifying
elephantum, to be supplied as the subject of traxisse. — ut . . .
vadum: i.e. as, one after another, they lost their footing; the subj. is iterative; cf. 21, 35, 2.— im-
petu . . . rapiente: this would imply that there was a bend in
the river which threw the current against the eastern bank; so, in
Rome, the curve of the Tiber threw the water, in time of flood, into
the Velabrum. The statement is inconsistent with § 2 perrumpere
impetu fluminis.

6. ratibus traiectos: this is the only story given by Polybius.—
foret: imperf. subj. of action conceivable in past time; cf. 21, 4, 3
discerneret. — ad fidel pronoius: easier to believe.

7. secunda aqua: down stream.
— pontis in modum: cf. 21, 41, 4;
religatam pontis in modum humo iniec
ta constraverunt, ut
8 beluae audacter velut per solum ingre
derentur; altera ratis
aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad trai
ciendum flumen
upta, huic copulata est. Tum eleph
tanti quam viam praegreg
dientibus feminis acti ubi in mino
rem adpl
catam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus
leviter adnexa erat, vinculis ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad
alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis ali
de repetiti ac trajecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabunt, donec
continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor, cum
11 soluta ab ceteris rate in altum ραρεντυρ. Ibi urgentes
inter se cedentibus extremis ab aqua trepidationis ali
quantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus
12 aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen;
sed pondere ipso stabiles, deiectis rectoribus, quae
durus pedetentim vadis, in terram evasere.

modo with the gen. is also com
mon, as in 21, 30, 8.
9. ab ... navibus: the agent
construction, because the writer
was thinking of the rowers. The
naves actuariae were light boats
with only one bank of oars; 38,
38, 8 naves actuarias, quarum
nulla plus quam triginta remis
agatur.
10. continent velut ponte: as
if on a continuous bridge. — a
gerentur: for the mood see on § 5
destineret. — ceteris: usually ex
plained as meaning everything
else. It is possible, however, that
Livy is guilty of an inconsistency,
having in mind at this point the
story as given by Polyb. 3, 46,
that several (πλειόνας) rafts joined
together in pairs extended some
distance into the river, and that
the one used for crossing, itself
consisting of two parts, was at
ached to these. — altum: used
regularly of the sea; here empha
sizing the fear of the elephants as
they saw themselves surrounded
by water.
11. urgentes inter se: crowd
ing together.
12. pondere ipso stabiles: i.e.
they did not swim, but found water
sufficiently shallow to allow them
to walk, and, on account of their
great weight, they were not car
ried down by the current. Polybius
says that they were saved by
the strength and length of their
probosces, through which they
29. Dum elephanti traiciuntur, 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 editur; nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriæ dedit. Victores ad centum quadraginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omnenque belli ut summæ rerum pros-

breathed, raising them above the water. — quærendis: the not uncommon use of the gerundive construction as an abl. of means or cause referring to present time; cf. 21, 36, 8; 22, 46, 9; Lane, 2266.

29. 1. traiciuntur: the hist. pres. with dum is often followed by the plup. in the main clause. — quingentos: detachments of Carthaginian cavalry of this number are mentioned elsewhere, e.g. 22, 48, 2, and it appears from 21, 45, 2 that this was a unit (ala) of the organization. — castra Romana: P. Cornelius Scipio, having sailed from Rome with one legion, was now encamped at the eastern mouth of the Rhone.

2. ut ante dictum est: 21, 26, 5 trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. Livy’s references to previous statements are usually in the passive, less often with diximus, and, still more rarely and first in the fourth decade, with dixi. (Wölflin) — trecenti: in addition to these there was evidently a detachment of allied cavalry (see § 3 Gallorum), so that the Roman force in this skirmish was probably as numerous as the Carthaginian.

3. praeter multa vulnera: besides the fact that many were wounded. — fuga: not flight; rather, panic, which causes flight; cf. 1, 28, 5; 5, 38, 5; synonymous, therefore, with pavor. — Gallorum: poss. gen., in sense parallel with Romani; not all being Romans, but a part belonging to the Gauls.

4. ut . . . ita: though . . . yet; cf. 21, 35, 11. — summæ rerum: the war as a whole. — haud: qualifying only incruentam; haud sane incruentam and ancipitis certaminis, though of different gram-
perum eventum ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque
certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

5  Vt re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec
Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coeptis-
que hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem incer-
tum, utrum coeptum in Italian interenderet iter an cum eo
qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus manus conse-
reret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum
regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios
periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello nusquam ante liba-
tis viribus Italian adgrediendam censent. Multitudo time-
bat quidem hostem, nondum obliterata memoria superioris
belli, sed magis iter inmensum Alpesque, rem fama utique
inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

mical nature, are properly con-
nected as modifiers of victoriam; cf. 21, 36, 1 angustiorem rubem
atque ita rectis saxis; 38, 50, 4 ;
39, 51, 7. For haud sane see on
39, 51, 4.
5. ut: the force of this word
does not go beyond redierunt.—
sui: cf. 1, 7, 1 ; 1, 25, 1. — nec =
et non, the conjunction being cor-
relative with et before Hanni-
balem; cf. 9, 4, 8.—Scipioni: cf.
21, 30, 1 ipsi.—conatus caperet:
cf. 9, 4, 1.
6. Hannibalem: object of aver-
tit.—Romanus exercitus: see on
Praef. 11 in quam civitatem.—
Boiorum: living in northern Italy,
in the neighborhood of Bononia.
Magalus was their king.—reguli:
usually a petty chieftain; some-
times a ruler of considerable power,
but unknown at Rome, as in 5, 38,
3, where Brennus is called regulus
Gallorum; elsewhere, a prince.—
viribus: according to Polyb. 3, 60,
5 Hannibal now had, after various
losses, 38,000 infantry and more
than 8000 cavalry.
7. timebat...metuebat: timeo
usually indicates the effect of a
present cause, metuo that of a
future probability; the distinction
may be suggested by translating
respectively to fear and to dread.
—iter...Alpesque: not hen-
diadys; they feared the length of
the journey and the dangers of the
Alps.—utique inexpertis: at any
rate for those unfamiliar with
them.

30. ipsi: emphasizing the
contrast between his own inten-
tion and the fears of his army. For
30. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit per-
gere ire atque Italian petere; advocata contione varie mili-
tum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: mirari se, 1
quinam pectora semper inpavida repens terror invaserit. Per
tot annos vincentis eos stipendia facere neque ante
Hispania excessisse quam omnes gentesque et terrae quas
duo diversa maria amplectantur Carthaginiensium essent.
Indignatos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent
velut ob nóxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hi-
berum traíccisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberan-
dumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum,
cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum annem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminum vi traiectum, in con-
spectu Alpis habeant, quorum alterum latus Italiae sit, in 
ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere—quid Alpis alius 
esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingent aliores Pyrenaei iugis; nullas profecto terras caelum con-
tingere nec inexasuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpis 
quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere animantes; per-
vias fauces esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos quos cernant legatos 
non pinnis sublime elatos Alpis transgressos. Ne maiores 
quidem eorum indigenas, sed adversas Italiae cultores has 
ipsas Alpis ingentibus saepè agminibus cum liberis ac con-
iugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem

Romanum or Romanum nomen; cf. 9, 7, 1; 21, 43, 12. orbem terrarum: Livy is thinking of the extent of the Roman Empire in the time of Augustus; at the beginning of the Second Punic War, though Rome was perhaps the most powerful city in the world (see § 10 caput orbis terrarum), her actual control did not reach beyond Italy.

4. exortus: a rare substitute for the usual ortus; the plural indicates the rising of the sun on successive days.

5. emensam: for the passive use of this deponent verb cf. 21, 1, 2 expertas. cernant, habeant: though the hist. pres. with post-

quam is common, the real pres. is rare, and indicates a present condition which is the result of past actions. (H. J. Mueller) saltum: mountains; cf. § 7. inter ferocissimas gentes: cf. 21, 43, 13. Italiae: possessive genitive.


—Pyrenaei: an adj.; sc. saltus.

8. adversae: for the attributive use of the noun cf. 2, 1, 4 transfuga. ingentibus agminibus: in large bands; abl. of manner; cf. 2, 23, 8. liberis ac coniugibus: for this unusual order cf. 3, 45, 8; in each passage there is reason for emphasizing the reference to chil-
ITALY
At the beginning of the Second Punic War

SCALE OF MILES

0  50  100  200

SCALE OF KILOMETERS

0  50  100  200

Roman Possessions
Cities and tribes dependent on Rome
Carthage and its allies.
armato nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse! Romam, caput orbis terrarum, potentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse Poenus desperet. Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

Crossing of the Alps

34. Perventum inde ad frequentem citoribus alium, ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis
dren, — migrantium modo: i.e. carrying all their possessions, as contrasted with nihil... portanti in the next section. With modo cf. 21, 28, 7 in modum.
9. quidem: used as in § 7 to emphasize a climax. — nihil... portanti: 21, 60, 9 omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaenum (i.e. in Spain) relictis. — Saguntum: note the position, and the contrast with Romam at the beginning of the next sentence. — exhaustum: cf. 25, 31, 7 laborum periculorumque... exhaustorum.
10. asperum atque arduum: see on Praef. 12. — quod... moretur: a characteristic clause, taking the place of the usual result clause with ut following adeo.
11. ea: Rome and her possessions. — cederent, sperent: both verbs represent imperatives in the direct discourse, but the second, indicating the wish of the speaker, is put in the present tense, and thus retains much of its original force; see on 1, 27, 8. — finem: in app. with campum. — campum: sc. Martium. — Tiberi: cf. the use of the acc. with interiaceo in 7, 29, 6.

Hannibal marched up the Rhone, according to Livy as far as its junction with the Isère, according to Polybius ten days' march, which would have carried him probably as far as Vienne. Then, turning to the east, he proceeded without opposition to the foothills of the Alps. Here he was opposed by the native mountainers, who, familiar with the region, by the use of guerrilla tactics threw
2 artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magna
natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt,
alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam
malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; itaque oboedienter
imperata facturos; commetum itinerisque duces et ad fidem
promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere cre-
dendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes
fierent, benigne cum respondisset, obsidibus quos dabant
acceptis et commatui, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus,
nequaquam ut inter pacatos conposito agmine duces eorum
sequitur. Primum agmen equitatus et equites erant; ipse
post cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitusque ad
omnia incedebat. Vbi in angustiorem viam et parte altera

the army into confusion, and might
have destroyed it completely, if
Hannibal himself had not scattered
them by a vigorous attack.

34. 1. frequentem: used regu-
larly of places, when accompanied,
as here, by a dependent abl.;
therefore, populum may be trans-
lated district; cf. 35, 1, 6 acie fre-
quenti armatis. ὅσος is used by
Homer in this sense.—ut inter
montanos: cf. 1, 3, 3; 5, 41, 1;
22, 5, 1. — suis artibus: cf. 21, 4, 9.
2. magno natu: see on 2, 23, 3.
— castellorum: the fortified set-
tlements of the Gauls.—alienis
malis: for the thought cf. 3, 50, 8.
— doctos: taught; cf. the meaning
of documentum in 3, 50, 8. The
compound edoctus is most com-
monly used in this way (see 30,
37, 1); docus is regularly used as
an adj. meaning learned. — malle:
for the omission of the subject se
cf. 5, 36, 2 credere.
3. ad fidem promissorum: as a
guarantee of their promises; for
the construction cf. 38, 51, 1.
4. cum: often put by Livy in
the latter part of the clause near
the verb; cf. 26, 14, 5.—nequa-
quam: connect with conposito; ar-
ranging the army by no means as
was usual among a peaceful popu-
lation; cf. 35, 4, 3 agmine incaudo,
ut inter pacatos, ducet.
The baggage, which was usually in the
rear, was now placed in the center,
protected by the cavalry in front
and the infantry behind.
5. post: for this local use of the
adv. cf. 22, 5, 8.—sollicitusque ad
omnia: cf. 5, 47, 3.
6. in angustiorem viam: ac-
cording to Livy, Hannibal crossed
subiectam iugo insuper inminenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab 7 tergo vis hominum urgeb BAT. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuisset, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc 8 quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita the Alps over Mt. Genève; according to Polybius, over the Little St. Bernard. The account of Polybius, who claims that he himself visited the Alps to investigate the subject, is the one generally accepted. Between Brigantio and the Little St. Bernard there is a narrow rocky valley which may be the angustior via of the text. Moreover the λευκότερος ὤχυρον of Polybius has sometimes been identified with La roche blanche near Scez at the foot of the pass over the mountain. — a fronte ab tergo: see on 5, 48, 6; the asyndeton suggests the simultaneous appearance of the barbarians in various places. Note also the asyndeton between comminus and eminus and that between petunt and devolvunt, which emphasize the confusion caused by the various methods of attack. — petunt: rarely used without an object; true also of urgebAT in the next section.

7. in eos . . . fecit: i.e. the resistance they encountered was such that it was clear etc. — firmata: not strengthened, but strong, i.e. composed of good troops; see on 9, 3, 10. — extrema: see on 5, 38, 4 and cf. 7, 29, 2. — accipienda fuerit: must have been suffered; the perf. subj. of the periphrastic form is regularly used when the apodosis of a non-occurring condition in past time is itself a dependent clause requiring the subjunctive; cf. 26, 10, 7.

8. tunc quoque: even as it was; cf. 1, 28, 9 nunc. — ad extremum periculi: cf. 10, 11, 9 ventumque ad inopiae ultimum fori. — prope: either prep. (cf. 1, 25, 13) or adv., ad governing perniciem as well as extremum. — demittere agmen: the infantry under Hannibal were able to defend themselves, but he hesitated to lead them down into the pass where they were exposed to attack on the flank (see § 6 parte . . . inminenti and § 9 per obliqua) as well as in the rear; thus the cavalry, protected in the rear by the infantry, advanced, and a gap was opened between the cavalry and infantry, which the moun-
peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxili reliqui erat, occursantes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque inpedimentis acta est.

35. Postero die iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris iunctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum pernicie superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocini magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti sicut per artas, praecipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

None die in ingum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides tainers filled, rushing in from above. For the meaning of de-mittere see on 9, 2, 9. — reliqui: for examples of this partitive gen. see Lane, 1251; auxili also is a partitive gen., dependent on quicquam.

9. occursantes: note the frequentative and cf. the meaning in 21, 28, 1. — per obliqua: the acc. in adverbial phrases is less common than the abl.; see on 1, 25, 9. — Hannibali: dat. of agent; cf. 5, 38, 6 proximis.

35. i. intercursantibus: Livy was the first prose writer to use this verb and the corresponding noun intercursus (2, 29, 4; 21, 46, 7).

2. utcumque: whenever; for the subj. daret and fecisset see on 3, 36, 8 and cf. § 3 incederent and § 4 esset. — opportunitatem daret ... occasionem fecissent: the meaning of the second phrase is not different from that of the first, and the repetition makes the sentence somewhat cumbersome. — progressi: i.e. advancing too far.

3. sicut ... ita: cf. 21, 29, 4. — artas, praecipites: see on 5, 48, 6. — insuetis: used absolutely, as in 3, 52, 5; adeundi is to be connected with metus.

4. nono die: from the foot of the Alps. — per: used in different senses with the two substantives; cf. 21, 43, 9. — pleraque: to be
taken also with errores; cf. 21, 32, 9 inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque. — ducentium: those of 21, 34, 3. — initae valles: see on 21, 1, 5 angebant. The meaning is that what promised to be an open pass was found at the further end to be closed.

5. biduum: probably the ninth and tenth days. — stativa: a name sometimes given to a camp established for more than one night; cf. 26, 9, 2.

6. fessis: here used of mental exhaustion; in § 5 in its usual sense, of physical fatigue. — cassis: for this use in the literal sense cf. 5, 47, 5. — occidente ... Vergiliarum: as it was about the time of the setting of the Pleiades. As this did not occur till the twenty-sixth of October and the battle of the Trebia was fought at about the time of the winter solstice, the interval is hardly sufficient for the events which intervened. The words of the text do not necessarily mean, however, that the constellation was actually setting at this time, and it is therefore generally assumed that Hannibal crossed the Alps in the latter part of September. Snow falls as early as that on the Little St. Bernard.

7. per ... oppleta: through places all blocked with snow; cf. 22, 6, 5. — prima luce: of the eleventh day. — pigritia: weariness. — emineret: that the prep. has lost all its force in the compound is evident from in vultu.

8. ostentat: with two constructions, direct object and indirect discourse. — circumpadanos campos: not to be taken literally, as there is no place on the Little St. Bernard or on Mt. Genève from which the valley of the Po can be seen.

9. moeniaque ... Romanae:
tum transcenderet, non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros.

10 Procederunt inde agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem temptantibus.

11 Ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviore ita adrectiora sunt, difficilior fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se ab lapsu possent nec qui paulum titubassent haerere adfixi vestigio suo, allique super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.

12 36. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque ita rectis saxis ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus

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cf. 21, 30, 6 in ipsis portis hostium; Serv. ad Aen. 10, 13 Alpes...secundum Catonem et Livium muri vice tuebantur Italianum. — cetera...fore: referring both to their line of march and to the battles they would fight. This was a hopeful view of the situation, as they had hitherto met only the Gauls, and were now to fight regular battles with the trained troops of Rome. — summum: at most.

10. ne...quidem: i.e. only a small part of the journey remained, and now not even the enemy opposed their progress. — furta: surprises; cf. § 2 latrocinii.

11. ut: as, introducing an explanation; for the correlative sicut...ita cf. 21, 29, 4. — pleraque: cf. 21, 37, 5 inferiora.

— ab Italia: on the Italian side; see on 21, 27, 1 ex adverso.

12. haerere...suo: stand fast in their tracks; cf. 22, 49, 4.

— allique super alios: see on 22, 6, 5. que = and so, introducing, as often, the result of the preceding statement. — occiderent: rarely used in this sense; incido would be the ordinary verb.

36. 1. angustiorem...rectis saxis: for this combination of two attributives grammatically unlike see on 21, 29, 4. For rectus, of vertical direction, cf. 24, 34, 11 and 21, 35, 11 arrectiora. — rupem: a rocky place; rupes is a small detached or projecting rock; cf. 32, 4, 5 saxo undique abscisum rupibus imposita est (urbs). By rectis saxis Livy
BOOK XXI

manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante praeceps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum. altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites constisset, miranti Hannibali, quae res moraret agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digestus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa quin per invia circa nec trita antea quamvis longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via inexasuperabilis fuit. Nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, mollis nec praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat via lubrica [glacie] non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvisset, ipsis

means that the narrow road over the rupes was interrupted at intervals by steep rocky surfaces, which were difficult for the infantry and must have been impossible for the cavalry and elephants. — temptabundus: feeling their way; Livy uses frequently these adj. in -bundus. This one appears to be found only here. — circa: often used by Livy as equivalent to an adj. or clause; cf. §§ 4 and 7 and § 6 infra.

4. circumduceret: must lead around; cf. 9, 2, 5 ferret.
5. ea vero via: but this road, i.e. the one last mentioned; vero as in § 6. — nivem: Polyb. 3, 55, 1 says it was the snow of the previous year; Livy in §§ 6 and 8 calls it glaciers. As Hannibal had probably not reached the region of perpetual snow and as there is no glacier in the Little St. Bernard, the passage refers perhaps to a ravine on the left bank of La Thuile, where the avalanches from the Cramont sometimes remain unmelted during the summer.

6. infra: see on § 1 circa. — fluentem... nivis: slush.

7. in prono: on the slope. — citius: i.e. than on level ground. — ut... concurrerent: they fell and, having almost regained their feet, fell again. — ipsis: as their feet be-
adminiculis prolapsis iterum conruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur.

8 Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia nivem et prolapsa iactandis gravis in contendo unguis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

1 37. Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit.

2 Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, miliites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni corpore esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto...
putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt 3 molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum 4 circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles apricosque quosdam colles habent 5 rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis 6 hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum, iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

9 vis frigoris. — infuso aceto: though the combination of acid and fire will cause the surface of stone to crumble, and though this device is mentioned by several ancient writers, it is of course impossible that Hannibal could have carried with him enough vinegar to produce any appreciable effect. This detail is not mentioned by Polybius.

3. pandunt: split. — molluntque...clivos: i.e. they built a curved road in order to make the descent more gradual. App. Hann. says that in his time the road was called οδός 'Αννίβαου, and as late as the sixteenth century a road cut in the rocks of Mt. Genèvre was called by the same name.

4. quadriduum: see on 21, 35, 5 biduum; the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th days. — absumptis: see on 21, 1, 5 inposito. — si...nives: i.e. the small growth of the short summer is covered by snow early in the fall.

5. inferioura: for this use of the neuter see on 5, 38, 4 and cf. 21, 35, 11 pleraque.— prope silvas: the prepositional phrase used attributively; see on 1, 25, 11 and cf. 21, 46, 8 de Hannibale. — iam: now, when this point in the descent was reached; cf. § 6.

6. triduo: if this includes all the time since they left the rupes of § 4, they reached the plain, according to Livy, on the 17th day (see on § 4 quadriduum), or, if they started on the last day of the four-day stop, on the 16th day after the beginning of the ascent. Polyb. 3, 56, 3 says that the actual passage of the Alps occupied fifteen days; cf. Livy 21, 38, 1 ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. For the construction of triduo see on 6, 35, 4 triennio.

In chap. 38 Livy discusses Hannibal’s route over the Alps and the number of his troops. In


Speeches of Scipio and Hannibal. Battle of the Ticinus River.

1 40. "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia necum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodonum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispamiae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibal, reaching the Po, is confronted by P. Scipio, who, after his unsuccessful effort to bring about a battle at the Rhone (see chap. 29), has sent his brother, Cn. Scipio, with a part of the army into Spain and has himself returned to Italy. The following speeches are supposed to have been delivered just before the meeting at the Ticinus. Scipio's speech is given first.

40. 1. loqui: the inf. with supersedeo was rare at all times and is not found at all in Cicero and Caesar; for the usual construction see 38, 51, 8.

2. qui...vicissent: see 21, 29, 1-4; an absurd exaggeration, as is fugientem...secutus.

3. nunc: as it is; contrasted with § 1 si...habui; cf. 1, 28, 9. — quia: introducing gerit and obtuli, with asyndeton between the two clauses.—meis auspiciis: only the magistrate in command of the army was entitled to preside when the auspices were taken by the augurs; and they could not be taken without his presence. In this case Cn. Scipio, acting as his brother's representative in Spain, administers in his name the imperium and the auspicium.—ubi...volut: the senate decided how many legions should be enrolled and where they should be sent; the consuls drew by lot their provinces and therefore their armies. The people participated in this arrangement only indirectly by their election of the consuls and the declaration of war.—eum: the army.—volut: for the singular with plural subject see on 1, 3, 1.

4. consulem: Sempronius, the other consul, had been sent to Sicily, and did not return to Italy.
balem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites paucaverba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoratis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terramarique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Sicilianam 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 detractavere,

until after the battle at the Ticinus. —novos milites: in 21, 43, 14 Hannibal calls them exercitum tiro. Scipio means, however, not inexperienced, but unfamiliar to himself.

5. ne . . . ignoratis: see on 1, 28, 5 teneat.—vicistis, exegistis: said of the Romans in general.—stipendium per viginti annos: at the end of the First Punic War Carthage agreed to pay 3200 talents; four years later the amount was increased by 1200 talents. According to the first plan this indemnity was to be paid in twenty annual installments, but in the formal agreement these were reduced to ten. When the amount of the indemnity was increased, it is possible that the number of payments was raised to twenty.—capta . . . habetis: an excellent illustration of the origin of our compound tenses; see on 3. 48, 1.—Sicilianam ac Sardiniam: Sicily was acquired in the First Punic War (see on 21, 1, 5) and at the close of the war became the first Roman province. Here, as elsewhere, Livy speaks as if Sardinia had been acquired at the same time; he gives the true story in 21, 1, 5.

6. audent: see on 21, 4, 4.

7. incolumi: intact only in comparison with its condition after crossing the Alps. According to Livy Hannibal led 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry across the Ebro. According to Polybius, when he crossed the Pyrenees, his army had been reduced by warfare with native tribes, by desertion, and in other ways to 50,000 infantry and 9000 cavalry; and, before he reached the Alps, to 38,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry. As to the number which finally reached Italy, Livy says that authorities differed, from 20,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry to 100,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry. Polybius says of infantry there were 12,000 Africans
seque from vivos. — duabus partibus: two thirds.

8. at enim: introducing an imaginary objection, prefaced by an admission of the previous statement; but you say that is unimportant, for etc. — robora ac vires: see on 21, 1, 2.

9. immo: on the contrary; before Livy always the first word in its sentence; cf. 39, 40, 7. — enecti: literally killed, and thus consistent with umbrae hominum, ghosts; cf. 2, 23, 3 pallore ac macie perempti. — saxa rupesque: see on 21, 36, 1. — ad hoc: besides; cf. 2, 23, 4. — praestii: frozen at the ends; i.e. their fingers and toes. — nervi: muscles. — mem-

bra: all parts of the body, as distinct from artus, limbs.

10. vos: emphatically contrasted with Alpes.

11. decuit: for the mood see on Praef. 12 erunt. — ruptore: see on 21, 30, 8 advenas. By his attack upon Saguntum Hannibal had violated the treaty which his predecessor Hasdrubal had made with Rome; 21, 2, 7 ut finis utriusque imperi esset amnis Hiberae Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur. — profigare: almost finish; cf. 3, 50, 10.

41. 1. adhortandi: gen. sing. neut. agreeing with vestri, which in its origin is a poss. pronoun.

3. cum ... oram: the report
41. "Non vereor ne quis me haec vestri adhortandī causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consili participem ac periculi socium habeārem et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem hau dubie molem belli; tamen, cum praeter-vehērēr navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, [neque] regressus ad navis [erat], quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu, in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Vtrum, cum declinarem certamen, inprovidus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacesse ac

had reached Rome that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro, and Scipio was planning to meet him in north-eastern Spain or southeastern Gaul. — ad famam: for this use of ad see on 1, 25, 6. — ad Rhodanum: he landed at Massilia, and then established himself at the eastern mouth of the Rhone.

4. equestri proelio: see 21, 29, 1–3. This sentence and the next repeat the exaggeration of 21, 40, 2; Scipio himself was not present at the skirmish. — qua parte: loosely connected with equestri, which is equivalent to equitatum; cf. 22, 44, 4 and 21, 17, 8 neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant; see on 5, 40, 3. — conserendi manum: for the sing. see on 30, 31, 8. — in modum: see on 21, 28, 7. — quanta maxime: see on 9, 10, 10. — circuitu: on his return to Italy Scipio landed at Pisa. — timendo: ironic. — obvius fui: non-committal, as opposed to incidisse (an accidental meeting) and occurrere (an intentional meeting) in § 5.

5. occurrere in vestigiis eius: not literally true, and the combination of the verb and phrase is illogical. Scipio has not followed in the tracks of Hannibal; he has, however, followed him to Italy,
6 trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodevenis denariis aestimatos emissitis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus. Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret, respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves inpositas victis Carthaginiensisibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo quo adversus alios hostes soletis pugnare and in that general sense the phrase is used.

6. viginti: it was twenty-three years since the end of the First Punic War; cf. 21, 43, 13. — iidem: i.e. of the same sort as those etc. — ab Eryce: see on 21, 1, 5 nimis . . . desperatione. — duodevenis denariis: about $3.50; this payment is not elsewhere mentioned.

7. itinerum Herculis: Nepos, Hann. 3, 4 quas (Alpes) nemo umquam cum exercitu ante eum praeter Herculem Graium transferat, quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur; Livy mentions the story in 5, 34, 6. — vectigalis stipendiariusque: vectigal was a tax payable in kind, e.g. tithes of farm produce; stipendium was a money tax. The former epithet is not truthfully applied to Hannibal. Moreover, the payment of a war indemnity did not constitute a real stipendium. The expression is used elsewhere, however, in a general sense, to indicate complete subjection.

8. quem nisi = qui, nisi eum; cf. § 15 quas and 9, 11, 3 quem. — scelus: see on 21, 40, 11. — agitaret: 31, 18, 9 cum velut Saguntium excidium Hannibali, sic Philippo Abydenorum clades ad Romanum bellum animos fecisset. — foedera: Hamilcar had arranged only the preliminaries, and that, too, against his own wish; see 21, 1, 5.

velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si
servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes.
Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, 11
fame, interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam
traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Cartha-
ginem delere; veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex 12
obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae
duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his inpertitis 13
furiosum iuvemem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram
veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et
non pro salute esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliae 14
ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia
vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, 15
qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt,
quas dum superant, conparari nova possint praesidia. Hic
est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pug-
nemus. Vtus quisque se non corpus suum sed coniugem 16

11. ultimo: extreme; cf. 3, 47, 2 and 21, 44, 4. With humanorum
sc. suppliciorum; cf. 5, 41, 8.
For the thought cf. 27, 44, 8.
12. veniam: the asyndeton and especially the juxtaposition of Car-
thaginem delere and veniam dedimus are very effective. — tutelae
... duximus: we regarded them as under our protection; for tutelae
see on 1, 6, 4. The Romans
allowed the Carthaginians, during the war with their mercenaries, to
buy supplies and even enlist troops in Italy, but at the same time took
a treacherous advantage of them;
see on 21, 1, 3.
13. furiosum: the same idea as
agitaret in § 8. — oppugnatum:

Livy often uses the supine with
object accusative, though, like Cicero, he prefers the gerundive con-
struction.
14. de ... pro: for the distinc-
tion between these two words
cf. Tac. Agr. 26 securi pro salute
de gloria certabant. — de quibus
... agebatur: Rome had in fact
taken possession of Sardinia with-
out opposition, because Carthage
was too busy to defend her rights.
15. ab tergo: see on 1, 24, 2. —
quam dum = ut, dum eas; cf. § 8
quem. — superant: plural, in spite
of the preceding hosti; see on 2,
28, 9. — Romana: usually after the
noun; here before for emphasis;
cf. § 17.
ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas
solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostra
tras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum;
qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam
ilius urbis ac Romani imperi fore.”

42. Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius
quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad
spectaculum exercitu, captivos montanos vinctos in medio
statuit armisque Gallicos ante pedes eorum proiectis inter-
rogare interpretem iussit, equis, si vinculis levaretur
armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet.
Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et
deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem
fortuna in id certamen legeret, cuiusque sors exciderat
alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exultans cum sui moris
tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Vbi vero dimicarent, is
habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis
homines erat sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vin-
centium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

16. corpus: see on 5, 47, 8. —
domesticas = privatias. — nostra
intueri manus: cf. 1, 25, 1.
17. nostra: in the emphatic
position. — vis virtusque: for the
alliteration see on Praef. 12 and cf.
22, 5, 2.
42. 1. circumdato: cf. 1, 28, 3.
— ad spectaculum: cf. 33, 32, 4. —
in medio: for the substantive use
of the adj. see on 1, 3, 2. — victor:
if he should win the fight; see on
9, 18, 4 etiam victis. — decertare:
to fight to a finish; cf. 9, 4, 3
debellatum.
2. deiecta: into a helmet, from
which they were then drawn (ex-
ciderat). — in id: for this pur-
pose; i.e. to determine who should
fight; cf. 9, 9, 18. — sors: used
collectively; cf. its use in § 3. —
se . . . eum: sc. esse.
3. cuiusque = et cuius. — cum
. . . tripudiis: cf. 5, 37, 8 and
21, 28, 1.
4. dimicarent: iterative; see
on 3, 36, 8. In the preceding sen-
tence the indic. is used with
iterative force. — eiusdem . . .
condicionis: the captives. — spec-
tantes: present participles are
often used to indicate a momen-
43. Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus affectos dimisiset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus furtur: "Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra ha-
beritis, vicimus, milites; neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. Ac nescio an maiora vincula maiioresque necessitates vos 
quam captivis vestris fortunae circumdederit; dextra laeva-
que duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem 
avem habentis; circa Padus, annis maior ac violentior 
Rhodano; ab tergo, Alpes urgent, vix integris vos ac 
vigentibus transitaet. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, 
milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurrisset. Et eadem for-
tuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi inposuit, praemia vos 
ea victoribus proponit quibus ampliora homines ne ab 
that, implying, as usual, that it is 
fairly certain. Livy uses nescio an 
also as an adverb, probably; 26, 
42, 4 portum satis amplium quan-
taevi classi et nescio an unum in 
Hispaniae ora.

4. claudunt: sc. vos. — ne ... 
quidem: not even for escape; much 
less for battle. — circa: on the 
south and west. The Po, flowing 
down from the Alps toward the 
southeast, turns to the east at a 
point not far west of the mouth of 
the Ticinus. For this use of circa 
cf. 9, 2, 7; 22, 47, 8. — vobis: abl. 
abs. or dat. of agent; cf. 21, 34, 9 
Hannibali.

5. victoribus: cf. 21, 42, 1 and 
see on 9, 18, 4. — dis ... inmortal-
libus: chance offers you what you 
would not ask even from the gods;
6 dis quidem inmortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent; nunc quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum conges tumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite dum, dis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiisque montibus pecora consecando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorum que vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedememeritis stipendiis dabit.

11 "Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaris victoriam fore; saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit et inclusi populi regesque per levi momento victi sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore

there is here an intentional distinction between the two agencies; see on 1, 4, 4.

6. si Siciliam . . . essemus: Scipio expresses the same idea in 21, 41, 14.—nunc: see on 21, 40, 3.—possident: see on 26, 11, 7.

7. in: expressing purpose, as in 21, 42, 2.—agredientum: see on 2, 29, 11.

8. satis adhuc: long enough.—vastis: barren; see on 1, 4, 6.—consectando: see on 1, 5, 6 comparando.

9. stipendia facere: see on 21, 30, 2.—per: used here in two different senses; cf. 21, 35, 4.

10. dignam: absolute, without dependent noun, emeritis stipendiis being taken as abl. abs.; or with emeritis stipendiis, in the sense, worthy of the end of your service; i.e. the reward to which you are entitled when your service is completed; see 21, 45, 5 ff.—dabit: not quite so definite as the preceding dedit, and intended to suggest, perhaps, the condition, if you do your duty.

11. nec = et ne; see on 9, 9, 9.—existimaris: for the tense see on 9, 11, 13.—populi regesque: the regular way of expressing the idea, republics and monarchies;
nominis Romani quid est cur illi vobis conparandi sint? Vt viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabis 14 cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso, victo, circumseesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? cui si quis 16

cf. 45, 8, 5; 23, 33, 1 reges gentis-que; 42, 50, 5 regna et imperia.  
— momento: see on 5, 49, 5.

12. conparandi: comparable; equivalent to the rare adj. comparabilis, which Livy uses in 39, 52, 7. He uses the gerundive in this sense especially in a sentence containing a negative, or a negative idea implied in vix; or in a question implying a negative. (Wölflin)

13. viginti annorum: many of the soldiers had served under Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Spain.  
— cum... virtute... fortuna: the prepositional phrases take the place of attributive adjectives qualifying militiam; cf. 1, 25, 11 ante se. — vincentes: see on 21, 42, 4 spectantes; the participle here suggests an unbroken series of victories.

14. caeso, victo, circumseesso: by the Boii and Insubres in northern Italy, who, hearing of Hannibal’s approach, had revolted. The apparent anticlimax in the arrangement of these participles may be explained by the fact that Livy is speaking of the inexperience of the army and its commander; it is therefore a real climax, circumseesso indicating the highest degree of bad management; cf. 9, 4, 3 ne victi quidem ac capti; 26, 13, 8 trucidati ac ... castris exiti. — ignoranti: for this abl. form see on 5, 38, 4; cf. the similar statement in Scipio’s speech, 21, 40, 4 novo ... milites.

15. praetorio patris: according to Polybius; but see on 21, 4, 1. — sed: the omission of etiam increases the emphasis upon the second member; cf. 21, 41, 16. — semenstri: Scipio had been consul since March 15th; it was now probably the latter part of October.  
— desertore: see on 21, 39; an absurd violation of the truth.

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demptis signis Poenos Romanosque Hodie ostendat, igno-
raturum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non
ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum,
cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim
facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata
temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum
laudatis a me milens donatisque, alumnus prius omnium
vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus
ignotis inter se ignornentesque.

1 44. "Quocumque circumstuli oculos, plena omnia video
animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, genetorissimac-
rum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios
fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, cum pro

16. signis: the standards of the
maniples. The fact that the equip-
ment of the two armies was entirely
different is overlooked; it was
only after the battles of Trebia
and Trasumennus that the Car-
thaginians appeared with Roman
arms; see 22, 46, 4. — certum ha-
beo: cf. 22, 3, 1. — consul: not
dux: A weak point in the Roman
military system was the fact that
whoever happened to be consul, —
a man perhaps of no military ex-
perience, — was commander of the
army; 24, 8, 7 cum, qui est sum-
nus in civilitate dux, eum legeri-
mus, tamen repente lectus, in
annum creatus adversus veterem
ac perpetuum imperatorem con-
parabitur, nullis neque temporis
nec iuris inclusum angustiis, quo
minus ita omnia gerat administr-
tique, ut tempora postulabunt
belli.

17. idem: agreeing with ego;
cf. § 15 eundem and see on 7, 2, 8.
— testis: cf. 27, 14, 4 Marcellus
mediam aciem hortator testisque
praesens firmabat. — temporibus
locaque: abl. of specification.

18. inter se: cf. 22, 4, 6.

44. 1. animorum: see on 1, 25,
3. — peditem: in 21, 22, 2 f. Livy
mentions as infantry in Hannibal’s
army Africans, Ligurians, and Ba-
liares; as cavalry, Libyphoenicians,
Numidians, Moors, and Ilergetes.
— infrenatos: used only here in
classical Latin in this sense, taking
the place of the adj. infrenus.
The Spaniards rode with bridles,
the Numidians without them; cf.
21, 46, 5. Herodian 7, 9 of Noma-
des . . . ἵππεις ἀρµοτος, ὡς καὶ
χαλινῶν ἄνευ ράβδων μόνη τῶν
δρόμων τῶν ἵππων κυβέρναν.

2. socios: all except the Car-
thaginians.
patria tum ob iram iustissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audaci bus fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Ascendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor, iniuria, indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes, qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecti fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitri facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum inponere acum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit, terminos observat. 'Ne transieris

3. inferimus bellum: cf. 21, 1, inferrent arma. — quanto . . . arcentis: cf. 28, 44, 2 plus animi est inferenti periculum quam pro-pulsanti. The truth of the statement is questionable.

4. dolor, iniuria, indignitas: wrath and a sense of injury and insult; the first is subjective, the two others objective. Livy uses indignitas rarely in a subjective sense, indignation; 7, 7, 2 plenis irae atque indignatis. — vos omnes: see on 21, 30, 3. — qui . . . oppugnassetis: because you had besieged Saguntum; the reason given by the Romans. — ultimis: cf. 21, 41, 11. — adfecti fuerunt: for this periphrastic form of the apodosis see on 2, 1, 3; deditos is the protasis.

5. sua . . . suique arbitri: for a similar combination of adj. and gen. modifiers see 21, 29, 4 incurvament . . . certaminis. arbitri is poss. gen.; see on 1, 6, 4 tutelae. — cum quibus . . . habeamus: by the terms of the treaty made at the end of the First Punic War, Carthage was forbidden to make war upon or form alliance with the allies of Rome; Hannibal refers particularly, however, to Saguntum, whose independence was secured by the treaty which Hasdrubal had made with Rome. — circumscribit . . . fluminumque: another exaggeration; the Ebro was the only boundary of this sort, and that was fixed by mutual agreement between Hasdrubal and Rome. Saguntum, though nominally within Carthaginian territory, was to be independent; see § 6. — neque: see on 3, 46, 1.

6. transieris . . . sit: there is
Hiberum! ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis! At liberum est Saguntum. 'Nusquam te vestigio moveris!' 7 Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam ademisti? Adimis etiam Hispanias? et, inde si decessero, in Africam transcendes? transcendes autem? transcendisse dico; duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam 8 nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis vindicarimus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet qui respectum habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient; vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et omni- bus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius 9 quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus destinatumque animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis; nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis inmortalibus acrius datum est.”

45. His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt

no distinction of time; see on 9, 11, 13. — at: introducing the objection of the Carthaginian.

7. Hispanias: the plural referring to the natural divisions of Spain south of the Ebro. — transcendisse: not literally true, but explained in the next sentence. Sempronius had gone to Sicily, intending to cross to Africa, but was recalled to aid Scipio against Hannibal.

8. illis: the Romans. — timidis: for the case cf. 3, 50, 6; 9, 4, 9. — respectum: a place of refuge behind them; the verb is used in the same sense in 27, 12, 3 nec quod fidum respiceret habenti; for a different meaning of the noun see 2, 30, 2. — viris esse: this dat. construction is not found elsewhere with necesse est, and is no doubt due to the preceding common construction with licet. — mortemve: the use of the disjunctive is prompted by the thought, "You must either conquer or die."


45. r. ponte: a floating bridge
tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper inponunt; Poenus
hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum,
equilibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Ro-
mani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet princi-
pumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto
traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insurbrium quinque
milia passuum a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra
habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equilibus,
cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum
praemontumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad
contionem certa praemia pronuntiat, in quorum spem
pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa,
Hispania, ubi quisque velit, innumem ipsi qui accepisset
liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se

of rafts, according to 21, 47, 2. —
Ticinum iungunt: a common ex-
pression for fluminis ripas iungere.
The Ticinus is a river of Transpa-
dane Gaul, flowing into the Po
about 25 miles west of Placentia.
—insuper: at the eastern end of
the bridge; cf. the meaning of
super in 1, 2, 6.

2. quingentis: see on 21, 29,
1. — sociorum: as these are dis-
tinguished from the Gauls, they
are perhaps the Laevi, who, ac-
cording to 5, 35, 2, were Ligures
incolentes circa Ticinum.

3. Insurbrium: living at this
time, it appears, on the west side
of the Ticinus, on land afterwards
occupied by the Libui. — Victum-
ulis: evidently located not far
from the junction of the Ticinus
and the Po; Polyb. 10, 3, 4 says
the battle was περὶ τῶν Πάδον;
Flor. 1, 22, 10 inter Padum et
Ticinum; Val. Max. 5, 4, 2 apud
Ticinum. Polyb. 3, 65, 1 repres-
sents the two armies as approach-
ing each other on the northern
bank of the Po, the Romans
marching toward the west, the
Carthaginians toward the east.

4. vocatis: dative. — certa:
contrasted with the general prom-
ises of 21, 43, 6 ff. — in quorum
spem: there is confusion between
the hope itself and the fulfillment
of the hope; cf. 5, 30, 8 vellentque
in eam spem liberos tollere.

5. velit: for the tense see on
3, 50, 7 sit — innumem: free from
taxation. — ipsi qui: for the omiss-
ion of et cf. 9, 5, 13. — liberis:
he does not promise exemption
beyond the next generation.
argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque domino procuret libertatem proponit, binaque pro iis mancipia domis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextra silicum retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precatiorem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes, velut dis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potiendam sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

46. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam et 6. ne . . . vellent: that they might not wish to change lots with any of their countrymen; for secum = with their own, see on 9, 10, 3 eum.

8. retinens: properly used only with agnum; tenens would be more appropriate with silicum. — si falleret: if he should not fulfill his promises; the verb is often used absolutely, and it is unnecessary to supply an object. — Iovem: Livy makes him invoke a Roman god; the corresponding Carthaginian deity would have been Baal. This prayer is somewhat inconsistent with 21, 4, 9 nihil sancti. — secundum: immediately after. — precatiorem: imprecation; cf. 9, 5, 3.

9. velut . . . acceptis: as if each man had taken the gods as sureties for his hope; Livy uses the abl. abs. with velut frequently in this sense; cf. 1, 29, 4; see also for a similar use of velut, though not with the abl., 1, 4, 5 and 1, 16, 2. quisque, in partitive app. with omnes, is made by its position the logical subject of the ablative absolute. — id: only that; cf. 21, 4, 7. — quod . . . pugnarent: in app. with id. — sperata: by using this word Livy avoids a repetition of the noun and expresses the idea in more concrete form.

46. 1. super cetera . . . etiam: cf. 22, 6, 11. super is stronger than praeter, and the meaning is, terrified by other things, but above all by prodigies. prodigia were unnatural conditions or incidents
lupus intraverat castra laniiatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbores praelorium inminente considerat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditus profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquuo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas, obviis fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum, equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque

which were thought to indicate the displeasure of the gods. Favor could be regained by means of offerings or ceremonies. If the prodigy occurred on private property, the owner or occupant only was concerned; if on public property, the state was thought to be threatened and took action to avert the danger. From 218 on Livy gives the prodigies regularly; in the period covered by the earlier extant books, they had probably not been systematically recorded and were therefore not available for the historian. Polybius omits them entirely.

2. lupus: the mere appearance of a wolf was regarded as a bad omen. — obviis: for this rare substantive use cf. 22, 7, 11. — examen apum: mentioned elsewhere as of evil omen. On this occasion perhaps the wolf and the bees were regarded as emblematic of Hannibal and his army. (Wölfflin)

3. quibus procuratis: when these bad omens had been averted; procurare is used technically in this sense, referring to the ceremonies performed on such occasions. — expeditis: as all iaculatores were expediti, this is either a pleonasm or the adj. is to be applied to equitatu as well as to iaculatoribus. — speculandas: connect with castra and copias. — circa: see on 21, 36, 1.

4. cernebant . . . fuit. consistit . . . expediebant: note the change in tense to contrast the instantaneous and completed act with the progressive. — hominum, equorum: for the asyndeton see on 5, 48, 6. — propinquium: the uncomounded verb is very rarely used in prose. — expediebant: see on 22, 4, 7; for the plural with agmen see on 21, 27, 9 nantes.

5. sociorumque: a contrast between Galli and socii, as in 21, 45,
quod roboris fuit, in subsidii; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatorum fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu aniceps; dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multus labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suas premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paululum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculsit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque in tercursu tum primum pubescentis fili propulsatum. Hic erit iuvenis penes quem perfecti hiusse belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque

2 and 3. — in subsidii: in the rear as a reserve. That this was really the main body and that the iaculatorum and Galli equites were only skirmishers is clear from § 6 inter aciem. — frenatos Numidis: see on 21, 44, 1. For the use of the instrumental abl. Numidis cf. 2, 44, 12 suo milité vinci Romam posse; also 22, 3, 9 and 27, 46, 3. — firmat: not strengthens, but forms strongly; cf. 9, 3, 10; 22, 46, 3.

6. inter aciem: between the bodies of reserves which formed the second line; the second phrase is explanatory of the first. — pedites: the iaculatorum. — labentibus desilientibus: the first statement is explained by quia intermixti, the second by ubi vidissent. — vidissent: for the mood see on 3, 36, 8. — ad pedes venerat: cf. 22, 47, 3; for the phrase ad pedes cf. 22, 49, 3 and 2, 46, 3 pugna iam in manus, iam ad giadios venerat.

7. donec: sc. and continued. — is pavor: fear of this, i.e. of being surrounded; cf. 26, 13, 1; 3, 34, 7 ea expectatio. This use of a demonstrative adj. instead of an obj. gen. is common in Livy. — intercursu propulsatum: this element, thus closely connected with periculum and subordinated to it, contains a statement of such importance that it would much better have been expressed in a relative or even independent clause. On intercursu see on 21, 35, 1. — pubescentias: Polyb. 10, 3, 4 says he was in his seventeenth year; cf. Livy 38, 51, 11.

8. Africanus: 30, 45, 6 f. Afri-
appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam, corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse cedo ne reduxit. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.

Book XXII

Battle of Lake Trasumennus

3. Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, servati consulis: see on 1, 3, 4 coloniam deductam, and cf. 21, 1, 5 Sicilia . . . amissae. — Coelius: see Introd. § 4. — plures . . . auctores: Polyb. 10, 3, 2 is one of these, quoting Laelius, the friend of Scipio, as his authority. — fama obtinuit: see on 1, 4, 6 tenet fama; as the verb is intrans., quod, the object of tradidere, can be used with it only adverbially; cf. 23, 16, 15 quod quidam auctores sunt.

10. servati consulis: see on 1, 3, 4 coloniam deductam, and cf. 21, 1, 5 Sicilia . . . amissae. — Coelius: see Introd. § 4. — plures . . . auctores: Polyb. 10, 3, 2 is one of these, quoting Laelius, the friend of Scipio, as his authority. — fama obtinuit: see on 1, 4, 6 tenet fama; as the verb is intrans., quod, the object of tradidere, can be used with it only adverbially; cf. 23, 16, 15 quod quidam auctores sunt.


3. i. de paludibus: Livy uses de with emergere only here; elsewhere ex. He uses de also with
castra locat; certumque per prae missos exploratores habuit
exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse. Consulis
\ deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque
et copias ad commetatus expediendos et cetera quae cog-
nosse in rem erat-summa omnia cum cura inquiringo exse-
quebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilib, Etrusci
campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac
pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulentia; consul ferox ab
consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis
sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam in-
other compounds of ex, e.g. 21, 48,
6 emittere; 41, 27, 2 etio. In the
spring of 217 Hannibal set out
from his winter quarters in Liguria
and crossed the Apennines into
Etruria. The march was exceed-
ingly difficult and dangerous, as,
according to Livy, the country had
been inundated by an overflow of
the Arno.—in sicco: for the sub-
stantive use of the adj. see on 1, 3,
2.—castra locat: near Faesulæ.
—certum ... habuit: cf. 21, 43,
16; 9, 1, 11 pro certo habeate.—
Arreti: about forty miles south-
east of Faesulæ, on the Via
Cassia.

2. consulis: C. Flaminius,
leader of the popular party, who,
fearing that his election as consul
might be annulled by the senate,
had entered upon his year of office
at Ariminum instead of at Rome.
From there he had proceeded to
Arretium, to intercept Hannibal.
—animum: disposition. — situm
regionum: the geography of the
region. — copias: facilities. — in
rem: to the purpose. — inquiringo
exsequebatur: cf. 9, 3, 11 percut-
tando exsequentur.

3. primis: sc. regionibus, upon
which Italies depends.—Faesulas
inter: except with relatives this
position of the prep. is rare before
Tacitus.—§§ 3 and 4 treat in re-
verse order the two thoughts of
§ 2.

4. ab consulatu: temporal and
causal; see on 1, 1, 4. He was
consul for the first time in 223 and
conducted the war against the In-
subrian Gauls. Just as he was
preparing for an important battle,
a message came from the senate
ordering him to return to Rome;
but, suspecting its contents, he
left it unread, fought the battle,
and won a victory. Hence, ferox
... maiestatis. — non modo: see
on 2, 23, 14.—legum metuens: a
rare construction, found almost
exclusively in poetry and post-Au-
gustan prose.—ne deorum ...
genio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis adparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferciter omnia ac praepropere acturum. Quoque pronior esset in via sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus parat; et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas petens medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus quantam maximam vastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italiam vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus: collegam expectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus

metuens: he had not performed the usual religious rites at the beginning of his consulship, and could not properly take the auspices. — *prospero . . . successu*: cf. *Praef.* 13. — *civilibus*: as early as 232, when he was a tribune, he had won a victory over the senate, by causing the passage of a law authorizing the distribution of Gallic lands among the plebeians. Besides being twice consul, he was censor in 220, when he constructed the Circus Flaminius and the Via Flaminia.

6. *Faesulas petens*: a geographical blunder; passing Flaminius on his left, Hannibal was marching toward the south, and Livy must therefore have supposed Faesulae to be south of Arretium. This would explain his statement in § 3 regarding the fertility of the district between Faesulae and Arretium. See on 9, 19, 4 *Thurii*. — *agro*: connected either with *petens* as an abl. of the road, or with *praedatum* as an abl. of place. — *quantam maximam*: see on 9, 10, 10.


— *mediam iam Italiam*: homooeteteuton, usually avoided by Livy; see on 5, 46, 3; for an intentional case see 2, 29, 9.

8. *in consilio*: composed of the legates, tribunes, and *primi pili*. — *collegam expectandum*: Servilius
CHAP. 3] SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

9 communi animo consilioque rem gererent; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum; iratus se ex consilio proripuit sig- numque simul itineris pugnaeque cum proposuisset, "Immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus" inquit; "hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpetue Italiam vastandoque et uerendo omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint." Haec simul increpans cum ocius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente conruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa erant velut foedo omne incipiendae rei, insuper had taken a position at Ariminum, in order to intercept Hannibal, if the latter should follow the Via Flaminia. By this time, it is probable that he had already set out to join his colleague. Flaminius was justified in not following the advice of his officers; for there was danger in allowing Hannibal to get so far away from him and nearer to Rome, and Servilius, on the march, might be attacked while alone and in an unfavorable position.

9. equitatu auxiliisque: either dat. of agent (for the form of equitatu see on 7, 2, 7) or an instrumental abl.; see on 21, 46, 5. — signum . . . proposuisset: cf. 22, 45, 5; the signal for the march was given on the tuba, that for battle by a red flag on the general's tent. In the present case the latter signal meant that they should be ready for battle as soon as they met the enemy.

10. immo: ironically correcting the proposal of the officers and ridiculing it by exaggeration. — sedéamus: cf. 22, 24, 10 artibus Fabi, sedendo et cunctando, bellum gerebat. — patria et penates: see on Praef. 12. — nec = et ne; cf. 9, 9, 9; 21, 43, 11. — Camillum: see on 5, 46, 11; cf. 9, 4, 14. — ab Veis: for this use of the prep. see on 1, 27, 4. — acciverint: future perfect.

11. haec: acc. of kindred meaning; cf. 3, 47, 4 querente pauc. — ocius: the comparative appears to have here, as occasionally elsewhere, the sense of the unused positive; though it may mean more quickly than they had begun to do it. — signa convelli: see on 3, 50, 11.

12. circa: for this adjective use
nuntiatur signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium "Num litteras quoque" inquit "ab senatu aduers, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia effodiunt signum, si ad convellendum manus praebet obturpuerint." Incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, superquam quod dissererant ab consilio, territum etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

4. Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasmenumque lacum omni clade bellum pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum inurias acuat. Et iam pervenerat ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relickto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque

see on 21, 36, 1. — velut: as; not as if; introducing the actual belief of the bystanders, not an expression of doubt on the part of Livy or a mere comparison.

13. num litteras ... vetent: see on § 4 ab consalatu. — abi, nuntia effodiunt: cf. 22, 49, 10; with asyndeton as usual; cf. 1, 16, 7. — prae: see on 1, 29, 3.

14. superquam quod: cf. 22, 7, 4; præterquam quod; Livy often uses super in the sense of præter, but see on 21, 46, 1. — in vulgus: in general.

4. i. inter ... lacum: a distance of about seven miles only, but the statement is not to be understood as exact; he no doubt devastated also the valley of the Clanis, west of Cortona and the lake. — hosti: see on 1, 5, 6 Numitori.

2. nata insidiis: cf. 9, 2, 7; 22, 28, 6 ager ... natus legendis insidiis; used with in in 5, 37, 8 and with ad in 22, 44, 4. — maxime = proxime. — via: at the northwest corner of the lake. — ad id ipsum: cf. 21, 37, 1. — deinde: after the narrow road was passed. — inde: at the eastern end of the campus. There was also there a narrow passage between the hills and the lake. Compare the geography of the Caudine Pass, 9, 2, 7 f.

3. ibi: not on the hills, but referring generally to the locality just described. — in aperto: opposed to insidiae in § 4; for the
consideret; Balaures ceteramque levem armaturam post montis circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, objecro equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

4 Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum 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 haud detectae insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum sui copios habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrent, eo magis Romanis subita atque inprovisa res fuit,
BOOK XXII

quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus, clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediti arma stringique gladii possent.

5. Consul percussis omnibus ipse satis, ut in re trepida, inpavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamares, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitum, et, quacumque adire audire potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut inploratione deum sed vi ac

46, 9. — campo: without the prep. as often in Livy; see on 1, 4, 4 aqua and cf. 5, 41, 2. — densior: for the position of the comparative after quam cf. 9, 7, 4. — sederat: from the poetical verb sidus; the common prose verb is consido. — inter se: cf. 21, 43, 18. — conspecta: visible; cf. 30, 29, 10. — eoque: the conjunction connects conspecta and pariter.

7. Romanus ... sensit: shouts (of the enemy) were raised on all sides before the Romans could see clearly, and they realized that they were surrounded. — cerneret: either used without object and explained by § 4 vixdum ... luce and § 6 nebula ... sederat, or sce circumventum esse. — in frontem lateraque: the Romans faced north to repel the attack of the heavy infantry, — the only part of the enemy's forces which they could see, — and were thus attacked on the flanks by the light infantry and the cavalry. — instrueretur: the Romans had of course entered the pass in marching order, and it must have been almost impossible under the circumstances to form a line of battle; Polyb. 3, 85, 4 συνέβη τοὺς πλείονας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πολεος σχίματι κατακοπῆσαι. — expediri: the shield taken from the left shoulder, the helmet from its fastenings on the right shoulder, etc.; cf. 21, 46, 4. Caes. B.G. 2, 2, 5 ut non modo ad insignia accommodanda, sed etiam ad galeas indiendas scutisque tegmenta detrahenda tempus defuerit.

5. 1. satis: for the meaning cf. 5, 46, 3. — ut ... trepida: a restriction of inpavidus; see on 5, 41, 1, where there is also a similar use of res = situation.

2. vi ac virtute: see on 21, 41, 17. — fieri: a general statement.
virtute evadendum esse; per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse.  

3 Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptan-daque pugnae competeret animus opprimenterutque qui-dam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine  

4 maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos terrentium pa-ventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globis intuici haerebant, alios redeun-tes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnis partis nequiquam impetus capti et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claude-bant adparuitque nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis  

spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa:

— quo esse: Sall. Jug. 87, 2
fortissimum quemque tutissimum; Hor. Od. 3, 2, 14 mors et fugacem perseguitur virum; Curt. Ruf. 4, 14, 25 effugit mortem, quisquis contemplatur; timidissimum quemque consequitur. — ferme: usually.

3. tantumque aberat ut... ut: the first ut clause is the subject of aberat; the second a clause of result. — signa: maniples; ordines: centuries (cf. 2, 23, 4); locum: the position of the individual; cf. § 7. On the manipular organization see on 9, 19, 8. — capienda: cf. 22, 4, 7 expediti. — pugnae: dat. of purpose; cf. 5, 49, 3, where, with the same phrase, it is omitted.

4. vulnerum: obj. gen. as in 8, 29, 13 vulnerum ira; Am. Marc. 29, 5, 12 inter gemitus mortis et vulnerum; Verg. Aen. 2, 784 lacrimas ditectae Creusae.

6. capti: see on 9, 4, 1; cf. 5, 38, 3 impetum darent. The phrase indicates an unusually strenuous charge or one made necessary by circumstances. — ab lateribus: see on 1, 24, 2 unde. It is evident that the main body of the Romans was now facing east (cf. 22, 4, 7 in frontem lateraque) and seeking escape in that direction. — claudebant: used absolutely; cf. 21, 43, 4, where, however, an object is more easily supplied.
ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro
signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in
sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors con-
globabat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi
ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo in-
tentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum
urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertisque cursu
rapidos amnis, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu in-
genti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

6. Tris ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter;
circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum
et robora virorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque in parte
premi ac laborare senserat suos, inipigre ferebat opem;
insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tue-

7. nova de integro: a more remarkable example of pleonasm is
37, 19, 5 instauremus novum de integro bellum; cf. Praef. 12. The
battle had not ceased; it was only
taking on a new character.—per
... triarios: the hastati at this
time stood regularly in front of the
principes.—nec ut = nec ita
ordinata ut.—antesignani: has-
tati and principes; in battle the
standards were with the triarii;
see on 27, 47, 8 and cf. 27, 48, 10.
alia: see on 21, 27, 6.—coh-
orte: an anachronism, as the
cohort, consisting of three mani-
plies, was not organized till the
time of Marius; before this the
name was applied to bodies of
allied troops, but it is not used
here in that sense; Livy is think-
ing of the later organization.

8. animus ... animorum ...
aminus: this double repetition is
a sort of carelessness of which
Livy is not often guilty; the plural
refers to the individuals, the singu-
lar (intentus ... animus) is used
collectively.—post: for this ad-
verbial use cf. 21, 34, 5.—flumin-
bus: the usual construction with
invexere is the acc. with or with-
out in.—senserit: for the tense
see on 1, 3, 4 auct sint.

6. a. eum: it was evidently
Livy's intention to make this the
object of two verbs, sequebantur
and petebant; the sentence is in-
terrupted by the insertion of et
ipse ... opem. For a similarly
peculiar structure cf. 39, 40, 9 simul-
tates; 40, 56, 3 cui.

3. insignem: explanatory of
petebant only, not of tuebantur.—
bantur cives, donec Insuber eques — Ducario nomen
erat — facie quoque noscitans consulem "En" inquit "hic
est," popularibus suis "qui legiones nostras cecidit agros-
que et urbem est depopulatus! Iam ego hanc victimam
Manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo." Subditisque
calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impe-
tum facit obruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto ve-
nienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare
cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis
fuga unde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes
pavori obstabant; per omnia arta præruptaque velut caeci
evadunt, armaque et viri super alios alii præcipitantur.
Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis
in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus umerisque extersunt, sese inmergent. Fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando
etiam capessere fugam inpulerit, quae ubi inmensa ac sine

Ducario: dat.; see on 1, 1, 3
Troiano. — noscitans: he had
probably seen Flamininus in the
Gallic campaign of 223, to which
his words refer; see on 22, 3, 4.
— popularibus suis: the separation
from inquit is peculiar, but a similar
arrangement is found elsewhere; e.g. 5, 18, 5 "en vos bis"
inquit "iunvenem," filium tenens.
— legiones: used loosely of the
divisions of a foreign army, as in
27, 51, 8; cf. the use of legio =
army in 1, 27, 5. — urbem: the
chief city of the Insubres was
Mediolanum, which was taken by
the Romans in 222.

4. Manibus ... dabo: cf. 1, 25,
12. — armigero: a word found
almost exclusively in poetry.—

consulem ... transfixit: Hanni-
bal probably exaggerates the fact
in 23, 45, 8 ubi ille miles mens est,
qui derepto ex equo C. Flaminio
consuli caput abstulit? — triarii:
the roborae virorum of § 2; cf. 8,
8, 8 triarios ducbat, veteranum
militem spectatae virtutis.

5. magnae partis: all but the
sex milia of § 8. — nec lacus nec
montes: the thought is continued
chiastically in the following sen-
tences. — per omnia: cf. 21, 35, 7.
— evadunt: they tried to escape.
— alios alli: the sing. alium alius
would have been more usual, but
cf. 21, 35, 12.

6. capessere: the inf. with in-
pello is a construction of poetry
and late prose; with other verbs
spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucida-bantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis per adversos hostes eruptione inpigre factura, ignari omnium quae post se age-rentur e saltu evasere, et cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul inmit-teretur eques, sublatis raptim signis quam citatissimo poterant agmine sese abripiuerunt. Postero die, cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quae Punica

also Livy uses the inf. instead of the more common ut clause; e.g. 21, 41, 9 dare pactus est.

7. immensa: impossible; literally, unlimited. The lake is eight to fourteen miles wide and about thirty miles in circuit. There are, however, two islands only a little more than a mile from the battle-field. — animis: courage, not breath; the plural of anima is apparently not used in that sense.

8. primi agminis: those marching in front. — agerentur: for the subj. see on 3, 36, 8. — saltu: the narrow passage on the east between the hills and the lake, above which the light-armed troops had been stationed.

9. inclinata . . . re: the battle having been decided. — dispulsa nebula: see on 21, 1, 5 Sicilia . . . amissae.

10. in conspectos = in se, si conspecti essent; cf. 22, 3, 7 quieto.

11. super cetera: see on 21, 46, 1. — Maharbale: one of Hannibal’s most distinguished officers, mentioned in 21, 45, 2 and 22, 46, 7. — cum singulis vestimentis: with only their tunics, as in 9, 4, 3; App. Hann. 10 uses the word γυμνοις.
religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

7. Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea [utrimque] ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex caedem utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce bellii, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal captivorum qui Latini nominis

12. religione: for the meaning see on 21, 4, 9; *Punica fides* is the usual phrase, but here *fides* follows immediately in a different sense. According to Polyb. 3, 85, 2 Hannibal maintained that Maharbal had no authority to make such a promise. — omnes: see, however, 22, 7, 5.

7. 1. nobilis: for the meaning cf. 9, 1, 1. — inter paucas: Livy does not mean that there have been few disasters, but that few have been comparable with this; see on 30, 30, 23. — memorata: memorable; see on 24, 34, 9 intacti.

2. quindecim milia: Polyb. 3. 84, 9 ff. says that 15,000 were killed in the valley, and that others, caught in the very entrance of the pass, perished while trying to escape; App. *Hann.* 10 gives a total of 20,000. Polybius mentions 15,000 Roman prisoners, Livy only the 6000 of 22, 6, 7.

3. duo milia quingenti: Polyb. 3, 85, 5 says that Hannibal's loss was 1500, mostly Gauls. — multiplex: much greater.

4. ex vano: without reason; see on 1, 25, 9 ex insperato and cf. 33, 31, 4 nec tota ex vano criminiato erat. — scribentium: not appreciably different from *scripores*, but emphasizing the specific act rather than the man's permanent occupation; see *Praef.* 5. — Fabium: see *Introod.* 3. — temporibus: connect with *aequalem*, not with *auctorem*; he is quoting Fabius only on the question of loss. — potissimum: most reliable; Livy was the first prose writer to use this word of persons.

5. captivorum: depending upon *eis*, the antecedent of *qui*; cf. 2, 23, 13 *patrum.* — Latini nominis: see on 9, 19, 2. — sine pretio dimissis: Hannibal was eager to win the support of Rome's allies. Ac-
essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulus corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Romae ad primum nuntium clados eius cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades adlata quaev est fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percutantur. Et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor "Pugna" inquit "magna victi sumus." Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est,

cording to Polyb. 3, 77, 7 he released all the allies after the Battle of the Trebia, and (3, 85, 4) did the same thing after the Battle of Trasumennus.—

datis: see on 1, 4, 7. — coacervatorum: for the agreement see on 1, 1, 4 maiora.

— cum: for the position see on 21, 34, 4.— Flamini . . . invenit: the sentence is compressed, quoque referring to funeris . . . inquisitum, not to invenit; the full form would have been Flamini quoque . . . inquiri iussit, sed non invenit. This action of Hannibal is somewhat inconsistent with 21, 4, 9. Polybius does not mention it. For a similar treatment of a defeated enemy see 25, 31, 10.

6. ad: for the meaning cf. § 13 and see on 1, 25, 6. — nuntium: the distance from Lake Trasumennus to Rome is about one hundred miles, and it is possible that the news arrived on the day after the battle. — terrore ac tumultu: see on Praef. 12.

7. matronae: as usual in describing such scenes, Livy emphasizes especially the fear of the women; see on 1, 29, 5. — repens: used several times by Livy, always in the nom. sing., for the more common repentinus. — obvios: for this rare substantive use cf. § 11 and 21, 46, 2. — contionis modo: cf. 2, 23, 5. Polyb. 3, 85, 7 and Plut. Fab. 3 say that the magistrates called a meeting. — magistratus: they were in the senate-house; cf. the similar scene in 27, 50, 9.

8. tandem . . . occasum: after their long suspense the time of the announcement would intensify its effect upon the anxious crowd.

— praetor: he was praetor peregrinus.— pugna . . . victi sumus: the announcement as given by Plut. Fab. 3 was more explicit, — veνεκήμεθα μεγάλη μάχη καὶ διέ-
tamen alius ab alio inpleti rumoribus domos referunt con-
sulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum, superesse pau-
cos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab
hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas dis-
tracti animi corum erant quorum propinqui sub C. Flam-
nio consule meruerant, ignorantium quae ciusque suorum
fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet quid aut
speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad
portas maior prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo
stetit aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiiens;
circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes neque avelli, uti-
que ab notis, priesquam ordine omnia inquisissent, pote-
rant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneres,
ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantisque aut
consolantis redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum
praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Vnam in ipsa
porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in coplexu eius expi-
rasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors fili falso nuntiata erat,
maestam sedentem domi ad primum conspectum redeuntis
fili gaudio nimio examinatam. Senatum praetores per dies

Φθαρτοί το στρατόπεδον καὶ Φλα-
μίνος ἤπατος ἀπόλολεν.

10. distracti: each one feared
for his own relatives all the forms
of death and suffering to which the
army had been exposed; cf. 26, 5,
1 Hannibalem diversum . . . tra-
hebant curae; Tac. Ann. 4, 40 cum
in omnis curas distraheretur.—
cuiusque suorum: not of each one
of their relatives, but of each one's
own relatives; the usual position
of cuiusque in this combination
is after the possessive; cf. 3, 36,
3; 22, 44, 2.

11. deinceps: see on 1, 6, 1.—
mulierum . . . multitudo: cf. 26,
9, 7.—circumfundebantur: reflex-
ive as in § 12; cf. 3, 35, 6 vulgari.
12. cerneres: subj. of action
conceivable in past time; see on
2, 27, 6. — gaudia . . . et luctus:
expressions of joy and grief; see
on 3, 48, 9 indignationum.
13. alteram: according to Plin.
7, 180 and Gell. 3, 15, 4 this inci-
dent occurred after the battle of
Cannae.
14. praetores: urbanus and
peregrinus, and also T. O tacilius,
BOOK XXII

aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solemn in curia retinente consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

Battle of Cannae

44. Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communient eodem ferme intervalllo quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divis. Aufidus amnis

who had not departed to his province of Sicily.

After the battle at Lake Trasumennus, instead of proceeding directly to Rome, Hannibal marched to the southeast into Apulia. Thence he crossed Italy into Campania, which he plundered. During this expedition he was not molested by the Roman dictator, Fabius, who was in such disfavor at Rome on account of his inactivity that he was finally compelled to share his command with his master of horse, Minucius. The latter soon risked a battle, and being saved from defeat by Fabius, admitted his folly and relinquished his command. C. Terentius Varro and L. Aemilius Paulus were elected consuls for 216, and a large army was raised. Hannibal had now returned to Apulia, whither he was followed by the consuls, Varro being eager for battle, Paulus more cautious.


44. 1. Poenum ... Poenum: it is possible that in the first instance Hannibal is meant, in the second the Carthaginian army (see on 1, 27, 10 Veientem), but that does not justify the repetition. — ad: to the neighborhood of. — intervallo: according to Polyb. 3, 110, 10 the small camp was ten stadia (a little more than a mile) from the large one and a little farther from the enemy. — Gereonium: about seventy-five miles north of Cannae. — sicut ... divisus: divided, as before, — but not necessarily in the same manner; 22, 40, 5 f. castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent pro- pius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur virtum
utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberiorius aquabatantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem nauctus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, derigit aciem lacesitque Numidarum procursatione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulm Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini tementatem Varroni, esseit...

Geminum Serviliurn in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficitur. Polyb. l. c. says one third were in the smaller camp.

2. **Aufidus amnis**: the largest river of Apulia, but fordable at this time of the year. — utrisque castris: the two Roman camps. Neither Polybius nor Livy states on which side of the river were the camps or on which side the battle was fought. It is clear, however, (44, 3; 45, 2), that the large camp and the Carthaginian camp were on the same side and that the small camp was on the other side; that the battle occurred on the side on which was the small camp (45, 6); that the Romans from the large camp crossed first, believing, perhaps, that the ground on the other side was more favorable to them, and faced south (46, 8), a manœuvre which, if they had crossed to the southern bank, would have exposed their rear to the Carthaginians; that, therefore, the larger Roman camp and the Carthaginian camp were on the southern bank and that the battle was fought on the northern bank. — cuiusque: see on 22, 7, 10.

3. posita...erant: probably for the very reason that there was no hostile force on that side and the small camp would thus serve as a center for the gathering of supplies.

4. natis ad: see on 22, 4, 2.
The country is flat both north and south of the Aufidus; 21, 47, 1 hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, quo facile adparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesique, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. — qua parte: see on 21, 41, 4. — invictus: see on 24, 34, 9.

5. Sempronii: the consul who had been defeated at the Trebia two years before. —que et: for the correlation see on Praef. 13.
Varro Paulo speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu cepisset Italianam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque inprovidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsorum, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; videret ut, quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aeque in pugna vigerent manus.

45. Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras recuperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero adeo indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne thought on account of the remotes of testaretur, which would naturally serve as predicate for both hic and ille.

6. hic: referring properly, even if Paulo is inserted in § 5, to the second and nearer nominative, Varro. — usu: there was a law of the Twelve Tables that one having undisputed possession for two years was entitled to ownership of the property.

7. proiectis ac proditis: abandoned (lit. thrown away; cf. 2, 27, 11) and betrayed. — proditis ad: cf. 26, 12, 11. — exsortem ... participem: adversative asyndeton. — diceret: predicate of ille and added apparently as an afterthought on account of the remotes of testaretur, which would naturally serve as predicate for both hic and ille.

45. 1. ad multum diei: see on 5, 38, 4 in aequo campi; cf. 42, 15, 5.

3. clamore ac tumultu: by shouts and noise.

4. indignum: unworthy of them, disgraceful; cf. 26, 11, 7. — tumultuario: cf. 5, 37, 7 tumultuario exercitu. — auxilio: apparently used nowhere else in the singular in this concrete sense.
extemplo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem, tenuerit
Romanos, quod summa imperi eo die penes Paulum fuit.
5 Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperi erat,
nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias
flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare
6 quam non adiuvere consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen
eas quoque quas in castris minoribus habuerant copias
suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu
— id erat flumini proprius — Romanos equites locant, deinde
7 pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pe-
dites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt;
iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies
8 facta. Consules cornua tenuere, Terentius laevum, Aemi-
lius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

5. cui . . . erat: superfluous
after quod . . . fuit, and Livy has
already said in 22, 41, 3 alternis
imperitabant — nihil: stronger
than non; not at all; emphasizing
the fact that Varro alone was
responsible for the defeat. Ordin-
arily there would have been con-
sultation between the two
commanders. For this use of
nihil cf. 5, 42, 7; 5, 46, 2. — sig-
num: the red flag; cf. 22, 3, 9. —
instructasque copias . . . traduxit:
cf. 1, 1, 7. — quia . . . poterat:
cf. 22, 44, 7.

6. in castris minoribus: prob-
ably under the command of Ser-
vilio Geminus, consul of the
previous year. — proprius: here an
adj. with the dat.; see on 21, 1, 2.
There was evidently at this point
a bend in the river so that it flowed
approximately toward the south;
cf. 22, 46, 2. — Romanos equites:
according to Polyb. 3, 113, 5 there
were 80,000 infantry and a little
over 6000 cavalry. Livy 22, 36,
4 septemque et octoginta milia
armatorum et ducentos in castris
Romanis fuisse, cum pugnatum
ad Cannas est, quidam auctores
sunt. App. Hann. 17 says
70,000 foot and 6000 horse. —
deinde: in the center, at the left
of the cavalry.

7. intra: not used elsewhere as
an adv. until after the Augustan
period; here in sense parallel with
extremi; the left wing was occu-
pied by the allied cavalry on the
outside, toward the center by the
infantry. — facta: for the agree-
ment with the pred. noun cf. 1, 1,
3 appellati.
46. Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus levique alia armatura praemissa trangressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat; Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Spani. Afros Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispersiones ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucroni-

8. laevo: probably only the cavalry of the allies, though in § 7 the infantry also are included in the left wing. — dextrum: Roman cavalry. — Gemino Servilio: cognomen before nomen, as occasionally in Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust, but more often in the post-Augustan period. Servilius was consul in 217, at the end of the year had been made proconsul, and was now serving as military tribune; see 22, 49, 16. — media . . . data: the charge of the center (Roman and allied infantry) was intrusted; cf. 27, 48, 4.

46. 1. Baliaribus . . . armatura: cf. 22, 4, 3. — quosque: the plural indicates the individual bodies of troops. — traduxerat: see on 3, 50, 13. — ita: not as in 22, 45, 6, but correlative with ut; he led them across in the order in which they were to be placed in the battle, so that the line might be formed quickly and with as little confusion as possible; the same idea is expressed in 22, 45, 5 by instructas . . . traduxit.

2. prope ripam: see on 22, 45, 6 flumini proprius. Note the three forms of expression, — equites (object of locabat), dextrum cornu . . . datum (est), and the abl. abs., media acie . . . firmata.

3. firmata: composed of; see on 21, 46, 5. — cornua: the flanks of the infantry, not the wings of the whole line. — medi: and projecting somewhat, as is stated in 22, 47, 5; Polyb. 3, 113, 8 μναείον το κύρτωμα. medi: is used like extremi in 22, 45, 7.

4. crederes: see on 2, 27, 6. — ceterum: taking the place of a second et. Polyb. 3, 87, 3 says that after the Battle of Lake Trasumennus Hannibal armed his African troops with Roman weapons.

5. formae: long and narrow. — dispares ac dissimiles: of different
bus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesium adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat. Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum qui tum stetere in acie milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. 7 Duces cornibus praerant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextra Mahabal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol, seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita stetere, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septemtrionem versis; ventus—Volturnum regionis incolae vocant—adversus Romanis

length and appearance, the latter word referring particularly to the mucrones. — habiles: cf. 24, 34, 5 inhabile. — ante alios: cf. 5, 42, 5; brachylogy for ante aliorum habitum; see on 2, 27, 4.—habitus ... specie: the meanings of the two words are identical; appearance; but the former is more broad, including both magnitudine and specie, while the latter is explained in Galli ... constiterant. — harum: the position is unusual; cf. 1, 16, 6.


7. Mahabal: Polyb. 3, 114, 7 says Hanno commanded the right wing; according to App. Hann. 20, Hannibal’s brother Mago commanded the right wing, his nephew Hanno the left. — mediam aciem: Frontin. Strat. 2, 3, 7 speaks of the difficulty of the manoeuvre accomplished by the center, — hoc enim genus ordinationis exsequi nisi peritus et ad omne momentum respondens miles vix potest. Hannibal had great confidence in his brother and at the Trebia also had given him a post of much responsibility.

8. locatis: sc. eis; ablative absolute. — obliquus: this was true only in the early morning; at midday the sun, though high, would have shone into the faces of the Romans.

9. Volturnum: 22, 43, 10 Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturno vento, qui campis torridis sicitate nubes pulveris vehit. It was a southwest wind, named
coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

47. Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levi-
bus primum, armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum 
Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concur-
rit, minime equestris more pugnae; frontibus enim adversis 
concurrentum erat, quia nullo circa ad evagandum relictum 
spatio hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant. In de-
rectum utrimque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo 
turba equis, vir virum amplexus detræhebat equo. Pedestre 
magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen

from Mt. Voltur, which lay in that direction from northern Apulia, and its effect was apparently that of the modern sirocco, which is especially prevalent in Apulia in June, in which month, according to the reformed calendar, the battle was fought. Some ancient authorities made much of this circumstance in explaining the Roman defeat. Polybius does not mention it. —volvendo: for this use of the gerundive see on 21, 28, 12.

47. levibus ... armis: light-armed troops (cf. 22, 46, 1 arma-
matura), but not sufficiently personified to make the preposition necessary; for this use of arma cf. 9, 9, 19 and 41, 12, 9 
populantique campestris agros 
consulii nulla usquam adparuerunt 
arma. After discharging their missiles, the light-armed troops retired between the maniples in their rear; see 21, 46, 6. — minime ... pugnae: the Roman generals, weaker than Hannibal in cavalry, had no doubt chosen this position partly to offset his advantage.

2. frontibus adversis: cf. § 5 obliqua fronte and 5, 38, 3 recta 
fronte; Sall. Jug. 59, 3 non, uti 
equestri proelio soleat, sequi, dein 
cedere, sed adversis equis concur-
rere, implicare ac perturbare aciem.

— nullo ... spatio: the abl. abs. gives the result of hinc amnis ... 
claudebant; see on 21, 1, 5 imposito.

— acies: plural, as in 22, 5, 6.

3. stantibus ac confertis: elsewhere Livy connects confertus directly with stare, e.g. 10, 29, 6 Galli 
... conferti starent; the separation here is necessary, as the second word indicates a condition later than the first, i.e. the horses came to a standstill and finally were crowned together. — detræ-
hebat: agreeing with the appositive vir instead of with the subject nitentes (equites). — equo: dat.; 
cf. 9, 10, 7. — pedestre ... cer-
SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga
vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum
pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum constabant or-
dines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe
conisi, obliqua fronte acieque densa inulpere hostium cuneum
nimis teneum eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem
acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem insti-
tere, ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen
in medium primum aciem inlati, postremo nullo resistente
ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis
alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant,
aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequa-
vit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio
dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, inruentibusque in-
tamen: cf. 21, 46, 6. — acris . . .
diutius: the regular method of ex-
pressing a comparison of two
qualities. Polybius says that those
horsemen who escaped from the
battle were killed as they fled
along the river bank.

5. diu . . . conisi: Polyb. 3, 115,
5, on the contrary, says, ἔτι βραχὺ
μὲν ὀνὸν τῶν Ἰβηρῶν καὶ τῶν Κελ-
τῶν ἔμενοι οἱ τάξεως καὶ διεμάχοντο
τῶν Ρωμαίων γενναῖως. — obliqua
fronte: the adj. is loosely applied
to the whole front, though only the
wings were advancing obliquely;
the result was a concave front
which partially inclosed the Gauls
and Spaniards. — densa: referring,
not to the depth, but to the density
of the line; the maniples were
close together.

6. tenore uno: in an unbroken
advance; a colloquialism, as ap-
pears from Cic. Orat. 21 uno tenore,
ut aiant. — praeceps: joined with
verbs and with nouns in which
the verbal element is prominent;
e.g. fuga. — medium . . . aciem:
though obscure, this must refer to
the Gauls and Spaniards (cf. § 7
media . . . acie), and adds therefore
little, if anything, to what has been
said in per . . . agmen. — inlati:
reflexive; cf. 3, 35, 6 vulgari. —
subsidia: not reserves in the usual
sense, but the main body of the
infantry.

8. aequavit frontem: formed a
straight line, instead of the former
wedge; for a different meaning cf.
5, 38, 2. — in medio: for this sub-
stantive use cf. 9, 2, 7. — dedit: for
dare in the sense of facere cf. 3,
48, 3; 5, 38, 3; 7, 2, 4; Verg.
caute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostis. Hinc Romani de- functi nequiquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus cir- cumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

48. Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consortum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Nu- midae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmis- que et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis in medium aciem

_Aen. 12, 575 dant cuneum._ — _circum._ : _on both sides_; cf. 9, 2, 7. _Polyb._ 3, 115, 9 makes a fuller statement, _οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος κλινατε ἐπὶ δοῦνα (toward the left) . . . οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἐπὶ δοῦν (toward the right) ποιούμενοι τὴν κλάσμα._ — _fecerant_: pluperfect, because the writer is looking for- ward to _circumdedere_ and regards the action of the former verb as merely preparatory to that of the latter; see on 1, 7, 1 _consalutare- rat._ — _Romanis . . . alas: they surrounded the Roman flanks; Romanis_ is dat. of reference (see on 1, 5, 6); this clause merely states the condition which was the result of the preceding action (_fe- cerant_) and does not indicate a second stage in the manoeuvre; _i.e._ _they had extended their wings on both sides and thus surrounded etc._ — _ab tergo_: apparently an exaggeration, as _Polyb._ 3, 115, 12 and _Frontin._ _Strat._ 2, 3, 7 both speak of an attack on the flanks only; moreover, it appears from 22, 49, 4 that at some point, and naturally in the rear, the Romans had a chance to escape.

10. _circumfusos_: reflexive, as in 22, 7, 11.

48. 1. _segne_: cf. § 5.

2. _Numidae_: according to _Ap- pian_, 20, 22, the scene of this stratagem was the Carthaginian right wing, as in _Livy_, but it was exe- cuted by Celtiberians. — _arma_: see on 1, 25, 4. — _parmas . . . ha- bendes_: to indicate their friendly purpose.

3. _medium aciem_: referring only to the Roman left wing._
victi mori in vestigio malleant quam fugere, victores moran-
tibus victoriam irati trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. 5
Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantis et labore ac vul-
eribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt equosque ad
fugam qui poterant repetestant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus
militum cum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo crure
oppletum consulem vidisset, "L. Aemili," inquit "quem
unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere de-
bent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid super-
est et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne
funestam hanc pugnam morte consultis feceris; etiam sine
hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est." Ad ea consul: "Tu
quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave frustra
miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi
absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patriibus urbem Romanam
muniant ac, priusquam victor hostis advenit, praesidiis fir-

35, 12.—malleant ... trucidare: for the asyndeton see on 3,
52, 5.—fugere ... pellere: they were evidently not entirely
inclosed in the rear; see on 22,
47, 8.
5. equos: which had been held
by servants or by some of their
own number. It should be noted
that Livy is not describing here
the end of the infantry battle
which he left unfinished in chap.
47. He confines his attention to
the cavalry force with Paulus, leav-
ing the reader to assume that the
infantry were either killed or scat-
tered.
6. praetervehens: with the
force of the middle voice. Livy
elsewhere uses praaveho in this
sense, praeterveho only of naviga-
tion.
7. insontem culpae: the gen.
with insons is not found before
Livy; he uses also the ablative.
Cf. 22, 44, 7 culpae exsortem.
8. ne ... feceris: see on 9, 11,
13.—lacrimarum ... luctusque:
see on Praef. 12.
9. macte: generally regarded
as an adverb, perhaps originally
the vocative of mactus, the parti-
ciple of an obsolete verb mago =
augeo (cf. magnus). In Livy it is
joined with virtute always, and
with esto except in 2, 12, 14 inbe-
rem macte virtute esse and 7, 36,
5 macte virtute ... este.
10. abi, nuntia ... muniant:
cf. 22, 3, 13.
ment; privatim Q. Fabio L. Aemilio praeceptorum eius memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator collegae existam, ut alieno crine innocentiam meam protegam." Haec eos agentis prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantem, quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadruginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites, et tantadem prope civium sociorumque pars,

11. reus iterum: he had been consul in 219 with M. Livius Salinator. 22, 35, 3 damnatione collegae et sua prope ambustus evaserat; the charge was probably misuse of public funds or unfair distribution of the spoils acquired in the war against Demetrius of Pharos. — e: immediately after; cf. 1, 16, 2.

12. consulem: object of ignorantem as well as of obruere. — undique: not in all directions, but from all sides; this is a careless repetition of the statement in § 5, unless it is assumed that Livy, having finished his consideration of Paulus and his cavalry, now returns to the infantry and disposes of them with this brief statement; see on § 5.

14. quinquaginta fere: in 25, 6, 13 and in Polyb. 3, 117, 2, seventy is the number. — Venusiam: about thirty miles southwest of Cannae.

15. quadruginta . . . equites: the total number of killed given by ancient writers varies from 43,500 (Eutrop. 3, 10; 40,000 infantry, 3500 cavalry) to 70,000 (Polyb. 3, 117, 4). Plutarch and Appian (and Livy, 22, 59, 5 and elsewhere), speaking in round numbers, give 50,000; Quint. 8, 6, 26, gives 60,000. Cf. 27, 49, 6 for the Carthaginian loss at the Battle of the Metaurus River. — tantadem: a rare word except in the neut. sing. used as a substantive; not found elsewhere in Livy.

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caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militiae, consulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii — inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul fuerat —, octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate militae in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

1. 5. Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, ceterum uti eis quae post pugnam accidere levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitus servavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta securi sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

16. quaestores: for their duties see on 9, 5, 4. — undetriginta: there were in all 48, six for each of the eight legions; for their position see on 9, 2, 15. — consulares ... aedilicii: in app. with tribuni. — consul: in 221.

17. octoginta ... deberent: Eutrop. 3, 10, making no distinction between the military tribunes and those who were serving as private soldiers, gives the following statement: (perierunt) consulares aut praetorii xx, senatores capti aut occisi xxx, nobiles viri ccc. The periocha of this book says that 90 senators perished, and 30 who had been consuls, praetors, or aediles. — eos magistratus: consulship, praetorship, and curule aedileship; just when the plebeian aedile became eligible to the senate is doubtful. The appointment of senators was at this time in the hands of the censors, under certain restrictions prescribed by law.

50. 1. haec est pugna: cf. 22, 7, 1. — nobilitate: see on 9, 1, 1 nobilis.

2. uti ... sic: though ... yet; cf. 21, 29, 4.

BOOK XXIV

33. Inde terra marique simul coeptae oppugnari Syracusae, terra ab Hexapyle, mari ab Achradinia, cuius murus fluctu adluitur. Et quia, sicut Leontinos terrore ac primo impetu ceperant, non diffidebant vastam disiectamque spatium urbem parte aliqua se invasuros, omnem apparatum oppugnandarum urbium muris ad moverunt.

Frontin. Strat. 4, 5; 6 Varro collega eius vel maiore constantia post eandem cladem vixit gratiaeque ei a senatu et populo actae sunt, quod non desperasset rem publicam. Non autem vitae cupiditate, sed rei publicae amore se superfusisse reliquo aetatis suae tempore adprobavit; et barbam capillumque submisit et postea numquam recubans cibum cepit; honoribus quoque, cum ei deferrentur a populo, renuntiavit, dicens felicioribus magistratus rei publicae opus esse.

33. 9. coeptae: see on 2, 1, 4. — oppugnari: Hiero, king of Syracuse, the lifelong friend of Rome (see on 21, 1, 5), died in 216 and was succeeded by his grandson, Hieronymus, who allied himself with Carthage. On this account Marcellus, consul in 214, went at the end of that year or, possibly, at the beginning of the next to besiege the city. Marcellus himself commanded the fleet, the praetor, Appius Claudius, the land forces (Polyb. 8, 5, 2). — ab Hexapyle: i.e. the gate of that name, located on the northern side of the city, was the center of operations; for the use of ab see on 1, 24, 2. — Achradinia: the wide promontory, which, with the little peninsula of Ortygia, constituted the eastern part of the city. — murus . . . adluitur: the coast line of Achradinia is rocky and precipitous, but it was still further protected by a wall. — Leontinos: about twenty miles northwest of Syracuse. The capture of the town is described in the preceding chapters. — vastam . . . spatio: of great size and widely separated in its parts; in 25, 24, 6 Livy says of Syracuse, in vastae magnitudinis urbe partium sensu non satis pertinente in omn. For the language cf. 24, 2,
34. Et habuisset tanto impetu coepta res fortunam, nisi unus homo Syracusis ea tempestate fuisset. Archimedes is erat, unicus spectator caeli siderumque, mirabilior tamen inventor ac machinator bellicorum tormentorum operumque, quibus *quidquid* hostes ingenti mole agerent ipse perlevi momento ludicaretur. Muros per inaequalis ductos colles, pleraque alta et difficilia aditu, submissa quaedam et quae planis vallibus adiri possent, *ut* cuique aptum visum est loco, ita genere omni tormentorum instruxit. Achradinae murum, qui, ut ante dictum est, mari adluitur, sexaginta quinqueremibus Marcellus oppugnabat. Ex ceteris navibus sagittarii funditoresque et velites etiam, quorum telum ad remittendum inhabile imperitis est, vix quemquam sine vulnere consistere in muro patiebantur.

9 in vasta urbe lateque moenibus disiectis.—*invasuros*: would force themselves in; the verb often has this idea of hostile invasion.

34. 1. *et*: and in fact; for a similarly pregnant use of *et*, where the meaning is, however, somewhat different, see 2, 28, 8; in such cases the verb usually follows the conjunction immediately. — *fortunam*: success; cf. 27, 49, 4. — *tempestate* = *tempore*; see on 1, 5, 2.


with *colles*; for *pleraque* = the greater number, the majority, cf. 21, 35, 4. — *planis vallibus*: on level ground. This was true of only the extreme western part of the town and the narrow space between Achradina and the peninsula of Ortygia. At all other points the city was naturally protected.

5. *ceteris*: some; contrasted with *aliae* in § 6. *ceterae* and *aliae* are included in *sexaginta quinqueremes*. According to Polyb. 8, 6, 2 there were sixty vessels carrying light-armed troops and eight besides joined in pairs. — *velites*: armed with light javelins.

— *etiam*: emphasizing the surprising fact that they were fighting by sea. — *inhabile*: cf. 22, 46, 5 *habites*. 

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Hi, quia spatio missilibus opus est, procul muro tenebant 6 naves. Iunctae aliae binae quinqueremes, demptis interioribus remis, ut latus lateri adplicaretur, cum exteriore 7 ordine remorum velut una navis agerentur, turres contabulatas machinamentaque alia quatiendis muris portabant. Adversus hunc navaem apparatum Archimedes variae 8 magnitudinis tormenta in muris disposuit. In eas quae procul erant navis saxa ingenti pondere emittebat, propiores levioribus eoque magis crebris petebat telis; postremo, ut sui volnere intacti tela in hostem ingerent, murum ab imo ad summum crebris cubitalibus fere cavis aperuit, per quae cava pars sagittis, pars scorpionibus modicis ex occulto petebant hostem. Quaè propius [quae- 10 dam] subibant naves, quo interiores ictibus tormentorum essent, in eas tollenone super murum eminente ferrea

6. hi: referring to all the classes just mentioned.

7. contabulatas: built in stories. — machinamenta: a rare word, and, except here, not found in this sense before Tacitus. Livy uses elsewhere machina.—quatien- dis muris: with this dat. of purpose cf. 24, 33, 9 oppugnamandarum urbiwm.

9. intanti: unharmed and therefore not able to be harmed; cf. 2, 1, 4 inviolati and 9, 18, 17 invictus. — imo . . . summum . . . occulto: see on 1, 3, 2 certo. — cubitalibus: a cubit, i.e. one and a half Roman feet long. The Roman foot was a trifle less than the English foot. Polyb. 8, 7, 6 says, ζως ἀνδρομήκους ὑψος κατεπό- κνωσε τρήμασι τὸ τείχος ὅς πολαu-

στυίους (one fourth of a foot) τὸ μέγεθος κατὰ τὴν ἐκτὸς ἐπιφάνειαν. cubitalis, like many other adj. in -alis, is found first in Livy; e.g. 1, 28, 1 lustrale, used first by Livy in prose. — scorpionibus: different from the catapulta and the ballista; Veget. 4, 22 scorpiones dicebant quas nunc manuballistas vocant, ideo sic nuncupati quod parvis subtilibusque spiculis inferunt mortem.

10. quo . . . essent: that they might be too far in to be struck by the machines; 7, 10, 10 toloque corpore interior periculo vulneris factus insinuasset se inter corpus armaque. — in eas: used in anticipation of inieeta, and to be connected with it grammatically; pro- rae is added in a different but more
Bk. XXIV, Chap. 34] SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

manus, firmae catenae inligata, cum injecta prorae esset gravique libramento plumbi recellaret ad solum, suspensa prora navem in puppim statuebat; dein remissa subito velut ex muro cadentem navem cum ingenti trepidatione nautarum ita undae adfligebat, ut, etiamsi recta reciderat, aliquantum aquae acciperet. Ita maritima oppugnatio est elusa omnisque spes eo versa, ut totis viribus terra ad- grederentur. Sed ea quoque pars eodem omni apparatu tormentorum instructa erat Hieronis inipensis curaque per multos annos, Archimedes unica arte. Natura etiam adiu- vabat loci, quod saxum cui inposita muri fundamenta sunt magna parte ita proclive est, ut non solum missa tormento, sed etiam quae pondere suo provoluta essent, graviter in hostem inciderent. Eadem causa ad subeundum arduum aditum instabilemque ingressum praebebat. Ita consilio habito, quoniam omnis conatus ludibrio esset, absistere oppugnatione atque obsidendo tantum arcere terra marique commeatibus hostem placuit.

common construction with *inico*, to indicate the particular part of the boat which was seized by the hook. — *tollenone*: a derrick. — *libramento*: counterpoise. — *recell*eret*: the language is inexact. *manus* is the subject, but it was the end of the supporting beam (*tolleno*) inside the wall which descended to the ground, thus lifting the hook at the other end. — *prora*: ablative.

11. *remissa*: released, agreeing with *manus*, which is still the subject. This could be done by freeing the other end of the beam from the weight (*libramentum*). — *undae*: collective, as in 44, 33, 2 *venae in mare permanantes undae miserentur*; elsewhere only poetical in this use. — *recta*: upright; *i.e.* right side up; cf. 21, 36, 1.


14. *magna parte*: unusual, for the regular *magna ex parte*; cf. 9, 24, 12 *maxima parte*; *ex magna parte* and *partem magnam* (adverbial) are found rarely.

16. *ludibrio esset*: serving as a passive for *ludificor*; see § 2.

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BOOK XXV

Book XXV

Capture of Syracuse

31. Suppresso impetu militum ut iis qui in Achradina erant transfugis spatium locusque fugae datus est, Syracusanis tandem liber metu portis Achradinae apertis oratores ad Marcellum mittunt, nihil petentis alius quam incolumitatem sibi liberisque suis. Marcellus, consilio advocato et adhibitis etiam Syracusanis qui per seditiones pulsi ab domo intra praesidia Romana fuerant, respondit non plura per annos quinquaginta benefacta Hieronis quam paucis his annis maleficia eorum qui Syracusas tenuerint erga populum Romanum esse. Sed pleraque eorum quo debuerint reccidisse, foederumque ruptorum ipsos ab se graviros mucho, quam populus Romanus voluerit, poenas exegisse.

Book XXV. The siege began probably in 214 and, after continuing, according to Polybius, eight months, became a mere blockade. It was now the autumn of 212.

31. 1. militum: the Romans under Marcellus; they had already taken the island and a part of Achradina, when they were recalled, ne regiae opes, quorum fama maior quam res erat, diriperentur. — transfugis: Roman deserters in Achradina, who, knowing that there would be no pardon for them, had violently opposed surrender.

2. liberi metu: the deserters had terrified the Syracusans with stories of the treatment they would receive from the Romans. — portis...
5 Se quidem tertium annum circumscedere Syracusas, non ut populus Romanus servam eam civitatem haberet, sed ne transfugarum mercenariorumque duces captam et oppreserant. Quid potuerint Syracusani facere, exemplo vel eos esse Syracusanorum qui intra praesidia Romana fuerint, vel Hispanum ducem Moericum, qui praesidium tradiderit, vel ipsorum Syracusanorum postremo serum quidem, sed forte consilium. Sibi omnium laborum periculorumque circa moenia Syracusana terra marique tam diu exhaustorum nequaquam tanti eum fructum esse, quod capere Syracusas potuisset. Inde quaestor cum praesidio Nasum ad accipiendam pecuniam regiam custodiendamque missus. Achradina diripienda militi data est, custodibus divisis per domos eorum qui intra praesidia Romana fuerant. Cum multa irae, multa avaritiae foeda exempla ederentur: see introductory note. — servam: except with homo, rarely used before Livy as an adjective. — transfugarum: see on § 1.

6. qui . . . fuerint: see § 3. — praesidia: fortifications; praesidium: an armed post. The immediate repetition in a different sense is an evidence of carelessness. The word occurs in § 8 in a third sense and again in § 10 in still another sense. — Moericum: the commander in Achradina who opened the gate to the Romans.

7. sibi: contrasted with Syracusani in § 6. There Marcellus states what the Syracusans might have done; here he implies what he himself intends to do, i.e. plunder the town; this in answer to a request of an embassy sent a short time before, that he content himself with the mere capture of so great a city. — exhaustorum: cf. 21, 30, 9. — tanti: gen. of price, referring to omnium laborum . . . exhaustorum. — fructum: explained by the following clause.

8. Nasum: Νῆσος; the small peninsula known also as Insula and Ortygia. This is inconsistent with 24, 23, 4, where the treasure is said to have been transferred to Achradina. — pecuniam regiam: the treasure of Hiero and his grandson and successor, Hieronymus.

9. cum multa . . . exempla ederentur: while many instances were displayed; for exempla see on Praef. 10. — pavor: cf. 1, 29,
rentur, Archimeden memoriae proditum est in tanto tumultu, quantum pavor captae urbis in discursu diripientium militum ciere poterat, intentum formis, quas in pulvere descripserat, ab ignaro milite quis esset, interfектum; aegre id Marcel- tum tulisse sepulturaeque curam habitam, et propinquius etiam inquisitis honori praesideoque nomen ac memoriam eius fuisset. Hoc maxime modo Syracusae captae; in quibus praedae tantum fuit, quantum vix capta Carthagine tum fuisset, cum qua viribus aequis certabatur.

Book XXVI

Hannibal before the Walls of Rome. Fall of Capua.

9. Hannibal quo die Vulturnum est transgressus, haud procul a flumine castra posuit; postero die praeter Cales

2. — formis: Livy uses intentus also with ad (5, 46, 1) and in and once (24, 10, 4) with adversus; the dat. is found first in Livy. Val. Max. 8, 7, ext. 7 tells the story at greater length.

10. sepulturae . . . habitam: so Hannibal after the Battle of Trasumennus sought the body of Flaminius for the purpose of burial; 22, 7, 5. For this use of habere see on 5, 37, 4.

11. maxime: approximately; i.e. in regard to the chief facts; cf. 7, 30, 1. — quantum . . . fuisse: i.e. almost more than there would have been in Carthage, if Carthage had been taken at that time. capita is equivalent to a non-occurrence protasis in past time. tum is contrasted with a time when the wealth of Carthage was not so great; in 212 she was at the height of her power. — cum . . . certabatur: added to emphasize the statement about the wealth of Syracuse; it was as great as that of a city which was fighting on equal terms with Rome.


In the year 211 the Romans were giving their attention chiefly to the siege of Capua. Hannibal,
in agrum Sidicinum pervenit. Ibi diem unum populando moratus per Suessanum Allisanumque et Casinatem agrum via Latina ducit. Sub Casino biduo stativa habita et pas-sim populationes factae. Inde praeter Interamnam Aqui-numque in Fregellanum agrum ad Lirim fluvium ventum, ubi intercisum pontem a Fregellani morandi itineris causa invenit. Et Fulvium Vulturum tenuerat amnis, navibus having come from Bruttium in the hope of relieving his allies, was repulsed in his assault upon the Roman camp. He then determined to attack Rome itself, thinking that, even if he did not take the city, he would at least cause the Roman army, or a part of it, to abandon the siege of Capua in order to protect Rome.


2. Caless: this town and Te-num, the chief city of the Sidicini, were both on the Via Latina. — Suessanum Allisanumque: Suessa Aurunca was in southern Latium, at some distance from the road on the west, while Allifae was still farther distant to the east, in Sam-nium. We must understand that the domain of these towns extended as far as the road, or that Hannibal left the road for the purpose of plundering; see on § 3 Interamnam. — Casinum: Casinum was on the Via Latina. — via Latina: branching from the Via Appia about half a mile out-side the Porta Capena, it passed through central Latium into northern Campania and at Casilinum on the Vulturum again joined the Via Appia. — sub: near; but used in this sense only with names of places which are in an elevated position. — biduo: for the abl. see on 9, 3, 10 quibus. — stativa: see on 21, 35, 5.

3. praeter Interamnam . . . agrum: Interamna was on the Liris south of the road, which at this point runs almost due west; that Hannibal passed the town at a distance is indicated by the fact that the Liris is not mentioned till he reaches the neighborhood of Fregellae. Aquinum was on the road; Fregellae was a short distance to the north. The road crossed the Liris about six miles west of Aquinum.

4. Fulvium: proconsul and, according to Livy, one of the commanders of the Roman army at Capua, who, with 15,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, was now hastening to Rome by the Via Appia. Polybius does not mention Ful-vius as a commander at Capua,
ab Hannibale incensis, rates ad traiciendum exercitum in
magna inopia materiae aegre comparantem. Traiecto ra-
tibus exercitu relicum Fulvio expeditum iter non per urbes
modo sed circa viam expositis benigne commeatibus erat,
alacresque milites alius alium, ut adderet gradum memor
ad defendendam iri patriam, hortabantur. Romam Fregel-
lanus nuntius diem noctemque itinere continuato ingentem
attulit terrem; tumultuosius quam quod adlatum erat,
concursus hominum adfingentium vana auditis totam urbem
concitat. Ploratus mulierum non ex privatis solum domibus
exaudiebatur, sed undique matronae in publicum effusae
circa deum delubra discurrunt, crinibus passis aras verren-
tes, nixae genibus, supinas manus ad caelum ac deos ten-

and says nothing of the with-
drawal of this force. — in: for
this use, indicating cause, cf. 1,
27, 7. 5. circa: on both sides of; cf.
9, 6, 4. — adderet gradum: a com-
mon idiom, meaning, literally, to
add a step to the ordinary num-
ber,— i.e. to step more quickly.
6. diem noctemque: cf. 26, 27,
4 nocte ac die continuum incen-
dium fuit. Fregellae was about
sixty miles from Rome. Polybius
and Livy do not agree on this point.
Polybius does not mention this
messenger, but says that Hannibal
appeared before the walls of Rome
unexpected; that the Romans be-
lieved that he had destroyed their
army at Capua. Livy, on the
other hand, besides mentioning
the warning from Fregellae, de-
scribes in chap. 8 the deliberations
of the senate when they were in-
formed by a letter from Capua that
Hannibal was planning to advance
upon Rome. — tumultuosius: qualifi-
cing concitat, and giving at the
same time the result of the action
of the verb; i.e. stirs the city to
greater confusion. — quod adla-
tum erat: sc. urbem concitaverat;
 i.e. it was the crowd of people ex-
aggerating the report, more than
the report itself, which alarmed
the city.

7. ploratus mulierum: see on
1, 29, 5; ploratus is used regularly
of women and children; cf. 26, 13,
13. — in publicum: cf. 2, 23, 8
and see on 9, 7, 11. — aras: i.e.
the foot or steps of the altars; cf.
3, 7, 8 statuae passim matres cri-
nibus templae verrentes. — nixae
genibus: the position for prayer
differed in the various cults, but

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dentes orantesque ut urbem Romanam e manibus hostium eriperent matresque Romanas et liberos parvos inviolatos servarent. Senatus magistratibus in foro praeesto est, si quid consulere velit. Alii accipiunt imperia disceduntque ad suas quisque officiorum partes, alii offerunt se, si quo usus operaee sit. Praesidia in arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem, in monte etiam Albano atque arce Aefulana ponuntur. Inter hunc tumultum Q. Fulvium proconsulem profectum cum exercitu Capua adfertur; cui ne minueretur imperium, si in urbem venisset, decernit senatus ut Q. Fulvio par cum consulibus imperium esset. Hannibal infestius perpopulato agro Fregellano propter intercisos pontis, per Frusinatem Ferentinatemque et Anagninum agrum in Labi-

this appears to have been the original Italian custom.

8. supinas: see on 3, 50, 5. — urbem Romanam . . . matresque Romanas: the repetition of the adj. gives greater emphasis than if the usual urbem Roman had been used; cf. 21, 35, 9.

9. in foro: i.e. in the Curia (cf. 27, 50, 4) or in the Senaculum, a place in or near the Comitium where the senators assembled before entering the senate-house. — quid: adv. acc. or, possibly, object of consulere; see on 2, 28, 2. — si quo: if in any direction. — in arce, in Capitolio: see on 5, 39, 9. — monte . . . Albano: about fifteen miles from Rome, between the Via Appia and the Via Latina.

— arce Aefulana: probably a hill near the town of Aefula, about sixteen miles east of Rome.

10. Fulvium: see on § 4. — Capua: usually in Livy with the preposition; see on 1, 27, 4. — cui . . . imperium: the power of a proconsul was confined to the region to which he had been assigned; in Rome he was a private citizen. — par cum consulibus: for the brachylogy see on 2, 27, 4; cf. 10, 24, 16 ut ita sortem aequam sibi cum collega dent, and 30, 27, 5 parique imperio cum P. Scipione imperatore esset.

11. Hannibal . . . : resuming the narrative after the interruption of §§ 4–10. — per Frusinatem . . . Labicanum: these towns, — Frusino, Ferentinum, Anagnia, and Labici, — were all on or near the Via Latina. The last was about fifteen miles from Rome.

12. Algido: abl. of the way by which. Tusculum was on Mt.
BOOK XXVI

10. In hoc tumultu Fulvius Flaccus porta Capena cum exercitu Romam ingressus media urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit; inde egressus inter Esquilinam Collinamque portam posuit castra. Aediles plebis commeatum eo con-portarunt. Consules senatusque in castra venerunt. Ibi de summa re publica consultatum. Placuit consules circa portas Collinam Esquilinamque ponere castra, C. Calpur-

Algidas (cf. 3, 44, 2) about three miles southwest of Labici. At this point Hannibal leaves the Via Latina. — moenibus: locative ablative; cf. 9, 7, 9 urbe tectis. — infra: rarely used with verbs of motion. — Gabios: on the Via Gabina or Praenestina about ten miles from Rome. — Pupiniam: a town of doubtful location, according to Festus, p. 233, between Tusculum and Rome. — demisso: led down; cf. 9, 2, 9.

13. aetatim: for the form cf. 9, 17, 7.

10. 1. porta Capena: for the construction see on 26, 9, 12 Algidos; so also media urbe. — Carinas: the western slope of the Oppian Hill, which is the southern part of the Esquiline. — Esquilias: for the construction see on 2, 28, 1. — inde egressus: by the Porta Esquilina, which was in the middle of the eastern side of the city at the southern end of the Servian agger. The Porta Collina was at the northeastern corner of the city at the northern end of the agger. The camp was between these gates outside the wall.

2. aediles plebis: see on 6, 42, 13. — consules . . . venerunt: a meeting of the senate in such a place was very unusual; the senate met regularly in the Curia or in some temple; for a similar irregularity see 45, 1, 8. — de summa re publica: concerning the welfare of the state; cf. 38, 50, 9. — circa: near; cf. 9, 2, 1. Polyb. 9, 6, 5 says that one consular army (two legions) had already been enrolled and the other was being enlisted on that very day.
nium praetorem urbanum Capitolio atque arci praesesse et senatum frequentem in foro contineri, si quid in tam subitis rebus consullo opus esset.

3 Inter haec Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium tria milia passuum ab urbē castra ad movit. Ibi stativis positis ipse cum duobus milibus equitum ad portam Collinam usque ad Hercules templum est progressus atque, unde proxime poterat, moenia situmque urbis obequitanus contemplabatur. Id eum tam licenter atque oiose facere Flacco indignum visum est; itaque inmisit equites submoverique atque in castra redigi hostium quietatum iussit. Cum commissum proelium esset, consules transfugas Numidarum, qui tum in Aventino ad mille et ducenti erant, media urbe transire

6 Esquilius iussuerunt, nulos aptiores inter convales tectaque

3. From this point through chap. 11 Livy's narrative is not supported by Polybius and Appian; they say only that Hannibal, having come close to the walls, departed, and on his departure was attacked by the consul, Sulpicius (or, according to Appian, by the proconsul, Fulvius). — stativis: see on 21, 35. 5.— ad . . . usque ad: toward . . . as far as; indicating respectively the general direction and the exact point. — Hercules templum: the exact location is doubtful, but during the construction of the building for the Ministry of Finance an inscription was found recording the restoration of the temple. Pliny 34, 32 says that Hannibal threw a spear over the wall.

5. ad mille et ducenti: ad is used adverbially without effect on the construction, when the hundreds are preceded by mille or milia; otherwise it is a preposition.

— Esquilius: not object of the verb, but acc. of limit of motion, as in § 1. The Esquiline consists of a plateau with two projections toward the west, the northern being known as Mons Cispinum, the southern as Mons Oppius; the greater part of the plateau was outside the Servian Wall, and it was to this part that the Numidians were sent to drive away the enemy's cavalry.

6. convales tectaque hortorum: cf. 33, 6, 7 magnum utrisque impedimentum ad rem gerendam fuit ager consitus crebris arboribus hortique, ut in suburbanis locis, et coartata itinera maceriis et
HORTORUM ET SEPULCRA ET CAVAS UNDIQUE VIAS AD PUGNANDUM FUTUROS RATI. QUOS CUM EX ARCE CAPITOLIOQUE CLIVO PUBLIO IOE IN EQUIS DECURRENTIS QUIDAM VIDISSENT, CAPTUM AVEN- 
TINUM CONCLAMAVERUNT. EA RES TANTUM TUMULTUM AC FUGAM 7 
PRAEBUIT, UT, NISI CASTRA PUNICA EXTRA URBEM FUISSENT, EFFU-
SURE SE OMNIS PAVIDA MULTITUDO FUERIT; TUNC IN DOMOS ATQUE 
IN TECTA REFUGIEBANT VAGOSQUE IN VIIS SUOS PRO HOSTIBUS LAPI-
DIBUS TELISQUE INCESSEBANT. NEC CONPRIMI TUMULTUS API-
RIGUE ERROR POTERAT REFERTIS ITINERIBUS AGRESTIUM TURBA 
PECORUMQUE, QUAE REPENTINUS PAVOR IN URBEM CONPULERAT.
EQUESTRE PROELIUM SECUNDUM FUIT, SUBMOTIQUE HOSTES SUNT. 8 
ET QUIA MULTIS LOCIS CONPRIMENDI TUMULTUS ERANT, QUI TEMERE 
ORIEBANTUR, PLACUIT OMNES, QUI DICTATORES, CONSULES CENSU-
RESVE FUISSENT, CUM IMPERIO ESSE, DONEC RECESSISSET A MURIS 
HOSTIS. ET DIELI QUOD RELIQUIUM FUIT ET NOCTE INSEQUENTI 
MULTI TEMERE EXCITATI TUMULTUS SUNT CONPRESSIONE.

II. POSTERO DIE TRANSGRESSUS ANIENEM HANNIBAL IN ACIEM 9
OMNIS COPIAS EDUXIT; NEC FLACCU CONSULESQUE CERTAMEN DETER-
TACVARE. INSTRUCTIS UTRIMQUE EXERCITIBUS IN EIUSS PUGNAE 
2

QUIBUSDAM LOCIS INTERCLUSA. CON-
VALLES WERE NATURAL DEPRESSIONS. — 7. FUERIT: SUBJ. BECAUSE IT IS A 
SEPULCRA: THE ROADS LEADING FROM 
THE CITY WERE BORDERED WITH TOMBS 1 CLAUSE OF RESULT; SEE ON 2, 1, 3. — 10. QUOD RELIQUIUM FUIT: THE 
FOR SOME DISTANCE OUTSIDE THE WALL. 8. TINCT: AS IT WAS; SEE ON 21, 34, 8. — 11. I. TRANSGRESSUS: HIS CAMP, 
— CAVAS VIAS: THE ADJ. IS NOT INAP-
PROPRIATELY APPLIED EITHER TO A ROAD 9. EQUESTRE PROELIUM: THE ONE 
INCLOSED BETWEEN BUILDINGS OR, AS 8. AGRESTES OF § 8. — IN THIS CASE, TO ONE Bordered BY 
IN THIS CASE, TO ONE Bordered BY 10. NOCTE. 
GARDENS AND VINEYARDS. THE ADV. 11. 1. TRANSGRESSUS: HIS CAMP, 
UNDIQUE IS USED ATTRIBUTIVALLY. — EX 12. THEREFORE, WAS ON THE RIGHT BANK; 
ARCE CAPITOLIOQUE: CONNECT WITH CF. 26, 13, 11. 
VIDISSENT. — CLIVO PUBLIO: THE 12. IN . . . CASUM: EXPRESSING 
ROAD BY WHICH THEY DESCENDED PURPOSE; TO DETERMINE THE RESULT 
FROM THE AVETINE TO THE FORUM 12. TO DETERMINE THE RESULT 
BARIOREM.
casum, in qua urbs Roma victori praemium esset, imber ingens grandine mixtus ita utramque aciem turbavit, ut vix armis retentis in castra sese receperint nullius rei minore quam hostium metu. Et postero die eodem loco acies instructas eadem tempestas diremit. Vbi recepissent se in castra, mira serenitas cum tranquillitate oriebatur. In religionem ea res apud Poenos versa est, auditaque vox Hannibalis fertur, potiundae sibi urbis Romae modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam. Minuere etiam spem eius duae aliae, parva magnaque, res; magna illa, quod, cum ipse ad moenia urbis Romae armatus sederet, milites sub vexillis in supple-
mentum Hispaniae prefectos audiit; parva autem, quod per eos dies eum forte agrum in quo ipse castra haberet venisse, nihil ob id deminuto pretio, cognitum ex quodam captivo est. Id vero adeo superbum atque indignum visum, eius soli quod ipse bello captum possideret haberetque inventum Romae emptorem, ut extemplo vocato praecone

of the battle, casum indicating the uncertainty of the result; 4, 39, 3 tendunt in quenuncumque casum.— receperint: for the tense see on 1, 3, 4 ausi sint.

3. recepissent: iterative; see on 3, 36, 8.

4. in religionem . . . versa est: i.e. was explained as a warning from the gods; for the meaning of religio cf. 5, 40, 8 and 10.—mentem: idea, inclination.

5. sub vexillis: the vexillum was a piece of cloth hanging from a horizontal bar attached to a pole. It was the regular standard of veterans retained in the service and of detachments assigned to a special duty; here either in the latter sense, or, since in the republican period vexilla were sometimes attached to signa, referring to the ordinary standards of the maniples.—in supplementum Hispaniae: to fill up the quota for Spain; with this use of in cf. § 2 in . . . casum. Hispaniae is dat. of interest, taking the place of the more usual construction with supplementum, in with acc., to avoid repetition.

7. indignum: see on 22, 45, 4.—possideret: held; haberet: owned; cf. 21, 43, 6. The two words, together with captum, form a logical climax.—praecone: to
tabernas argentarias, quae circa forum Romanum essent, iussit venire. His motus ad Tutiam fluvium castra rettulit sex milia passuum ab urbe. Inde ad lucum Feroniae pergit ile, templum ea tempestate inclutum divitiis. Capenates alique qui accolae eius erant, primitias frugum eo donaque alia pro copia portantes, multo auro argentoque id exornatum habebant: Iis omnibus donis tum spo-liatum templum. Aeris acervi, cum rudera milites religione induti iacerent, post prefectionem Hannibalis magni

serve as auctioneer.—tabernas: see on 3, 48, 5.—circa: as the tabernae argentariae were on only the north side of the Forum, circa must mean here alone or by the side of, as in 5, 38, 8; cf. 45, 2, 8.

8. Tutiam: the location is doubtful; possibly it was a small stream, known in the Middle Ages as Tusia, flowing into the Anio about six miles from Rome; on the other hand, Sil. Ital. 13, 5 says that the Tusia flowed into the Tiber.—Feroniae: a goddess of flowers and of the emancipation of slaves, worshiped by Sabines, Etruscans, and Latins; she had a famous shrine in southeastern Etruria at the foot of Mt. Soracte. —pergit ille: see on 9, 2, 8.—templum: in app. with locum, justified by the fact that the temple was the chief thing in the grove.

9. Capenates: the town of Capena was near Mt. Soracte.—accolae eius: sc. templi; neighbors of the temple.—pro copia: according to their ability.—id: somewhat harsh, following eius and the adv. eo.—exornatum habebant: i.e. they possessed it, embellished, etc. The meaning is quite different from that which exornaerant would have given; but see on 21, 40, 5 capta...habetis. Sil. Ital. 13, 86 says of this temple, fama est intactas longaevi ab origine fani crevisse...inmensum per tempus opes.—spoliatum: supporting Livy's description of Hannibal in 21, 4, 9 nihil sancti.—cum ...iacerent: as the soldiers, affected by remorse, threw in masses of copper.—rudera: these were shapeless lumps of copper, such as were used in the earliest times for money; in a later form, still rude but of more definite shape, they were called aes rude, in distinction from aes signatum, coined money. This offering of rudera or aes rude to the gods was a custom which survived long after they had gone out of use as money. Whether or not Livy is ironical in religione induti is doubtful, but he can hardly have failed to note the absurdity of the
inventi. Huius populatio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est. Coelius Romam euntem ab Ereto devertisse eo Hannibalem tradit iterque eius ab Reate Cutiliisque et ab Amiterno orditur; ex Campania in Samnium, inde in Paelignos pervenisse praeterque oppidum Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse, inde Albensi agro in Marsos, hinc Amiternum Forulosque vicum venisse. Neque ibi error est, quod tanti ducis tantique exercitus vestigia intra tam brevis aevi memoriam potuerint confundiri — isse enim ea constat —, tantum id interest, veneritne eo itinere ad urbem, an ab urbe in Campaniam redierit.

unfair exchange effected by the soldiers.

10. Coelius: see Introd. 4. Livy means that Coelius is the only one who maintains that Hannibal visited the temple on his way to Rome. — ab Ereto: for this use of the prep. see on 1, 27, 4. Ereton was about seventeen miles northeast of Rome. — eo: to the temple. — iterque ... orditur: i.e. according to Coelius, starting from Amiternum, he went to Cutiliae and Reate, and from there to Ereton. Livy names the places in inverse order. They are all in the Sabine country, Amiternum near its eastern border. — Reate Cutiliisque: this close connection and the omission of the prep. with Cutiliis are due to the fact that it was included in the domain of Reate; cf. § 11 Amiternum Forulosque.

11. ex Campania ... : the route from Capua to Amiternum, as given by Coelius, is here described. — Sulmonem: in the country of the Paeligni. — in Marrucinos: it would be difficult to discover a reason for such a circuitous course and particularly for this digression into the country of the Marrucini on the eastern coast of Italy. — Albensi ... Marsos: i.e. back again to the west through the country of the Paeligni into that of the Marsi by way of the town of Alba Fucens. There is confusion here, as this town is west of the Marsi in the country of the Aequi. — Forulos: probably a few miles southwest of Amiternum.

12. ibi = in ea re; cf. 3, 49, 3. — error: uncertainty; cf. 1, 24, 1. — brevis aevi: Coelius wrote in the latter part of the second century B.C., about a century after the events here described. — confundi: effaced.

13. in Campaniam: according to 26, 12, 3 and Polyb. 9, 7 Hannibal did not return to Campania.
12. Ceterum non quantum Romanis pertinaciae ad premendam obsidione Capuam fuit, tantum ad defendendam Hannibali. Namque *per Samnium Apulumque* et Lucanos in Bruttium agrum ad fretum ac Regium eo cursu contendit, ut prope repentina adventu incautos oppresserit. Capua et si nihil segnius obsessa per eos dies fuerat, tamen adventum Flacci sensit, et admiratio orta est non simul regressum Hannibalem. Inde per colloquia intellexerunt relictos se desertosque et spem Capuae retinendae deploratam apud Poenos esse. Accessit edictum proconsulis ex senatus consulto propositum vulgatumque apud hostis, ut qui civis Campanus ante certam diem transisset, sine fraude esset. Nec ulla facta est transitio, metu magis eos quam fide continent, quia maiora in defectione deliquerant.

Livy evidently speaks carelessly here, thinking of southern Italy.


12. *Regium*: this town had remained loyal to Rome and had repulsed the repeated attacks of Hannibal. — *eo cursu*: so rapidly.

3. *per eos dies*: during the absence of Flaccus. — *sensit*: felt; because the siege was prosecuted with renewed energy.

4. *deploratam*: for the meaning see on 5, 40, 6.

5. *proconsulis*: Flaccus; he had secured the passage of the decree when he was in Rome. Flaccus was practically in sole command of the Roman army before Capua, as his colleague, Appius Claudius, had been wounded during the siege. — *civis Campanus*: the inhabitants of the surrounding country were citizens of Capua and many had taken refuge within the walls of the capital; 25, 22, 11 *consilium litterae a P. Cornelio praetore missae, ut, priusquam clauderent Capuam operibus, pestis Campanis facerent, ut qui eorum vellent exirent a Capua suasque res secum ferrent: liberos fore suae omnia habituros.* — *transisset*: to the Romans. — *fraude*: injury, as a result of deception; might be confident of safety.

6. *nec*: *but not*; cf. 1, 27, 1. — *metu*: of the Romans; *fide*: loyalty to Capua. — *quia ... posset*: because in their revolt they had
7 quam quibus ignosci posset. Ceterum quem ad modum
nemo privato consilio ad hostem transibat, ita nihil salu-
tare in medium consulebatur. Nobilitas rem publicam
deseruerant neque in senatum cogi poterant; in magistratu
erat qui non sibi honorem adiecisset, sed indignitate sua
vim ac ius magistratui quem gerebat dempsisset; iam ne
9 in foro quidem aut publico loco principum quisquam
adparebat; domibus inclusi patriae occasum cum suo
exitio in dies expectabat; summa curae omnis in Bos-
tarem Hannonemque, praefectos prae sidii Punici, versa
erat, suo, non sociorum periculo sollicitos. Ii conscriptis
ad Hannibalem letteris non libere modo sed etiam asperse,
quibus non Capuam solam traditam in manum hostibus,
sed se quoque et praesidium in omnis cruciatus proditos
incusabant: abisse eum in Bruttios velut avertentem sese,
ne Capua in oculis eius caperetur; at hercule Romanos ne
oppugnatione quidem urbis Romanae abstrahi a Capua

committed crimes too great to be
given. Capua had revolted to
Hannibal in 216, after the battle
of Cannae; see 26, 13, 5 f.

7. quem ad modum . . . ita:
for the usual ut . . . ita.—in me-
dium: for the general good.

8. deseruerant: for the number
see on 21, 27, 9.—magistratu: i.e.
the highest magistracy, the incum-
bent being called by the Capuans
medix tuticus. The man who then
held the office, Seppius Loesius, is
described in 26, 6, 13 ff.—qui
. . . adiecisset . . . dempsisset:
clauses of characteristic.

9. domibus: the common con-
struction with includo in Livy,
though he uses also in with the
ablative and in with the accusa-
tive.

10. summa curae omnis . . .
versa erat: the administration of
all business had fallen upon; for
this use of summa cf. 21, 1, 1.

11. ii: the insertion of the
contents of the letter causes this
word to be forgotten, and it is
left without predicate.—libere:
outright. hostibus: depending
upon the whole expression, tradi-
tam in manum.—in . . . crucia-
tus proditos: cf. 22, 44, 7.

12. in oculis: Livy uses also
ante oculos and sub oculis in the
same sense.
obsidenda potuisse; tanto constantiorem inimicum Rom—anum quam amicum Poenum esse. Si redeat Capua bellumque omne eo vertat, et se et Campanos paratos eruptioni fore. Non cum Reginis neque Tarentinis bellum gesturos transisse Alpis; ubi Romanae legiones sint, ibi et Carthaginians exercitus debere esse. Sic ad Cannas, sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam coeundo conquerundoque cum hoste castra, fortunam temptando. In hanc sententiam litterae conscriptae Numidis proposita mercede eam professis operam dantur. H specie transfugarum cum ad Flaccum in castra venissent, ut inde tempore capto abirent, famosque, quae iam diu Capuae erat, nulli non probabilem causam transitionis faceret, mulier repente Campana in castra venit, scortum transfugarum unius, indicatque imperatori Romano Numidas fraude composita transisse littersaque ad Hannibalem.

14. Tarentinis: Tarentum was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal in 212. The Roman garrison, which still held the citadel, was besieged by the Carthaginians for two years, until it was relieved by the Roman general, Fabius, who besieged and took the city. — gesturos: this use of the fut. part. with a verb of motion to express purpose is common in Livy, but is found only once in Cicero and not at all in Caesar. — Romanae legiones: the order is unusual but gives the required emphasis. — cum hoste: connect with coeundo as well as with conquerundo; with the latter verb it is a case of brachylogy for cum castris hostium; see on 2, 27, 4. For conquerundo castra cf. 27, 47, 6.

15. in hanc sententiam: cf. 21, 28, 7 pontis in modum. — eam professis operam: who had volunteered for this work. — tempore capto: when they found opportunity; cf. 3, 9, 7 insidiatum eum et tempore capto adortum rem publicam. — nulli ... faceret: made their reason for desertion seem to every one plausible.

16. transfugarum unius: the gen. with unus occurs often in Livy; also ex with the abl., as in §17. — fraude composita: i.e. they had previously agreed upon a course of action.
ferre: id unum ex iis, qui sibi rem aperuisset, arguere sese paratam esse. Productus primo satis constanter, ignorare se mulierem simulabat; paulatim dein convictus veris, cum tormenta posci et parari videret, fassus id ita esse, litterae-que prolatae, et additum etiam indicio, quod celabatur, et alios specie transfugarum Numidias vagari in castris Romanis. Il supra septuaginta comprensi et cum transfugis novis mulcati virgis manibusque praecisis Capuam rediguntur. Conspectum tam triste supplicium fregit animos Campanorum.

13. Concursus ad curiam populi factus coegit Loesium senatum vocare; et primoribus, qui iam diu publicis consiliis aberant, propalam minabantur, nisi venirent in senatum, circa domos eorum ituros se et in publicum omnis vi extracturos esse. Is timor frequentem senatum magistratu praebuit. Ibi cum ceteri de legatis mittendis ad imperatores Romanos agerent, Vibius Virrius, qui defectionis auctor ab Romanis fuerat, interrogatus sententiam negat.

17. id unum: two accusatives with arguere, to accuse.—fassus: sc. est.
18. etiam: emphasizing the fact that this was an unexpected addition. The subject of additum (est) is the clause et alios ... Romanis, which is also the antecedent of quod.
19. manibusque praecisis: a Carthaginian spy found in Rome in 217 was treated in the same way.
13. r. concursus ... coegit: cf. 26, 9, 6.—ad curiam: connect with concursus factus; a crowd gathered at the senate-house; cf. 22, 7, 6.—consiliis: with abesse, in the sense to be absent, Livy sometimes uses the abl. alone (cf. the common formula in 9, 19, 15), when the substantive is not of strictly local meaning; in the latter sense, except where procul is used, he has the abl. with the preposition.—circa domos: cf. 21, 49, 7 circa civilitates missi legati; 27, 51, 7.—in publicum: see on 2, 23, 8.—is timor: fear of this; see on 21, 46, 7.
2. auctor: his argument is given in 23, 6, 1 f.—ab Romanis: used attributively with defectionis; cf. 27, 45, 8 ex hostibus and see on 1,
eos, qui de legatis et de pace ac deditione loquantur, memi-
nisse nec quid facturi fuerint, si Romanos in potestate
habuissent, nec quid ipsis patiendum sit. "Quid! vos" 4
inquit "eam deditionem fore censetis, qua quondam, ut
adversus Samnites auxilium impetraremus, nos nostraque
omnia Romanis dedidimus? Iam e memoria excessit, quo
tempore et in qua fortuna a populo Romano defecerimus?
iam, quem ad modum in defectione praesidium, quod po-
terat emitti, per cruciatum et ad contumeliam necarimus?
quotiens in obsidentis quam inimice eruperimus, castra 6
oppugnarimus, Hannibalem vocaverimus ad opprimendos
eos? hoc quod recentissimum est, ad oppugnandam
Romam hinc eum miserimus? Age contra, quae illi in-
feste in nos fecerint repetite, ut ex eo quid speretis habeatis.
Cum hostis alienigena in Italia esset, et Hannibal hostis,
et cuncta bello arderent, omissis omnibus, omisso ipso

25, 11. — *interrogatus*: *rogare* is
more usual in this connection.

3. *facturi fuerint*: representing
*facturis fuerunt*; see on 2, 1, 3.

4. *eam* = *talem*. — *dedidimus*:
see 7, 30, 17 ff.

5. *quo tempore*: cf. 2, 23, 5
in quo suo tempore.— *in qua for-
tuna*: sc. *populi Romani*; referring
in general to the war with
Hannibal, and particularly to the
recent defeat at Cannae. The
prep. is rarely used in phrases of
this sort; but cf. 38, 50, 1 *dimili-
titur senatus in ea opinione.*— *in
defectione* . . . *necarimus*: see 26,
12, 6; 23, 7, 3 *nam praefectos
socium civisque Romanos alios,*
*partim aliquo militiae munere*
occupatos, *partim privatis negotiis
implicitos, plebs repente omnis con-
prehensos velut custodiae causa
balneis includit iussit, ubi fervore
atque auster anima interclusa fo-
dum in modum expirarunt. The
murder of the Roman garrison is
mentioned again in 31, 31, 12.

two indirect questions are here
combined.— *hoc*: nom., subject of
*ea memoria excessit*, anticipating
the next question, with which
*quam inimice* must be supplied.

7. *age*: see on 2, 29, 11.—
*repetite*: sc. *memoria*, which is
rarely omitted when the verb is
used in this sense.— *ut* . . . *ha-
beatis*: *that you may have some-*
Hannibale, ambo consules et duo consulares exercitus ad 8 Capuam oppugnandam miserunt. Alterum annum circum-
vallatos inclusuque nos fame macerant, et ipsi nobiscum 
ultima pericula et gravissimos labores perpessi, circa val-
lum ac fossas saepe trucidati ac prope ad extremum castris 
exuti. Sed omitto haec; vetus atque usitata res est in op-
pugnanda hostium urbe labores ac pericula pati. Illud iura 
atque odi execrabilis inespiabilisque indicium est: Hanni-
bal ingentibus copiis peditem equitumque castra oppugna-
it et ex parte cepit; tanto periculo nihil moti sunt ab 
obsidione; prefectus trans Vulturum perussit Calenum 
agrum; nihil tanta sociorum clade avocati sunt; ad ipsam 
urbem Romam infesta signa ferri iussit; eam quoque tem-
pestatem inminentem spreverunt; transgressus Aniem 
ammem tria milia passum ab urbe castra posuit, postremo 
ad moenia ipsa et ad portas accessit, Romam se ademp-
turum eius, nisi omitterent Capuam, ostendit; non omise-

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9. *execrabilis*: used here in an active sense; hatred that contains a curse; 31, 17, 9 *praecunctibus execrable carmen sacerdotibus.*

10. *ingentibus...equitumque*: he had, however, left all his heavy-
armed troops in Bruttium. — *ex parte cepit*: this is an exaggera-
tion; in 26, 5, 11 Livy says *cohus Hispanorum cum tribus elephantis usque ad vallum pervasit rupe-
ratque medium aciem Romanorum et in ancipiti spe ac periculo erat, utrum in castra pertumperet an intercluderetur a suis.*

11. The argument is this: the Romans like wild beasts were assailing Capua; but they were even
BOOK XXVI

[Chap. 13]

runt. Feras bestias, caeco impetu ac rabie concitatas, si ad cubilia et catulos earum ire pergas, ad opem suis ferrendam avertas; Romanos Roma circumsessa, coniuges, liberi, quorum ploratus hinc prope. exaudiebantur, araee, foci, deum delubra, sepulca maiorum temerata ac violata a Capua non averterunt; tanta aviditas supplici expetendi, tanta sanguinis nostri hauriendi est sitis. Nec inuria forsit; nos quoque idem fecissemus, si data fortuna esset. Itaque quoniam aliter dis inmortalibus est visum, cum mortem ne recusare quidem debeam, cruciatus contumeliasque, quas parat hostis, dum liber, dum mei potens sum, effugere morte, praeterquam honesta, etiam leni possum. Non videbo Ap. Claudium et Q. Fulvium victoria insolenti subnixos neque vinctus per urbem Romanam triumphi spectaculum trahar, ut deinde in carcere expirem aut ad palum deligatus lacerato virgis tergo cervicem securi Romanae subiciam; nec dirui incendique patriam videbo nec

more savage and more persistent than beasts, which was proved by the fact that they did not leave Capua to defend their homes. — ire pergas: cf. 9, 2, 8.

13. ploratus: see on 26, 9, 7.— foci: Forp. on Hor. Epod. 2, 43 ara deorum penatium est focus.— sepulca maiorum: in the same class as the shrines of the gods, since ancestors were more or less definitely deified and their tombs were sanctuaries for their worship. — temerata: used only here by Livy.— sanguinis hauriendi: see 9, 1, 9.

14. quoniam: introducing as a reason an accomplished fact, whereas the following cum clause is concessive.— ne recusare quidem: by no means to avoid; i.e. though I must die in any case. ne . . . quidem has a somewhat unusual sense. — honesta . . . leni: chiastically referring to cruciatus contumeliasque.

15. Ap. Claudium: see on 26, 12, 5.— subnixos: exulting in.— carcere: the triumphal procession marched along the Sacra Via, and, when it reached the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus, some of the principal captives were taken to the carcere at the northwest corner of the Forum and put to death; on the announcement of their death
rapi ad stuprum matres Campanas virginesque et ingenuos pueros. Albam, unde ipsi oriundi erant, a fundamentis proruerunt, ne stirpis, ne memoria originum suarum ex-taret; nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam, cui infestiores quam Carthagini sunt. Itaque quibus vestrum ante fato cedere quam haec tot tam acerba videant, in animo est, iis apud me hodie epulae instructae parataeque sunt. Satiatis vino ciboque poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit, circumferetur; ea potio corpus a cruciatu, animum a contumeliis, oculos, auris a videndis audiendisque omnibus acerbis indignisque, quae manent victos, vindicabit. Para-rati erunt qui magno rogo in propatulo aedium accenso corpora examina iniciant. Haec una via et honesta et libera ad mortem. Et ipsi virtutem mirabuntur hostes, et Hannibal fortis socios sciet ab se desertos ac proditos esse.”

14. Hanc orationem Virri plures cum adsensu audierunt quam forti animo id quod probabant exsequi potuerunt;

sacrifice was offered before the temple of Jupiter.—patriam: native city; cf. 1, 1, 8.

16. Albam... proruerunt: see 1, 29, 6.—a fundamentis: the expression occurs again in 42, 63, 11 and 42, 67, 9; cf. 9, 34, 19 gens... ab stirpe extincta est.—stirpis: nom., as in 1, 1, 11, but the meaning of the word is different in that passage. Here it is the stem, the ancestral stock, which would glory in the fact of Rome’s birth from itself; memoria, on the other hand, is subjective; they themselves wished to forget that they were an Alban colony.—originum: for the plural cf. Praef. 4.

17. tot tam: cf. 30, 30, 7.—videant: for Livy’s usage with antequam and priusquam cf. 9, 8, 7; 22, 3, 10; 22, 49, 10.

18. datum fuerit: see on 1, 2, 1.—oculos, auris: for the asyndeton see on 5, 48, 6.—propatulo: apparently sometimes synonymous with atrium; here, the space before the house; see on 5, 41, 8 vestibulis.

19. libera: not unobstructed, but fit for a freeman; cf. § 14 liber.—desertos ac proditos: cf. 26, 12, 4.

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maior pars senatus, multis saepe bellis expertam populi Romani clementiam haud diffidentes sibi quoque placabiliem fore, legatos ad dedendam Romanis Capuam decreverunt miseruntque. Vibium Virrium sepetm et viginti ferme senatores domum secuti sunt epulatique cum eo et, quantum facere potuerant alienatis mentibus vino ab inminentis sensu mali, venenum omnes sumpserunt; inde misso convivio, dextris inter se datis ultimoque complexu, conlacrimantes suum patriaeque casum alii, ut eodem rogo cremarentur, manserunt, alii domos digressi sunt. Inpletae cibis vinoque venae minus efficacem in maturanda morte vim veneni fecerunt; itaque noctem totam plerique eorum et diei inequentis partem cum animam egissent, omnes tamen prius quam aperiarentur hostibus portae, expirarunt.

Postero die porta Iovis, quae adversus castra Romana

14. 2. multls saepe bellls: 
saepe has been explained as referring to the numerous instances in each war; it seems better, however, to regard it as a mere repetition of the idea of plurality; often in many wars; cf. 21, 4, 7. — placabiliem: grammatically but not logically connected with clemensiam; if translated literally, it must be referred to the Romans, who practised clementia. For the thought cf. 25, 16, 12 veteri delicto haud inplacabiliis fore Romanos; nullum unquam gentem magis exorabiliem promptioresque veniae dandae fuisse.

3. facere: the inf. is usually omitted; see 5, 47, 6. — ab ... sensu: cf. 5, 42, 8; with alienare

the abl. without the prep. is used, e.g. in 25, 39, 4; and the dat. in 44, 27, 8 Gentium regem sibi alienavit. For another use of alienare cf. 3, 48, 1.

4. misso convivio: cf. the common phrase mittere senatum and 21, 54, 3 praetorium missum. — datis: connect with complexu as well as with dextris.

5. cibis: for the case cf. 1, 2, 5 fama; Livy uses also the gen. with inpleo, but only of abstract nouns. — cum: for the position see on 21, 34, 4. — animam egissent: in 3, 6, 8 trahebat animam is used in the same sense.

6. castra Romana: according to 25, 22, 8 there were three Roman camps; the camp of the procon-
erat, iussu proconsulis aperta est. Ea intromissa legio
7 una et duae alae cum C. Fulvio legato. Is cum omnium
primum arma telaque quae Capuae erant ad se confe-
renda curasset, custodiis ad omnes portas dispositis, ne
quis exire aut emitti posset, praesidium Punicum conpre-
hendit, senatum Campanum ire in castra ad imperatores
8 Romanos iussit. Quo cum venisset, extemplo iis omni-
bus catenae iniectae, iussique ad quaestores deferre quod
auri atque argentii haberent. Auri pondo duo milia sep-
tuaginta fuit, argentii triginta milia pondo et mille ducenta.
9 Senatores quinque et viginti Cales in custodiam, duodetri-
ginta Teanum missi, quorum de sententia maxime descitum
ab Romanis constabat.

Book XXVII

Battle of the Metaurus River

43. Inter haec ab Hasdrubale, postquam a Placentiae
obsidione abscessit, quattuor Galli equites, duo Numidae
sul, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, is meant. According to one tradition Ap.
Claudius died just before the end
of the siege. — ea: abl.; cf. 26, 10,
1 porta Capena. — alae: squad-
rons of allied cavalry.—C. Fulvio:
brother of the proconsul.
7. arma telaque: defensive and
offensive arms; see on 1, 25, 4.—
exire aut emitti: i.e. escape or be
sent out, possibly on a mission to
Hannibal or to seek other aid.—
in castra ad imperatores: see on 5,
47, 7.
8. quaestores: see on 9, 5, 4.—
deferre: to report.—auri . . . fuit:
the singular verb may be explained
by supplying a subject pondus
(weight) and taking pondo
(pounds) as ablative. The inde-
clinable noun pondo is elsewhere
used more simply as a nom. plural
with a plural verb. The gold
pound was worth about $225, the
silver pound about $15.— mille:
this separation of the smaller num-
ber of thousands is unusual.
9. Cales . . . Teanum: these
two towns had remained loyal to
Rome.
cum litteris missi ad Hannibalem cum per medios hostes totam ferme longitudinem Italiae emensi essent, dum Metapontum cedentem Hannibalem sequuntur, incertis itineribus Tarentum delati a vagis per agros pabulatoribus Romanis ad Q. Claudium propraetorem deducuntur. Eum primo incertis implicantes responsis, ut metus tormentorum admotus fateri vera coegit, edocuerunt litteras se ab Hasdrubale ad Hannibalem ferre. Cum iis litteris sicut erant signatis L. Verginio tribuno militum ducendi ad Clau-


43. inter haec: since the fall of Capua, Hannibal had remained in southern Italy; he won several battles against Roman generals, but, on the whole, accomplished little, and his position was weakened by the loss of Tarentum in 209. His brother Hasdrubal, having been defeated in Spain by Scipio at the battle of Baecula in 208, marched rapidly through Gaul and over the Alps into Italy. — ab Hasdrubale: this phrase in its conspicuous position serves to transfer the scene from southern to northern Italy. — a Placentiae obsidione: he had attempted to take the place by storm; he had not time for a long siege, as he was anxious to join Hannibal at the earliest possible moment. — cum: for the position of the conjunction see on 21, 34, 4.

2. Metapontum: Hannibal had been recently defeated by the consul, C. Claudius Nero, near Grumentum in Lucania. From there he escaped to Venusia and thence to Metapontum. Having sent a recruiting force from there into Bruttium, he himself returned to Venusia, and then proceeded to Canusium in Apulia. In all these movements he was followed by the Roman consul. — incertis itineribus: i.e. they were easily deceived because of their ignorance of the road. — Tarentum: now held by the Romans; see on 26, 12, 14. — a... Romanis: connect with delati.

3. eum... implicantes: after trying to perplex him; the present participle refers to a time which is past with reference to the principal verb; cf. 40, 55, 7 negan-tem. — metus... admotus: cf. 6, 10, 3 populationibus agrī ter-ror est oppidanis admotus; 40, 55, 5.

4. sicut erant: i.e. the seal was not broken.
5 dium consulem traduntur; duae simul turmae Samnition praesidi causa missae. Qui ubi ad consulem pervenerunt litteraeque lectae per interpretem sunt et ex captivis per-
6 cunctatio facta, tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus, quo consiliis ordinariis provinciae suae quisque
finibus per exercitus suos cum hoste destinato ab senatu
7 bellum gereret: audendum ac novandum aliquid inpro-
visum, inopinatum, quod coeptum non minorem apud cives
quam hostes terrem faceret, perpetratum in magnam
8 laetitiam ex magno metu verteret; litteris Hasdrubalis
Romam ad senatum missis simul et ipse patres conscriptos
quid pararet edocet: ut, cum in Vmbria se occursu-
9 rum Hasdrubal fratri scribat, legionem a Capua Romam
arcessant, dilectum Romae habeant, exercitum urbanum
10 ad Narniam hosti opponant. Haec senatu scripta. Prae-

6. Claudius: subject of edocet in § 8. — provinciae: connect with finibus. 27, 35, 10 provinciae iis non permixtae regionibus, sicut superioribus annis, sed diversae extremis Italiae finibus, alteri adversus Hannibalem Bruttii, Lucani, alteri Gallia adversus Hasdrubalem, quem iam Alpibus adpropinquare fama erat, decreta. 27, 38, 9 senatus liberam potesta-
tem consulis fecit et suppleundi unde vellent, et eligendi de omnibus exercitibus quos vellent permutan-
dique et ex provinciis quo e re publica censerent esse traducendi. Ordinarily the magistrate or gen-
eral was not allowed to leave his province without special permis-
sion. — gereret: subj. of charac-

7. novandum: originated. — vereret: transitive; sc. cives.
8. simul et ipse: i.e. he sent a letter of his own at the same
time, setting forth his plan. — patres conscriptos: regularly used
in direct address, but occasionally,
as here, where there is reference
to a direct address; 10, 45, 5 ob-
testabantur patres conscriptos; 22,
37, 4 patres conscriptos orare; 30,
42, 14 monendo patres conscriptos.
— pararet: for the tense see on 1,
28, 1. — edocet: introducing the
ind. quest. and, in a somewhat dif-
f erent sense, the following object
clauses. — fratri: connect with oc-
cursurum and scribat.
9. legi onem ... arcessant: to
guard the city, as the force then
in the city (exercitum urbanum)
missi item per agrum Larinatem, Marrucinum, Frentanum, Praetutianum, qua exercitum ducturus erat, ut omnes ex agris urbibusque commenatus paratos militi ad vescendum in viam deferrent, equos iumentaque alia producerent, ut vehiculorum fessis copia esset. Ipse de toto exercitu 11 civium sociorumque quod roboris erat delegit, sex milia peditum, mille equites; pronuntiat occupare se in Lucanis proximam urbem Punicumque in ea praesidium velle: ut ad iter parati omnes essent. Profectus nocte flexit in Picenum. 12 Et consul quidem quantis maximis itineribus poterat ad collegam ducebat, relict o Q. Catio legato qui castris praeesset.

44. Romae hau d minus terroris ac tumultus erat quam 1 fuerat biennio ante, cum castra Punica obiecta Romanis

was to be sent with the new levy into Umbria. The object was to protect Rome if Hasdrubal should succeed in forcing his way through.

10. senatu: for this dat. form cf. 7, 2, 7. — praemissi: sc. sunt; messengers were sent ahead to announce. — Larinatem . . . Praetutianum: another instance of Livy’s geographical carelessness (see on 9, 19, 4); Larinum is included in the territory of the Frentani; the Marrucini, moreover, lived north of the Frentani. The Praetutii occupied the southern part of Picenum. Sil. Ital. 15, 568 mentions these places in the same order, following Livy or Livy’s source, who was probably Coelius. — ducturus erat: sc. Claudius. — paratos: i.e. all ready to be eaten. — alia: see on 21, 27, 5. The army carried almost nothing but its arms; see 27, 46, 2.

11. delegit: see 27, 38, 9 quoted in note on § 6. — sex milia . . . mille: according to Frontinus 1, 1, 9 there were in all ten thousand, but he was thinking, perhaps, of the army after it had been increased by volunteers along the line of march; see 27, 46, 3.

12. flexit: in this intrans. sense first used by Livy in prose. — in Picenum: toward Picenum. — quantis maximis: see on 9, 10, 10. It was Nero’s purpose to meet Hasdrubal before Hannibal should arrive, even if the latter should immediately escape from the army which still opposed him.

44. i. biennio: a mistake of Livy or a copyist; Hannibal had encamped near Rome in 211, four
CHAP. 44] SELECTIONS FROM LIVY

moenibus portisque fuerant. Neque satis constabat animis, tam audax iter consulis laudarent vituperarentne; adparebat, quo nihil iniquius est, ex eventu famam habiturum: castra prope Hannibalem hostem relictam sine duce, cum exercitu, cui detractum foret omne quod roboris, quod floris fuerit, et consulem in Lucanos ostendisse iter, cum Picenum et Galliam peteret, castra relinquentem nulla alia re tutiora quam errore hostis, qui ducem inde atque exercitus partem abesse ignoraret. Quid futurum, si id palam fiat, et aut insequi Neronem cum sex milibus armatorum profectum Hannibal toto exercitu velit aut castra invadere praedae relictam sine viribus, sine imperio, sine auspicio?

years before. — fuerant: a statement of fact rather than a mere expression of time; hence the indicative. The use of the plup. instead of the imperf. is justified by the fact that the writer retains the same point of view, i.e. the year 207, and does not allow the tense to be affected by the preceding fuerat. — animis: cf. 30, 28, 1 nec satis certum constare apud animos poterat. — vituperarentne: double indirect questions, with -ne only in the second member are very rare; 2, 40, 5 sciam ... captiva materne in castris suis sim; 5, 28, 5 in incerto fuerit ... vicissent victine essent; 27, 47, 3. In the following sections four reasons for fear are given, — the dangerous position of Nero's army (§§ 2–4), the increased danger to Italy, due to the arrival of another general and another army (§ 5), the great ability of Hasdrubal (§§ 6–8), and Nero's incompetency (§ 9).

2. consulem ... ostendisse ... ignoraret: the apparent inconsistency here is not a real one, though abesse ignoraret cannot be taken literally. Hannibal would no doubt be informed that Nero had left his camp, but the expedition as announced (27, 43, 11 proximam urbem) would not require a long absence.

4. palam: the use of an adv. in place of a pred. adj. is not uncommon in Livy; cf. 5, 36, 6 clam. — cum ... milibus ... exercitu: note the abl. of accompaniment with and without the prep. in the same clause. — sine viribus: as a matter of fact, more than thirty thousand men remained in the Roman camp. — sine imperio, sine auspicio: there is exaggeration here also, as Catius would exercise both functions in the name of the
BOOK XXVII

Veteres eius belli clades, duo consules proximo anno inter-
feci terrebant: et ea omnia accidisse, cum unus imperator,
unus exercitus hostium in Italia esset; nunc duo bella
Punica facta, duos ingentes exercitus, duos prope Hanni-
bales in Italia esse. Quippe et Hasdrubalem patre eodem
Hamilcare genitum, aeque inipigrum ducem, per tot annos
in Hispania Romano exercitatum bello, gemina victoria
insignem, duobus exercitibus cum clarissimis ducibus deletis.
Nam itineris quidem celeritate ex Hispania et concitatis
ad arma Gallicis gentibus multo magis quam Hannibalem
ipsum gloriari posse; quippe in iis locis hunc coegisse
exercitum quibus ille maiorem partem militum fame ac
frigore, quae miserrima mortis genera sint, amisisset.
Adiecebat etiam periti rerum Hispaniae, haud cum ignoto
eum duce C. Nerone congressurum, sed quem in saltu
apedito deprensus forte haud secus quam puerum conscri-
absent consul; see 21, 40, 3 and
note.

5. 

5. consules . . . interfecti: see on 1, 3, 4 and cf. 21, 1, 5. For
the connection of clades and cons-
sules . . . interfecti cf. § 7 cel-
eritate . . . concitatis gentibus.—
proximo anno: the position em-
phazises the contrast with veteres.
Of the two consuls of the pre-
vios year, Marcellus had been
killed in battle with Hannibal, and
Crispinus died later of wounds re-
cieved in the same battle.

6. gemina victoria: these two
battles had been fought in 212,
resulting in the almost complete
destruction of the Roman armies
and the death of the two Scipios.

7. nam: introducing a state-
ment in support of the general
assertion of the previous sentence
that Hasdrubal was as able a com-
mander as Hannibal; see on 27,
50, 3.

8. quibus: for the omission of
in see on 1, 4, 4 aqua.

9. quem in saltu, etc.: the
story is told in 26, 17, 4 ff. Has-
drubal was caught in a valley and
surrounded by Nero’s forces. He
offered to evacuate Spain, if al-
lowed to depart with his army;
but he purposely prolonged the
negotiations, while his troops with-
drew secretly and in small detach-
ments from the valley. From periti . . . Hispaniae it is ap-
parent that the facts were not
known to all. — forte: connect

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bendis fallacibus condicionibus pacis frustratus elusisset.  
10 Omnia maiora etiam vero praesidia hostium, minora sua,  
metu interprete semper in deteriora inclinato, ducebant.  
1 45. Nero postquam iam tantum intervalli ab hoste  
fecerat, ut detegi consilium satis tutum esset, paucis milites  
adloquitur. Negat uullius consilium imperatoris in speciem  
audacius, re ipsa tutius fuisse quam suum. Ad certam eos  
se victoriam ducere; quippe ad quod bellum collega non  
ante quam ad satietatem ipsius peditum atque equitum  
datae ab senatu copiae fuissent, maiores instructoresque  
quam si adversus ipsum Hannibalem iret, prefectus sit, eo  
ipsi si quantumcumque virium momentum addiderint, rem  
5 omnem inclinaturos. Auditum modo in acie — nam ne  
ante audiatur, daturum operam — alterum consulem et  
alterum exercitum advenisse haud dubiam victoriam fac-

turum. Famam bellum conficere, et parva momenta in

with deprensus; the word excuses Hasdrubal and robs Nero of the 
credit of catching him. — elusisset: tricked; almost synonymous with  
frustratus.

10. praesidia: resources. — in  
deteriora inclinato: looking on the  
worst side.

45. 3. ad certam . . . ducere:  
the arrangement gives strong em-  
phasis to certam and to eos. With  
ducere and the following infinitives sc. dicit from the preceding  
negat. — ad satietatem: the force  
originally given to Livius was a  
large one, but he was not satisfied,  
and it had been increased; ac-  
cording to some authorities, he  
had received also a large body of  
Spanish and Gallic auxiliaries. —  
e0: adv., referring to bellum and  
to be connected with addiderint;  
cf. Cato, Agr. 158, 1 sume tibi  
ollam, addito eo aquae sextarios.  
The meaning of the sentence is  
this: if they themselves should  
make any addition whatever to  
the force of Livius, which was  
already large, the impulse would  
be sufficient to tip the scales in  
their favor and settle the whole  
matter. Cf. 21, 33, 4 quidquid  
adieissent ipsi terroris, satis ad  
perniciam fore. — rem omnem:  
cf. § 6 rem totam.

4. auditum: subject of factu-
rum; if it should only be heard  
in the battle that the other consul  
had arrived, it would make, etc.

5. famam . . . conficere: rumor
spem metumque impellere animos; gloriae quidem ex re
bene gesta partae fructum prope omnem ipsos latus;
semper quod postremum adiectum sit, id rem totam videri
traxisse. Cernere ipsos, quo concursu, qua admiratione,
quo favore hominum iter suum celebretur. Et hercule per
instructa omnia ordinibus virorum mulierumque undique
ex agris effusorum, inter vota ac preces et laudes ibant;
illos prae sidia rei publicae, vindices urbis Romanae imperi-
que appellabant: in illorum armis dextrisque suam liber-
orumque suorum salutem ac libertatem repositam esse.
Deos omnes deasque precabantur, ut illis faustum iter, felix
pugna, matura ex hostibus victoria esset, damnarenturque
ipsi votorum quae pro iis susceptissent, ut, quem ad modum
nunc solliciti proxecur toret eos, ita paucos post dies laeti
ovantibus victoria obviam irent. Invitare inde pro se quis-
que et offerre et fatigare precibus, ut, quae ipsis iumentis-
que usui essent, ab se potissimum sument; benigne omnia
cumulata dare. Modestia certare milites ne quid ultra

ends war; cf. Curt. 8, 28, 15 fama
enim bella constant et saepe etiam
quod falsa creditum est veri vicem
obtinuit. — metumque: see on 9,
6, 2 necatique.
6. traxisse: the figure is the
same as in § 3 inclinatiuros.—
celebretur: thronged by the inhab-
itants of the region through which
they were marching.
7. per instructa . . ordinibus: li-
terally, through everything drawn
up in lines; i.e. between lines of
men and women all drawn up.—
effusorum: see on 22, 7, 11 circum-
fundebantur.—vota . . laudes:
the two similar things are con-
nected by ac; cf. 1, 29, 4 larem ac
penates tectaque. For the differ-
ence between vota and preces see
on § 8 votorum.
8. faustum . . felix: a separa-
tion of the common formula,
which was popularized by its allit-
eration.—ex hostibus: see on 1,
24, 2 unde; the phrase is used
attributively, as in 26, 13, 2 ab
Romanis.—votorum: the penalty,
i.e. the payment which they have
promised to make if their prayers
are answered; 10, 37, 16 bis eius-
dem voti damnata re publica.
10. potissimum: rather than
from any one else; see on Praef. 7.
usuam necessarium sumerent; nihil morari nec abire ab signis nec subsistere cibum capientes; diem ac noctem ire; vix quod satis ad naturale desiderium corporum esset quieti dare. Et ad collegam praemissi erant qui nuntiarent adventum percunctanturque, clam an palam, interdii an noctu venire sese vellet, isdem an aliis considere castris. Nocte clam ingredi melius visum est.

1 46. Tessera per castra ab Livio consule data erat, ut tribunus tribunum, centurio centurionem, eques equitem, pedes peditem acciperet: neque enim dilatari castra opus esse, ne hostis adventum alterius consulis sentiret; et coartatio pluriim in angusto tendentium facilior futura erat, quod Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme praeter arma secum in expeditionem tulerat. Ceterum in ipso itinere auctum voluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus ulro sese et veteribus militibus perfunctis iam militia et iuvenibus, quos

II. modestia certare: rivaled one another in moderation. — usum necessarium: cf. 5, 47, 8. — vix . . . dare: this modification of the preceding statement is necessary, as according to 27, 50, the march occupied six days.

12. et: connecting the following statement with the general idea of the preceding sections, the rapidity of the march. — palam, interdii: inconsistent with § 4 nam . . . operam. — noctu: the fourth declension form is more frequent than nocte as an adverb.

46. i. tessera: the tablet on which the watchword was written; to this any announcement might be added. — data erat: had been sent; see on 1, 4, 7 usori. — ut acciperet: Nero’s army was, of course, much smaller than that of Livius.

2. neque: the negative is to be connected with dilatari. — coartatio: a rare word, used only here by Livy. — angusto: see on 1, 3, 2 certo.

3. ceterum: restricting the statement, coartatio . . . facilior. — voluntariis: either abl. of means (see on 21, 46, 5) or dat. of agent (see on 5, 38, 6). — perfunctis iam militia: those who had served twenty campaigns in the infantry or ten in the cavalry. As these enlisted voluntarily, they were not properly evocati; veterans who were arbitrarily called upon to serve and, in return for this extra ser-
vice, received certain privileges. — roburque virium: the same expression occurs again in 28, 35, 6; it is used also of troops, e.g. in 22, 40, 5.

4. Senam: called also Sena Gallica, a town on the Umbrian coast about twelve miles south of the Metaurus River; it became a Roman colony in 289; now Sinesisgallia. — quingentos . . . passus: probably to the north; the distance is incredibly short.

6. et ante adventum etc.: until now Livy has said nothing of the movements of Hasdrubal since he gave up the siege of Placentia; 27, 43, 1. He must have had some successes, as, at the time of the battle of the Metaurus River, he had as prisoners more than three thousand Roman citizens; 27, 49, 7. Porcius was commander in northern Italy before the arrival of Livius, and had notified the senate that Hasdrubal was crossing the Alps, and that with his small force he could not prevent the advance of the enemy. In ante adventum eorum there would be an implication that Livius had not arrived long before Nero, if it were not for 27, 47, 1 solita; the phrase is therefore to be taken loosely, with particular reference to Livius. — transitum clauderet: sc. hosti; agmen: sc. hostis. — carperet: the word expresses very vividly the idea of swift and often repeated attacks; cf. 27, 48, 2. — ludificatus . . . fuerat: for the form see on 1, 2, 1. — in consilio: cf. the construction with adesse in § 5.
clinabant sententiae, ut, dum fessum via ac vigiliis reficeret militem Nero, simul et ad noscendum hostem paucos sibi sumeret dies, tempus pugnae differretur; Nero non suadere modo, sed summa ope orare institit ne consilium suum, quod tutum celeritas fecisset, temerarium morando face-
rent: errore, qui non diurnus futurus esset, velut torpen-
tem Hannibalem nec castra sua sine duce relictas adgredi nec ad sequendum se iter intendisse. Antequam se moveat, deleri exercitum Hasdrubalis posse redirique in Apuliam; qui prolatando spatiunm hosti det, eum et illa castra pro-
dere Hannibali et aperiire in Galliam iter, ut per otium, ubi velit, Hasdrubali coniungatur. Extemplo signum
dandum et exequundum in aciem abutendumque errore
hostium absentium praesentiumque, dum neque illi sciant cum paucioribus nec hi cum pluribus et validioribus rem esse. Consilio dimisso signum pugnae proponitur, con-
festimque in aciem procedunt.

7. *dum*: expressing both time and purpose.
8. *institit*: repeating the idea of *summa ope*; often used by Livy in the sense, *to begin eagerly.*
9. *errore*: cf. 27, 44, 3. It would certainly be surprising if after a few days Hannibal had not discovered the real nature of Nero's expedition; it is more likely that he did make the discovery, but too late to overtake the Roman army before the battle. There was nothing for him to do, and the idea would naturally have become current that he remained ignorant of the expedition.— *nec castra . . . intendisse*: Nero as-
sumes this; no news from Apulia could have reached him.— *rediri*: sc. *a se.*
10. *illa castra*: the one in Apulia.— *coniungatur*: reflexive; cf. 27, 48, 16 *strati* and see Lane, 1481.
11. *abutendum*: *they must take advantage of*; the verb is impersonal.— *dum*: expressing time and cause, the latter in explanation of *errore*; see on *Praef.* 2 and cf. the use of *dum* in § 7.

47. 1. *vetera*: shields which had seen service, looked worn; Sil. Ital. 15, 606 *pulveris in clipeis*
BOOK XXVII

47. Iam hostes ante castra instructi stabant. Moram
pugnae attulit, quod Hasdrubal, pro vectus ante signa cum
paucis equitibus, scuta vetera hostium notavit, quae ante
non viderat, et strigosiores equos; multitudo quoque maior
solita visa est. Suspicatus enim id quod erat, receptui
propere cecinit ac misit ad flumen, unde aquabantur, ubi et
exci pi ali qu i possent et notari oculis, si qui forte adustioris
coloris. ut ex recenti via essent; simul circumvehi procul
castra iubet speculare, num auctum aliqua parte sit
vallum, et ut attendant, semel bisne signum canat in cas-
tris. Ea cum ordine omnia relata essent, castra nihil aucta
errorem faciebant; bina erant, sicut ante adventum consulis
alterius fuerant, una M. Livi, altera L. Porci, neutris quic-
quam, quo latius tenderetur, ad munimenta adiectum. Illud
veterem ducem adsuetumque Romano hosti movit, quod
semel in praetoriiis castris signum, bis in consularibus refere-
bant cecinisse. Duos propecto consules esse, et quonam
modo alter ab Hannibale abscessisset, cura angebat.

vestigia visa movebant.— solita:
sc. multitudine.
2. enim: explaining moram . .
attulit. — misit: after the Romans
had returned to camp. — flumen:
the Miseo, at the mouth of which
was the town of Sena, or the river
Sena, a short distance farther north.
— excipi: intercepted. — adustio-
ris: the participle is very rare in
this sense and not so used before
Livy.
3. circumvehi . . iubet: he
ordered them to ride around the
camp; castra is the object of cir-
cumvehi; the object of iubet is
omitted, as is that of misit in § 2.
— ut attendant: this change of
construction with iubeo is common
in Livy; the subj. without ut also
is found. — bisne: see on 27, 44, 1
vituperantem.— signum: proba-
bly the signal for the beginning
of the first watch of the night; cf.
§ 8 vigilia prima.
4. castra . . aucta: see on
21, 1, 5 angebant. — bina: the dis-
tributive, because castra had no
singular in regular use; Lane, 2421.
— tenderetur = tentoria tenderen-
tur; impersonal; cf. 27, 46, 2.
5. illud: but that.— adsuetum:
especially in Spain; see on 27,
43, 1. — hosti: for the dat. with
6 Minime id quod erat suspicari poterat, tantae rei frustracione Hannibalem elusum, ut, ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset, cum quo castra conflata haberet, ignoraret; profecto haud mediocris clade absterritum inequi non ausum; magno operae vereri, ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium venisset Romanisque eadem iam fortuna in Italia quae in Hispania esset. Interdum litteras suas ad eum non pervenisse credere, interceptisque iis consulem ad sese opponendum accelerationse. His anxius curis, extinctis ignibus, vigilia prima dato signo ut taciti vasa colligerent, signa ferri iussit. In trepidatione et nocturno tumultu duces parum intente adversaveri, alter in destinatis iam ante animo latebris subsedit, alter per vada nota Metaurus flumen tranavit. Ita desertum ab ducibus agmen primo per agros palatur, fessique aliquot itinere ac vigiliiis sternunt somno corpora passim atque in frequentia relinquent signa. Hasdrubal, dum lux viam

adsueco see on 2, 1, 5. — cura angebat: with two constructions, — ind. disc. depending upon the idea of thought in cura, and ind. quest. depending upon the idea of uncertainty.

6. tantae rei frustracione: by a deception so complete. — castra conflata haberet: cf. 26, 12, 14, and for the combination of haberet with the participle see on 3, 48, 1.

7. ausum: sc. Hannibalem; with vereri sc. se. — serum auxilium: in app. with the subject of venisset.

8. extinctis ignibus: that the enemy might not see what was being done; on the other hand, fires were often left in a camp which was being deserted, in order to deceive the enemy. — signa ferri: on the march the standards were carried in front; cf. 5, 37, 4 signis convulsis. It was Hasdrubal's purpose to retire north of the Metaurus River until he had news from his brother.

9. duces: native guides, of whom there were evidently only two. — destinatis animo: cf. 21, 44, 9. — vada: not a ford, as is clear from tranavit, but shallow water, as being less dangerous for the swimmer; Plaut. Rud. 171 at in vado est; iam facile enabit. — primo: not followed by deinde or by any other word or phrase of similar meaning. — infrequentia: proleptic.

10. dum: until; the night was
BOOK XXVII

ostende:ret, ripa fluminis signa ferri iubet, et per tortuosi amnis sinus flexusque cum errorem volvens haud multum processisset, substitit, ubi prima lux transitum opportunum ostendisset, transiturus. Sed cum, quantum a mari absce- 11 debat, tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis, non inveniret vada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese hosti.

48. Nero primum cum omni equitatu advenit, Porcius 1 deinde adsecutus cum levi armatura. Qui cum fessum 2 agmen carperent ab omni parte incursarentque, et iam omissa itinere, quod fugae simile erat, castra metari Poenus in tumulo super fluminis ripam vellet, advenit Livius 3 peditum omnibus copiis non itineris modo, sed ad con- serendum extemplo proelium instructis armatisque. Sed 4 ubi omnis copias coniunxerunt derectaque acies est, Claudius dextro in cornu, Livius ab sinistro pugnam instruit, media acies praetori tuenda data. Hasdrubal omissa munitone 5 castrorum postquam pugnandum vidit, in prima acie ante

already well advanced, as is shown by § 9 vigiliis. — ripa: abl. of the way; he was marching up the river. — per . . . volvens: wan- dering blindly along etc.; for erro- rem volvens cf. Verg. Aen. 9, 391 iter omne revolvens. — ubi . . . ostendisset: a mere repetition of dum . . . ostenderet.

11. quantum: for this acc. see on 5, 36, 4.

48. 1. The date of the battle, according to Ov. Fast. 6, 770, was June 23. — levi armatura: see on 22, 4, 3.

4. omnis copias: cavalry, infantry, and light-armied troops. — in . . . ab: the meaning is the same; for the use of ab see on 1, 24, 2 unde. — praetori: Polybius does not mention him at all, and Livy only here in the description of the battle. Frontin. 2, 3, 8 Livius et Nero . . . diductis in latera viri- bus, vacua fronte ex utraque parte circumvenerunt eum. — tuenda: cf. 22, 45, 8.

5. in prima acie: i.e. they were a part of the first line, though sta- tioned somewhat in advance, before the center. In battle the signa were stationed in the rear; see on 22, 5, 7. According to Polybius, there were only ten elephants; ac-
signa elephentos locat, circa eos laevo in cornu adversus
Claudium Gallos opponit, haud tantum iis fidens, quantum
ab hoste timeri eos credebat; ipse dextrum cornu adversus
M. Livium sibi atque Hispanis—et ibi maxime in vetere
milite spem habebat—sumpsit; Ligures in medio post ele-
phantos positi. Sed longior quam latior acies erat; Gallos
prominens collis tegebant. Ea frons, quam Hispani tene-
bant, cum sinistro Romanorum cornu concurririt; dextra
omnis acies extra proelium eminens cessabat; collis opposi-
tus arcebat, ne aut a fronte aut ab latere adgrederentur.

cording to Appian, fifteen.—circa: beside them; explained by laevo in
cornu and dextrum cornu; cf. 9,
2, 1.—adversus: used in the same
way in 9, 19, 14.—haud tantum:
a very rare combination.

6. dextrum cornu: Polybius
says Hasdrubal took the center.—
veterem: the Spaniards had fought
with him in Spain; the Galls and
Ligurians were only recently en-
rolled. Polybius does not mention
the Ligurians, but does mention
Carthaginians in Hasdrubal’s
army; cf. 27, 5, 11 per totem
Africam milites mercede conducti,
quid in Hispaniam ad Hasdrubalem
traicentur, ut is quam maximo
exercitu primo quoque tempore in
Italiam transgressus inuerget se
Hannibali; cf. also 27, 51, 11.

7. longior quam latior: for the
two comparatives cf. 22, 47, 3.
longior refers to the depth of the
line, latior to the front; 33, 8, 14
ne facile perrumpetur acies,
dimidium de fronte demiptum in-
trorsus porrectis ordinibus dupli-
cat, ut longa potius quam lata acies
esse; 37, 41, 4 tam lata acie ne ex
medio guidem cornua sua circum-
spicer poterant; and, referring to
the present arrangement, Polyb.
11, 1, 2 to beta adexias twn ta-
xeon kai pouheas ev baukei xorpe
thn olpyn dynamin.

8. ea frons: i.e. that part of the
front, the right wing.—dextra...
acies: sc. Romanorum, an obscu-
recy relieved only by the fact that
sinistro Romanorum immediately
precedes.—collis: behind which
were the Galls.—ne...adgrede-
rentur: though common with other
verbs of hindering, this construc-
tion is very rare with arceo and
there is no other example in Livy;
Lane, 1960. Polyb. 11, 1, 5 (Klau
bios) proagev men eis toymprosbev
kai pericev twn ypexantiv oik
edunato dia twn prokeimvas doro-
chorias, aivepistekwv 'Asprou
bas epoexato thn 'epi taw ladi twn
polemivwv efodov.
BOOK XXVII

Inter Livium Hasdrubalemque ingens contractum certamen erat, atroxque caedes utrimque edebatur. Ibi duces ambo, ibi pars maior peditum equitumque Romanorum, ibi Hispani, vetus miles peritusque Romanae pugnae, et Ligures, durum in armis genus. Eodem versi elephanti, qui primo impetu turbaverant antesignanos et iam signa moverant loco; deinde crescente certamine et clamore, inpotentius iam regi et inter duas acies versari, velut incerti, quorum essent, haud dissimiliter navibus sine gubernaculo vagis. Claudius "quid ergo praecipiti cursu tam longum iter emensi sumus?" clamitans militibus, cum in adversum collem frustra signa erigere conatus esset, postquam ea regione penetrari ad hostem non videbat posse, cohortis aliquot subductas e dextra cornu, ubi stationem magis

10. *peritusque Romanae pugnae: familiar with the Roman method of fighting.* — Ligures: in the center, but aiding the right wing, which bore the brunt of the battle. — *genus = gens;* cf. 1, 5, 2. — *eodem: in the same direction;* i.e. toward the battle on Hasdrubal's right wing. — *antesignanos: see on 22, 5, 7.*

11. *inpotentius ... regi: they were less effectively controlled;* the adv. in this sense, *powerlessly,* is apparently not used elsewhere. — *dissimiliter: a rare adv. apparently not used elsewhere with the dative.*

12. *militibus: the dat. with clamo and clamito is very rare;* Sen. *Ep. 27, 1, clamo mihi ipse.* — *in adversum collem: up the hill;* cf. 9, 3, 1. See passage from Polybius quoted on § 8. —

*signa erigere: cf. 1, 27, 6. — ea regione: abl. of the way.*

13. *cohortis: down to the beginning of the first century B.C. the name was regularly applied to the divisions of the auxiliary force supplied by the Italians. In the later period the legion was divided into cohorts, each containing three maniples, a tenth of the legion. It appears, however, from Polyb. 11, 21, 2 that even in his time the word was used in its later sense: λαβών ... τρεῖς στείρας (τούτο δὲ καλεῖται τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν πεζῶν παρὰ Ρωμαίοις κοσμῆτι). Here, as elsewhere, Livy has in mind the later sense of the word. It is evident from Polyb. 11, 1, 7 παρα-δεξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας, that Claudius had here the troops which he had*
14 segnem quam pugnam futuram cernebat, post aciem circumducit et non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum hostium latus incurrit; tantaque celeritas fuit, ut, cum ostendissent se ab latere, mox in terga iam pugnament. Ita ex omnibus partibus, ab fronte, ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque, et ad Gallos iam caedes pervenerat. Ibi minimum certaminis fuit; nam et pars magna ab signis aberant, nocte dilapsi stratique somno passim per agros, et qui aderant, itinere ac vigiliis fessi, intolerantissima laboris corpora, vix arma umbris gestabant; et iam diei medium erat, sitisque et calor hiantis caedendos capiendoque adfatim praebebat.

1 49. Elephanti plures ab ipsis rectoribus quam ab hoste interfecti. Fabrule scalprum cum malleo habebant; id, ubi saevire beluae ac ruere in suos coeperant, magister inter aures positum, ipso in articulo, quo iungitur capiti cervix, quanto maximo poterat ictu adigebat. Ea celerrima via mortis in tantae molis belua inventa erat, ubi regentis sprevissent, primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat, dux cum 3 saepe alias memorabilis, tum illa praecipue pugna. Ille

brought from Apulia; the same thing is indicated in the words of Claudius in § 12.

14. post aciem: behind the Roman center and left wing.—
cum ... mox ... pugnarent: i.e. soon after they had appeared on the flank, they were already etc.

15. Gallos: no longer protected by the hill, now that Claudius was behind them.

16. aberant: for the plural verb with pars see on 2, 28, 9. — strati: reflexive; see on 27, 46, 10. —

intolerantissima laboris: see on 5, 48, 3. — corpora: in app. with the subject of gestabant.

17. hiantis: panting. — caedendos capiendoque: i.e. in some cases to be killed, in others to be captured; see on 9, 6, 2 necatique.

49. 1. plures . . . interfecti: Polybius says six fell with their drivers, four broke through the lines and were captured. — quanto maximo: see on 9, 10, 10.

2. sprevissent: iterative; see on 3, 36, 8. — dux . . . pugna:
pugnantis hortando pariterque obeundo pericula sustinuit, ille fessos abnuentesque taedio et labore nunc precando nunc castigando accendit; ille fugientis revocavit omisam-que pugnam aliquot locis restituit; postremo, cum haud dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes tanto exercitui suum nomen secuto esset, concitato equo se in cohortem Romanam inmisit. Ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.

Numquam eo bello una acie tantum hostium interfecum est, redditaque aqua Cannensi clades vel ducis vel exercitus interitu videbatur. Quinquaginta sex milia hostium occisa, capta quinque milia et quadrigenti; magna praeda alia cum omnis generis, tum auri etiam argentique. Civium etiam Romanorum, qui capti apud hostes erant, supra

the connection of this general praise with the preceding statement is unexpected, and its grammatical subordination destroys much of its force.

3. sustinuit: sc. eos. — taedio et labore: the meaning is the same as in 22, 2, 4 taedio laboris; cf. 5, 2, 7 opere ac labore and 21, 27, 6 operis labore.

4. dubie: adv. taking the place of a pred. adj.; see on 27, 44, 4. — fortuna: success; cf. 24, 34, 1. — nomen: i.e. his name and the reputation that went with it; cf. Praef. 3.

5. reddita: to have been inflicted; lit. paid back in return for injury received, i.e. the Roman loss at the battle of Cannae; cf. 24, 20, 2 reddidit hosti cladem.

6. quinquaginta sex milia: according to Appian 52, this was the whole number in Hasdrubal's army, 48,000 foot and 8000 horse, and this is not inconsistent with the implication of § 9 that practically the whole army was destroyed. Polybius sets the loss at not less than 10,000, Orosius at 58,000. Compare the Roman loss at the battle of Cannae, 22, 49, 15. — alia: besides; see on 21, 27, 5. — omnis: every other. — auri etiam argentique: 28, 9, 16 f. pecuniae in aerarium tulerunt sestertium triciens, octoginta milia aeris. Militibus M. Livius quinquagenos senos asses divisit; tantundem C. Claudius absentibus militibus suis est pollicitus, cum ad exercitum redisset.

7. civium: depending upon capitum.—qui . . . erant: before the battle.

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quattuor milia capitum recepta. Id solaci fuit pro amissis eo proelio militibus. Nam haudquaquam incruenta victoria fuit; octo ferme milia Romanorum sociorumque occisa; adeoque etiam victores sanguinis caedisque ceperat satietas, ut postero die, cum esset nuntiatum Livio consuli Gallos Cisalpinos Ligureaque, qui aut proelio non adfuissent aut inter caedem effugisset, uno agmine abire sine certo duce, sine signis, sine ordine ullo aut imperio; posse, si una 9 equitum ala mittatur, omnes deleri: "supersint" inquit "aliqui nuntii et hostium cladis et nostrae virtutis."

50. Nero ea nocte quae secuta est pugnam profectus, citatiore quam inde venerat agmine die sexto ad stativa sua atque ad hostem pervenit. Iter eius frequentia minore, quia nemo praecesserat nuntius, laetitia vero tanta, vix ut conpotes mentium praegaudio essent, celebratum est. Nam Romae neuter animi habitus satis dici enarrarique

8. uno agmine: i.e. in a single compact body, not scattered. — sine signis: the standards marked the divisions of an army; the phrase means, therefore, in disorder, and is practically synonymous with sine ordine, as sine imperio is synonymous with sine certo duce.

9. inquit: the ut in § 8, which would properly introduce a subj. of result, has been forgotten during the intervening clauses. In 36, 36, 6 Livy mentions a temple of Juventas vowed by Livius in this battle and dedicated in 191.

50. die sexto: the distance was approximately two hundred miles. — stativa: see on 21, 35, 5. — ad hostem: Livy sometimes repeats, sometimes omits, the prep. with a second noun; § 4 a curia atque ab magistratibus; 8, 17, 1 ad moenia atque urbam.

2. nemo nuntius: see on 9, 9, 16; with substantives in the nom. Livy uses nemo; with other cases, nullus. — prae: see on 1, 29, 3.

3. nam: Livy sometimes uses nam loosely, referring only in a general way to what precedes, as in 27, 44, 7, or, as here, he uses it to introduce a statement which does not explain the preceding statement, but justifies him in making it. The meaning is, I may well say the rejoicing along the road was so great, for at Rome the excitement was indescribable.

— quo . . . fuerat . . . accepti:
potest, nec quo incerta expectatione eventus civitas fuerat, nec quo victoriae famam accepit. Numquam per omnis dies, ex quo Claudium consulem profectum fama attulit, ab orto sole ad occidentem aut senator quisquam a curia atque ab magistratibus abscessit aut populus e foro. Matronae, quia nihil in ipsis opis erat, in preces obtestationesque versae, per omnia delubra vagae suppliciis votisque fatigare deos. Tam sollicitae ac suspensae civitati fama incerta primo accidit duos Narnienses equites in castra, quae in faucibus Vmbriae opposita erant, venisse ex proelio, nuntiantes caesos hostes. Et primo magis auribus quam animis id acceptum erat ut maius laetiusque quam quod mente capere aut satis credere possent, et ipsa celeritas fidem inpediebat, quod biduo ante pugnatum dicebatur. Litterae deinde ab L. Manlio Acidino missae ex castris adferuntur de Narniensium equitum adventu. Hae litterae per forum ad tribunal praetoris latae senatum curia exciverunt; tanto-

relative clauses qualifying habitus, where indirect questions introduced by dicit enarrarique might have been expected. The first quo is a descriptive abl., the second an abl. of manner.

4. senator . . . abscessit: cf. 26, 9, 9. — quisquam: for this adj. use cf. 9, 18, 13. — magistratibus: in the absence of the consuls the praetor urbanus summoned the senate and presided; in his absence (see on § 8) probably the praetor peregrinus. — e foro: instances of abscendo with e are very rare; this is the only one in Livy.

5. matronae . . . deos: cf. 26, 9, 7. — supplicais: prayers; an early use of the word. For the exact meaning of votis see on 27, 45, 8.

6. quae . . . erant: see on 27, 43, 9.

7. quam quod . . . possent: cf. 9, 9, 14; 33, 32, 6. — biduo ante: the distance from the Metaurus to Rome was approximately 175 miles.

8. L. Manlio Acidino: probably the praetor urbanus, commanding the exercitus urbanus; see 27, 43, 9.

9. ad tribunal praetoris: the tribunal was at this time near the senate-house. Sometimes, if
que certamine ac tumultu populi ad fores curiae concursum est, ut adire nuntius non posset, sed traheretur a per-
cunctantibus vociferantibusque, ut in rostris prius quam in
senatu litterae recitarentur. Tandem submoti et coerciti
a magistratibus, dispensarique laetitia inter inpotentis eius
animos potuit. In senatu primum, deinde in contione
litterae recitatae sunt; et pro cuiusque ingenio alii iam
certum gaudium, aliiis nulla ante futura fides erat quam
legatos consulumve litteras audissent.

51. Ipsos deinde adpropinquare legatos adlatum est.
Tunc enimvero omnis aetas currere obvii, primus quisque
oculis auribusque haurire tantum gaudium cupientes. Ad
Mulvium usque pontem continens agmen pervenit. Legati
—erant L. Veturius Philo, P. Licinius Varus, Q. Caecilius
Metellus—circumfusi omnis generis hominum frequentia
the senate was in session, a mes-
sage was taken directly to the
Curia; see 27, 51, 5; 45, 2, 3.—

senatum . . . exciverunt: we must
assume that upon learning the
cause of the disturbance they im-
mmediately returned with the praetor
to the senate-house; the messe-
ger, who still retained the letter,
was prevented from following.—
tantoque . . . concursum est: cf.
22, 7, 7.—rostris: the platform
at the front of the Comitium,
from which the people were ad-
dressed.

10. submoti et coerciti: pushed
back and held in check.—a magis-
stratibus: i.e. by the lictors and
other attendants of the magis-
trates; submoveo is a technical
word in this sense.—inpotentis
eius: cf. § 7 and 27, 51, 6 cum
vix gaudium animis caperent.

51. 1. aetas: for this use of
the abstract noun cf. 3, 47, 1 civitas,
advatione; as a collective noun
it is qualified by the plural adj.
obvii, and the construction is
repeated in primus quisque . . .
cupientes. —primus quisque: all
those in advance; in partitive app.
with aetas. This appears to be a
somewhat awkward way of saying
that each was eager to hear the
news first.

2. Mulvium pontem: the Via
Flaminia crossed the Tiber by this
bridge, now the Ponte Molle, about
two miles north of the gate in the
Servian Wall where the road began.

3. circumfusi: here a real pas-
sive; more often used in a reflex-
in forum pervenerunt, cum aliis ipsos, aliis comites eorum, quae acta essent, perunquentaretur. Et ut quiseque audierat exercitum hostium imperatoremque occisum, legiones Romanas incolumes, salvos consules esse, extemplo aliis porro inpertiebant gaudium suum. Cum aegre in curiam perventum esset, multo aegrius submota turba, ne patribus misceretur, litterae in senatu recitatae sunt. Inde traducti in contionem legati. L. Veturius litteris recitatis ipse planius omnia, quae acta erant, exposuit cum ingenti adsensu, postremo etiam clamore universae contonis, cum vix gaudium animis caperent. Discursum inde ab aliis circa templum deum, ut grates agerent, ab aliis domos, ut coniugibus liberisque tam laetum nuntium inpertirent. Senatus, quod M. Livius et C. Claudius consules incolumi exercitu ducem hostium legionesque occidissent, supplicia-

ive sense, as in 22, 7, 11. — *cum*: *while*; the clause is not primarily temporal and an indic. might have been used (see on 3, 46, 10); there is a similar use of the subj. in § 9.  

4. *audierat*: Livy uses either the indic. or the subj. in a relative, temporal, or conditional clause expressing repeated action in past time; cf. 3, 50, 13 and see on 3, 36, 8. — *porro inpertiebant*: they went on to share.  

5. *aegre . . aegrius*: a sort of repetition not uncommon in Livy; cf. 2, 29, 5; 38, 53, 9. — *submota turba*: better taken as an abl. abs. than as a second *cum* clause with asyndeton. — *ne patribus misceretur*: the public were not admitted to the senate-house, but, as the doors were ordinarily left open, they could follow the discussion and sometimes interrupted it with applause or expressions of disapproval. — *traducti*: by the magistrates; *prodeo* and *prodeo* are the regular words in this sense. *traduce* is used here, perhaps, to suggest that they were taken across the Comitium through the crowd; cf. 45, 2, 6. They addressed the people from the rostra.  

7. *circa*: for this use cf. 26, 13, 1. — *templum*: on the edge of the Forum at this time were the temples of Vesta, Janus, Saturn, Castor, and Concord, and the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline was not far distant.  

8. *legiones*: see on 22, 6, 3. — *supplicationem*: originally a single
tionem in triduum decrevit. Eam supplicationem C. Hostilius praetor pro contione edixit, celebrataque a viris feminisque est; omniaque templam per totum triduum aequalem turbam habuere, cum matronae amplissima veste cum liberis, perinde ac si debellatum foret, omni solutae metu deis inmortalibus grates agerent. Statum quoque civitatis ea victoria firmavit, ut iam inde haud secus quam in pace res inter se contrahere vendendo, emendo, mutuum dando argentum creditumque solvendo auderent.

C. Claudius consul cum in castra redisset, caput Hasdrubalis, quod servatum cum cura attulerat, proici ante hostium stationes, captivosque Afrus vincitos, ut erant, ostendi, duos etiam ex iis solutos ire ad Hannibalem et expromere, quae acta essent, iussit. Hannibal, tanto simul publico familiarique ictus luctu, agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginis furtur dixisse; castrisque inde motis, ut omnia

day of prayer, with a procession to important sanctuaries, where there were offerings of wine and incense; later the period was extended, until at the end of the republic it sometimes continued for forty or fifty days.

9. aequalem: i.e. all were equally crowded.—cum: see on § 3. — amplissima veste: in their finest garments; cf. 30, 30, 18; veste is used collectively; cf. 2, 23, 3.

10. haud secus ... pace: Polyb. 11, 3 καθόλου δ’ είς τωιάτην ευέλπιστι σπαρεγίνοντο καί θάρσος ὅστε πάντας τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ὃν μάλιστα πρότερον ἑφοβήθησαν, τότε μηδ’ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ νομίζειν

παρέiναι. — res ... contrahere: to have business transactions with one another. — mutuum dando argentum: lending money; argentum is to be taken also with creditum.


12. agnoscere ... dixisse: Hor. Od. 4, 4, 70 ff. occidit, occidit | spes omnis et fortuna nostri | nominis Hasdrubale interempto.

13. inde: from Canusium. — tueri: watch; he was afraid they would revolt, as many towns had
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auxilia quae diffusa latius tueri non poterat in extremum Italiae angulum Bruttios contraheret, et Metapontinos, civitatem universam, excitos sedibus suis, et Lucanorum qui suae dicionis erant in Bruttium agrum tradxit.

BOOK XXX

Hannibal’s Departure from Italy


already done; 27, 41, 1 in Lucanos ad Grumentum (Hannibal) venit spe recipiendi oppida, quae per metum ad Romanos defecissent. — Bruttios: the omission of the prep. (see on 27, 50, 1) is somewhat harsh.— Metapontinos: Metapontum itself was in Lucania, but is distinguished from the other towns as being of Greek origin. Metapontum went over to Hannibal soon after the battle of Cannae, but did not get rid of its Roman garrison till 212, when it became an important base of supplies for Hannibal. The inhabitants were now removed to save them from Roman vengeance.


19. io. Consentia . . . Clamateria: excepting the first and the last, the exact location of these towns is unknown.

11. Valerius Antias: see Intro. 7; 33, 10, 8 si Valerio qui credat omnium rerum inmodice numerum augenti. — neglegenter praemissa: i.e. if he has not lied, others have carelessly neglected to mention it.

12. certe: in any case; i.e. whatever was the loss. — quoque: Hannibal’s brother, Mago, who
eum quoque legati ab Carthagine vocantes in Africam iis forte diebus, quibus ad Magonem, venerunt.

1 20. Frendens gemensque ac vix lacrimis temperans dici-
tur legatorum verba audisse. Postquam edita sunt mand-
data, "iam non perplexe" inquit, "sed palam revocant,
qui vetando supplementum et pecuniam mitti iam pridem
retrahebant. Vicit ergo Hannibalem non populus Ro-
manus, totiens caesus fugatusque, sed senatus Carthagi-
iensis obrectatione atque invidia. Neque hac deformitate
reditus mei tam P. Scipio exultabit atque efferet sese quam
Hanno, qui domum nostram, quando alia re non potuit,
ruina Carthaginis oppressit." Iam hoc ipsum praesagiens
animo praeparaverat ante naves. Itaque inutili militum
turba praesidi specie in oppida Bruttii agrí, quae pauc
metu magis quam fide continebantur, dimissa, quod roboris
in exercitu erat in Africam transvexit, multis Italici generis,

had landed at Genoa in 205 and
had enlisted the Ligurians and
Gauls in large numbers, had just
been recalled.—iis . . . diebus:
the usual expression is per eos dies.

20. 1. lacrimis: dat., as in 1,
29, 6.

2. perplexe: covertly, indi-
rectly.—vetando . . . mitti: ever
since his arrival in Italy, Hannibal
had sought to arouse the Cartha-
ginians to a realization of the ne-
cessities and possibilities of his
position; but the peace party had
been strong enough to prevent the
sending of men and supplies, and he
had been forced to rely almost exclu-
sively upon his own efforts.—retra-
hebant: were forcing me to return.

3. obrectatione atque invidia:
ill will and jealousy. App.
Hann. 16 tells how his opponents
inquired why Hannibal was ask-
ing for help when he was winning
victories. Nepos, Hann. 1 mul-
torum obrectatio devicit unius
virtutem.

4. P. Scipio: he had fought at
Trebia and at Cannae, and in 210,
at the age of twenty-seven, had
been appointed commander of the
Roman forces in Spain. He re-
turned to Rome in 206 and was
elected consul for the next year.
— efferet sese: see on 30, 30, 23.
— Hanno: a leader of the party in
Carthage which was opposed to
Hannibal.
6. *Iunonis Laciniae delubrum*: on the promontory of Lacinium, near Croton. — in *templo*. *interefactis*: possibly inconsistent with 42, 3, 6 *templum Augustissimum regionis eius*, quod non *Pyrrhus*, non *Hannibal violassent*; though it is true that Hannibal did not injure the temple itself, and *violassent* may be used in this sense. Cic. *Div. I*, 48, quoting Coelius, tells how Hannibal, warned by Juno, who appeared to him in a dream, gave up his intention of removing a golden column from the temple. Ihne contends that it would not have been in accord with Hannibal’s character to massacre these Italians and that the story is a Roman slander.


8. *quod*. *duxisset*: 22, 51, 4 "*non omnia nimimum eidem di dedere*; *vincere scis*, Hannibal, *victoria uti nescis*." *Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio*. 26, 7, 3 *multa secum*, quo iam *inde ire pergeret*, volventi *subit animum impetus caput ipsum belli Romam petendi*, cuius *rei semper cupitae praeternissam occasionem post Cannensem pugnam et alii vulgo fremebant et ipsae non dissimulabat.* — *ab*. *victoria*: to be taken with *cruentum* and *duxisset*, — with the former as an abl. of cause; cf. 1, 1, 4 and 33, 32, 9. — *Roma*: to *Rome*; the road had been open to him right up to the city wall. Scipio had ventured *ad Carthaginem*, to the neighborhood of Carthage. During his consulship in 205, Scipio was making plans for an expedition to Africa. A fleet was built and an army gathered in Sicily. In the spring of 204 he set sail for Africa and landed near Utica. — *qui*. *vidisset*: during Scipio’s consulship Hannibal’s power in Italy was so far reduced that it had been unnecessary for the consul to conduct any campaign against him; the thought is
non vidisset; se centum milibus armatorum ad Trasumenum, ad Cannas caesis circa Casilinum Cumasque et Nolam consensisse. Haec accusans querensque ex diutina possessione Italiae est detractus.

Meeting of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa

29. Iam Hadrumetum pervenerat Hannibal, unde, ad reficiendum ex iactatione maritima militem paucis diebus sumptis, excitus pavidis nuntiis omnia circa Carthaginem obtineri armis adferentium, magnis itineribus Zamam con-

concessive, and is contrasted with centum ... caesis.

9. centum milibus: so App. Hann. 25; on the other hand, Livy, 23, 11, 9 occidisse supra ducenta milia hostium; but both Appian and Livy are speaking of the total Roman loss through the battle of Cannae, and this would include the loss at the Trebia — haec: acc. of kindred meaning with both participles. — ex ... Italiae: cf. 22, 44 6 Hannibal ... Italicam.


29. 1. Hadrumetum: on the African coast about seventy-five miles south of Carthage. In 30, 25, 12 he is said to have landed at Leptis, a short distance south of Hadrumetum, and, unless the present statement is based upon a different tradition and is, therefore, inconsistent with the former, we must understand that Hannibal marched from Leptis to Hadrumetum, preferring the latter as a resting-place. For he would not have reembarked his army, and ad reficiendum ... sumptis refers to the voyage from Italy. App. Lib. 33 says he landed at Hadrumetum. Livy gives no account of the events of the following months, from the autumn of 203 to the autumn of 202. Polybius leaves Hannibal inactive at Hadrumetum, while Scipio plunders the Carthaginian towns. Appian speaks of alliances with Numidian chieftains, and says that he took some of Masinissa's towns by surrender or force. — ex iactatione: cf. 21, 26, 5 resectis ab iactatione maritima. — armis: i.e. by the Romans.

2. Zama: probably Zama Regia, southwest of Carthage, about seventy-five miles distant in a straight
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[CHAP. 29]

tendit. Zama quinque dierum iter ab Carthagine abest. 2
Inde praemissi speculatores cum excepti ab custodibus Ro-
manis deducti ad Scipionem essent, traditos eos tribuno
militum iussosque omissu metu visere omnia per castra,
qua vellent, circumduci iussit; percunctatusque, satin per 3
commodum omnia explorassent, datis qui prosequerentur,
retro ad Hannibalem dimisit. Hannibal nihil quidem 4
eorum quae nuntiabantur — nam et Masinissam cum sex
milibus peditum, quattuor equitum venisse eo ipso forte
die adferabant —, laeto animo audivit, maxime hostis fidu-
cia audaciaque, non de nihil profecto concepta, perculsus
est. Itaque quamquam et ipse causa belli erat et adventu 5
suo turbaverat et pactas indutias et spem foederum, tamen,
si integer quam si victus peteret pacem, aequiora inep-
trari posse ratus, nuntium ad Scipionem misit, ut conlo-
quendi secum potestatem faceret. Id utrum sua sponte 6
fecerit an publico consilio, neutrum cur adfirmem habeo.

line. — iussos . . . iussit: the repetition is awkward. — per castra: connect with circumduci.
3. satīn = satīne.
4. et: also; to be connected not with Masinissam, but with the whole sentence, which gives an additional reason for his anxiety.
— Masinissam: king of that part of Numidia which was nearest to Carthage. He had fought in Spain on the Carthaginian side, but had later gone over to the Romans and with difficulty sustained the combined attack of Carthage and the other Numidian king, Syphax, until the arrival of Scipio in Africa.
— eo . . . die: when the Cartha-

ginian spies were in the Roman camp. — maxime: a striking example of asyndeton; cf. 42, 60, 2
omnes quidem laeti, ante alios
Thracum insolens laetitia emine-
bat.
5. ipse . . . erat: and might therefore expect small consideration; see on 21, 1, 1. — adventu . . . foederum: at the news of his approach the war party in Carthage had got the upper hand, violated the truce which had been arranged, and broken off negotiations for a permanent peace. — nuntium: either message or messenger; cf. 27, 43, 10 præmissi . . . ut.
6. neutrum: the two indirect

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7 Valerius Antias primo proelio victum eum a Scipione, quo duodecim milia armatorum in acie sint caesa, mille et septingenti capti, legatum cum aliis decem legatis tradit in castra ad Scipionem venisse. Ceterum Scipio cum conloquium haud abnusset, ambo ex conposito duces castra protulerunt, ut coire ex propinquo possent. Scipio haud procul Naraggara urbe, cum ad cetera loco opportuno tum quod aquatio intra teli coniectum erat, consedit; Hannibal tumulum a quattuor milibus inde, tutum commodumque alioqui, nisi quod longinquae aquationis erat, cepit. Ibi in medio locus conspectus undique, ne quid insidiarum esset, delectus.

1. 30. Submotis pari spatio armatis cum singulis interpretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces, sed omnis ante se memoriae, omnium gentium cuii bet regum imperatorumve pares. Paulisper alter alterius

questions are included in this word, which takes their place as object of adfirmem.

7. primo proelio: that there was more than one battle is attested by Eutrop. 3, 22 Hannibal quoque frequentibus proelis victus a Scipione petit etiam ipse pacem.

8. ceterum: but, whether that be true or not.— ex conposito, ex propinquo: see on 1, 25, 9 ex insperato.

9. Naraggara: more than fifty miles west of Zama; Appian locates the conference and battle at Cilla, not so far distant.— intra teli coniectum: not only was the labor slight, but the water carriers could be protected.

10. a . . . inde: four miles away from there. This use of a originated in passages where the place from which was omitted, being easily supplied from the context, and it is regularly confined to such passages; a is thus practically an adv., meaning away; the abl. indicates the amount of difference. — alioqui: used first in prose by Livy. — conspectus: visible, i.e. open, surrounded by a clear space, so that no troops could be concealed in its neighborhood; cf. 22, 4, 6.

30. 1. spatio: abl. of amount of difference. — ante se: for the attributive use cf. 1, 25, 11. — memoriae: parallel with aetatis;
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consectu, admiratione mutua prope attoniti, conticuere. Tum Hannibal prior: "Si hoc ita fato datum erat, ut qui primus bellum intuli populo Romano quique totiens prope in manibus victoriam habui, is ultro ad pacem petendam venirem, laetor te mihi sorte potissimum datum a quo pere- rem. Tibi quoque inter multa egregia non in ultimis laudum hoc fuerit, Hannibalem, cui tot de Romanis duci- bus victoriam di dedissent, tibi cessisse, teque huic bello, vestris potius quam nostris cladibus insigni, finem inpos- suisse. Hoc quoque ludibrium casus ediderit fortuna, ut, cum patre tuo consule ceperim arma, cum eodem primum Romano imperatore signa contulerim, ad filium eius iner-

of all recorded in former times; pares, following maximi, is, an anticlimax.

3. conticuere: remained silent; a very rare meaning; usually, to become silent, after speaking.

3. primus...intuli: referring to this war; the same thought as in § 30; cf. 30, 29, 5 ipse causa belli erat. — victoriam: i.e. a final victory, which would have ended the war. — potissimum: connect with te, from which it is somewhat strangely removed; cf. Praef. 7.

4. ultimis laudum: cf. § 11 incerta casuum and see on 5, 38, 4 in aequo campi. — fuerit: potential subjunctive, referring to future time. — de...victoriam: cf. 21, 46, 8.

5. ediderit: potential subjunctive, but, unlike fuerit in § 4, referring to past time, — a rare use of the perfect; Lane, 1557. The subj. differs from the indic. in giving more or less uncertainty to the statement; chance perhaps has played this trick. — ut...veniam: the sentence is somewhat confusingly constructed. It is better to regard cum in both instances as the conjunction; for the asyndeton between the two clauses see on 3, 52, 5. The second cum may, however, be taken as the prep., with asyndeton between contulerim and veniam. The cum clauses are not strictly temporal, but give subordinate facts, which might well have been put into a relative clause, cuius patre consule etc. patre tuo consule is awkwardly followed by ad filium eius, which stands for ad te, filium eius. Scipio's father was consul in 218; the second cum clause may refer to the cavalry battle near the mouth of the Rhone (21, 29, 2 ff.) or to the battle at the Ticinus. — primum: connect with contulerim.
6 mis ad pacem petendam veniam. Optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus nostris mentem datam ab dis esse, ut et vos 7 Italiae et nos Africæ imperio contenti essemus; neque enim ne vobis quidem Sicilia ac Sardinia satis digna pretia sunt pro tot classibus, tot exercitibus, tot tam egregiiis amissis ducibus. Sed praeterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi. Ita aliena adpetivimus, ut de nostris dimicarremus, nec in Italia solum nobis bellum, vobis in Africa esset, sed et vos in portis vestris prope ac moenibus signa armaque hostium vidistis et nos ab Carthagine fremitum 9 castrorum Romanorum exaudimus. Quod igitur nos maxime abominaremur, vos ante omnia optaretis, in meliore vestra fortuna de pace agitur. Agimus ei, quorum et maxime interest pacem esse, et qui quodcumque egerimus, ratum civitates nostrae habituæ sunt. Animo tantum

6. **fuerat**: apodosis of a non-occurrence condition; Lane, 2107. The English plup. indic. is used in the same way. — **patribus nostris**: *i.e.* at the time of the First Punic War; the second war was the inevitable consequence of the first.

7. **neque ... ne ... quidem**: a rare combination, occurring, however, occasionally in Livy with the force of a strengthened *ne ... quidem*. — **vobis**: dat. of interest, not abl. with *digna*; the meaning is, not even you could afford to lose so many fleets etc., for the sake of acquiring Sicily and Sardinia. — **tot tam**: cf. 26, 13, 17.

8. **ita ... dimicaremus**: *we* (*i.e.* both Romans and Carthaginians) sought the possessions of others with such disastrous results that we had to fight for our own. In *aliena* he refers to Sicily and Sardinia on the one hand, and to Spain and Italy on the other. — **in Italia ... in Africa**: chiasmus and asyndeton. — **vidistis, exaudimus**: freed from dependence upon *ut* and thus made more emphatic.

9. **igitur**: connecting *in meliorem ... agitur* with nos *... exaudimus*. — **abominaremur, optaretis**: conclusions of non-occurrence conditions; sc. *if circumstances were different*. — **ei**: referring to Scipio and Hannibal. — **quorum ... esse**: because the greatest responsibility rested upon them. — **et qui ... habituæ sunt**: and whatever terms we make our states will ratify. *et qui* is falsely
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nobis opus est non abhorrente a quietis consiliis. Quod ad me attinet, iam aetas senem in patriam revertentem, unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae, iam adversae res ita erudierunt, ut rationem sequi quam fortunam malim; tuam et abulescentiam et perpetuam felicitatem, ferciora utraque quam quietis opus est consiliis, metuo. Non temere incerta casuum reputat, quem fortuna numquam decept. Quod ego fui ad Trasumenum, ad Cannas, id tu hodie es. Vixdum militari aetate imperio accepto omnia audacissime incipientem nusquam fefellit fortuna. Patris et patrui persecutus mortem ex calamitate vestrae domus decus insigne virtutis pietatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas Hispanias. recipierasti, quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus

correlated with quorum et, and the resulting anacoluthon is exceedingly awkward.

10. iam . . . iam . . . iam: the first is not correlative with the two others; the correlative of these is a poetical usage not found elsewhere in Livy; cf. 30, 37, 9 nunc . . . nunc.—senem: he was now forty-five years old; see 30, 37, 9.—puer: see on 21, 4, 1.

11. abulescentiam: Scipio was now probably thirty-two years old. —utraque: the plural is regularly used of classes, each containing a plurality, but is also often used, as here, of individual persons or things. The neuter is often used referring to two or more feminine nouns denoting things; cf. 37, 32, 13 ira et avaritia imperio potentiara erant.—consiliis: poss. dat.; both things more headstrong than are needed in a policy of peace.—temere: easily. —incerta casuum: see on § 4.

12. quod: summing up his position and prospects; for this use of the neuter pronoun cf. 2, 28, 4 id.—vixdum . . . aetate: see on 30, 20, 4; an exaggeration, since Romans were liable to military service as early as their seventeenth year.

13. persecutus: by avenging. In 217 P. Cornelius Scipio joined his brother, Gnaeus, in Spain (see on 21, 39), where both were killed in battle in 211. The son of Publius was then appointed commander.—amissas Hispanias: an exaggeration; though the two Scipios suffered a serious defeat in 211, northern Spain was still under the power of Rome, and that the country was by no means

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14 pulsis; consul creatus, cum ceteris ad tutandam Italian parum animi esset, transgressus in Africam, duobus hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensisseque castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni eius, tot nostri imperi ereptis, me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in possessione Italicæ detraxisti.

15 Potest victoriam malle quam pacem animus. Novi hos spiritus magnos magis quam utiles; et mihi talis aliquando fortuna adfulsit. Quodsi in secundis rebus bonam quoque momentem darent dei, non ea solum quae evenissent sed etiam ea quae evenire possent reputaremus. Vt omnium obliviscaris aliorum, satis ego documenti in omnes casus sum, quem, modo castris inter Anienem atque urbes vestram positis signa inerentem ac iam prope scandentem moenia Romana, hic cernas duobus fratibus, fortissimis viris, cla-

lost is proved by the subsequent success of the younger Scipio; see on 38, 51, 3.—quattuor . . . pulsis: cf. 28, 43, 14 f. post fusos fugatosque quattuor exercitus Punicos, post tot urbes vi captas aut metu subactas in diicionem, post perdonita omnia usque ad Oceannum, tot regulos, tot saevas gentes, post receptam totam Hispaniem ita ut vestigium bellinullum reliquam sit.

14. consul: he was elected for 205, irregularly, as he had not been praetor. Custom had established a regular order of offices, but no definite age requirement had as yet been fixed. —transgressus: this was in the next year, when he was proconsul. —binis: see on 27, 47, 4. —Syphace: a Numidian king and ally of the Carthaginians; he was captured by Masinissa in 203, and having been delivered to Scipio, was sent to Rome, where he soon died. —detraxisti: cf. 30, 20, 2 and 9.

15. potest: note the emphasis; it is possible for the mind etc. —novi: I know by experience; explained in the next sentence. 16. ut . . . obliviscaris: see on 1, 28, 5.

17. modo: in 211; see 26, 10, 3. In § 12 and here Hannibal mentions his most remarkable achievements in Italy; for his march to Rome, though unsuccessful, was a striking proof that he was practically master of the peninsula. —cernas: the clause contains a reason, being equivalent to cum
rissimis imperatoribus, orbatum, ante moenia prope obsessae patriae, quibus terrui vestram urbem, ea pro mea deprecantem. Maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum est. In bonis tuis rebus, nostris dubii, tibi ampla ac speciosa danti est pax, nobis petentibus magis necessaria quam honesta. Melior tutorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria; haec in tua, illa in deorum manu est. Ne tot annorum felicitatem in unius horae dederis discrimen; cum tuas vires, tum vim fortunae Martemque beli communem propone animo. Vtrimque ferrum, utrimque corpora humana erunt; nusquam minus quam in bello eventus respondent. Non tantum ad id, quod data pace iam habere potes, si proelio vincas, gloriae adieceris, quantum dempseris, si quid adversi eveniat. Simul parta ac sperata decora unius horae fortuna evertere potest. Omnia in pace iungenda tuae potestatis sunt, P. Corneli; tunc ea habenda fortuna erit,

me... cernas. — fratibus: Hasdrubal, killed at the Metaurus, and Mago, who died on the voyage from Liguria to Africa; see on 30, 19, 12. — ante moenia... patriae: connect with deprecantem.
— prope: connect with obsessae.
— patriae: native city; cf. 1, 1, 8.
18. maxime... credendum est: the greater our fortune, the less we may rely upon it. — ampla: honorable; cf. 27, 51, 9. In Polyb. 15, 7, 9 Hannibal closes his speech as follows: ταύτας γὰρ πέπεμπαμε τὰς συνθήκας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλινον ἀσφαλεστάτας μὲν ἔλαβε Κάραχθονοις, ἐνδοξοτάτας δὲ σοι καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις.
19. haec... illa: by reversal of the ordinary usage haec refers to the thing first mentioned; the writer wishes to emphasize the fact that pax is within their power, while victoria is remote. — ne... dederis: for the tense see on 9, 11, 13; for the meaning see on 1, 4, 7 uxori.
21. gloriae: to be taken with both tantum and id; you will not add so much glory, if you win a battle, to that which you can now have by granting peace, as you will lose, if you suffer any reverse.
22. omnia... dederint: merely a repetition of the thought in § 19. — tunc: in the other case;
23 quam di dederint. Inter paucà felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisse, si victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris; sed non statuendo felicitati modum nec cohibendo efferentem se fortuna, quanto altius elatus erat, eo foedius conruit. Est quidem eius qui dat, non qui petit, condiciones dicere pacis; sed forsitan non indigni simus, qui nobismet ipsi multam inrogemus. Non recusamus, quin omnia propter quae ad bellum itum est, vestra sint,—Sicilia, Sardinia, Hispania, quidquid insularum toto inter Africam Italianum continetur mari,—Carthaginienses inclusi Africæ litoribus vos, quando ita dis placuit, externa etiam terra marique videamus regentes imperio. Haud negaverim propter non nimis sincere petitam aut expectatum nuper pacem suspic-

*i.e.* in case of battle; cf. the use of *nunc* in 1, 28, 9.

23. *inter . . . exempla: i.e.* he would have been a conspicuous example, one of a few; cf. 22, 7, 1.

—M. Atilius: Regulus, who in 256, during the First Punic War, led an expedition to Africa, defeated the Carthaginians repeatedly, and overran the country. The Carthaginians finally sued for peace, but refused to accept the humiliating terms offered by the Roman general. Regulus was soon afterward defeated and captured.—*non statuendo . . . fortunam*: by not setting a limit for success and by not restraining rampant fortune; the figure in the latter phrase is that of an unruly horse; cf. 30, 20, 4.

24. *multam*: this would include a fine for breaking the peace, and an indemnity to cover the Roman loss.

25. *Sicilia, Sardinia*: see 21, 1, 5.—*quidquid insularum*: a common method of expressing emphatically the idea that everything is included. Corsica had been taken by the Romans in 231, Malta in 218.

26. *etiam*: even; connect with *terra marique*: it emphasizes the completeness of the surrender.

27. *propter . . . pacem*: in the previous year the Carthaginians had sought peace of Scipio, and had later sent envoys to Rome, but had tried in every way to delay the negotiations, until Hannibal should reach Africa, when they intended to resume the war; for the terms proposed by
tam esse vobis Punicam fidem. Multum, per quos petita sit, ad fidem tuendae pacis pertinet, Scipio. Vestri quoque, 28 ut audio, patres non nihil etiam ob hoc, quia parum dignitatis in legatione erat, negaverunt pacem: — Hannibal peto 29 pacem, qui neque peterem, nisi utilem crederem, et propter eandem utilitatem tuebor eam, propter quam petii. Et 30 quem ad modum, quia a me bellum coeptum est, ne quem eius paeniteret, quoad ipsi invidere dei, praestiti, ita adnitar, ne quem pacis per me partae paeniteat:"

31. Adversus haec imperator Romanus in hanc fere 1 sententiam respondit: "Non me fallebat, Hannibal, adventus tui spe Carthaginienses et praesentem indutiarum fidem et spem pacis turbasse; neque tu id sane dissimulas, qui de condicionibus superioribus pacis omnia subtrahas.

Scipio see on 30, 31, 2. — nımis: very; see on 1, 2, 3 nimo. — vobis: dat. of agent; see on 21, 34, 9. — pacis: obj. gen. with fidem.

28. quoque: i.e. your senate, too, was of the opinion which I have just expressed. — non nihil: somewhat.

29. Hannibal: in place of ego, the name calling more vividly to mind his position, his character, and his power over his people. — neque = et non, the conjunction being correlative with the following et; see on 1, 4, 4.

30. quoad . . . dei: until the very gods were envious, and therefore brought disaster upon him; it was a common belief of Greeks and Romans that the gods brought trouble to those who were conspicuously successful or happy. — praestiti: I exerted myself.

31. i. in . . . sententiam: see on 7, 30, 1. — adventus . . . turbasse: cf. 30, 29, 5. — praesentem: agreeing with fidem because indutiarum fidem is regarded as a single idea; see on 1, 1, 4 rerum initia.

2. de condicionibus superioribus: Scipio had offered the following terms: 30, 16, 10 ff. captivos et per fugas et fugitivos restituant; exercitus ex Italia et Gallia deducant; Hispania abstineant; insulis omnibus, quae inter Italiam atque Africam sint, deecedant; naves longas praeter viginti omnes tradant, tritici quingenta, hordei trecenta milia modium. Pe- cuniae summat quantum imperaverit, parum convenit; alibi
praeter ea quae iam pridem in nostra potestate sunt. Ceterum ut tibi curae est sentire cives tuos, quanto per te onere leventur, sic mihi laborandum est, ne, [si] quae tunc pepigerunt, hodie subtrahat ex condicionibus pacis praemia perfidia habeant. Indigni, quibus eadem pateat condicio, etiam ut prosit vobis fraus petitis. Neque patres nostri priores de Sicilia, neque nos de Hispania fecimus bellum; et tunc Mamertinorum sociorum periculum et nunc Sagunti excidium nobis pia ac iusta induerunt arma; vos lascississe et tu ipse fateris et dei testes sunt, qui et illius belli exitum secundum ius fasque dederunt et huius dant et dabunt.

Quod ad me attinet, et humanae infirmitatis memini et vim fortunae repto et omnia, quaecumque agimus, subiecta esse mille casibus scio; ceterum, quem ad modum superbe et violenter me faterer facere, si, priusquam in Africam traiecissem, te tua voluntate cedentem Italia et inposito in

quinque milia talentum, alibi quinque milia pondo argenti, alibi duplex stipendium militibus imperatum invenio. — subtrahas: a relative causal clause.

3. curae est: elsewhere in Livy with a substantive as subject or with a dependent ut or ne clause; e.g. 2, 24, 4; the use of the dependent inf. is found in later writers. — pepigerunt: Scipio had stipulated that, if they accepted his terms, they should make a truce and send envoys to Rome; this they had done, but the nature and conduct of the embassy were such that it was summarily dismissed by the senate. The Carthaginians thus gained the time needed for the return of Hannibal.

4. indigni . . . petitis: you who do not deserve the same terms, actually expect your treachery to bring you better ones. condicio is the whole arrangement, including all the condiciones mentioned in § 2. — priores: sc. also with nos; i.e. neither did our fathers begin the first war, nor we this one. — pia ac iusta: see on 9, 1, 10.

5. tu ipse fateris: see 30, 30, 30.

6. humanae infirmitatis . . . scio: referring to 30, 30, 19 and 21.

7. faterer, asperrarer: the thought is presented vividly as a non-occurrence condition in present time. — ipsum: like tua voluntate, of your own accord; as we say colloquially, of one's self.
naves exercitu ipsum venientem ad pacem petendam aspernarer, sic nunc, cum prope manu conserta restitantem ac tergiversantem in Africam adtractorum, nulla sum tibi verecundia obstrictus. Proinde si quid ad ea, in quae tum pax conventura videbatur, quasi multa navium cum commeatu per indutias expugnatarum legatorumque violatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium; sin illa quoque gravia videntur, bellum parate, quoniam pacem pati non potuiis.

Ita infecta pace ex conloquio ad suos cum se recepissent, frustra verba iactata reunitant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam quam dei dedissent.

8. manu conserta: by actual force; the singular, as in 21, 41, 4; usually the plural, as in 1, 23, 5. — nulla...obstrictus: i.e. I am under no obligation to be modest in my attitude toward you.

9. ad ea...videbatur: to those terms on which peace then seemed about to be arranged, i.e. in the negotiations of the previous year. For this use of in cf. § 1 in...sententiam and 29, 12, 14 in eas condiciones cum pax conveniret. — quasi multa navium: as a fine for the vessels; see 30, 37, 6. The gen. with multa regularly gives the amount of the fine, not the crime; cf. 30, 37, 1 perfidiae. — commeatu: supplies. — expugnatarum, violatorum: see on 1, 3, 4 deductam. During the truce of 203 a fleet of 30 ships of war and 200 transports loaded with supplies for the Roman forces in Africa, within sight of Carthage was scattered by a storm. The vessels were seized by the Carthaginians. The envoys sent by Scipio to remonstrate barely escaped violent treatment in Carthage and were almost captured on their return. — est quod...consilium: there is something for me to refer to my council. The membership of a general's council was not definitely fixed by law or custom. The legati and tribuni were always members, and, at the general's discretion, some of the centurions. Polyb. 15, 8, 14 gives Scipio's demand, which Livy, strangely enough, omits: τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ὑμᾶς διδόναι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἡ μαχομένους μικῶν. — illa: the terms formerly offered.

10. iactata: the verb well describes what has taken place, at least in Livy's description of the meeting; the terms proposed by Hannibal can hardly be regarded


Terms of Peace

37. Postero die revocatis legatis et cum multa castigatione perfidiae monitis, ut tot cladibus edocti tandem deos et ius iurandum esse crederent, condiciones pacis dictae, ut liberi legibus suis viverent; quas urbes quosque agros quibusque finibus ante bellum tenuissent, tenerent, populo landique finem eo die Romanus faceret; perfugas fugitivosque et captivos omnis redderent Romanis et naves rostratas praeter decem triremes traderent elephantosque, quos ha-

as an ultimatum, Scipio has made no proposal whatever, and there has been nothing in the nature of a conference.


After the battle Scipio returned to the coast and, sending his legions by land, himself went by sea to Utica. He finally encamped at Tunes, where he received the Carthaginian envoys.

37. 1. perfidiae: gen. of the crime; cf. 30, 31, 9 navium. The word refers particularly to the treachery of the Carthaginians in the negotiations of the previous year.

2. liberi: their freedom was restricted by the prohibition of § 4. Moreover, according to Appian 54 they were to be friends and allies of the Romans, κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, a stipulation of which Livy appears to have been aware; 36, 4, 10 de classe Carthaginiensibus remissum, praeterquam si quid navium ex foedere debereint. — quas . . . tenerent: this statement also must be taken with restrictions; Polyb. 15, 18, 1 says they were to retain the possessions which they had had in Libya before the war. Appian 54 says that they were to withdraw their garrisons from towns which lay outside the Φωκίδες τάφροι.

— quibusque finibus: an unnecessary and somewhat awkward addition; quibusque finibus eos (agros) tenuissent would be a full statement of the thought. — Romanus: collective, as in 1, 25, 12 Romanus Albano imperet.

3. fugitivos: runaway slaves.

— naves rostratas: including, as is clear from praeter . . . triremes, not only triremes, but larger vessels, of four and five banks of oars.

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berent domitos, neque domarent alios; bellum neve in 
Africa neve extra Africam iniusu populi Romani gere-
rent; Masinissae res redderent foedusque cum eo facerent;
frumentum stipendiumque auxiliis, donec ab Roma legati
redissent, praestarent; decem milia talentum argenti, dis-
cripta pensionibus aequis in annos quinquaginta, solverent;
obсидes centum arbitratu Scipionis darent, ne minores quat-
tuordecim annis neu triginta maiores. Indutias ita se datu-
rum, si per priores indutias naves onerariae captae, quaeque
fuissent in navibus, restituerentur; aliter nec indutias nec
spem pacis ullam esse.
Has condiciones legati cum domum referre iussi in con-
tione edent, et Gisgo ad dissuadendam pacem processis-
set audireturque a multitudine inquieta eadem et inbelli,

— haberent domitos: see on 3, 48,
1. — neque = et ne; see on 3, 44. 5.
4. bellum . . . gererent: the
statement of Polybius is somewhat
different: πόλεμον μηδέν τῶν ἔξω
τῆς Διβύνης ἐπιφέρειν καθόλου μηδὲ
tῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύη χωρίς τῆς Ῥω-
μαίων γνώμης. According to Ap-
pian, the prohibition was less
sweping: μήτε Μασσανάσση
μήτε ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ πολε-
μείν. It was this stipulation and
the indefinite nature of the Nu-
midian boundaries which offered
a pretext for the Third Punic
War.
5. auxiliis: according to Polybi-
us and Appian, for the whole army.
— legati: the Carthaginian envoys
who would be sent to Rome with
power to ratify the treaty. — decem
milia talentum: Polybius and Ap-
pian specify Euboean talents, the
value of which was about $1160.
Appian makes the annual payment
250 instead of 200 talents. — pen-
sionibus aequis: see on 6, 35, 4.
6. centum: Polybius gives the
same number; in 40, 34, 14 (cf.
32, 2, 3) Livy speaks as if there
were more, —a confusion due, no
doubt, to the fact that hostages
were sometimes returned, new
ones being sent in their places. —
ne: justified by the imperative
nature of the sentence; ne obsides
minores . . . darent would be the
full form. — minores, maiores: for
omission of natu, see on 1, 3, 2. —
ita: referring forward to si . . .
restituerentur.
7. contione: Appian says that
the people discussed the terms for
several days.
8 indignatus Hannibal dici ea in tali tempore audirique, adreptum Gisonem manu sua ex superiore loco detractit. Quae insueta liberae civitati species cum fremitum populi movisset, perturbatus militaris vir urbana libertate "Novem" inquit "annorum a vobis profectus post sextum et tricesimum annum redii. Militares artes, quas me a puero fortuna nunc privata nunc publica docuit, probe videor scire; urbis ac fori iura, leges, mores vos me oportet doceatis." Excusa inprudentia de pace multis verbis disseruit, quam nec iniqua et necessaria esset. Id omnium maxime difficile erat, quod ex navibus per indutias captis nihil praeter ipsas comparebat naves; nec inquisitio erat facilis, adversantibus paci qui arguerentur. Placuit naves reddi et homines utique inquiri; cetera, quae abessent, aessimanda Scipioni permittii, atque ita pecunia luere Carthaginenses. Sunt qui Hannibalem ex acie ad mare pervenisse, inde praepa-

8. quae . . . species: this spectacle, strange to a free state; for this passive use of insuetus cf. 3, 52, 5. — perturbatus: i.e. accustomed to military discipline, he was amazed at their expressions of disapproval; he had not appreciated the freedom of a city populace.

9. novem annorum: cf. 21, 1, 4 and see on 21, 4, 1; the gen. is descriptive. — nunc . . . nunc: cf. 30, 30, 10 iam . . . iam; not equivalent to et . . . et, but indicating different periods of time. — privata, publica: by the former he means that he was of a military family, and naturally was trained in warfare by his father; by the latter, that he was appointed general, to command the forces of the state.

10. nec . . . et = et non . . . et; cf. 1, 28, 5.

11. id: referring forward to quod . . . arguerentur. — adversantibus . . . arguerentur: those who were charged with the possession of property taken from the Roman vessels became opponents of the peace, and, if pushed too hard, might cause its rejection; arguerentur is iterative.

12. homines . . . inquiri: that the men at all events (those captured on the vessels) should be discovered. — luere: make compensation.
Book XXXIII

Proclamation of Greek Freedom after the Battle of Cynoscephalae

32. Isthmiorum statum ludicrum aderat, semper quidem et alias frequens cum propter spectaculi studium insitum, genti, quo certamina omnis generis artium viriumque et pernicitatis visuntur, tum quia propter opportunitatem loci, per duo diversa maria omnium rerum usus ministrantis humano generi, concilium Asiae Graeciaeque is mercatus erat; tum vero non ad solitos modo usus undique convenerant, virium includes boxing, wrestling, jumping, the javelin, and the discus; pernicitatis includes races in chariots, on horseback, and on foot. — visuntur: applied somewhat incorrectly to the poetical and musical contests, which were, however, subordinate; cf. moreover, the common use of video, as, e.g., in 34, 31, 13 mel... tyrannum vocari video.

2. omnium... ministrantis: suppling necessities of all sorts; cf. 5, 47, 8 and the meaning of usus in the next section. — concilium... erat: that market was the meeting place of Asia and Greece. All the great festivals were fairs, and people came to buy and sell, as well as to see and hear.

3. usus: purposes, including spectaculi studium. — erecti: on
sed expectatione erecti, qui deinde status futurus Graeciae, quae sua fortuna esset; alii alia non taciti solum opinabantur sed sermonibus etiam ferebant Romanos facturos; vix cuquam persuadebatur Graecia omni cessuros. Ad spectaculum consederant, et praeco cum tubicines, ut mos est, in medium aream, unde sollemni carmine ludicrum indici solet, processit et tuba silentio facto ita pronuntiat: "Senatus Romanus et T. Quintius imperator, Philippo rege Macedonibusque devictis, liberos, inmunes, suis legibus esse iubet Corinthios, Phocenses, Locrensesque omnis et insulam Eubocean et Magnetas, Thessalos, Perrhaebos, Achaeos Phthiotas." Percensuerat omnis gentis, quae sub dicione Philippi regis fuerant. Audita voce praeconis maius gau-7
dium fuit quam quod universum homines acciperent. Vix

tipiœ. — deinde: from that time on. — alia: obj. of facturos, the ind. disc. being introduced by both verbs, opinabantur and ferebant.
4. ad spectaculum: cf. 21, 42, 1. — aream: the stadium. — sollemni carmine: in established formula; for the meaning of sollemni see on 3, 36, 3.
5. senatus: theoretically, the right to declare war and conclude peace belonged to the people; in practice, both questions were decided by the senate. Val. Max. 4, 8, 5 has senatus populusque Romanus, and so Appian. — T. Quintius: T. Quintius Flamininus, consul in 198 and commander in the second war against Philip of Macedon, whom he defeated at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly in 197. — liberos: politically free. — inmunes: exempt from taxation; cf. 21, 45, 5. — suis legibus: repeating somewhat more definitely the idea of liberos; cf. 33, 30, 1 f. pax data Philippo in has leges est, ut omnes Graecorum civitates, quae in Europe quaeque in Asia essent, libertatem ac suas habere leges. — iubet: for the singular verb see on 1, 3, 1. — Locrensesque omnis: Ozolian, Epicnemidian, and Opuntian. — Perrhaebos: in southern Thessaly. — Achaeos Phthiotas: southeast of Thessaly. In 33, 34, 6 the Orestae and Dolopes also are mentioned.

6. omnis gentis: other states which had been in alliance with Philip had already been won over by Flamininus or had been subdued. — quam . . . acciperent: cf.
satis credere se quisque audisse, et alii alios intueri mirabundii velut ad somni vanam speciem; quod ad quemque pertinebat, suarum aurium fidei minimum credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus praeco, cum unusquisque non audire modo sed videre libertatis suae nuntium averet, iterum pronuntiavit eadem. Tum ab certo iam gaudio tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus totiensque repetitus, ut facile adpararet nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam libertatem esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent; adeo unum gaudium praecoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum.

33. Ludis vero dimissis cursu prope omnes tendere ad imperatorem Romanum, ut ruente turba in unum adire, contingere dextram cupientium, coronas lemniscoque iacientium haud procul periculo fuerit. Sed erat trium ferme et triginta annorum, et cum robur iuventae tum

9, 9, 14; 27, 50, 7. — universum: all at once.
7. ad: for the meaning see on 1, 25, 6. — quod ... pertinebat: as to that which concerned them individually; i.e. the treatment of their own states.
9. ab: denoting cause, as in 1, 1, 4. — iam: connect with certo.
ro. animi: apparently an unparallleled use of the plural in this sense, applied to one person. — praecoccupaverat: prevented.
33. i. ludis ... dimissis: the festival, for those attending it; as colloquially in English, "The play is out;" cf. 26, 15, 6 dimittens praetorium. The oppo-site, ludos committere, is of frequent occurrence. — cursu: on the run; cf. 9, 13, 2 cursu in hostem fe-runtur.
2. in unum: to one place, together; connect with ruente. — adire, contingere: this asyndeton and that between cupientium and iacientium emphasize the excitement of the crowd. — coronas lemniscoque: crowns with pendent ribbons; crowns thus adorned were the highest reward of victors in war and in the public games. — fuerit: for the tense see on 1, 3, 4; imperator is the subject.
3. trium ... triginta: consistent with the statement of Plutarch
gaudium ex tam insigni gloriae fructu vires suppeditabat. 
4 Nec praesens tantummodo effusa est laetitia, sed per multos dies gratis et cogitationibus et sermonibus renovata: 
5 esse aliquam in terris gentem, quae sua inpensa, suo labore 
6 ac periculo bella gerat pro libertate aliorum nec hoc finitimis aut propinquae vicinitatis hominibus aut terris continentibus iunctis praestet, sed maria traiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum in iustum imperium sit, ubique ius, fas, lex 
potentissima sint. Vna voce praeconis liberatas omnis 
8 Graeciae atque Asiae urbes; hoc spe concipere audacis 
animi fuisse, ad effectum adducere et virtutis et fortunae 
ingentis.

**Book XXXVIII**

*Trial of Scipio*

4 **50.** Oppressit deinde mentionem memoriamque omnem 
contentionis huius maius et cum maiore et clariore viro 

that when elected consul (199) he was not yet thirty. — *gloriae fructu*: 
*accession of fame*; cf. 27, 45, 5.

4. **gratis**: *grateful*; qualifying the two following nouns.

6. **hoc . . praestet**: *render this service.* — *propinquae vicinitatis*: indicating those somewhat more remote than *finitimis.* — *iunctis*: qualifying *hominibus*; lit. *those connected by adjoining lands*; these, though more remote than those *propinquae vicinitatis,* would be more accessible than those living across the sea.

7. **ubique**: *but that everywhere*; adversative asyndeton. — **ius, fas, lex**: Livy has *ius fasque* or *ius ac fas* frequently, but not elsewhere this combination. *ius* and *lex* are often synonymous, but here *ius* is the abstract principle of human law as opposed to that of divine law (*fas*), while *lex* is the concrete body of law. — *Asiae urbes*: not mentioned in the proclamation, which had included only the states actually subject to Philip; see 33, 30, 1 f. quoted on 33, 32, 5.

Book XXXVIII. **504–53.** References: Polyb. 23, 14. Val. Max. 3, 7, 1; 5, 3, 2. Gell. 4, 18;
certamen ortum. P. Scipioni Africano, ut Valerius Antias auctor est, duo Q. Petillii diem dixerunt. Id, prout cuiusque ingenium erat, interpretabantur. Alii non tribunos plebis, sed universam civitatem, quae id pati posset, incusabant: duae, maximas orbis terrarum urbes ingratas uno prope tempore in principes inventas, Romam ingratorem, si quidem victa Carthago victum Hannibalem in exilium expulisset, Roma victrix victorem Africanum expellat. Alii, neminem unum civem tantum eminere debere, ut legi-

7, 19. App. Syr. 40. Ihne, 4, 326–332. Mommsen, 2, 483–484. 50. 4. contentiones huius: regarding the triumph claimed by Cn. Manlius for his operations in Asia. — maius et . . . viro: for the combination of attributives of different form see on 21, 29, 4. 5. Valeriius Antias: see Introd. 7. — Q. Petillii: Dio Cassius, fr. 70, says they were dēlphoi (brothers or, possibly, cousins); according to Plut. Cato Major 15, it was Cato who induced them to bring the charge. Only one could legally appear as plaintiff, and only one is mentioned by Polybius and Aurelius Victor. There is much confusion in ancient writers regarding this trial and the end of Scipio’s life; 38, 56, 2 non de accusatore convenit — alii M. Naevium, alii Petillios diem dixisse scribunt —, non de tempore quo dicta dies sit, non de anno quo mortuus sit, non ubi mortuus aut elatus sit. Alii Romae, alii Literi et mortuum et sepultum. Gell. 4, 18 gives Nae-

vius as the plaintiff. The confusion is probably due to the fact that there were two distinct prosecutions, the first brought by the Petillii against L. Scipio, the second by Naevius against Africanus. If the date of the tribuneship of Naevius is correctly given by Livy 39, 52, 4, this second prosecution did not occur till 185. — diem dixerunt: for the charge see 38, 51, 1. 6. tribunos plebis: the Petillii. 7. Carthago . . . expulisset: Hannibal’s political enemies in Carthage reported to the Romans that he was trying to induce Antiochus, king of Syria, to make war upon Rome. On the approach of Roman envoys he fled to Antiochus at Ephesus. This was in 193. He never returned to Carthage. — expulisset . . . expellat: a striking instance of the freedom which Livy allowed himself in the sequence of tenses; see on 1, 27, 8. — Roma . . . Africanum: note the chiastic order and cf. the preceding victa . . . Hannibalem.
bus interrogari non possit; nihil tam aequandae libertatis esse quam potentissimum quemque posse dicere causam. 9 Quid autem tuto cuiquam, nedum summam rem publicam, permetti, si ratio non sit reddenda? Qui ius aequum pati non possit, in eum vim haud iniustam esse. Haec agitata sermonibus, donec dies causae dicendae venit. Nec alius antea quisquam nec ille ipse Scipio consul censorve maiore omnis generis hominum frequentia quam reus illo die in forum est deductus. Iussus dicere causam, sine ulla crimi-

num mentione orationem adeo magnificam de rebus ab se gestis est exorsus, ut satis constaret neminem umquam neque melius neque verius laudatum esse. Dicebantur

8. neminem unum civem: no single citizen; see on 3, 45, 4 quisquam unus, and, for the adj. use of nemo, cf. 9, 9, 16. — legibus interrogari: lit. be examined as to the laws; a technical term, referring to the custom of asking the defendant, when the charge was made, whether or not he had broken the law in question. — tam: qualifying aequandae libertatis as if the phrase were an adj.; cf. 25, 31, 15 ni tam in tempore subvenisset. — aequandae libertatis: descriptive genitive, giving the tendency or purpose of nihil. — posse dicere causam: i.e. could be accused, so that he would be compelled to defend himself.

9. nedum: used regularly, as a negative (nihil) is implied in the preceding words; Livy does, however, use nedum where no negative is expressed or implied, as, e.g., in 9, 18, 4. — vim: referring to the present charge, though the state-

ment is a general one. The idea is this, that if Scipio were subject to the same laws as other citizens, there would be no question as to his liability to scrutiny; if he holds himself exempt and fears investigation, severe treatment is justified.

10. dies causae dicendae: such a case was tried before an informal assembly of the people (contio). The trial was adjourned (diem pro-
dicere) three times; at the fourth contio the magistrate gave his de-
cision, and seventeen days later this was submitted to the comitia for approval.

11. sine . . . mentione: connect with est exorsus. — orationem: re-

ferring, not to the brief speech of 38, 51, 7 ff., but to a much longer one omitted by Livy possibly because it was not preserved in the confused tradition of the trial. — melius: i.e. for better things.
BOOK XXXVIII

enim ab eo eodem animo ingenioque quo gesta erant et . aurium fastidium aberat, quia pro periculo, non in gloriam referebantur.

51. Tribuni vetera luxuriae crimina Syracusanorum hibernorum et Locris Pleminianum tumultum cum ad fidem praesentium criminum ret tulissent, suspicionibus magis quam argumentis pecuniae captae reum accusarunt: filium captum sine pretio redditum, omnibusque aliis rebus Scipionem, tamquam in eius unius manu pax Romana bellumque esset, ab Antioco cultum; dictatorem eum consuli, non legatum in provincia fuisse; nec ad aliam rem

dicebantur: sc. res. — aurium fastidium aberat: there was no feeling of disgust in his hearers. — in gloriam: see on 21, 43, 7.

51. i. luxuriae: excesses. — Syracusanorum hibernorum: Scipio spent the winter of 205-204 in Sicily with an army of volunteers, the senate having refused the army which he needed for his proposed expedition to Africa. The charge here mentioned is given in detail in 29, 19, 11 f. — Locris: locative; for this attributive use cf. 36, 15, 1 amova Chal cide hiberna. Locri was near the southern extremity of Italy. — Pleminianum: Pleminius was Scipio's legate, who was left in charge of the recently conquered town of Locri. His treatment of the inhabitants was so cruel that they sent envoys to Rome to protest; in the course of the investigation, it was asserted that Scipio had continued him in command

even after learning of these outrages. — cum: for the position see on 21, 34, 4. — ad fidem: to give color to; see on 21, 34, 3. — ret tulissent: recalled. — pecuniae cap tae: a technical term for the illegal taking of money. Gellius states the charge more definitely, — ac cepisse a rege Antioco pecuniam, ut conditionibus gratiosis et mol lisbus pax cum eo populi Romani nomine fieret.

a. filium . . . redditum: equivalent to the taking of money. This was the younger of Scipio's two sons, who was elected praetor in 174, but, in the same year, because of his evil ways, was expelled from the senate. — Romana: connect also with bellum. — Antioco: L. Cornelius Scipio, brother of Africanus, was consul in 190 and was given the province of Greece and the conduct of the war against Antiocbus chiefly on the promise of Africanus to accompany his

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eo profectum, quam ut, id quod Hispaniae, Galliae, Siciliae, Africae iam pridem persuasum esset; hoc Graeciae Asiae-que et omnibus ad orientem versis regibus gentibusque adpareret, unum hominem caput columnaque imperi Romani esse, sub umbra Scipionis civitatem dominam orbis terrarum latere, nutum eius pro decretis patrum, pro populi iussis esse. Infamia intactum invidia, qua possunt, urgent. Orationibus in noctem perductis dicta dies est. Vbi ea venit, tribuni in rostris prima luce consederunt; citatus reus magno agmine amicorum clientiumque per mediam contionem ad rostra subiit silentioque facto, "Hoc" inquit "die, tribuni plebis vosque, Quirites, cum Hannibale et Carthaginiensibus signis conlatis in Africa bene ac feliciter pugnavi. Itaque, cum hodie litibus et iurgiis supersederi

brother as *legatus*. Antiochus was defeated near Magnesia in the same year.

3. *Hispaniae*: Scipio took Carthago Nova in 210, soon after his arrival in Spain, and within three years drove the Carthaginians entirely out of the country. — *Galliae*: in 194, during his second consulship, he made an expedition, apparently of little importance, into the countries of the Boii and Ligurians. — *Siciliae*: see on § 1. His operations in Sicily are described in detail in Bk. XXIX, chap. 1.

4. *sub umbra*: cf. 7, 30, 18. — *infamia ... urgent*: untouched by disgrace, they assail him as they can with envy; i.e. as they could bring no definite charge capable of proof, they tried to arouse envy and hatred by ascribing to him an arrogant assumption of power.

5. *dicta*: see on 38, 50, 10.

6. *tribuni*: the judges; the tribunes, of whom there were at this time ten, presided in the *concilium plebis*, the court before which ex-magistrates were called to account. The present meeting, being preliminary in its nature, was, however, a *contio*, not a formal assembly. — *rostris*: see on 27, 50, 9. — *consederunt*: used technically of a judge taking his official seat; cf. 3, 46, 9 *sedisse*. — *agmine*: see on 3, 50, 3. — *subiit*: cf. 38, 52, 11 *sub rostris ... stare*.

7. *hoc ... die*: it was the anniversary of the battle of Zama.

8. *litibus ... supersederi*: as on the day of a festival; Cic. *Leg. 2, 29 feriarum festorumque dierum*
aequum sit, ego hinc extemplo in Capitolium ad Iovem Optimum Maximum Junonemque et Minervam ceterosque deos qui Capitolio atque arci praesident salutandos ibo, hisque gratias agam, quod mihi et hoc ipso die et saepe alias egregie gerendae rei publicae mentem facultatemque dederunt. Vestrum quoque quibus commodum est, Qui rites, ite mecum, et orate deos, ut mei similes principes habeatis, ita, si ab annis septemdecim ad senectutem semper vos aetatem meam honoribus vestris antestis, ego vestros honores rebus gerendis praecessi." Ab rostris in Capitolium ascendit. Simul se universa contio avertit et secuta Scipionem est, adeo ut postremo scribae viatoresque tribunos relinquerent, nec cum iis praeter servilem comitatum et praecomem, qui reum ex rostris citabat, quisquam esset. Scipio non in Capitolio modo, sed per totam urbem omnia templâ deum cum populo Romano circumiit. Celebratio in liberis requietem habet li trium et iurgiorum, in servis operum et laborum. — Capitolium: the southern summit of the Capitoline Hill; see on 5, 39, 9. — Iovem... praesident: a regular formula. The great temple had three cellae, that of Jupiter in the middle, Juno on the left, Minerva on the right. — ceterosque deos: besides the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitolium and that of Juno Moneta on the Arx, there were on the hill at this time temples or shrines of Jupiter Custos, Jupiter Feretrius, Fides, Mens, Venus, Ops, Veiovis, and Concordia. 

9. mentem facultatemque: the ability and the opportunity.

11. ita: on this condition. — ab annis septemdecim: the year when he was first liable to military service; he is first mentioned in 218, when, according to Livy 21, 46, 7, he saved his father's life at the Battle of the Trebia; he was then probably in his seventeenth year. — aetatem... antestis: a general statement, not referring to violations of the lex annalis, which was not passed till 180.

12. servilem comitatum: their attendant slaves. — qui... citabat: who from the rostra kept summoning the defendant.

14. prope: the separation of the adv. from its adj. is unusual; cf. 39, 40, 5 pariter. — aestima-
brator is prope dies favore hominum et aestimatione vera magnitudinis eius fuit, quam quo triumphans de Syphace rege et Carthaginiensibus urbem est invectus.

1 52. Hic speciosus ultimus dies P. Scipioni inluxit. Post quem cum invidiam et certamina cum tribunis prospereret, die longiore predicta, in Literinum concessit certo consilio, ne ad causam dicendam adesset. Maior animus et natura erat ac maior fortunae adsuetus, quam ut reus esse sciret et submittere se in humilitatem causam dicentium. Vbi dies venit citarique absens est coepit, L. Scipio morbum causae esse, cur abesset, excusabat. Quam excusationem cum tribuni qui diem dixerant non acciperent, et ab eadem superbia non venire ad causam dicendam arguerent, qua iudicium et tribunos plebis et contionem reliquisset, et, quibus ius sententia de se dicendae et libertatem ademisset,

tione: recognition. — de: cf. 21, 46, 8 victoriam de Hannibale; 30, 30, 4.

52. 1. hic ... dies: with hic sc. dies, and take speciosus ... dies as pred. nom; this was the last bright day that dawned for P. Scipio. — die ... predicta: a more distant day having been appointed; i.e. the adjournment was for a longer time than usual; why this was so, it is difficult to see. — Literinum: sc. praedium. Liternum was on the Campanian coast north of Cumae, where Scipio apparently had an estate; see § 7 ex villa sua. He was not technically an exile, as Liternum was a Roman colony; 39, 52, 9 Scipio etsi non exul neque damnatus, die tamen dicta ad quam non ad fuerat

reus, absens citatus, voluntarium non sibimet ipse solum, sed etiam funeri suo exilium indixit.

2. adsuetus: sc. Scipio; the change of subject is awkward, and we should perhaps read animo instead of animus. — sciret: for the meaning cf. 9, 4, 3.

3. causae: dat. of tendency or result; Lane, 1219; cf. § 10. — excusabat: offered as an excuse; with an object clause, morbum ... esse.

4. tribuni: the plaintiffs, the Petillii, who had the privilege of protesting the excuse. — ab ... superbia: see on 33, 32, 9. — venire: sc. eum; see on 1, 25, 7 secuturos. — qua: connect with egisset and fecisset, as well as with reliquisset.

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his comitatus, velut captos trahens, triumphum de populo Romano egisset secessionemque eo die in Capitolium a tribunis plebis fecisset: — “Habetis ergo temeritatis illius mercedem; quo duce et auctore nos reliquistis, ab eo ipsi relicti estis, et tantum animorum in dies nobis decrescit, ut, ad quem ante annos septemdecim exercitum et classem habentem tribunis plebis aedilemque mittere in Siciliam ausi sumus, qui prenderent eum et Romam reducerent, ad eum privatum ex villa sua extrahendum ad causam dicendam mittere non audeamus” — tribuni plebis appellati ab L. Scipione ita decreverunt: si morbi causa excusaretur, sibi placere accipi eam causam diemque a collegis prodici. Tribunus plebis eo tempore Ti. Sempronius Gracchus erat, cui inimicitiae cum P. Scipione intercedebant. Is, cum

5. quibus: dat. with ademisset; the antecedent is his. — libertatem: i.e. he had made himself their master; the same idea is contained in captos. — his: the regular abl. of means with comitatus in a passive sense. — captos trahens: as the general, marching in triumphal procession to the Capitol, was accompanied by his most important captives. — triumphum . . . egisset: had triumphed; cf. 5, 10, 4 custodiæ agerent; 24, 45, 4 arbitria agere. These combinations are mere circumlocutions for the action indicated by the noun.

6. habetis etc.: the abrupt change to the direct discourse is somewhat harsh.

7. tantum . . . decrescit: so much of our courage is disappearing every day. For the plural animorum see on 1, 25, 3, and for the dat. nobis see on 1, 5, 6 Numitori. — ante annos septemdecim: at the time of the Locrian incident; see on 38, 51, 1. This embassy was sent to discover whether Pleminius had acted with the approval of Scipio, and, if so, to remove Scipio from his command.

8. tribuni plebis: the plaintiffs. — appellati: against the protest of § 4. — causa: nom.; if the excuse of illness was offered. — diemque . . . prodici: i.e. though they had no faith in the excuse, they were willing to accept it, if their colleagues would merely postpone the trial.

9. Gracchus: father of the famous tribunes. — cui . . . intercedebant: between whom and P. Scipio
vetuisset nomen suum decreto collegarum adscribi, tristiorque omnes sententiam expectarent, ita decrevit: cum L. Scipio excusasset morbum esse causae fratri, satis id sibi videri; se P. Scipionem, priusquam Romam redisset, accusari non passurum; tum quoque, si se appellet, auxilio ei futurum, ne causam dicat; ad id fastigium rebus gestis, honoribus populi Romani P. Scipionem deorum hominumque consensu pervenisset, ut sub rostris reum stare et prae- bere aures adolescentium conviciis populo Romano magis deforme quam ipsi sit.


there were unfriendly relations. — tristiorum: more severe.

10. priusquam ... redisset: until Scipio returned voluntarily; he would not approve the appointment of a definite day for the trial. — non passurum: his veto would be sufficient.

11. deorum hominumque: referring respectively to rebus gestis and honoribus.

53. 1. indignationem: an indignant speech; see on 3, 48, 9.

2. ideo: for this purpose. — quattuor ... duces: the two Hasdrubals, Hanno, and Mago. — Syphacem cepit: Syphax was in fact taken by Masinissa and delivered to Scipio. — vectigalem: not strictly true, as the payment made by Carthage was a war indemnity, not a tax; in 36, 4, 7 it is called stipendium. Cf. the similar exaggeration in 21, 41, 7 Hannibal ... vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus.

3. Antiochum ... emovit: in the treaty of 188 Antiochus gave up his possessions west of the Taurus Mountains; see on 38, 51, 2. — duobus Petilliiis: to two Petillii; contrasted with those just named. — vos: the other tribunes,
peteretis? Nullisne meritis suis, nullis nostris honoribus umquam in arcem tutam et velut sanctam clari viri pervenient, ubi, si non venerabilis, inviolata saltem senectus eorum considat?" Movit et decretum et adiecta oratio non ceteros modo, sed ipsos etiam accusatores, et deliberatus se, quid iuris sui et offici esset, dixerunt. Senatus deinde, concilio plebis dimisso, haberi est coeptus. Ibi gratiae ingentes ab universo ordine, praecipue a consularibus senioribusque, Ti. Graccho actae sunt, quod rem publicam privatis simulatibus potiorem habuisset, et Petillii vexati sunt probris, quod splendere aliena invidia voluissent et spolia ex Africani triumpho peterent. Silentium deinde de Africano fuit. Vitam Lerni egi sine desiderio urbis; morientem rure eo ipso loco sepeliri se iussisse ferunt monumentumque ibi aedificari, ne funus sibi in ingrata patria fieret. Vir memorabilis, bellicos tamen quam pacis artibus memorabilior. Nobilior prima pars vitae quam who have supported the charge of the Petili. — de: cf. 35, 12, 15 praeclam de Philippo. — palam peteretis: i.e. win a victory over Scipio; the same idea in § 7.

4. inviolata: inviolate and inviolable; cf. 2, 1, 4 and see on 24, 34, 9 intacti. Cf. 2, 7, 9 numquamne erga uti adeo vobis spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violare nequeat?

5. quid . . . esset: what was their right and their duty.

6. concilio . . . dimisso: the meeting was not strictly a concilium plebis, but a contio, the third of the regular sessions. — est coeptus: see on 2, 1, 4. — simulta-
tibus: the plural is more common than the singular, perhaps on account of the idea of reciprocity inherent in the word.

7. aliena invidia: so Livy says of C. Terentius Varro, 22, 34, 2, ab Q. Fabio opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem. — spolia: cf. § 3 palam.

— Africani: objective gen.; a triumph over Africanus; cf. 33, 37, Io Boiurum triumphi spem collegae reliquit.

8. silentium fuit: i.e. the case was dropped. — morientem: probably in 183. — eo: connect with loco. — ferunt: see on 38, 50, 5.

9. memorabilis . . . memoria-

**Book XXXIX**

*Cato the Censor*

1 **40.** His comitiiis prudentia et virtute senatus sublatis, alia maioris certaminis, quo et maiore de re et inter plures potentioresque viros, sunt exorta. Censuram summa con-

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tentione petebant L. Valerius Flaccus, P. et L. Scipiones, Cn. Manlius Vulso, L. Furius Purpurio, patricii, plebeii autem M. Porcius Cato, M. Fulvius Nobilior, Ti. et M. Sempronii, Longus et Tuditanus. Sed omnes patricios plebeiosque nobilissimorum familiarum M. Porcius longe antebat. In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingenique fuit, ut, quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisset videretur. Nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit; urbanas rusticasse res pariter held. — virtute: firmness. — alia: sc. comitia. — maioris: sc. eo, correlative with quo. — sunt exorta: the meaning of the verb is hardly appropriate to comitia, and its use can be explained only as suggesting the contest which accompanied the election.

2. P. et L. Scipiones: P. Scipio Nasica, a cousin of Africanus, consul in 191, and L. Scipio, brother of Africanus. — Manlius: triumphed over the Gauls in 187. — Furius: triumphed over the Gauls during his praetorship in 200, was consul in 196, and ambassador to Antiochus in 189.

3. Fulvius: consul in 190, and conqueror of the Aetolians in the following year. — Ti. . . Tuditanus: Ti. Sempronius Longus and M. Sempronius Tuditanus. The former was consul with Africanus in 194, the latter in 184. nobilissimarum: most eminent; cf. 9, 1, 1. Cato’s family was a humble one, which had never distinguished itself. His early life was passed on his father’s farm in the Sabine country. He served in the Second Punic War, and after his return to Rome went through the regular series of public offices, holding the consulship in 195. During that year and the next he exhibited his great military genius in a successful campaign in Spain, for which he was awarded a triumph. In 191 he served with distinction against Antiochus. He was censor in 184. His last public service was an embassy in 150 to Carthage, to settle a dispute between Carthage and Masinissa. He died in 149.

4. fortunam . . . facturus fuisset: cf. 1, 34, 11, ipse fortunam . . . adiuvabit. — urbanas rusticasse: both of general meaning, not referring to public and private business respectively, which would be a mere repetition of the previous sentence. On rusticas res cf. Plin. 14, 4, 44 (Cato) optimus ac sine aemulo agricola. Of his various literary works the only one extant is on the subject of agriculture.
5 callebat. Ad summos honores alios scientia iuris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris provexit; huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcumque ageret; in bello manu fortissimus multisque insignibus clarus pugnis, idem, postquam ad magnos honores pervenit, summus imperator; idem in pace, si ius consuleres, peritissimus, si causa oranda esset, 7 eloquentissimus; nec is tantum cuius lingua vivo eo viguerit, monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet; vivit immo vigetque eloquentia eius sacra scriptis omnis generis.

5. versatile: Plin. 7, 25, 100 Cato tris summas in homine res praestissise existimatur, ut esset optimus orator, optimus imperator, optimus senator. versatile, which is not used elsewhere in this sense, is pred. adj.; his genius was so equally versatile in all directions. — pariter: separated from its adj. (see on 38, 51, 14 prope), but thus brought nearer to ad omnia. — ad omnia: depending upon versatile, a common use of ad (=in respect to) with adjectives; so ad id unum. — natum: sc. eum; cf. 9, 10, 10 gesturos. — ageret: not a part of the ind. disc., but protasis of diceres.

6. manu: in actual conflict, hand-to-hand fighting as a soldier, contrasted with his service as commander. — idem: see on 7, 2, 8. — si ius consuleres: if you consulted him on legal matters; subj. in a general condition; see on 3, 36, 8. Quint. 12, 3, 9 Cato cum in dicendo praestantissimus tum iuris idem fuit peritissimus. For this use of consulere see on 2, 28, 2. — causa oranda: an archaic expression, replaced by causam agere.

7. nec is tantum: and not of that sort only; for this meaning of is cf. 26, 13, 4. — vivo ... viguerit: for the alliteration see on Praef. 12. For the abl. abs. following cuius and referring to the same person, see on 1, 28, 10. — viguerit ... exstet: adversative asyndeton. Cic. Brut. 63 Catonis autem orationes non minus multae fere sunt quam Attici Lysiae (to whom 230 were ascribed as genuine); ibid. 65 orationes amplius centum quinquaginta quas quidem adhuc invenerim et legerim. There are extant fragments of eighty. — immo: see on 21, 40, 9. — sacrama: immortalised; 39, 37, 16 quae iure iurando, quae monumentis litterarum in lapide insculptis in aeternam memoriam sancta atque sacra sunt; Hor. Od. 1, 26, 11

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Orationes et pro se multae et pro aliis et in alios; nam non solum accusando sed etiam causam dicendo fatigavit inimicos. Simultates nimio plures et exercuerunt eum et ipse exercuit eas; nec facile dixeris, utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas, an ille agitaverit nobilitatem. Asperi pro cul dubio animi et linguae acerbae et inmodice liberae fuit, sed invicti a cupiditatibus animi, rigidae innocentiae, contemptor gratiae, divitiarum. In parsimonia, in patientia laboris et periculi ferrei prope corporis animique, quem ne

hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro. — omnis generis: including not only his speeches, but also his numerous writings on various subjects, — history (the De Originibus), military tactics, medicine, etc.

8. pro se: se is justified by supplying a Catone habitae; according to Plut. Cato 15 he was a defendant nearly fifty times. — pro aliis: contrasted with pro se, in alios with pro aliis; but the combination is an unfortunate one, as some of the speeches in alios would be included among those pro se. — accusando, causam dicendo: referring chiastically to in alios and to pro se and pro aliis; causam dicere is used only of the defendant or his supporters.

9. simultates ... eas: numerous feuds occupied him and he on his part did not let them rest. — nimio plures: very many; for nimio see on 1, 2, 3 and for plures without the idea of comparison, cf. 42, 17, 6. — exercuerunt ... exercuit: Cic. Orat. 135 sunt orationis lumina et quodammodo insignia, cum ... continenter unum verbum non in eadem sententia ponitur. — eas: completing the chiastic structure; for the peculiar arrangement of this sentence see on 22, 6, 2. — nobilitas: the nobility; for the use of the abstract noun cf. 3, 47, 1 civitas.

10. a cupiditatibus: personified; hence the preposition. — gratiae: favor.

11. laboris et periculi: cf. the description of Cato in 34, 18, 3 ff. sed in consule ea vis animi atque ingeni fuit ut omnia maxima mini maque per se adiret atque ageret, nec cogitaret modo imperaretque quae in rem essent, sed pleraque ipse per se transigeret nec in quem quam omnium gravius severiusque quam in semet ipsum imperium exerceret, parsimonia et vigiliis et labore cum ultimis militum certaret nec quicquam in exercitu suo praecipui praeter honorem atque imperium haberet.
12 senectus quidem, quae solvit omnia, fregerit, qui sextum et octogesimum annum agens causam dixerit, ipse pro se oraverit scripsertique, nonagesimo anno Ser. Galbam ad populi adduxerit iudicium.

Death of Hannibal.

1 51. Ad Prusiam regem legatus T. Quinctius Flamininus venit, quem suspectum Romanis et receptus post fugam Antioci Hannibal et bellum adversus Eumenem motum faciebat. Ibi seu quia a Flaminino inter cetera obiectum Prusiae erat hominem omnium qui viverent infestissimum populo Romano apud eum esse, qui patriae suae primum,

12. causam dixerit: see on § 8.
— nonagesimo: so Plut. Cato 15; on the other hand, according to Cic. Brut. 80, he lived to be only eighty-five years old. The date of his death (149) is well attested, the date of his birth must remain doubtful. — Ser. Galbam . . . iudicium: because he had put to death or enslaved Lusitanians who had surrendered to him on promise of protection. According to other authorities, Cato merely supported a tribune who introduced a proposal in favor of the Lusitanians. In either case, Galba, seeing the effect of Cato’s speech, threw himself upon the mercy of the people.


51. 1. Prusiam: king of Bithynia, at whose court Hannibal had taken refuge after the Romans had conquered Antiocbus in 190.
— Flamininus: some writers mention only him, others mention other envoys; Flamininus was evidently the leader of the embassy; 39, 56, 7 Hannibalem hoc anno Antias Valerius decessisse est auctor, legatis ad eam rem ad Prusiam missis praetor T. Quinctium Flamininum, civis in ea re celebre est nomen, L. Scipione Asiatico et P. Scipione Nasica. — Romanis: dat. of agent; see on 21, 34, 9. — receptus . . . Hannibal, bellum . . . motum: see on 21, 1, 5 angebant. — Eumenem: king of Pergamum and an ally of Rome.

2. seu . . . seu: Livy here appears to be doubtful, but cf. § 11. According to some authorities, the idea originated with Flamininus; according to others, he was
BOOK XXXIX

deinde fractis eius opibus Antiocho regi auctor bellii adversus populum Romanum fuisse, seu quia ipse Prusias, ut gratificaretur praeamenti Flaminino Romanisque, per se necandi aut tradendi eius in postestatem consilium cepit, a primo conloquio Flaminini miliites et exemplum ad domum Hannibalis custodiendum missi sunt. Semper talem exitum vitae suae Hannibal prospegerat animo, et Romanorum inexpliabile odium in se cernens et fidei regum nihil sane fretus; Prusiae vero levitatem etiam expertus erat; Flaminini quoque adventum velut fatalem sibi horuerat. Ad omnia undique infesta, ut iter semper aliquod praeparatum fugae haberet, septem exitus e domo fecerat et ex ipsis quosdam occultos, ne custodia saepirentur. Sed grave imperium regum nihil inexploratum quod vestigari volunt simply obeying the instructions of the senate.—patriae . . . auctor bellii: see on 21, 1, 1.

3. potestatem: sc. eorum; the dependent gen. is often omitted with this phrase where it is easily supplied from the context.—a . . . Flaminini: after the first conference with Flamininus; this use of a is not uncommon in Livy.—domum; according to Plut. Flam. 20 and others, this was at Libyssa in Bithynia; Plin. 5, 32, 148 speaks of a tumulus of Hannibal there, which was proof of the fulfillment of the prophecy given by App. Syr. 11 Δίβυσσαι κρύσιν βωλος Αννίβου δέως.

4. nihil sane: by no means; sane is added to nihil as a strengthening adverb. The usual phrase in this sense is haud sane; see 21, 29, 4.—Prusiae . . . levitatem: 45, 44, 19 Polybius eum regem indignum maiestate nominis tanti tradit; pilletum, capite raso obviam ire legatis solitum libertumque se populi Romani ferre.—etiam: going beyond the previous general statement; in fact, in the case of Prusias, he had even had experience of his unreliability. Under what circumstances Hannibal had discovered this characteristic we are not informed.—fatalem: fatal; in this sense found very rarely before Livy, and only in poetry.

5. ad: on account of; in view of the fact that he was (or, might be) all surrounded by enemies; for this use of ad cf. § 8 and see on 1, 25, 6.

6. nihil . . . efficit: leaves
efficit. Totius circuitum domus ita custodiis conplexi
7 sunt ut nemo inde elabi posset. Hannibal, postquam est
nuntiatum milites regios in vestibulo esse, postico, quod
devium maxime atque occultissimi exitus erat, fugere cona-
tus, ut id quoque occursu militum obsaep tum sensit et
omnia circa clausa custodiis dispositis esse, venenum quod
muito ante praeparatum ad tales habebat casus, poposcit.
9 "Liberemus" inquit "diuturna cura populum Romanum,
50 quando mortem senis exspectare longum censent. Nec
magnam nec memorabilem ex inermi prodivoque Flamini-
nus victoriam feret. Mores quidem populi Romani quan-
tum mutaverint, vel hic dies argumento erit. Horum
patres Pyrrho regi, hosti armato, exercitum in Italia
habenti, ut a veneno caveret praedixerunt; hi legatum
consularem, qui auctor esset Prusiae per scelus occidendi
12 hospitis, miserunt." Execratus deinde in caput regnum-
que Prusiae, et hospitales deos violatae ab eo fidei testes in-
vocans, poculum exhausti. Hic vitae exitus fuit Hannibalis.

nothing concealed; for this use of
efficere with an adj. cf. Praef. 5.—
complexi sunt: sc. milites from
§ 3.
7. vestibulo: see on 5, 41, 8.
—postico: by a back door; abl.
of the way.—devium . . . exitus:
for the combination see on 21,
29, 4.
8. praeparatum . . . habebat:
see on 3, 48, 1.—ad . . . casus:
cf. § 5; 30, 15; 4 fidum e servis
vocat, sub cuius custodia regio
more ad incerta fortunae venenum
erat.
9. senis: he was in his sixty-
fifth year; cf. 30, 30, 10.—cen-
sent: for the plural following pop-
umum see on 2, 28, 9.
11. patres . . . praedixerunt:
Periocha, Bk. XIII, cum C. Fabricio
consuli is qui ad eum a Pyrrho
transfugerat policeretur venenum
se regi daturum, cum indicio ad
regem remissus est: according to
Valerius Antias in Gell. 3, 8, 5,
the senate sent envoys to Pyrrhus
with the information.—hi . . .
miserunt: cf. §§ 2, 3; according to
Plut. 21, Flamininus was acting
entirely upon his own responsibil-
ity in this matter and was very
generally censured when it was
reported at Rome.
Book XL

Death of Philip, King of Macedonia


12. executus . . . caput: cf. 30, 20, 7, and for caput = life see on 3, 48, 5. — hospites deos: especially Zois Exinos. — hic . . . ex putus: Plutarch gives also other traditions as to the manner of his death.


54. 1. post mortem fili: connect only with maerore. Philip had himself ordered the execution of his younger son, Demetrius, being persuaded by his other son, Perseus, that Demetrius was plotting against his father's life. He was overwhelmed with remorse on discovering that he had been deceived.

2. Demetriade: Demetrias, in eastern Thessaly. — anxius: troubled; without the reference to the future which the word often contains; cf. the meaning of ango, e.g. in § 4.

3. alter filius . . . rex: the first of the three subjects of stimulabat; the fact that his other son (Perseus) was regarded as king; rex takes the place of the usual participle in this construction, as in conversi . . . oculi; see on 21, 1, 5 angebant. — conversique: note the correlatives et . . . que . . . et, the second member being thus closely connected with and subordinated to the first. — eum: Perseus. — suam: referring to the logical subject of the sentence, Philip, while sua, just before, refers to filius.

4. quo . . . angebatur: i.e. this added to the bitterness of his sorrow over the death of his son. — tutor: guardian; Philip was only eight years old at the death of his father, Demetrius, in 229. Antig-
fuerat, regiae vir maiestatis, nobili etiam pugna adversus 5 Cleomenem Lacedaemonium clarus. Tutorem eum Graeci, ut cognomine a ceteris regibus distinguenter, appellarunt. 6 Huius fratris filius Antigonus ex honoratis Philippi amicis unus incorruptus permanserat; eique ea fides nequaquam 7 amicum Persea inimicissimum fecerat. Is prospiciens animo quanto cum periculo suo hereditas regni ventura esset ad Persea, ut primum labare animum regis et inge-miscere interdum fili desiderio sensit, nunc praebendo aures, nunc lacessendo etiam mentionem rei temere actae, saepe querenti querens et ipse aderat. Et cum multa, ut adsolet, veritas praebet vestigia sui, omni ope adiuva-9 bat quo maturius omnia emanarent. Suspecti ut ministri facinoris Apelles maxime et Philocles erant, qui Romam legati fuerant litterasque exitiales Demetrio sub nomine Flaminini attulerant.

onus was appointed his guardian, but soon married the widow of Demetrius and ruled in his own right. At his death in 220 Philip, though only seventeen years old, became king. — nobili: for the meaning cf. 9, 1, 1. — pugna: the battle of Sellasia, near Sparta, in which Antigonus, supporting the Achaean League, defeated Cleo-menes.

5. tutorem: pred. acc.; the Greek name was Ἐπίτρων. According to Plut. Aemil. 8, the surname was Δωσων; according to Suidas, Ἐδερυτῆς and Σωτῆρ. — ceteris: of the same name.

7. ingemiscere: sc. eum.

8. rei temere actae: the execution of Demetrius; see on § 1. — querenti . . . aderat: i.e. he encouraged the king in his regret by sharing it. — cum . . . sui: 22, 39, 19 veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiumt, extingui numquam. — emanarent: he did not wish to give information himself, but was anxious that the king should discover as soon as possible the treachery of Perseus.

9. Apelles . . . Philocles: they had been sent to Rome by Philip in 181, to get evidence regarding the correspondence which Perseus asserted his brother had been carrying on with Flamininus. Being in the service of Perseus, they returned with evidence against Demetrius, especially a forged letter from Flamininus. — Romam: for
55. Falsas esse et a scriba vitiatas signumque adulterinum vulgo in regia fremebant. Ceterum cum suspecta magis quam manifesta esset res, forte Xychus obvius fit Antigono, comprehensusque ab eo in regiam est perductus. Relicto eo custodibus Antignon ad Philippum processit. "Multis" inquit "sermonibus intelleixisse videor magno te aestimaturum, si scire vera omnia possis de filiis tuis, uter ab utro petitus fraude et insidiis esset. Homo unus omnium, qui nodum huius erroris exsolvere possit, in potestate tua est Xychus. Forte oblatum perductumque in regiam, vocari iube." Adductus primo ita negare inconstantem, ut parvo metu admodum paratum indicem esse adpararet. Conspectum tortoris verberumque non sustinuit ordinemque omnem facinoris legatorum ministerique sui exposuit. Exemplo missi qui legatos conprehenderent, Philoclem, qui praesens erat, oppresserunt; Apelles missus ad Chaeream quendam persequendum, indicio Xychi audito, in Italiam traecit. De Philocl...nihil certi vulgatum est; alii primo audaciter negantem, postquam in conspectum adductus sit Xychus, non ultra tetendisse, alii tormenta etiam infitiantem peressum ad-

this limit of motion construction with legati fuerant cf. 39, 35, 7 legationem Romam ... suscepissent.

55. 1. vitiatas: forged. — vulgo: giving the idea that many sympathized with Demetrius, which is somewhat inconsistent with 40, 54, 6 unus incorruptus.

2. Xychus: Livy carelessly neglects to state what had been his part in the business; he was perhaps the scriba of § 1.

3. sermonibus: cf. 40, 54, 8.

4. erroris: uncertainty; cf. 1, 24, 1.

5. admo: applied; cf. 27, 43, 3 and, for this use of the abl. abs., see on 3, 35, 2.

7. negantem: the pres. part. indicates a time which is past with reference to tetendisse; cf. 27, 43, 3.—adductus sit: for the tense see on 1, 1, 8 audierit.—tetendisse: persisted.

8. Philippo: for the dat. see on 1,
8 firman. Philippo redintegratus est luctus geminatusque; et infelicitatem suam in liberis graviorem, quod alter superesset, quam quod alter perisset, censebat.

56. Perseus certior factus omnia detecta esse, potentior quidem erat quam ut fugam necessariam duceret; tantum ut procul abscessit curabat, interim velut ab incendio flagrantis irae, dum Philippus viveret, se defensurus. Is, spe potiundi ad poenam corporis eius amissa, quod reliquum erat, id studere, ne super inpunitatem etiam praemia sceleris frueretur. Antigum igitur appellat, cui et palam facti parricidi gratia obnoxius erat, neque pudendum aut paeni-tendum eum regem Macedonibus propter recentem patrui Antigoni gloriam fore censebat. "Quando in eam fortunam veni," inquit "Antigone, ut orbitas mihi, quam alii detestantur parentes, optabilis esse debeat, regnum, quod a patruo tuo forti, non solum fidelis tutela eius custoditum

5, 6 Numitori. — in: in regard to; cf. Praef. 2. — quod . . . superesset: his grief was the more intense because Perseus was still alive, and his crime must weigh upon his father’s mind until he had been punished.

56. 1. potentior . . . duceret: too strong to consider flight necessary is the English idiom.
   a. interim: explained by dum . . . viveret. Philip was at this time fifty-eight years old.
   3. cui . . . erat: to whom he was indebted for the discovery of the murder. et is correlative with neque (= et non; see on 1, 4, 4), though the second clause, being independent, is not parallel with the first, which is relative. cui, in spite of its position, belongs only to the first clause; cf. 22, 6, 2 eum; 39, 40, 9 simulantes. — palam: adv. for pred. adj.; see on 27, 44, 4. — parricidi: as if Demetrius had been actually killed by Perseus. Livy uses parricidium freely of any murder and, in 28, 29, 1, even of treason. — neque . . . censebat: and he thought that on account of the recent fame of his uncle Antigonus, he (the nephew) as king would not be a source of shame or regret to the Macedo-nians. The personal use of pudere and paenitere is rare. 
   4. forti . . . tutela: brave as well as faithful care; cf. 45, 39, 10 dis quoque enim, non solum homini-nibus, debetur triumphus.

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et auctum etiam accepi, id tibi tradere in animo est. Te unum habeo quem dignum regno iudicem. Si neminem haberem, perire et exstingui id mallem quam Perseo celestae fraudis praemium esse. Demetrium excitatum ab inferis restitutumque credam mihi, si te, qui morti innocentis, qui meo infelici errori unus inlacrimasti, in locum eius substitutum relinquam." Ab hoc sermone omni genere honoris producere eum non destitit. Cum in Thracia Perseus abesset, circumire Macedoniea urbes principibusque Antigonum commendare; et si vita longior suppetisset, baud dubium fuit, quin eum in possessione regni relicturus fuerit. Ab Demetriade prefectus Thessalonicae plurimum temporis moratus fuerat. Inde cum Amphipolim venisset, gravi morbo est implicitus. Sed animo tamen aegrum magis fuisset quam corpore constat, curisque et vigiliis, cum identidem species et umbrae insontis interempti fili agitarent, cum diris extinctum esse execrationibus alterius. Tamen admoneri potuisset Antigonus, si aut adfuisset aut statim palam facta esset mors regis. Medicus Calligenes, qui curationi praerat, non exspectata morte

7. ab: after; cf. 1, 1, 4.—producere: to advance.—circumire urbes: so in 42, 37, 7 circumcuentes Peloponnesi oppida; cf. 42, 15, 4.—relicturus fuerit: see on 2, 1, 3 neque ambigitur quin . . . facturus fuerit.

8. ab Demetriade: for the use of the prep. see on 1, 27, 4.

9. umbrae: the plural is used in poetry of a single person, e.g. Verg. Aen. 5, 81; apparently nowhere else in prose. species also, though not so used elsewhere, is best taken as plural; Lane, 1110. The words are here practically identical in meaning.

10. tamen: not justified by anything which precedes; a previous statement that Philip died suddenly or that Antigonus was absent appears to be required. As non . . . regis in § 11 seems inappropriate in its context, it should perhaps be inserted before or after tamen.—admoneri: reminded; i.e. of the need of immediate action.
regis, a primis desperationis notis nuntios praedispositos
ita ut convenerat misit ad Perseum, et mortem regis in
adventum eius omnes qui extra regiam erant celavit.

57. Oppressit igitur necopinantes ignarosque omnes
Perseus et regnum scelere partum invasit.

Book XLII

Beginning of the Third Macedonian War

15. Legationibus dimissis cum Harpalus, quanta maxima
CELERITATE POTERAT, regressus in Macedoniam nuntiasset regi
nonum quidem parantes bellum reliquisse se Romanos, sed
ita infestos, ut facile adpareret non dilaturos, et ipse, praes-
terquam quod et ita credebat futurum, iam etiam volebat,

11. a: at; more exactly, immediately after; cf. § 7.—despera-
tionis: loss of hope on the part of the king that he could recover.—
praedispositos: stationed at intervals beforehand; not found else-
where.

57. i. omnes: Antigonus was put to death.

Rhodians also, believing that they
were included in the complaints
of Eumenes, had sent envoys.—
QUANTA MAXIMA: see on 9, 10, 10.
2. et ipse: Perseus; et empha-
sizes the fact that he desired the
same thing as the Romans, i.e. not
to delay the war.—et ita: et an-
ticipates the following statement,
volebat; besides the fact that he
also believed that it would be so,
he now even desired it. etiam in-
tensiﬁes volebat, and connects it
with credebat; thus, et and etiam
are practically correlative, mean-
ing not only, but also.—in ﬂore
virium: not merely personal, but
including all his resources; 42, 11,
6 ﬂore praeterea iuventute, quam
stirbem longa pax ediderit, ﬂore 
opibus regni, ﬂore etiam aetate.
in flore virium se credens esse. Eumeni ante omnes infestus erat; a cuius sanguine ordiens bellum, Euandrum Cretensem, ducem auxiliorum, et Macedonas tres adsuotos ministeriis talium facinorum ad caedem regis subornat, litterasque eis dat ad Praxo hospitam, principem auctoritate et opibus Delphorum. Satis constabat Eumenem, ut sacrificaret Apollini, Delphos escensurum. Praegressi cum Euandro insidiatores nihil aliud ad peragendum inceptum quam loci opportunitatem, omnia circumunte, quaerebant. Escendentibus ad templum a Cirrha, priesquam perveniretur ad frequentia aedificii loca, maceria erat ab laeva iuxta semitam paulum exstantem a fundamento, qua singuli transirent, dextra pars labe terrae in aliquantum altitudinis derupta erat. Post maceriam se abdiderunt gradibus adstructis, ut ex ea velut e muro tela in praetereuntem conicerent. Primo a mari circumfusa turba

3. **Eumeni**: king of Pergamum, and friend and ally of Rome. — **subornat**: the prep. emphasizes the secrecy of the plot; cf. 44, 44, 4 ab subornato ad se per fallacias in tabellarii speciem litteras in foro medio acceptit. — **Praxo**: not mentioned elsewhere, and we do not know, therefore, whether or not she was a priestess. — **Delphorum**: of the Delphians; connect with *principem*.

4. **Delphos**: the town; acc. of limit of motion. — **praegressi**: in advance of Eumenes. — **omnia circumunte**: cf. 40, 56, 7.

5. **escendentibus**: dat. of relation; Lane, 1217. — **Cirrha**: the port of Delphi, which was about seven miles from the coast, on the southern slope of Mt. Parnassus; for the prep. see on 1, 27, 4. — **ad loca**: the town which surrounded the temple. — **ab laeva**: see on 1, 24, 2 unde. — **iuxta**... **transirent**: along the path, which extended only a narrow space from the bottom (of the wall), so that (lit. where) they must pass one at a time. **transirent** is subj. of characteristic. — in **aliquantum altitudinis**: see on 22, 45, 1. — **derupta erat**: cf. 21, 36, 2.

6. **gradibus adstructis**: on steps placed against it. — **muro**: city wall.

7. **a mari**: connect closely with **primo**; at first, starting from the
amicorum ac satellitum procedebat, deinde extenuabat 8 paulatim angustiae agmen. Vbi ad eum locum ventum est, qua singulis eundum erat, primus semitam ingressus Pantaleon, Aetoliae princeps, cum quo institutus regi sermo 9 erat. Tum insidiatores exorti saxa duo ingentia devolvunt, 10 quorum altero caput ictum est regi, altero humerus; sopitusque ex semita proclivi ruit in declive, multis super prolapsum iam saxis congestis. Et ceteri quidem etiam amicorum et satellitum, postquam cadentem videre, diffugiunt; Pantaleon constanter inpavidus mansit ad protegendum regem.

16. Latrones cum brevi circumitu maceriae decurrere ad conficiendum saucium possent, velut perfecta re in iugum Parnasi refugerunt eo cursu, ut, cum unus non facile sequendo per inivia atque ardua moraretur fugam eorum, ne ex conpreso indicium emanaret, occiderint comitem. Ad corpus regis primo amici, deinde satellites ac servi concurrerunt, tollentes sopitum vulnere ac nihil sentientem. Vivere tamen ex calore et spiritu remanente

sea. — circumfusa turba: better taken as abl.; for the meaning of circumfusa see on 22, 7, 11.
8. regi: dat. of agent; cf. 21, 34, 9.
10. proclivi: this may mean simply that the path went up hill (cf. 5, 43, 2) or that it sloped from the wall on the left to the precipice on the right. — multis ... congestis: the abl. abs. of attendant circumstance here denotes an action subsequent to that of the principal verb, ruit; see on 21, 1, 5 inposito. — ceteri: referring for- ward to Pantaleon. — etiam: implies that there were those who were neither amici nor satellites; see 42, 16, 2 servi. — amicorum: the gen. with ceteri is rare. — constanter inpavidus: cf. 39, 40, 10 inmodice liberae.

16. 1. brevi ... maceriae: by going around the end or, possibly, through an opening. — velut ... re: cf. 1, 4, 5 velut defuncti. — ex conpreso: from him, if he should be caught; for this use of the participle cf. 22, 6, 10 conspectos.
3. praecordiis: breast; in this
in praeordiis sensorunt; victurum exigua ac prope nulla
spes erat. Quidam ex satellitibus securi latronum vestigia,
cum usque ad iugum Parnasi nequiquam fatigati pervenis-
sent, re infecta redierunt. Adgressi facinus Macedones
ut inconsulte ita audacter, coeptum nec consulte et timide
reliquerunt. Conpotem iam sui regem amici postero die
dererunt ad navem; inde Corinthum, ab Corintheo per
Isthmi iugum navibus traductis Aeginam traiciunt. Ibi
adeo secreta eius curatio fuit, admittentibus neminem, ut
fama mortuum in Asia perferret. Attalus quoque cele-
rius quam dignum concordia fraterna erat credidit; nam
et cum uxore fratris et praefecto arci tamquam iam haud
dubiis regni heres est locutus. Quae postea non sefellere
Eumenen; et quamquam dissimulare et tacita haberi pati
statuerat, tamen in primo congressu non temperavit, quin

sense not found elsewhere in prose.

5. ut ... ita: though ... yet.
— nec consule: see § 1 cum ... possent.

6. ab Corintheo: connect with
traiciunt. — per Isthmi ... tra-
ductis: light boats could be
dragged across at the narrowest
point, where the width is about
four miles. There were in antiquity
several proposals to cut a canal,
and the work was actually begun
by the emperor Nero; only in 1893
was the undertaking completed.
— Aeginam: at this time a possession
of the kings of Pergamum.

7. admittentibus: sc. curanti-
bus or amicis; see on 2, 23, 5
sciscitantibus. — mortuum = eum
mortuum esse; the omission of
the subject is not uncommon (see
1, 25, 7 secuturos) nor is that of
the auxiliary, but the omission of
both and the fact that mortuus is
used also as an adj. make the
clause an awkward one; cf. 42, 17,
8 facturum and 3, 70, 5 circum-
ventos interclusosque ab suis vo-
ciferans. — Attalus: brother and
successor of Eumenes. — concor-
dia fraterna: a reference to the
surname of Attalus, Philadel-
phus.

8. uxore: Stratonice; Plut. de
frat. amore 18 says that Attalus
married her. — arci: Livy regu-
larly uses the gen. with praefectus.
— heres: possessor; a rare and
ante-classical use of the word;
Paul. ex Fest. p. 99 heres apud
antiquos pro domino poneretur.
uxoris petendae praematuram festinationem fratri obiceret. Romam quoque fama de morte Eumenis perlata est.


Ex eo notitia ei cum absente Perseo fuerat; litterisque spem amicitiae interioris magna etque inde fortunae facientibus, ad regem prefectus brevi perfamiliaris haberi trahiique magis quam vellet in arcanos sermones est coepus. Promissis enim ingentibus praemii petere instiit ab eo rex, quoniam duces omnes legatique Romani hospitio eius uti adsuessent, quibus eorum ipse scripsisset ut venenum dandum curaret:

5 cuius scire se conparationem plurimum difficultatis et periculi habere; pluribus conquis conparari; eventu praeterea incerto esse, ut aut satis efficacia ad rem peragendam aut tuta ad rem celandam dentur. Se daturum quod nec in

17. 2. talis indici: referring forward to the information given in § 4 ff. princeps . . . accipiebat is parenthetical.
3. exterarum: those from the east, who would naturally land at Brundisium.
4. ex eo: as a result of this custom; referring especially to legatos . . . regios. — interioris: more intimate. — inde: in consequence. — vellet: he might have wished; subj. of action conceivable; Lane, 1559.
5. quibus: dat. with ut daretur to be supplied.
6. cuius scire . . . posset: the words of Perseus. — conparationem: getting rather than preparation; it is difficult to see why many (pluribus) must be cognizant of this. — ut . . . dentur: ind. quest. somewhat loosely connected with eventu . . . incerto. — efficacia
BOOK XLV

News of the Battle of Pydna at Rome

1. Victiae nuntii, Q. Fabius et L. Lentulus et Q. Metellus, quanta potuit adhiberi festinatio, celeriter Ro-

168 b.c. mam cum venissent, praeeptam tamen eius rei laetitiam invenerunt. Quarto post die quam cum rege est pugna-

2 at the battle of Pydna, September 4 (according to the Julian calendar, June 22), 168. — quanta . . . festinatio: the ordinary form would be quanta maxima festina-
tione potuerunt, with which an antecedent would be easily sup-
plied; there is an awkward lack of connection of the present clause with the one on which it depends. For the statement see on 45, 2, 3.

— cum: for the position see on 21, 34, 4.

2. quarto . . . est pugnatum: the 7th or 8th of September, according as the day of the battle is counted or not. quam (not post-
quam) with the plup. is the regular usage; cf. 3, 33; 1. — circa: the Circus Maximus. — ludi: the Ludi Romani, which, it appears, began

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tum, cum in circo ludi fierent, murmur repente populi tota spectacula pervasit, pugnatum in Macedonia et devictum regem esse; dein fremitus increvit; postremo clamor plaususque, velut certo nuntio victoriae adlato, est exortus.

Mirari magistratus et quaerere auctorem repentinæ laetitiae; qui postquam nullus erat, evanuit equidem tamquam certae rei gaudium, omen tamen laetum insidebat animis. Quod postquam veris nuntiis Fabi Lentulique et Metelli adventu firmatum est, cum victoria ipsa tum augurio animorum suorum laetabantur. Et altera traditur circensis turbæ non minus similis veri laetitia. Ante diem quintum decimum kal. Octobres, ludorum Romanorum secundo die, C. Licinio consuli ad quadrigas mittendas escendi-tenti tabellarius, qui se ex Macedonia venire diceret, laureatas litteras reddidisse dicitur. Quadrigis missis, consul currum con-

at this time as early as September 7; see on 6, 42, 12. The statement is interesting, as, according to the calendars of the Augustan period, games were held in the circus only on the last five days of the festival, the 15th to the 19th of the month. — spectacula: seats.

4. nullus: stronger than a simple negative; cf. 33, 35, 2 Philippus nullus usquam. — erat: for the tense cf. § 5 firmatum est and see on 3, 46, 9 adibat.

6. et altera ... laetitia: and there is a second tradition, no less credible, of the rejoicing of the crowd at the circus. — ante diem ... Octobres: September 16, according to the pre-Julian calendar, in which September had only twenty-nine days. — secundo: reckoning only the four days of the earlier festival. — consuli ... escendi-tenti: the games were under the supervision of a magistrate, — usually consul or praetor, — who started the chariot race by throwing a white cloth from the balcony over the carceres. — venire diceret: the subj. is entirely illogical; the phrase represents venisset, which would have been properly in the subj., to indicate that it was the messenger's statement; Lane, 1727. — laureatas: a letter announcing a victory was bound with bay leaves; Plin. 15, 133 (laurus) Romanis praecipue laetitiae victoriarumque nuntia additur litteris.

7. currum conscendit: after descending from the balcony, probably at the end of the race. —
BOOK XLV

scendit et, cum per circum reveheretur ad foros publicos, laureatas tabellas populo ostendit. Quibus conspectis, repente inmemor spectaculi populus in medium decurrit. Eo senatum consul vocavit recitatisque tabellis ex auctoritate patrum pro foris publicis denuntiavit populo L. Aemilium collegam signis conlatis cum rege Perseo pugnasse; Macedonum exercitum caesum fusumque; regem cum paucis fugisse; civitates omnes Macedonieae in dicionem populi Romani venisse. His auditis, clamor cum ingenti plausu ortus; ludis relictis, domus magna pars hominum ad conjuges liberosque laetum nuntium portabant. Tertius decimus dies erat ab eo quo in Macedonia pugnatum est.

2. Postero die senatus in curia habitus, supplicationesque decreatae, et senatus consultum factum est, ut consul quos praeter milites sociosque navales coniuratos haberet, dimitteret; de militibus sociisque navalis dimittendis referretur, cum legati ab L. Aemilio console, a quibus praemissus tabellarius esset, venissent. Ante diem sextum kal.

foros publicos: the rows of seats in the circus.

8. eo senatum . . vocavit: an unusual place for a meeting of the senate; see on 26, 10, 2.—pro: from; Paul. ex Fest. p. 228 pro signicat in, ut pro rostris, pro aede, pro tribunali.—signis con- latis: cf. 9, 5, 10 manum . . . conferre.

10. domus: found rarely in place of the common form domos. —portabant: for the number see on 2, 28, 9.

11. tertius decimus: including the day of the battle.

2. i. supplicationes: the plural is often used in a sense not different from that of the singular, except that it emphasizes the individual acts of worship.—consul: C. Licinius.—quos . . . haberet: what enlisted men he had except marines and sailors; see § 11. The nature of this form of enlistment (coniuratio) is doubtful; Serv. ad Aen. 8, 1 apud maiores nostros tria erant militiae genera in bellis gerendis; nam aut legitima erat militia aut coniuratio aut evocatio. The socii navales were freedmen of colonists or allies, or colonists or allies who had themselves been slaves.
Octobres hora fere secunda legati urbem ingressi sunt; ingentem secum occurrentium, quacumque ibant, prosequantiumque trahentes turbam in forum ad curiam pereixerunt. Senatus forte in curia erat; eo legatos consul introduxit. Ibi tantum temporis retenti, dum exponerent quantae regiae copiae peditum equitumque fuissent, quot milia ex his caesa, quot capta forsent, quam paucorum militum iactura tanta hostium strages facta, quam cum paucis rex fugisset: existimari Samothraciam petiturum; paratam classem ad persequendum esse, neque terra neque mari elabi posse. Eadem haec paulo post in contionem traducti exposuerunt; renovataque laetitia, cum consul edixisset, ut omnes aedes sacrae aperirentur, pro se quisque ex contentione ad gratias agendas ire diis, ingentique turba non vironum modo sed etiam feminarum conferta tota urbe deorum inmortalem templam. Senatus revocatus in curiam supplicationes ob rem egregie gestam ab L. Aemilio consule in quinque dies circa omnia pulvinaria decrevit, hostiisque maioribus sacrificari iussit. Naves quae in Tiberi

2. legati: the numb of 45, 1, 1.
3. ante diem . . . Octobres: September 25, twenty-one days after the battle, a lapse of time hardly consistent with the statement of 45, 1, 1 quanta . . . festinatio. According to 45, 41, 3 f. Aemilius with an army went from Brundisium to Phila in Macedonia, by way of Delphi, in eleven days.—ad curiam: see on 27, 50, 9.
4. retenti: sc. sunt.
5. existimari: ind. disc.; the verb of saying is implied in exponerent. —petiturum: sc. eum; see on 42, 17, 8 facturum.

6. traduci: see on 27, 51, 5.—renovataque laetitia: ablative absolute.—aperirent: 30, 17, 6 praetor extemplo edixit uti aeditui aedes sacras omnes tota urbe aperirent, circumeundi salutandique deos agendique grates per totum diem populo potestas fieret. —ire: historical infinitive.

8. revocatus: it appears that the senate had adjourned to attend the contio; cf. 27, 51, 5 ff.—supplicationes: identical with those mentioned in § 1, but at the earlier meeting the number of days had not been determined.—quinque:
paratae instructaeque stabant, ut, si res posceret, in Macedoniam mitterentur, subduci et in navalibus conlocari, socios navales dato annuo stipendio dimitti, et cum his omnes qui in consulis verba iuraverant; et quod militum Corcyrae, Brundisi, ad mare superum aut in agro Larinati esset—omnibus his locis dispositus exercitus fuerat, cum quo, si res posceret, C. Licinius collegae ferret opem—hos omnes milites dimitti placuit. Supplicatio pro contione populo indicata est ex ante diem quintum idus Octobres cum eo die in quinque dies.

Capture of Perseus. Summary of Macedonian History.

7. Secundam eam Paulus, sicut erat, victoriam ratus, victimas cecidit eo nuntio; et consilio advocato litteras praetoris cum recitasset, Q. Aelium Tuberonem obviam

three days is the usual number. — circa = ad; cf. 5, 38, 8. — maioribus: full-grown.
9. navalibus: situated on the river bank of the Campus Martius.
10. annuo stipendio: pay for the year, though they had served less than six months. At this time soldiers who had served for more than six months were paid for the whole year; if less than six months, for half the year. — omnes: those soldiers who were in Rome.— in consulis verba: see on 2, 24, 7 sacramento dicerent.
11: ad mare superum: on the Adriatic coast. — agro Larinati: the southern part of the district of the Frentani; the territory of Larinum extended to the Adriatic.
12. ante diem: treated as an indeclinable noun, depending upon ex. — cum eo die: including this day (the Ides). The celebration continued from the 11th to the 15th of October.

7. 1. eam: the recent capture of Perseus, who had surrendered when he found himself unable to escape from the island of Samothrace, where he had taken refuge. — eo nuntio: the letter sent by the praetor, Octavius, from Amphipolis, with the news that Perseus had surrendered.— consilio: a meeting of the legati forming the staff; see on 9, 2, 15. — Q. Aelium Tuberonem: son-in-law of Paulus and, according to Plut. Aemil. Paul. 5,
regi misit, ceteros manere in praetorio frequentes iussit. 2 Non alias ad ullum spectaculum tanta multitudine occurrit. Patrum acate Syphax rex captus in castra Romana adductus erat; praeterquam quod nec sua nec gentis fama comparandus, tunc accessio Punici belli fuerat, sicut Gentius Macedoni. 3 Perseus caput belli erat, nec ipsius tantum, patris avique, quos sanguine ac genere contingebat, fama conspectum eum efficiebat, sed effulgebant Philippus ac magnus Alexander, qui summum imperium in orbis terrarum Macedonum fecerant. Pullo amictu cum filio Perseus ingressus est castra nullo suorum alio comite, qui socius calamitatis miserabiliorem eum faceret. Progredi praeb turba occurrentium ad spectaculum non poterat, donec a console licentes missi sunt, qui sub moto iter ad praetorium facerent. Consurrexit consul et, iussis sedere aliis pro-

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άνηρ ἄρσως καὶ μεγάλοπρεπέ-στατα Ῥωμαίον πενίᾳ χρησάμενος.
—regi: Perseus had been sent by Octavius to Paulus, who was encamped at Sirrahe in Macedonia.

2. Syphax: see on 30, 39, 14.
—tunc . . . fuerat: he had been in that time only an appendix of the Punic War. The correlative for tunc is to be supplied with sicut . . . Macedoni. For the meaning of accessio cf. 30, 40, 3 Syphaxis filium, quae parva bene gestae rei accessio erat, devictum. —Gentius: an Illyrian king, ally of Perseus.

3. quos . . . contingebat: with whom he was connected by blood and birth. sanguis ac genus is a set phrase, found several times in Livy. The Macedonian kings were descended, not from Alexander, but from Antigonus, father of Demetrius Poliorcetes.—conspicuum: conspicuous; see on 3, 50, 3.
—efficiebat: see on Praef. 5.—Macedonum: pred. poss. gen.; cf. 1, 25, 13 alteri dicionis alienae facti. For the thought of this section cf. 31, 1, 6 f. pacem Punicam bellum Macedonicum excepit, periculum haudquaquam comparandum aut virtute ducis aut militum robore, claritate regum antiquorum vetustaeque fama gentis et magnitudine imperi, quae multa quondam Europae, maiorem partem Asiae obtinuerant armis, prope nobilium.

4. pullo amictu: see on 3, 47, 1.
—praeb: see on 1, 29, 3.—submoto: by clearing a space; impersonal abl. abs.; cf. 22, 4, 4 inexplorato.
gressusque paulum, introeunti regi dextram porrexit. Submittlentemque se ad pedes sustulit, nec attingere genua passus introductum in tabernaculum adversus adventores in consilium considere iussit.

8. Prima percontatio fuit, qua subactus injuria contra populum Romanum bellum tam infesto animo suscepisset, quo se regnumque suum ad ultimum discrimen adduceret. Cum, responsum expectantibus cunctis, terram intuens diu tacitus fleret, rursum consul: "Si iuvenis regnum acceptisses, minus equidem mirarer ignorasse te, quam gravis aut amicus aut inimicus esset populus Romanus; nunc vero, cum et bello patris tui, quod nobiscum gessit, interfiisses, et pacis postea, quam cum summa fide adversus eum coluimus, meminisses, quod fuit consilium, quorum et vim in bello et fide in pace expertus esses, cum iis tibi bellum esse quam pacem malle?" Nec interrogatus nec accusatus cum responderet, "Vtcumque tamen haec, sive errore humano seu casu seu necessitate, inciderunt, bonum

5. iussis ... alius: that they might show him no honor; an implication that he was no longer a king.—progressusque: for this not unusual combination of an adj. or participle with the abl. abs. cf. i, 1, 4 profugum, sed . . . fatis.—advocatos in consilium: those who had been called into council.

8. i. quo = ut eo; bellum is the antecedent; a characteristic clause of result.—ultimum discrimen: a point where existence itself was at stake.

4. nunc: as it is; cf. i, 28, 9.—bello: the Second Macedonian War, which began in 200 and ended with the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197. The peace which followed had not been violated when Philip died in 179.—adversus: see on 5, 35, 4.—quod fuit consilium . . . malle: what was your reason for preferring, malle is best explained as pred. nom., the literal meaning being, what sort of judgment was your preference.

5. utcumque: however; see on Praef. 3.—tamen: belongs properly in the principal clause, bonum . . . habe; cf. Praef. 3.—regnum et populorum: see on 21, 43, 11.

9. Maximam partem copiarum Amphipolis, reliquas pro-pinquae urbes acceperunt.

Hic finis belli, cum quadriennium continuum bellatum esset, inter Romanos ac Persea fuit, idemque finis incluti

per Europae plerumque atque Asiam omnem regni. Vicesimum ab Carano, qui primus regnabat, Persea numera-bant. Perseus Q. Fulvio, L. Manlio consulibus regnum

6. nihil . . . consulere: a rare construction; nihil is an acc. of kindred meaning,—to make no decision; 26, 33, 3 ut quicquam de se gravius consularent. For other constructions with consulere see on 2, 28, 2 and 22, 45, 5. —

cum . . . sit: Ter. Phorm. 241 f. quom secundae res sunt maxumae,
tum maxume Meditari secum oppor-tet, quo pacto adversam aerumnam ferant.

8. invitatus . . . consulem: he was invited to dine with the consul.—habitus est: see on 5, 37, 4.

9. 2. quadriennium: 171–168; the fourth year was not completed.

—per Europae plerumque: see on 5, 38, 4 in aequo campi; 31, 1, 7 multa quondam Europae . . . obtinuerant.

3. vicesimum: Justin 33, 2 says there were thirty kings.—Carano: mythical descendant of Heracles and founder of the Macedonian kingdom.—Q. Fulvio . . . consuli-
accepit, a senatu rex est appellatus M. Iunio, A. Manlio consulibus, regnavit undecim annos.

Macedonum gens obscura admodum fama usque ad Philippum, Amyntae filium, fuit. Inde ac per eum crescere cum coepisset, Europae se tamen finibus continuit, Graeciam omnen et partem Thraciae atque Illyrici amplexa. Superfudit deinde se in Asiam, et tredecim annis, quibus Alexander regnavit, primum omnia, qua Persarum prope inmenso spatio imperium fuerat, suae dicionis fecit; Arabas hinc Indianque, qua terrarum ultimos fines Rubrum mare amplexititur, peragravit. Tum maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenque; inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt; laceratis viribus, a summo culmine fortunae ad ultimum finem centum quinquaginta annos stetit.

bus: 179; see 40, 54, 1. — M. Iunio
... consulibus: 178.


5. tredecim annis: 336–323; abl. of time within which. — quibus: attracted into the case of annis, instead of being in the acc. of duration of time. — qua: where; 7, 33, 10 illa omnia qua ... micant hastae. — prope inmenso: for this use of prope see on 1, 1, 5. — dicionis: cf. 1, 25, 13.

6. Rubrum mare: the Indian Ocean, which in the vague geographical notions of the time formed the southeastern extremity of the world. 42, 52, 14 nec ante vincere deserint quem Rubro mari inclusis quod vincerent defuerit.

7. regnum nomenque: only regnum is subject of the following predicates, distractum (est) and stetit. For nomen = reputation cf. Praef. 3 and 27, 49, 4. — morte: indicating both time and cause; cf. 1, 3, 4. — distractum ... regna: ruled by the so-called Diadochi, who had been Alexander's generals. — dum: see on Praef. 2. — rapiunt: the Diadochi. — a summo culmine: from Alexander's time. — centum quinquaginta: from the death of Alexander, 155 years. Plin. 4, 39 haec est Macedonia, terrarum imperio potita quondam, haec Asiam transgressa, ... haec eadem est Macedonia, cuius uno die Paulus Aemilius, imperator noster, septuaginta duas urbis di-reptas vendidit.
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