Βιβλιοθήκη
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LIVY

BOOKS I, XXI, AND XXII

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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REVISED EDITION

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

This volume is an attempt to present in simple and convenient form the assistance needed by young students making their first acquaintance with Livy. Much has been stated that would seem unnecessary, had not the editor's experience in the class-room shown him the contrary. On the other hand, that fulness of illustration which apparently aims to supersede the function of the teacher has been carefully avoided.

The text is that of Weissenborn (cura H. J. Müller), Weidmann, Berlin; a very few changes are mentioned in the notes as they occur. To that edition the present editor acknowledges his chief indebtedness in the preparation of the Introduction and Notes, though he has also availed himself freely of the assistance of other books and editors, especially those cited at the end of the introduction.

There has been no attempt to make the orthography absolutely uniform, or to adopt always the so-called "classical" spelling. Such an orthography represents a state of things which never existed in ancient times; and the very variety of spelling should be instructive to the student who has progressed far enough to read Livy.

The selection of the three books contained in this volume is not merely sanctioned by long usage, but rests upon good reason. Book I. forms a unit by itself, a "prose epic," dealing with the mythical age of the Roman kings, while Books XXI. and XXII. not only exhibit the author's style in its mature perfection, but also deal with the most thrilling and momentous crisis of the Roman republic.

PRINCETON, N.J., November, 1890.
PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION.

The Revision was undertaken at the request of the Editor and Publishers of the College Latin Series.

I have tried to avail myself of the results, so far as they were applicable, of the study of Livy during the last dozen years, and at the same time to preserve in its general lines the original character of the book.

Some errors have been corrected, upon some points I have changed my opinions, and the arrangement of the book has been made to conform to that of the other volumes of the Series.

The text has been modified by the insertion of improved readings, most of which are embodied in the latest issues of the Weissenborn-Müller edition. If the making of new plates for the text had been justifiable, I should probably have thought it best to adopt a uniform and conventional orthography, though I still appreciate the arguments against such a course.

INTRODUCTION.

I. ROMAN HISTORY BEFORE LIVY.

Late Development of Roman Literature. — The life of the Romans was intensely practical. Their national career was extraordinarily active and strenuous. After a long struggle for existence, and then for supremacy in Italy, Rome suddenly found herself engaged in a series of foreign wars, which erelong made her mistress of the world. The Romans had been so busy making history that they had not had time to write it — or, indeed, for any form of literature. The nation’s best days were over before its literature fairly began. When the nation at last became conscious of its imperial destiny, it desired to read the story of its growth and its triumphs. Thus the spirit of the Roman writers, at once patriotic and matter of fact, made them find in history a congenial field for their labors. But unfortunately most of the history of the early centuries had faded, ages before, from the memory of men. The Romans of the early time had not dreamed of the greatness that was to come. The larger part of the earlier history had, therefore, to be invented by the patriotic imagination of a later, a literary age.

The Earliest Records. — It is not to be understood that there were no records at all before the time of the historians. At an unknown date the chief pontiffs had begun to keep official calendars. At the beginning of each year they hung up at the Regia, the official residence of the chief pontiffs.
pontiff, a whitened tablet (tabula pontificis) bearing the names of the magistrates of the year. On this tablet, during the course of the year, events of religious significance—such as eclipses, pestilences, famines, and other prodigies—were recorded, with the dates of their occurrence. At the end of the year the tablet was laid away with its predecessors, and a new one took its place. It may be that, as time went on, these priestly records grew somewhat fuller, but they always remained meagre enough. About the time of the Gracchi the practice of keeping the tabulae pontificis seems to have been discontinued. P. Mucius Scaevola, pontifex maximus, about 120 B.C. collected them in book form, making the so-called Annales Maximi, in eighty books. But as the pontiff’s residence with all its contents doubtless perished in the burning of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C., some suppose that the archives for a few years anterior to that date may have been restored from memory, but that all the rest perished irrevocably. Others, more sceptically inclined, think that the tabulae pontificis were never begun before the third century B.C.

We hear something of libri lintei, “linen books,” containing lists of magistrates from the time before the Gallic conflagration, preserved in the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol, which escaped the general destruction; but there are grave doubts of their genuineness, which are not allayed by the knowledge that this temple was dedicated in 544 B.C., nearly a half-century after the fire.

Inscriptions, which form so extensive a portion of the memorials of later times, were very scanty before the development of literature.

The family records and traditions of noble houses doubtless constituted an important, though unreliable, element in the formation of the national history; and other important elements were the oral traditions of the people and the metrical feasts, whereby the legends of the olden time were unconsciously preserved from age to age.
Historical Poetry: Naevius and Ennius. — About two hundred years B.C. the earliest poets, Naevius and Ennius, treated in epic form themes taken from the national history, the one dealing thus with the First Punic War, the other with the period from Aeneas to his own age.

The Annalists. — About the same time began the practice of writing prose annals, that is, histories in strictly chronological arrangement, with the events of each year placed by themselves.

Fabius Pictor. — Nearly contemporary with Ennius was Q. Fabius Pictor, one of the first annalists, whose grandfather had gained this curious surname by painting a battle picture in the temple of Salus, and who was himself a prominent public man at the time of the Hannibalic war.

After this war was over he wrote in Greek an account of it, addressed to the educated among his own countrymen and to the Hellenic public, intended to offset the account given by Silenus, which he regarded as too favorable to the Carthaginians, and intended also to glorify the achievements of his famous kinsman, Fabius the Dictator. A general sketch of the national history constituted the introductory portion of this work, which was, upon the whole, of such a character that Fabius was not undeservedly called the father of Roman history. Livy highly respected him and often quoted his statements, but apparently at second hand out of later annalists.

Cincius Alimentus. — Contemporary with Fabius was L. Cincius Alimentus, who likewise wrote in Greek. Latin prose had not yet been developed into a fit vehicle of literary expression. This writer was praetor in 211 B.C., and, having been taken prisoner by Hannibal, had exceptional opportunities to inform himself with regard to the facts of the Second Punic War, which was the subject of the more detailed part of his work, though he also began at the foundation of Rome.
Piso. — L. Calpurnius Piso, the opponent of the Gracchi, consul in 133 B.C., wrote Annales, from the earliest period to his own time. Though he was one of the older annalists, the Vetustiores, he showed a critical spirit, endeavoring to distinguish the historical from the mythical elements in the accounts of the earliest times. He deserves especial respect for the soberness of his view, but his style was dry and unattractive.

Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias. — Q. Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias lived in the time of Sulla. The former wrote annals beginning at the destruction of Rome by the Gauls and extending, probably, to Sulla's death. Valerius Antias is responsible, perhaps, for more invention than any other writer of Roman history. His Annales, in at least seventy-five books, covered the whole period from the earliest times down to his own day. Where the story seemed bare and bald he adorned it with the creations of his own lively imagination. Fact and fiction flow along together in the stream of his narrative; and as his style was attractive, his work found many readers. Unfortunately it was much used as an authority by later writers. Livy was often led astray by him, and sometimes expressed his irritation at this agreeable but unsafe guide.

Macer and Tubero. — Two others of the later annalists were C. Licinius Macer, father of the poet Licinius Calvus, and Q. Aelius Tubero, the accuser of Ligarius, and later in life a distinguished jurist; both were contemporaries of Cicero.

Macer was an ardent democrat, whose passionate hatred of aristocrats strongly colored his writings, making them the more interesting to his readers, but likewise causing them to be looked on with disapproval and therefore to be comparatively little quoted by later historians, most of whom had aristocratic sympathies.

Tubero's Historiae were highly praised for their accuracy by his friend Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the learned Greek
who wrote a history of Rome down to the First Punic War. Tubero's narrative began with the landing of Aeneas, and its title seems to imply that it extended to the author's own time; for it was customary to call histories of past times *Annales*, and those dealing with contemporary events *Historiae*.

These are the names of a few of the best known of the many annalists of the last two centuries of the republic, whose works we know for the most part only in quotations by later writers.

**Anti-annalistic Writers.** — *Cato.* — Early in this period, however, M. Porcius Cato, the Censor, who had been the first to write history in Latin, also took the initiative in breaking away from the annalistic method. In his *Origines* he treated of Rome under the kings and of the early history of the Italian nations; then he wrote the later history, from the First Punic War almost to the end of his own lifetime.

*Caelius.* — Some years later L. Caelius Antipater (after 120 B.C.) wrote his account of the Second Punic War independently of the annalists. He was a man of culture and learning, a friend of C. Gracchus and the younger Scipio and Laelius. Dissatisfied with previous accounts of the war, written entirely from the Roman point of view, he consulted the history of Silenus, Hannibal's Greek historiographer, and compared it with the accounts given by his own countrymen.

He tried also to introduce a better literary style, and inserted speeches into the course of his narrative, not merely to explain it, but also as a means of giving expression to his own reflections and the supposed views of the actors in the story.

Though there were other writers who decidedly opposed the annalistic method, yet it seems, on the whole, to have retained its popularity with both authors and readers.
INTRODUCTION. I, II.

**Special Works, but no Great General History.** — At the end of the republic, besides general histories, there were numerous biographies, memoirs, and monographs, dealing with the careers of individuals or with short periods or episodes in the career of the nation. The catalogue of historical writers in the various departments is a long one. Yet Cicero (*De Leg. i.* 5) laments "*Abest historia litteris nostris,*" for none of the histories that had then appeared were worthy as literature of a place beside the poetry and oratory of the age. Even when Sallust and Caesar had published their works, which have been recognized ever since as models of Latin prose, there was still no great general history in Roman literature. The troublous times of the civil wars were not favorable to the production of such a work. The proper surroundings and inspiration were to come in the next generation, in the calm after the storm, in the peace and repose of the Augustan Age. And when Cicero wrote the words there was a boy growing up to manhood who was to remove forever the cause of his complaint.

II. LIVY.

**Birthplace.** — Titus Livius Patavinus was born in 59 B.C., the year of Julius Caesar's first consulship, at Patavium, now Padua, the ancient capital of the Veneti. The city, so tradition said, had been founded by Antenor, the companion of Aeneas. At all events, it was proud of its early relations with Rome, of which it had always been a staunch friend,—notably during the Hannibalic War. But as it lay for the most part "out of the way of wars and in the way of commerce," the city had grown populous and wealthy. In the time of Strabo (Livy's contemporary) it was one of the most important cities of the empire, having five hundred citizens of equestrian census, ranking in this respect next to Capua and third in Italy. Yet with all this prosperity the inhabitants were celebrated for their antique
virtue and pure morals. The town received Roman citizenship by the *lex Julia* in 49 B.C., and was incorporated into the Fabian tribe.

**Family and Education. Life at Rome.** — We do not know when Livy’s family had settled at Patavium, but there is evidence that it was a noble family and in easy circumstances. Our author doubtless received the education usual for young Romans of rank, and we know that he made a special study of rhetoric and philosophy. The time and circumstances of his removal to the capital are not known, but probably it occurred about the time of the battle of Actium. While still a young man he was in high favor with Augustus, and a member of the brilliant literary circle that was the chief ornament of the emperor’s court. He seems to have enjoyed intimate friendship with the family of the Caesars, and even to have had apartments in the palace. He informs us that Augustus took a personal interest in the composition of his history, and perhaps his undertaking was largely due to the influence of the emperor, who had made an epic poet of Vergil almost in spite of himself.

Suetonius says it was by the advice of Livy that the young Claudius, afterward emperor, took to writing history. Yet Livy was too candid to be a flatterer, and it was not altogether a jest when Augustus called him a Pompeian; for, while admitting the great qualities of Julius Caesar, he openly questioned whether it would not have been better for the state if he had never been born.

**Scanty Biographical Details.** — About Livy’s private life we possess very few details. He had a son, and a daughter who married a rhetorician named L. Magius. He never held office or took any part in politics, but lived a life of scholarly quiet, steadily engaged upon the history that was his life work. We do not know whether his occasional absences from Rome were long continued or whether his
... and the Lost Books.—

The latter event occurred close to such a number would have come to the life had been...
books, but of an *epitome*, *periociae*, as they are called, written by a later hand, probably in the fourth century. For some periods these are the only authority that we possess.

**Date of Composition. Division into Decades.** — The work seems to have been begun about 27 B.C. (not earlier), when the historian was in his thirty-third year, and it was continued steadily through the rest of his life, more than forty years. The books must have been published in instalments; for the author enjoyed in his lifetime the most extensive fame, as appears from Pliny’s story of the man who travelled from Cadiz to Rome for the sole purpose of seeing his face. But the division into decades (i.e. groups of ten books), so convenient for purposes of reference, was in all probability not made by Livy himself, though there are various groups of five, ten, or fifteen books which form units within the limits of the whole.

Book I covers two hundred and forty-four years, the time of the kings, besides the brief summary of the Trojan and Alban myths; the first decade extends to the close of the Second Samnite War; the lost second decade told of the Third Samnite, the Pyrrhic, and the First Punic War and the interval before the Second; the entire third decade is devoted to the Second Punic or Hannibalic War. Book XLV brings us to the year 167 B.C., and the triumph of Paulus after the conquest of Macedonia; so that the remainder of the history, ninety-seven books, covered one hundred and fifty-eight years, less than two years to a book, showing that the lost portions were much more detailed than the extant portions.

**Treatment of the Legendary Period.** — The legend of the foundation of the city, which many annalists had treated at great length and adorned with later fables of Greek invention, Livy gives in short and simple form. Similar in spirit is his treatment of the history of the kings, in
which he followed such annalists as Piso and Tubero, doubtless borrowing some features of the story from the poet Ennius. Throughout the first decade he followed various annalists, and here he was led into some blunders, as he afterward discovered, by Valerius Antias.

Authorities for the Third Decade. — On coming to the Second Punic War, Livy found contemporary authorities to draw upon. All through the third decade there are traces of a considerable use of Cælius Antipater. In Books XXI and XXII he expressly cites Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, and it is evident that he consulted a number of other annalists, to whom he refers by general expressions.

Relation to Polybius. — In this decade Livy had at his command the great Greek historian, Polybius, whose universal history, in forty books, extended from the beginning of the Second Punic War to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth. Polybius was one of the thousand Achaeans exiled to Italy in 167 B.C. He lived on intimate terms with the younger Scipio and his friends, and supplemented his exceptional opportunities for gathering information by extensive travel in the east and west. He treated his subject in a critical and philosophic spirit, was impartial in his attitude and sure in his judgment. His style was clear, simple, and unadorned, his matter admirably arranged; and though his work is in some places dry reading, it was a most excellent source of information for subsequent writers.

From the beginning of the third decade many passages of Livy correspond with Polybius, some of them exactly; but it would not be safe to conclude that this was due to direct copying. There has been much controversy about the relation of our author to his Greek predecessor. Some have thought that he followed Polybius directly, from the
beginning of this decade, wherever it suited his purpose; others, that he was simply following Caellius, who drew from the same source as Polybius, namely, Silenus; others, again, that he was following continually through this decade the account of Claudius Quadrigarius, and that certain passages taken from Polybius were inserted afterward. The dependence on Polybius, direct or indirect, is greater after the affairs of Greece and Macedonia become involved in the story, namely, from Book XXIII onward, but Polybius is never quoted by name before Book XXX, chapter 45.

Livy's Uncritical Methods.—It is not fair, in charging Livy with negligence and credulity, to judge him by the standard of modern methods. The classical and mediaeval historians, in treating of times prior to their own, were usually content to take the writings of previous chroniclers as the basis of their own work,—to transcribe bodily without naming the earlier author, and to amend or modify if they saw fit.

It was only when they reached contemporary events that their labor became original and independent. A critical investigator of facts, like Polybius, was a rare exception. The physical difficulty of a thorough collation of authorities in antiquity was a serious obstacle to critical research. The most industrious of modern investigators, if deprived of printed books, catalogued libraries and carefully arranged state archives freely opened to students, could accomplish comparatively little. Few of the ancients could possibly have made thorough preliminary studies of their subjects, in any such sense as we now understand the words. Besides, a searching examination of all authorities was foreign to Livy's purpose, which was moral and artistic, not critical. It was to a large extent impossible under the conditions of his age, and was not desired by his contemporaries. Therefore when he is accused of writing from chroniclers and not from documents, while we must admit that he made
no effort to discover new documents and did not even take
the trouble to examine those that were within his reach,
we must also remember that this was the fashion of his
age, not his peculiar fault. We should be doing him great
injustice if we failed to recognize his sincere desire to tell
the truth, which he regarded as the first duty of the histo-
rian, and of which he continually gave evidence. In those
days, history that was already ancient was regarded as closed
and settled. People expected to find in the annalists all
there was to know of the subject, and so, for the early times,
Livy looked upon them as his only source.

Impossibility of estimating Livy as an Original Historian.—
The result of this ancient method was, of course, much con-
fusion and contradiction, most of which will never be sat-
factorily elucidated. It is peculiarly unfortunate that,
through the loss of all the later books, which treated of
recent and contemporary events and were addressed to a
public able to detect errors of fact or deficiency of informa-
tion, we are not in a position to estimate Livy as an
original historian.

He has been reproached, moreover, with having confined
himself too exclusively to the narration of events, and with
having neglected all that concerned civilization, institutions,
laws, manners, literature, and the arts. It is true that in
descending wars he appears as the most unmilitary of histo-
rans, that he had no adequate understanding of legal in-
situtions and of constitutional development; that he was
confused in chronology, careless in topography—in short,
difficult about details of fact. Moreover, like most of
his contemporaries, he had little idea of the philosophy of history,
and set for abstract discussion, and preferred, when he
was to explain the causes of events, to put his reflections
upon the deaths of his personages. This practice was not
absolutely rare, but its improbability was atoned for by
the moral and historical beauties of which it was the occasion.
His Character as shown in his Work.—Though we know so little about Livy’s life, in his works we learn to know and love him. His central theme is the grandeur of eternal Rome. He gives the index to his mental attitude in his preface. It is evident that he took a patriotic pleasure in his work, as a consolation for the death of republican freedom and for the existing conditions which contained so much that was saddening to his heart.

Moral Earnestness.—He had an earnest moral purpose,—to hold up before the degenerate Romans of his own day the picture of the virtues of their ancestors, which had made the brave days of old so truly glorious. This he was able to do better than any of his predecessors, by his poetic instinct, by his rare rhetorical and dramatic talent, and by his unusual power of sympathetic treatment, which renders all that is high and noble so attractive to his readers. His ethical purpose is all the better fulfilled because he does not stop to moralize.

He had a lofty,—if the word be not too modern, a romantic,—conception of the Roman virtues,—fortitude, valor, magnanimity, candor, obedience to authority, self-restraint, incorruptible integrity, self-sacrificing patriotism,—which led him often to idealize the heroes of the olden time. When forced to disapprove of the conduct of his countrymen, he condemns it as un-Roman.

We realize his firm belief in Rome’s destiny to dominion and permanence,—a destiny resting upon the national character. He deeply regretted the decay of the old-fashioned sturdy virtues and the ancient religious faith of the people, and felt, with Augustus and with Horace, the necessity for their revival. He had probably no distinct religious belief, but his nature was pious and reverent.

Republican and Aristocratic Sympathies.—Though he accepted the imperial rule as established by Augustus, and lived on friendly terms with the emperor, it was rather with resignation than with enthusiasm. The existing state
of things was the best possible under the circumstances, but not the ideally best. His heart was with the older, better time of liberty — the only condition worthy, in his view, of men of self-respect. And by liberty he did not understand the license of the many, the mob rule of democracy, but the tempered, self-restrained, law-abiding freedom of the best days of the aristocracy, when the counsels of the state were really directed by her wisest and best citizens. His admiration for the Pompeian party, whose side Patavium had espoused in the civil war, was based upon an ideal conception of its aim as an attempt to restore that long-perished condition of the republic. Though his sympathies are essentially aristocratic, he so disliked all that was violent or subversive of the peace and order of society that he hated an aristocrat like Appius Claudius, the decemvir, as heartily as he despised the most turbulent tribune of the plebs.

Conservatism and Piety. — His temperament was intensely conservative, and therefore, with poetic appreciation, he repeated the legends of the early days which had long ago become a part of the national memory, not concealing the fact that they contained a large mythical element, but presenting them in their main features, with simplicity and dignity, doing away with a great accumulation of inappropriate additions of later times. But we are not to understand him as vouching for the truth of every story he relates. In this same conservative spirit he reports prodigies and miracles, realizing that they were in great part the creations of excited imagination, but not feeling called upon to question what the best men had believed and acted upon in the past, and considering them also an important feature in the pictures he drew of by-gone times — part of the scenery, so to speak, amid which the actors had moved. Remembering the age in which he lived, it is evident that, though he was devout and imaginative, with a profound reverence for the mighty past and for the powers of the
unseen world, he could not possess the childlike credulity of a primitive civilization.

The kindliness of his nature appears in sympathy for the oppressed and unfortunate; his indignation at wrong, deceit, and oppression is honest and spontaneous.

_Patriotic Bias._ — The warmth of his patriotism was such that it sometimes betrayed him into partiality to his countrymen and injustice toward their opponents: but this fault is only the excess of a virtue, and we can regard it more charitably than the cold impartiality of those who have no patriotism to bias their judgments; and the essential candor of his disposition led him to appreciate what was great or good wherever he found it.

_Literary Excellence._ — However Livy has been criticised for his historical methods, as a writer he has met with nothing but praise. His language is rich, clear, harmonious,—in its higher flights comparable to the eloquence of the greatest orators. Quintilian, the prince of ancient critics, characterizes it most happily by the phrases "_lactea ubertas_" and "_clarissimus candor_" (x. 1, 32 and 101). In ordinary narrative, simple and easy, at times even careless, he rises without effort to eloquence, and his tone is always proportioned to the nature of his subject. He excels in painting the great scenes in the nation's life, the bitterness of party struggles, the passions of the masses, the joy and dread of multitudes. Stroke by stroke his periods seem to grow under his hand till he finally makes us almost see with our bodily eyes the scenes he portrays. To read his "painted page" is like wandering down a long, stately gallery, the walls all glowing with the rich colors of historical paintings. He lives with his characters, and makes their feelings his own. In the extant books there are over four hundred speeches. He is a dramatist as well as an orator. In the expression of emotions, and especially of pathos, he is unequalled.
"Patavinity."—His modern admirers cannot fail to rejoice that he enjoyed the good fortune of being appreciated by his contemporaries. So far as we know, there was but one dissenting voice, perhaps the voice of jealousy,¹ amid the universal chorus of admiration. Quintilian says (viii. 1, 3), "In Tito Livio . . . putat inesse Pollio Asinius quandam Patavinitatem." Evidently this was a charge of provincialism, which may have been intelligible at the time, but which to modern scholars has proved a subject of much inquiry, more curious than profitable.

**Livy marks a Transition in the Latin Language.**—In point of language, Livy, together with Sallust and Nepos, is the connecting link between the golden and silver ages of Latinity: he possesses the qualities of the latter in such degree only as to enhance the beauties of the former. He is the one great prose writer among the poets of the Augustan Age, as Catullus and Lucretius were the only great poets amid the prose authors of the Ciceronian period.

We must beware of being misled by that convention which has fixed upon the prose of the Ciceronian Age, and rightly so, as the highest standard of Latinity. We do find the *sermo urbanus*, the style of the cultured Roman gentleman, in its purity and austerity, in the prose of Cicero and Caesar, but it would have been neither possible nor desirable for later writers to go on forever conforming strictly to their canons. Life in language and literature means change and development. Latin had an imperial destiny,—it was to throw off the restraints proper to the language of a cultured caste in a single city, and to become the language of the civilized Western World. What it lost in simplicity and severity, it gained in richness and variety. We find in the syntax of the Imperial prose greater flexibility and freedom; in the diction, greater richness and splendor. Let us say

¹ It is evident, from the amusing story in Seneca Rhetor. *Suas.* VI. 27, that Pollio was jealous of Cicero, at any rate.
that Livy's Latin is different from Cicero's and Caesar's, rather than that it is inferior.

Without speaking of new words and new turns of expression, his syntax is already sensibly modified, partly in consequence of natural development, partly through the influence of the language of poetry, and perhaps of the language of the people,—both of which, in the imperial epoch, penetrated more and more into the structure of prose. This mixture, showing a little in Livy, is a sign of approaching change; another sign is that certain words and certain forms have in his diction already lost their proper sense. His style, in short, with all its brilliancy and all its charm, has not the severity and simplicity of the preceding age.

**Peculiarities of Style.**—The peculiarities of the style of Tacitus have been conveniently put under three heads,—brevitas, varietas, color poeticus. Livy has the last two, as decidedly as he lacks the first. In the periods of Cicero's rhetorical prose we find a carefully adjusted balance of the parts, perfect symmetry of clauses and phrases. In Livy and in Sallust there is a constant variety in the coordinate elements, and an intentional lack of symmetry, which, a century later, in Tacitus develops into the most pronounced peculiarity.

**Essentially a Ciceronian.**—Yet essentially Livy is a Ciceronian in style: his sustained elevation, abundance,—at times a little excessive,—rich coloring, vivid imagination, seem to be the actual fulfilment of Cicero's own ideal of the historical style, which, he says (Orator, xx. 66), differs from the oratorical "almost as much as the poetic style." Quintilian declares (x. 1, 31) that history is like an "epic in prose," having the right to borrow of poetry some of its liberties. This theory Livy appears to have put into practice. In fact, next to the oratorical form of thought
and expression, his most salient characteristic is the poetic coloring he assumes from time to time,—consisting in the employment of words or constructions rare in prose, in the boldness of his images, and in turns of phrase unlike the ordinary manner of expression.

**Livy in Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times.**—Apparently Livy was more read by the Romans than any other author except Vergil. His history was the source of material for countless later writers, and, for the convenience of readers, extracts and abridgments without number were made. Like Vergil he was idealized in the Middle Ages, and we find Dante speaking of him as *Lивio . . . che non erra*. By the great scholars of the Renaissance he was eagerly and affectionately studied, and earnest efforts were made to find his lost books. Modern scholarship has always been busy with Livy. The first great critical edition of the text was that of Gronovius (Leyden, 1644). In the nineteenth century the two men who did most to place the study of Livy on a solid scientific basis and to ensure it substantial advancement were Nicholas Madvig, who died in 1886, and Wilhelm Weissenborn, who died in 1878. Their work is being carried on to-day by a host of scholars, whose labors are continually helping to establish a more correct text and to attain a better knowledge of a thousand matters which are important for a complete understanding of the contents of Livy's great history.

**III. DICTION AND GRAMMAR.**

Much of the effect produced by Livy's style is due to the skilful arrangement of his periods. The order of words in a Latin sentence is often too subtle to be appreciated without careful study and long experience. But there are many obvious features of Livy's diction and syntax which even a beginner can readily observe.
1. Nouns.

a. Concrete singulars are much used for collectives or plurals.
   *eques* habitually for *equitatus*, e.g. page 46, line 16; similarly
   *pedes*, *miles*, *Romanus*, *Poenus*; e.g. *Poenus* for *exercitus
   Punicus*, page 81, line 33; *vestis* in a collective sense, page
   104, line 20.

b. Abstract for concrete substantives.
   *remigio* for *remigibus*, page 95, line 17; *servitia* for *servos,
   page 50, line 9; *dignitates*, page 180, line 12.

c. Fondness for verbals in *-us*.
   *traiectu*, page 6, line 12; *saltatu*, page 25, line 19; *ductu*, page
   75, line 7; *vestitus*, page 77, line 10.

d. Fondness for verbals in *-tor* and *-sor*, using them both
   substantively and adjectively.
   *ostentator*, page 14, line 22; *exercitu victore*, page 14, line 21;
   *liberator animus*, page 68, line 22.

e. Appositive nouns equivalent to attributive adjectives
   or phrases.
   *pastor accola*, page 10, line 7.

f. Attributive phrases consisting of a noun and a
   preposition.
   *ex minoribus castris aquatores*, page 100, line 29; *ex laetitia
   epulis*, page 195, line 34; *ab Hermandica profugi*, page 78,
   line 7.

2. Genitive.

a. Possessive, used predicatively.
   *tutelae essent*, page 9, line 15; *alterius morientis prope totus
   exercitus fuit*, page 195, line 31.

b. Partitive with adjectives.
   *in immensum altitudinis*, page 107, line 4; *aestatis reliquom,
   page 188, line 19; *circumfusos militum*, page 175, line 10;
   *ad multum diei*, page 190, line 27.
3. DATIVE.
   a. "Predicative" or "of service."
      *dis cordi esset*, page 49, line 17; *usui essent*, page 100, line 24.
   b. Instead of the accusative or ablative with a preposition, especially after compounded verbs. This usage is more free and less precise than that of strict prose; it is characteristic of poetic style.
      *mare fluminibus invexit*, page 147, line 21; *adequitando portis*,
      page 10, line 6.
   c. Extensive use of the dative of reference and of agency with the involved idea of interest.
      *quaerentibus ratio initur*, page 29, line 6.
   d. The use of the dative with adjectives is very free.
      *absconum fidei*, page 20, line 12.

4. ACCUSATIVE.
   a. Adverbial or synecdochical.
      *adversum femur ictus*, page 80, line 24; *cetera egregium*, page
      40, line 13.
   b. Omission of direct object, especially with
      *ducere (exercitum)*, page 28, line 14; *tenere (cursum)*, page 3, line 16.

5. ABLATIVE.
   a. Extensively used without prepositions where they would normally be expected—the local ablative constantly shading off into the modal or instrumental.
      *(in) carpento sedenti*, page 44, line 14; *lapides (de) caelo ceci-
      disse*, page 142, line 6; *profectus (cum) sexaginta longis
      navibus*, page 99, line 2.
      But it is common in other authors, in military expressions like the last, to omit *cum*.
   b. Names of towns from which motion occurs regularly take *ab*.
   c. Comparatio compendiaria.
      *omnium spe celerius*, page 79, line 17.
Diction and Grammar.

6. Adjectives.

a. Fondness for adjectives ending in -bundus.
b. For the adjective ingens, a favorite with poets.
c. Use of adjectives as substantives, with or without ellipsis of a substantive.
   Vestalem (virginem), page 6, line 24; profugi, page 78, line 8.
d. Predicate adjectives in an adverbial sense.
   mitem praebuisse, page 7, line 13; prospera evenissent, page 94, line 19.
e. In the sense of objective genitives.
   consularibus inpedimentis, page 139, line 8; dictoria invidia, page 171, line 18.
f. In the neuter, with or without a partitive genitive (see § 2, b), in the sense of an abstract noun.
   ex inffmo, page 12, line 21; pro indignissimo, page 50, line 4.

7. Particles.

a. Fondness for adverbs in -im.
   gravatim, page 4, line 31; pedetemt, page 101, line 36.
b. Adverbs with the function of attributive adjectives.
   omnium circa populorum, page 72, line 26; quadraginta deinde annos, page 20, line 16.
c. Peculiar use of certain adverbs.
   circa for time as well as place; ceterum = sed; sometimes it is not perceptibly adversative, but merely has the force of the French du reste; iuxta = pariter; adhuc for past time; unde, ibi, inde, istic, referring to persons; admodum with numerals.
d. Adverbial phrases consisting of an adjective or participle with a preposition.
   ex insperato, page 31, line 19; ab destinato, page 129, line 14; in aperto, page 145, line 33.
e. *Adeo* is much used to introduce an explanation of a preceding statement; e.g. page 84, line 2.

f. There are many parenthetical clauses introduced by *enim*.

g. The preposition *ab* is very frequently used in this form, rather than *a*, before consonants.

8. **Verbs.**

a. Affection for iteratives or intensives, often with the precise meaning of the simple verbs.

   *imperitabat*, page 27, line 8.

b. Simple verbs for compounds, as in the poets.

   *missum*, page 128, line 30; *in maius vero ferri*, page 105, line 23;
   *scriberet*, page 153, line 15.

c. *Fui* and *fueram* as auxiliaries instead of *sum* and *eram*. *Forem* for *essem*.

d. Frequent appearance of primary tenses of the subjunctive in dependent clauses of *oratio obliqua*, where the rule of sequence would call for secondary tenses (*repraesentatio*).

   E.g. Tarquin’s speech, page 62, lines 17 sqq.

   This must not be confused with the use of the perfect subjunctive in the “aorist” sense, corresponding to the indicative “indefinite” or historical perfect.

e. The iterative use of the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive is frequent.

   *ut . . . destitueret*, page 101, line 14; *ubi dixisset*, page 42, line 8.

f. Passive in “middle” or reflexive sense.

   *demissa*, page 44, line 15; *perfunderis*, page 56, line 2; *pandi*,
   page 146, line 9.

g. Neuter verbs impersonally used in compound tenses of the passive.

   *tumultuatum (erat)*, page 89, line 7; *perventum (est)*, page 107,
   line 21; *est cessatum*, page 195, line 27.

a. Ablative absolute without a substantive.
   *inaugurato*, page 46, line 20; *inexplorato*, page 146, line 7.

b. Past passive participle for verbal abstract noun.
   *degeneratum in alis*, page 64, line 3; *iram praedae amissae*,
   page 8, line 3.

c. Participles of deponent verbs in a passive sense.
   *expertus*, page 44, line 33.

d. Present participle as a substantive.
   *ab circumstantibus*, page 75, line 20; *leyentium*, page 1, line 14;
   *scribentis*, page 1, line 21; *inferentis vim*, page 118, line 6.

e. The past participle is often used without any feeling of tense.
   *moritur uxore relicta*, page 43, line 24.

f. The use of participles instead of developed clauses is carried to an advanced degree and is a decided characteristic of our author.
   *increpans quidem . . . ceterum*, page 154, line 21; *invicta . . .
   si . . . dimicare tur*, page 78, line 20; *deditos . . . adfecturi
   fuerunt*, page 118, line 10.

Sometimes they are introduced by a particle.
   *velut trepidante equitatu*, page 19, line 10.

g. Participle omitted.
   *aqua ex opaco specu (sc. profluens)*, page 26, line 13; *pugna ad
   Trebiam (sc. commissa)*, page 88, line 20. Cf. § 1, f.

h. Participles in the comparative and superlative degrees.
   *occultiores*, page 105, line 30; *extentissima valle*, page 106, line 3.

i. Gerund and gerundive in the ablative, modal or instrumental.
   *miscendo*, page 2, line 2; *quibus oppugnandis*, page 77, line 26;
   *quaerendis vadis*, page 101, line 36.

*Notice Book XXII*, chap. 14, in which there are nine ablative gerunds.
k. In general Livy's use of participles is very highly developed, and shows extraordinary skill and variety.
Study, for example. Book XXII, chap. 7, which contains nearly thirty participles.

10. Figures of Rhetoric and Grammar.

a. Alliteration.
Romulus, rex, regia, page 14, line 27.
There are six examples in Book XXII, chap. 39.

b. Anacoluthon.
Anci filli duo . . . inpensusius iis indignitas crescere, page 50, lines 4–8; also, perhaps, In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin . . . favor plebis sequebatur, page 75, line 29 to page 76, line 1.

c. Anaphora.
Hic terminum dedit, hic mercedem dabit, page 117, line 5.

d. Anastrophe of prepositions.
Faesulas inter Arretiumque, page 144, line 16.

e. Asyndeton.
di homines, page 83, line 13; nautarum militum, page 100, line 30; comminus eminus, page 108, line 6.

f. Brachylogy.
ad idem promissorum, page 107, line 28.

g. Chiasmus.
Rebus perpetratis vocataque multitudine, page 11, line 17.

h. Comparatio compendiaria. See § 5, c.
mutatam secum, page 119, line 20.

i. Constructio per synesim.
Magna pars raptae (i.e. virgines), page 13, line 15.

k. Ellipsis.
At enim, e.g. page 91, line 5; Tantum ne, page 92, line 6; ne errarent, page 64, line 26; ni intervenissent, page 60, line 1.
l. Inversion of familiar phrases.
   *bello domique*, page 44, line 33; *Vere primo*, page 94, line 15.

m. Paronomasia.
   *consilio auxilioque*, p. 66, line 17; *hostis pro hospite*, p. 71, line 9.

n. Pleonasms.
   *longe ante alios acceptissimus*, page 20, line 18; *Raque ergo*,
   page 30, line 25; *nova de integro*, page 147, line 12.

### IV. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

The text of the first decade comes to us through recensions by Victorianus (fourth century) and two Nicomachi (fifth century). The best Mss. representing them are the *Codex Mediceus* (M) at Florence (eleventh century) and the *Codex Parisinus* (P) at Paris, No. 5725 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (tenth century). Earlier Mss. once known to scholars have disappeared.

For the third decade the chief source of the text is the *Codex Puteanus* (P) of Paris, No. 5730 (sixth century). As several leaves at the beginning are missing, we are reduced, for the first two-thirds of Book XXI, to two Mss. derived from the *Puteanus*,—the *Colbertinus* at Paris, No. 5731 (C) (tenth or eleventh century), and the *Mediceus* at Florence (M) (eleventh century).

The text of Livy was first printed at Rome in 1469. The first great critical edition was that of Gronovius, Leyden, 1644, which remained the standard for nearly two centuries. A number of excellent editions have appeared since 1830, and the first rank among modern ones is held by those of Madvig (Copenhagen) and Weissenborn (Berlin).

Among editions (with notes) of Books I, XXI, and XXII, the following are worthy of recommendation: —


The whole of Livy is issued in parts, new editions constantly appearing as the old ones are exhausted.
INTRODUCTION. IV, V.

Heynacher, Book I. Perthes, Gotha, 1890.
Greenough, Books I, II. Ginn, Boston, 1891.
Wößlin, Book XXI. Teubner, Leipzig, 1900; XXII, 1901.
Dowdall, Book XXI. Deighton, Bell, & Co., Cambridge, 1885; XXII, 1888.
Lord, Books XXI, XXII. Sanborn, Boston, 1892.
Greenough and Peck, Books XXI, XXII. Ginn, Boston, 1893.

The edition of Luchs (text only, with *apparatus criticus*), Vol. III, Books XXI–XXV, Berlin, 1888, embodied judiciously the results of textual study up to that date.

V. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Besides the numerous editions of various parts of Livy there has been in recent years great activity in the study of the text, grammar and style, sources, topography, and other matters connected with the complete illustration of our author. A very complete report of the various publications in all these lines is published annually by H. J. Müller, the editor of the later editions of Weissenborn's Livy, in the *Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins*, which appear with the Berlin *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen*. This should be consulted by students wishing to keep themselves informed, year by year, of the latest work in the subject. It is especially valuable in bringing together contributions in the line of textual criticism and emendation, collected from a large variety of periodical publications not always accessible to the student.

Out of a very large number of works useful for reference, the following is a partial list:—
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Language and Style.

L. C. Kühnast. *Die Hauptpunkte der Livianischen Syntax*. Berlin, 1872. Contains matter of great value, but is difficult to use on account of its confused arrangement. For practical purposes it is to a great extent superseded by


A valuable work, unfortunately abandoned after the appearance of the 6th part, and later published as "Vol. I," 1897.


Sources.


This author has devoted much study to the relations of Livy to earlier writers of Roman history, especially to Polybius, the results of which appeared in various periodicals, especially in *Philologus*, at various times during the last dozen years.


Topography.


Hannibal's Route over the Alps.

Hermann Schiller gave a convenient summary of what was known about the subject twenty years ago in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, IV (1884), 705, 737, 769.

These all favor the Mt. Cenis route.


Argue for the Mt. Genève route.


H. Hesselbarth. Quoted above, under "Sources."


TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA LIBRI.

PRAEFATIO.

The motives of the author in writing the history of the Roman people, and the plan and aim of the work.

Facturusne operae 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 certius aliquid allaturos se aut scribendi arte 5 rudem vetustatem superatusos credunt. Utcumque 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 10 meo, consoler. Res est praeterea et inmensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et quae ab exiguis profecta initiiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe, dum prisca tota illa mente repeto, 20 avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.

Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum mo-
numen 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 discrimine: 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 desidentes 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, perventum 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 inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vitas. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditor fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque inmigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit: adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi per dendique omnia invexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae, cum forsitam 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, libeni- tius inciperemus, ut orsis tantum operis successus pro-speros darent.
TITI LIVI AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER I.

At the fall of Troy Aeneas and Antenor escape to Italy. The latter settles in Venetia; the former in Latium, where he marries and founds a city.

I. Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Aeneae Antenoriique, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse. Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaebant, venisse in intumum maris Adriatici sinum; Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incoelebant, pulsis Enetos Trojanosque 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 ma- iora rerum initia ducentibus fatis primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab inmenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves superesset, cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est: alii proelio victum Latinum pa- cem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt.

*Victory of the Latins and Trojans over the Rutulians and Etruscans. Death of Aeneas.*

II. Bello deinde Aborigines Trojanique simul petiti. Turnus rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre patiens, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli, victores Aborigines Trojanique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque regem eorum confugiunt, qui Caere, opulento tum oppido, imperitans, iam inde ab initio minime laetus novae origine urbis, et tum nimio plus quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Trojanam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit. Aeneas, *adversus* tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi
conciliiaret, nec sub eodem iure solum sed etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere. Fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italicam longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implessit, tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quaecumque eum dicì ius fasque est, super Numinum fluvium; Iovem indigetem appellant.

Regency of Lavinia, the widow of Aeneas. Their son Ascanius founds Alba Longa. One of their descendants, Amulius, usurps the throne of his elder brother, Numitor, whose male offspring he kills, and whose daughter he makes a Vestal Virgin.

III. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolumem 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 comésque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genus — certe natum Aenea constat — abundante 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.

Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes ...

The birth of Romulus and Remus. Exposed by order of the king, they are nursed by a she wolf, and finally rescued and brought up by the shepherd Faustulus.

IV. Sed deebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Vi compressa 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 vincita in custodiam datur, pueros in profuentem aquam mitti iubet.

Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad justi cursum poterat amnis, et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat. Ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima eluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est — Romularem vocatam ferunt — pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus qui circa sunt ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam summisas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit. Faustulouisse nomen ferunt. Ab eo ad stabula La- rentiae uxorix educandos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragrare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto 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.

Remus's identity is accidentally discovered, and the two brothers, assisted by their friends, the shepherds, attack and slay the usurper Amulius.

V. Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadia, Pullantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenevit loca, sollemne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi iuvenes Lyaeum Pana venerantes per vsum atque
lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse ultrro accusantes. Crimi maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetus fieri; inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur.

Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stir-pem apud se educari: nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem aperire noluerat. Necessitas prior venit. Ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet, audissetque geminos esse frатres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem tenuerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum, nec enim erat ad vim apertam par, sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoriis alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obturcant.

*The kingdom of Alba is restored to Numitor. Romulus and Remus, desiring to found a city where they had grown up, contend for the preëminence.*

VI. 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 gratu-lantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelus in se fratris. originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti
ROME UNDER THE KINGS.

I (Suburana), III (Esquillina)  | The four regions of Servius Tullius.
II (Palatina), IV (Collina)   |

3. Quays of the Tarquins.        6. Temple of Vesta.
7. Senate House (Curla).
8. Comitium.
LIBER I. CAP. VII.

essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit. Juvenes per mediam continentem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupidus cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Alborum Latinorumque, ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvam Lavinium praec ea urbe, quae condeteretur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avium malum, regni cupidus, atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent, nec aestasis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dixi, quorum tutelae eta loca essent, auguriiis legerent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templam capiunt.

Remus is slain. Romulus founds Rome on the Palatine Hill. The legend of Hercules, Cacus, and Evander.

VII. Priori Remo augurium venisse furtur sex vultures, iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat. Tempore illi praeccepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur. Ibi in turbas ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset "Sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea!" interfecere. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Eo-
andro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Gery-
one interempto boves mira specie abegisse memorant, ac
prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens
nando traierat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pablo laeto
5 reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. Ibi
cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset,
pastor accola eius loci nomine Cacus, ferox viribus,
captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam prae dam
vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compu-
10 lisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura
erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine,
caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad primam aura-
ram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et
partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam
15 speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi om-
nia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confu-
sus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro
armentum occipit. Inde cum actae boves quaedam ad
desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, redita inclusa-
20 rum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem
cum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere con-
tus esset, ictus clava fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans
morte occubuit.

Evander tum ea profugus ex Peloponneso auctoritate
25 magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir mira-
culo litterarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines,
venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam
fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae
eae gentes fuerant. Is tum Evander, concursu pastorum
trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis ex-
citus postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habi-
tum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque
humana intuens rogitat, qui vir esset. Ubi nomen
patremque ac patriam accepit, “Iove nate, Hercules,
30 salve” inquit. “Te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum,
aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit, tibique aram hic
Liber I. Cap. VIII.

dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat." Dextra Hercules
data accipere se omen inpleturumque fata ara condita
eac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de
greges sacrum Herculi adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque 5
Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime inclita
e ea loca inculebant, factum. Forte ita evenit, ut Potitii
ad tempus praesto essent, iisque exa apponenterur,
Pinii adexit ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde
institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne exsit 10
solumnium vescerentur. Potitii ab Euandro edoceti anti-
stites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt, donec tradito
servis publicis sollemnium familiae ministerio genus omne
Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus una ex
omnibus peregrina suscept, iam tum immortalitatis virtute 15
partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducabant, fautor.

Romulus makes laws, establishes the Senate, assumes kingly
state, and opens an asylum for strangers.

VIII. Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad
concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius
corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit;
quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se 20
ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero
habitum se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim
sumptis fecit. Alli ab numero avium, quae augurio
regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant;
me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et ap- 25
paritores hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella
curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, et numerum
quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita habuisse Etruscos,
quod ex duodecim populis communiter createde rege sin-
gulos singuli populi lictores dederint.

Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia
adpetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudi-
nitis quam ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis causa vetere consilio contendunt urbes, qui obscum atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, aida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Cum iam virium haud paeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat: centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari patres possent: patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.

In order to obtain wives, the Romans invite their neighbors to witness games, and seize the maidens who come with their parents.

IX. Iam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes proles nec cum finitimis conubia essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem conubiumque novo populo pereant: urbes quoque ut cetera ex infimo nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac die iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere. Satis scire origini Romanae et deos aduisse et non defuturam virtutem. Proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere. Nusquam beneigne legatio audita est: adeo simul spernebat, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant; a plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquid feminis quoque asylum aperuissent: id enim demum conpar conubium fore. Aegre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit.
Cul tempus locumque aptum ut dare Romulus, ae-gritudinem animi dissimulans ludos ex industria parat Neptuno Equestri sollemnis; Cousualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet, quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant concelebrant, ut rem claram 5 exspectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses Crustumini Antemnates; iam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos cum situm moeniaque et fre-quentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditaque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis, signoque dato iuventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrat. Magna pars forte, in quem quaeque 15 inciderat, raptae; quasdam forma excellentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Talassii cuisdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam 20 eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamitatum: inde nuptiale hanc vocem factam. Tur-bato per metum ludicro maestì parentes virginum profugunt, incusantes violati hospitì foedus deumque invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per fas ac sidem decepti 25 venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumbat, docebatque patrum id superbia factum, qui conubium finitimens negassent. Illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitasque, et, quo nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore. Mollirent modo iras, et quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Saepe ex injuria postmodum gratiam ortam, eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod adnisisurus pro se quisque sit, ut, cum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentium etiam patriaeque expleat 35 desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum factum pur-
gantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

Romulus defeats the people of Caenina, slays their king, and dedicates the first "spolia opima."

X. Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant. At raptorum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querellis civitatis concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatti nomen in iis regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos eius injuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardoire iraque Caeninensium satis se inipgere movent: ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninnum in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum sequitur; regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliat; duce hostium occiso urbem primo impetu capit.

Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte furculo gerens in Capitolium escendit, ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templum Iovis finis, cognomenque addidit deo. "Iuppiter Feretri" inquit, "haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opinis spoliis, quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent." Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde diis
LIBER I. CAP. XI.

visum, nec inritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua
lauros eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine
conpotum eius doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter
tot annos, tot bella opima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara
eius fortuna decoris fuit.

*Easy victories over Antemnae and Crustumierium. The Sa-
bines gain the Roman citadel by bribing Tarpeia.*

XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatum exercitus
per occasionem ac solitudinem hostilater in fines
Romanos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana
legioducta palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo
impetu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum; duplicique
victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia coniunx precibus
raptarum fatigata orat, ut parentibus eorum det veniam
et in civitatem accipiat: ita rem coalescere concordia
posse. Facile impetraturn. Inde contra Crustuminos
profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alie-
nis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque
coloniae missae; plures inventi, qui propter ubertatem
terrae in Crustuminum nomina darent. Et Romam inde
frequentem migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propin-
quis rapturum.

Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id
maximum fuit: nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem ac-
tum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt.
Consilio etiam additus dolus. Spurius Tarpeius Romanae
praerat arci. Huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit
Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat—aquam forte ea
tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat;—accepti obru-
tam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videre-
tur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum
proditori esset. Additur fabula, quod vulgo Sabini au-
reas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo gemmatosque
magna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam quod in
nas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque, cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquando numerus maior hoc mulierum futurum aetate an dignitatis suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint, quae nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt: Rammenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati; Lucerum nominem et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo commune sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.

*Tatius is slain by the Laurentians, and Romulus reigns alone. The Romans attack and capture Fidenae.*

XIV. Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatti legatos Laurentium pulsant, cumque Laurentes iure gentium agerent, apud Tatum gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit: nam Lavinii, cum ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto interficitur. Eam rem minus aegre quam dignum erat tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud injuria caesum credebant. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit: ut tamen expiarentur legatorum injuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Lavini quam urbes renovatum est.

Et cum his quidem insperata pac erat: aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati. priusquam tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Iuventute armata immissa vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est. Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem inlatus pro nuntio fuit. *Excitum Romulus*—neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum
bellum poterat—exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relecto egressus omnibus copiis partem militum locis circa densa virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis iussit; cum parte maiore atque omni equitatu prefectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae adequantando ipsis prope portis hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu pedes quoque referret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes inpulsa Romana acie studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem; addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum, qui in praesidio relict i fuerant: ita multiplices terre peruerti Fidenates prius paene quam Romulus quique cum eo equites erant circumgserent frenis equos, terga vertunt multoque effusius, quippe vera fuga, qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuere se hosti: haerens in tergo Romanus priusquam fores portarum obiceruntur velut agmine uno inrumpit.

*Conquest of part of the Veientine territory. Popularity of Romulus with the lower classes and the soldiers.*

XV. Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate—nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt,—et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat, in fines Romanos excucurrerunt populabundi magis quam iusti more belli. Itaque non castris positis, non expectato hostium exercitu raptam ex agris praedam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere
et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere, obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quam inclusi de tectis moenibusque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte adiutis tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit, persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes urbe valida muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit; agros rediens va- stat ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio. Eaque clade haud minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem petitum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum annos indutiae datae.

Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis: trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Cele- res appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit.

_During a review in the Campus Martius Romulus mysteri- ously disappears from the earth. Reappearing in deified form, he predicts Rome’s future glory._

XVI. His inmortalibus editis operibus cum ad exer- citum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitrusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit. Nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tran- quilla lux reedit, ubi vacuum sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus, qui proxumi steterant, sublimem _raptum procella_, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta ma-
stum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis
initio facto deum deo natur, regem parentemque urbis
Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem pre-
cibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper so-
spitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, 5
qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent
—manavit enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama;—
illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilita-
vit. Et consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur
fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate deside-
rio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis
magnae rei auctor in contionem prodit. "Romulus"
inquit "Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce
caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum
perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitisse, petens preci-
bus, 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 Ro-
manis resistere posse." "Haec" inquit "locutus subli-
mis abiit." Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides
fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exerci-
tumque facta fide immortalitis lenitum sit.

Interregnum, during which the senators rule in rotation.
Dispute between the two parts of the nation as to the
choice of a king. Discontent of the lower orders. The
election is referred to the people, subject to confirmation by
the Senate.

XVII. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cu-
pido versabat. Necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magno-
pere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat; factionibus
inter ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia
post Tatii mortem ab sua parte non erat regnum, in
societate aqua possessionem imperii amitterent, sui cor-
poris creari regem volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum
regem aspernabuntur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tam
men omnes volebant libertatis dulcedine nondum experta.
Timor deinde patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio,
exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatum irritatis
animis vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur ali-
quod caput placebat, et nemo alteri concedere in ani-
mum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum patres decem
decuris factis singulisque in singulas decurias creatis,
qui summæ rerum praessent, consociant. Decem im-
peritabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus
erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium ac per
omnes in orbem ibat; annuumque intervallum regni fuit.
Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum
appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs, multiplicatam servi-
tutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi
regem et ab ipsis creatum videbantur passuri. Cum
sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum ultra rati quod
anissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt summa potestate populo
permissa, ut non plus darent iuris quam retinerent.
Decreverunt enim, ut, cum populus regem iussisset, id
sic ratum esset, si patres auctores feren. Hodie quo-
que in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem
ius vi admpta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in
incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt. Tum
interrex contione advocata "Quod bonum faustum felix-
que sit" inquit, "Quirites, regem create: ita patribus
visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab
Romulo numeretur crearitis, auctores fient." Adeo id
gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id
modo sciscerent iuiberentque, ut senatus decernerneret qui
Romae regnaret.

Numa Pompilius, a Sabine renowned for piety and justice, is
elected king and inaugurated upon the Capitoline Hill.

XVIII. Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Num-
ae Pompili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consul-
tissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris. Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia non extat alius, falsa Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae centum amplius post annos in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum 5 Heracleamque et Crotona iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem aetatis fuisse, quae fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset, quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas ser- 10 mone moribusque pervenisset? Suopte igitur ingenio temperamentum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, in- structumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit.

Audito nomine Numae patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur 25 ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarent. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septem- 30 trionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum lituo in laevam manum translato dextra in caput Numae imposita precatus ita est: "Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Ro- 35 mae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos
quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea, quo innupsisset. Sperentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exule advena ortum, ferre indignatatem non potuit, obliaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, 5 consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse 'Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum, et cui Tarquini materna tantum patria esset.

At the death of Ancus he is chosen fifth king. He establishes the "gentes minores," conquers Apiolae, lays out the Circus Maximus and institutes the "ludi Romani."

XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando fierent; quibus indictis sub tempus pueros venaturn ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam: se non rem novam perte, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum adfectet; et Tatlum non ex peregrino solum sed etiam ex hoste regem factum, et Numam ignarum urbis non petentem in regnum ultro accitum: se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; maiorem partem aetatis eius, qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae se quam in vetere patria vixisse; domi militiaeque sub haud paeni-tendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se iura, Romanos ritus didicisse; obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse: — haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare iussit. Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis, cuius beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apiolas vi cepit, praedaque inde maiore, quam quanta belli fama fuerat, revecta ludos opulentius instructiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tunc primum circio, qui nunc Max-
TITI LIVI AB URBE CONDITA


War with the Sabines. Increase of the equites despite the opposition of the augur Attus Navius.

miraculi eius monumentum. Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspico geretur, concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit, numero alterum tantum adiecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in tribus centuriis essent. Postiores modo sub isdem nominibus qui additi erant appellati sunt, quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias.

The Sabines are defeated and their spoils offered to Vulcan.

XXXVII. Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis conficitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum in Anienis ripa acentem ardentem in flumen conicerent; ventoique iuvante accensa ligna, et pleraque in ratibus inpacta sublicus cum hearerent pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna terrem attulit Sabinis, et fusis eadem fugam impediit, multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periere; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius paene, quam nuntiari posset, insignem victorian fecere. Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit: utrimque ab cornibus positos, cum iam pelleretur media peditem suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones feroxiter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant; et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium — id votum Vulcano erat — ingenti cumulo accensis pergit porro in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere; et quamquam male gestae res erant, nec gesturos melius spec-
rare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuo milite; iterumque ibi fusi perditis iam prope rebus pacem petiere.

Surrender of Collatia. Victories over the Latins. Public works at Rome.


Maiore inde animo pacis opera inchoata quam quanta mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset, quam militiae fuisset: nam et muro lapIDEO, cuius exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, qua nondum munierat, cingere parat; et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccat; et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci occupat fundamentis.
A flame appears upon the head of Servius Tullius, a young boy asleep in the palace of Tarquin. The queen predicts his future eminence.


Hic quacumque de causa tantus illi honos habitus credere prohibet serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum, qui Corniculo capto Servi Tulli, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicum nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romae edidesse Prisci Tarquini in domo. Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur fecisse.
Tarquin is murdered at the instigation of the sons of Ancus Marcius.

XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regemmodo sed apud patres plebenque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tum insipius iiis indignitas crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quod Romulus, deo progenitus, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus, serva natus, possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva non modo advenis sed servis etiam regnum Romae pateret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et injuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat, et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus; tum Servio occiso quemcumque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem facturus videbatur: — ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consuetti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt. Inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter alteri obstrepere. Coerciti ab iicore et iussi in vicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt; unus rem ex conposito orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictisque in vulnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.
His death is concealed until, by the assistance of Tanaquil, Servius Tullius is established as sixth king.

XLI. Tarquinium moribundum cum qui circa erant excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi mirantium, quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eicit; simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur. Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. "Tuum est" inquit, "Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quandam circumfuso igni portendunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excidet flamma, nunc expurgiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere." Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Novam Viam versas — habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris — populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo esse: sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu, ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse, iam ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus abscesso cruore; omnia salubria esse. Confidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura redditurum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea et lictoribus prodit, ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum iam exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte per speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam factum est conploratione in regia orta. Servius praesidio firme munitus primum...
populi voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci liberi iam tum, cum comprensis sceleris ministris vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam exulantum ierant.

Servius marries his daughters to the sons of Tarquin. War with Veii. Institution of the census.

XLII. Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes, et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini liberum esset, duas filias iuvenibus regiis Lucio atque Arrunti Tarquiniis iungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportune ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus—iam enim indutiae exierant—alisque Etruscis sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enuit Tulli; fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu haud dubius rex, seu patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam redivit.

Adquireturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut, quem ad modum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaque alicud interlucet, posteri fama ferrent. Censum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim ut ante, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fieren. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu discrispis vel paci decorum vel bello.

The reformed constitution and the Comitia Centuriata.

XLIII. Ex iis, qui centum milium aeres aut maiorem censum haberent, octoginta confecit centurias, quadrages nas seniorum ac iuniorum: prima classis omnes appellati;

Deinde est honos additus: non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, virtim suffragium eadem vi eodemque iure promisce omnibus datum est; sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset. Equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae; ibi si variaret, quod raro incidereat.
TITI LIVI AB URBE CONDITA

ut secundae classis vocarentur, nec fere umquam infra ita descenderent, ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus duplicato earum numero centuriis juniorum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summam non convenire. Quadrafiam enim urbe divisa regionibus collibusque, qui habitabant, partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitror ab tributo — nam eius quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est; neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinuere.

The ceremonies of the Lustrum: The seven hills of the city are enclosed with a ring-wall.

XLIV. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incisis latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit: ut omnes cives Romani, equites pedetesque, in suis quique centuriis in Campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit, idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Milia LXXX eo lustro civium censa dicuntur. Adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor eorum, qui arma ferre possent, eum numerumuisse.

Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificandae visa est. Addit duoos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilius, ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem: ita pomerium profert. Pomerium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmoerium interpretantur esse: est autem magis circmoerium, locus, quem in condendis urbisbus quondam Etrusi, qua murum ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod ne-
que habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset, quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellantur, et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

A temple to Diana is built on the Aventine Hill as a common sanctuary for Rome and Latium.

XLV. Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes adquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat incolitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum. Id communi niter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter proceres Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria iunxerat. Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum Dianae 15 populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat.

Id quamquam omissum iam ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infeliciter temptatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabiniis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur miranda magnitudine ac specie. Fixa per multas actates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res 25 prodigii loco est; et cecinere vates, cuius civitatis eam cives Dianae immolassent, ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianae, Sabinusque, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. 30 Ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victumae celebrata fama movisset, memor respondit Sabinum ita adloquitur: “Quidnam tu, hospes, paras,” inquit, “in-
cesta sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? Infima valle praefluuit Tiberis.”
Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet rite facto, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim. Interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

Servius’ daughter and her husband Lucius Tarquiniius conspire against him.

XLVI. Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum possederat, tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvenile Tarquinio audiebat se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritum diviso ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iubertenre se regnare; tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio sper adfectandii regni minuit: immo eio in pensius, quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servi apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis animi et domi uxor Tullia inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius — Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim — fratrem habuerat Arrunctem Tarquinium, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae Tulliae regis filiae nuperant, et ipsae longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iuungerentur, fortuna credo populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset, constituisse civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum;
spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit; malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus nullis verborum contumeliis parcer de viro ad fratem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurumuisse contendere quam cum inpari iungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnumuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adulescentem suae temeritatis implet. Ita Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis magis non prohibente Servio quam adprobante.

Tarquin, incited by his wife to seize the throne, goes with armed men to the Forum, summons the Senate and in-veighs violently against Servius.

XLVII. Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Iam enim ab scelere ad alius spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdii virum conguescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent: non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum mallet. "Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello: sin minus, eo nunc peius mutata res est, quod istic cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corinthis nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est; di te penates patriique et patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale solium et nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regium iuvenem conspici sinis? Faciesse hinc Tarqui-
nios aut Corinthum, devovere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior quam patris.”

His allisque increpando iuvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullo momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret. His muliebris instinctus furios Tarquinius circumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres, admonere paterni beneficii, ac pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis iuvenes; cum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo, ut iam agendae rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum inrupit. Inde omnibus perculsis pavore in regia sede pro curia sedens patres in curiam per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Convenere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti et iam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: servum serva vaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, autorem inimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset, et parata unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

Servius is murdered, and his daughter drives over his body. The length of his reign. His character.

XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset trepido nuntio excitatus, exempla a vestibulo curiae magna voce “Quid hoc” inquit, “Tarquini, rei est? Qua tu
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audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede considere mea?" Cum ille ferciter ad haec: se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiorem, filium regis, regni heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis; clamor ab utriusque fatoribus oritur, et concursus, populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque regnaturum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate iam etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior medium arripit Servium, elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus diecit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam redit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum. Ipse prope exanguis ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta nec reve-rita coetum virorum evocavit virum e curia, regemque prima appellavit. A quo facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum recipieret, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium olivum, ut in collem Esquiliarum evehretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens agitabantus furis sororis ac viri Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse furtur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternaec cruento vehiculo contaminata ipsa respirasque tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes prope diem exitus sequentur. — Servius Tullius regnavit annos III et XL ita, ut primo etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, depone re.
in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitanti intervenisset.

_Tarquin, surnamed the Proud, becomes the seventh and last king. He mistrusts his subjects, weakens the senate, but conciliates the Latins._

XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occipit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque inseptulum perisse dictitans; primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisse credebat, interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsaepsit. Neque enim ad ius regni, quicquam praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi iussu neque auctoribus patribus regnaret. Eo accederebat, ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat, perque eam causam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praeedam sperare posset. Praecipue ita patrum numero inminuto statuit nulos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset, minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit, bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse cum quibus voluit, iniussu populi ac senatus fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutor inter cives esset, neque hospitia modo cum primoribus eorum sed adfinitates quoque iungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano —is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Ulixe deaque Circa oriundus,— ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat, perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque eius conciliat.
Turnus Herdonius of Aricia, at a meeting of the Latin league, attacks Tarquin in a violent harangue.

L. Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Feren-
tinae convenient indicit: esse quae agere de rebus com-
munibus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce. Ipse
Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam 5
sol occideret, venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio
variis iactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab
Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat inventus:
haud mirum esse Superbo inditum Romae cognomen—
iam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, vulgo tamen 10
eum appellabant;—an quicquam superbius esse quam
ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum? Principibus longe
ab domo excitis ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non
adesse. Tentari profecto patientiam, ut, si iugum ac-
ceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere, 15
adfectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene
crediderint cives, aut si creditum illud et non raptum
parricidio sit, credere et Latinos, quamquam ne sic qui-
dem alienigenae, debere: sin suos eius paeniteat, quippe
qui alii super alios trucidentur, exulatum eant, bona amit-
tant, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant,
domum suam quemque inde abituros neque magis ob-
servaveros diem concilii quam ipse, qui indixerit, obser-
vet. Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus
facinosusque homo hisque artibus opes domi nactus 25
cum maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis
orationi fuit. Aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum;
qui silentio facto monitus a proximis, ut purgaret se,
quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se sump-
tum inter patrem et filium, cura reconciliandi eos in 30
gratiam moratum esse; et quia ea res eximisset illum
diem, postero die acturum quae constituisset. Ne id
quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum fœrunt; dixisse enim nullam breviorem esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.

*Turnus, falsely accused by Tarquin of a treasonable conspiracy, is put to death without a trial.*

5 LI. Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam videbatur aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis iniceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimen insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrupt, ut in deversorium eius vim magnam gladiorum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accisis ad se principibus Latinorum quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia inlatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse, quod auctor concilii afferit, quem maxime peteret. Inde illam absentis insectionem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum coniuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici gladiorum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum. Id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos, ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant. Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesterna et mora Tarquini, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen nisi gladiis deprehensis cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi
LIBER I. CAP. LII.

est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circum-
sistunt custodes; comprehenisque servis, qui caritate do-
mini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis
deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero manifesta res visa,
injectaeque Turno catenae; et confestim Latinorum con-
cilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox
invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa
 novo genere leti delectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae
crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.

Rome’s supremacy is acknowledged by the Latins and con-

firmed by a treaty.

LII. Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarqui-
nius conlaudatisque, qui Turnum novam rem pro mani-
festio parricidio merita poena adsecessent, ita verba fecit:
posse quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum om-
nes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, eo foedere teneantur,
quo ab Tullo res omnis Alba cum coloniis suis in
Romanum cesserit imperium; ceterum se utilitatis id
magis omnium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus,
secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes
Latini fruantur, quam urbium excidia vastationesque agro-
rum, quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante per-
pessi sint, semper aut expectent aut patiantur. Haud
difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo foedere
superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita nominis
Latini stare ac sentire cum regis videbant, et Turnus
sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat docu-
mentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indicumque junioribus
Latinorum, ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae
armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Ro-
mani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem
suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa haberent,
miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis
singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis ma-
nipulis centuriones imposuit.
War with the Volscians and capture of Suessa Pometia with rich spoil. Tarquin resorts to a stratagem to gain possession of Gabii.


Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios propinquam urbem, nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidenti quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta 15 esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo, adgressus est. Nam cum velut posito bello fundamentis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens: iam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam, et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae taedere, ut, quam in curia solitudinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris 20 elapsum nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquini credidisse. Nam ne errarent, manere iis bellum, quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quod si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium Volscosque 30 inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat, qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppli-
ciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum. Cum, si nihil morarentur, insensus ira porro inde abiturus videretur, benignis ab Gabinis excipit. Vehant mirari, si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset. In se ipsum postremo saeviturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futurumque credere brevi, ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

 Sextus Tarquin, after gaining the confidence of the Gabines, betrays their city to his father.

LIV. Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent; ipse identidem belli auctor esse, et in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset, sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuisset. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vanas adcresceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum inscia multitudine, quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosisque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summis infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinium dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud milites vero obenedo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munificè largiendo tanta caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabei esset. Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscita- tum Romam ad patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quandoquidem, ut omnia unus Gabei posset, et

The foundations of the Capitoline Temple are laid; Termini refuses to withdraw from the site.

LV. Gabiis receptis Tarquiniius pacem cum Aequorum gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit; quorum erat primum, ut Iovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinios reges ambos, pa- trem vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Iovis templique eius, quod inaedificaretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot ibi a T. Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurata- que postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi huius operis movisse numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos; nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere.
Liber I. Cap. LVI

Idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitem auspicio accepto secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est: caput humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse, quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat; idque ita ceceinere vates, quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandum ex Etruria acciverant. Aufgebatur ad inspensas regis animus. Itaque Pomptiae manubiae, quae perduendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere. Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim quadranginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadranginta milia pondus argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, quippe summam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda sperandum, et nullorum ne huius quidem magnificentiae operum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

Public works and colonies. Terrified by an omen, Tarquin sends to consult the oracle at Delphi.

LVI. Intentus perfiiciendo templo fabris undique ex Etruria accitis non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus, sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui cum haud parvus et ipse militiae adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur se templo deum exaedificare manibus suis, quam postquam et ad alia, ut specie minora sic labo-ris aliquanto maioris, traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos Cloacamque Maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terra agendam; quibus duo-bus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia · quicquam adaequare potuit. His laboribus exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines
volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terra marique.

Haec agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis ex columna lignea elapsus cum terorem fugamque in regia fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus quam anxiis inplevit curis. Itaque cum ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhibebantur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu Delphos ad maxime inclitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit. Neque responsa sortium ulli ali aliquem committere ausus duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria, in Graeciam misit. Titus et Arruns profeci. Comes iis additus L. Iunius Brutus, Tarquinius, sorore regis, natus, iuvenis longe alius ingenio, quam cuius simulationem induerat. Is cum primores civitatis in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfecit audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse, ubi in iure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiae cum se suaque praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit cognomen, ut sub eius obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua. Is tum ab Tarquinii ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui. Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis cupido incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi, ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum.

Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt: "Imperium summum Romae habebit qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit." Tarquinii, ut Sextus, qui Romae relictus fuerat, ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri iubent; ipsi inter se, uter prior, cum Romam redissent, matri osculum dare, sorti permittunt. Brutus alio ratus spectare Pythicam
LIBER I. CAP. LVII.

vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur.

A dispute among the princes and their friends, engaged in the siege of Ardea, about the comparative merits of their wives, is settled by visiting all the ladies unexpectedly. Sextus Tarquin conceives a guilty passion for Lucretia, wife of his cousin Collatinus.

luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquinii que excepti benignem; victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt.

A few days later he goes secretly to Collatia and violates her chastity. She sends for her father and husband and slays herself after hearing their vow of vengeance.

LVIII. Paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius inciso Conlatino cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus benignem ab ignaris consilii cum post cenam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore opprasso “Tace, Lucretia,” inquit; “Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem.” Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem inminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatam videbat et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut vi atroxe libido, prefectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romanum eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mitit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant: ita facto maturatoque opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Sp. Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Conlatinus cum

*Brutus arouses the people at Rome. Tarquin is deposed and banished with all his house.*

LIX. Brutus illis luctu occupatis cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum manantem cruore prae se tenens “Per hunc” inquit “castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro, vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquiniun Superbum cum scelerata consuige et omni liberorum stirpe ferro, igni, quacumque denique vi possim, exacturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum.” Cultrum deinde Conlatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praecptum erat, iurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram Brutum, iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem, sequuntur ducem.
tum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt, consciente miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines. Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet cum patris maestitia, tum Brutus castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum auctorque, quod viros, quod Romanos deceret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et cetera iuventus. Inde parte praesidio relictae Collatiae, custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam profecti. Ubi eo ventum est, quacunque incedit armata multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit. Rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atroc res facit, quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum Celerrum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingenii, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa mortis indignor ac miserabilior esset. Ad dita superbia ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exauriendas demersae: Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Servi Tulli regis memorata caedis et invecta corpori patris nefando velhando filia, invocatique ulores parentum dii. His crede, aliis, quae praesens rerum indigna haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, meret. Incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi adversum exulesque esse iuberet L. Tarquiniûm cum libris. Ipse iunioribus, qui ultimo nomina facta armatisque ad concitandum inde adversus seque ventum Ardeam in currens profectus; impe-
Liber I. Cap. LX.

rium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit exsecrantis, quacumque incedebat, invocantibus-que parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

The Tarquins go into exile. Sextus is killed at Gabii. The Republic is inaugurated with Brutus and Collatinus as the first consuls.

LX. Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlati cum re 5 nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus—senserat enim adventum,—ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore diversis iti-neribus Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio clausae portae exiliumque indictum; liberato-rem urbis laeta castra accepere, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt; Sex. Tarquinius Gabios tamquam in suum regnum profectus ab ultoribus veterum simul-tatum, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque conciverat, est 15 interfectus. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quin-que et viginti. Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules inde comitiis centurialis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Servi Tulli creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus 20 et L. Tarquinius Conlatinus.
TITI LIVI AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXI.

The subject of the third Decade is the Hannibalic or Second Punic War.

I. In parte operis mei licet mihi praeferi, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae quum gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale

5 duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus vellae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque hisipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit; et haud ignotas belli artes inter se, 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 victorius victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent inperitatum victis esse.

10 Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme novem, pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcarri, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo tractetur sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacrificis iure iurando adactum se, cum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraudem Romanorum stipendio etiam insuper inposito interceptam.
Conquests by Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Spain.

II. 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 gessit, ut appareret maius eum, quam quod gereret, agitare in animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisset, cui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.

Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore acetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus, et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens hospitiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihil eo pax tutior fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo domini obtruncat; comprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

Hannibal is chosen commander of the Punic armies in Spain.

III. In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin praerogativa militaris, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omniu ca-
more atque adsensu appellatus erat, ... favor plebis sequibatur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat, actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus, ut adsuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in parenternas succederet opes, Hanno, alterius factionis princeps "Et aecum postulare videtur" inquit "Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo quod petit tribuendum." Cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in se omnis convertisset, "Florem aetatis" inquit "Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebeuit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censis; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento adsuefacere libidini praetorum. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimirum sero imperia inmodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relictì exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus? Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum, sub legibus, sub magistratibus docendum vivere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitetur."

The character of Hannibal.

IV. Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorrem vicit. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit: Hamilcarem iuvenem redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu viquque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi efficit, ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset: neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficerem malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alo
His victories over the Spanish tribes.

V. Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum manda-
tum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem
casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma mo-
vebantur, in Olcadum prius fines—ultra Hiberum ea
gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium
erat—induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed
rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendoque trac-
tus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam urbem opu-
lentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo
metu perculsae minores civitates stipendio imposita ın-
perium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda
Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large
partiendo praedam stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsol-
vendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis
vere primo in Vaccaeos promotum bellum. Hermundica
et Arbocala, eorum urbes vi captae. Arbocala et virtute
et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermundi-
dica profugi exulibus Olcadum, priore aestate donitae
gentis, cum se iunxisissent, concitant Carpetanos, adorti-
que Hannibalem regressum ex Vaccaeis haud procu-
Tago flumine, agmen grave praeda turbavere. Hannibal
proelio abstinuit, castrisque super ripam positis, cum
prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, annem vado
traiecit, valloque ita producto, ut locum ad transgredi-
endum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit.
Equitibus praecipit, ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent,
adorientur inceptum agmen, in ripa elephanto — qua-
draginta autem erant — disponit. Carpetanorum cum
appendicibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque centum milia fu-
erere, invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur campo. Itaque
et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti et, quod metu
cessisse credebat hostem, id morari victoriam rati,
quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine ul-
lius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in annem ruunt.
Et ex parte altera vis ingens equitum in flumen
inmissa, medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine
concursum, quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado
fidens vel ab inerme equite equo temere acto perverti
posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per me-
dios gurgites stabili, comminus eminusque rem gereret.
Pars magna flumine assumpta; quidam verticoso amni
delati in hostis ab elephantis obriti sunt. Postremi,
quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia
trepidatione cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam a tanto
pavore recipierent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato
*annem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris
intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit. Et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

_He lays siege to Saguntum in 219 B.C._ Surprise of the Romans.

VI. Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum iam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen iuris, sed vim quaeri apparet, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud dubie inminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui cum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica retulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traicenter ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent,—hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari adlatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum; et aliis provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terram et marique rem gerendum censebant, aliis totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum; erant qui non temere movendam rem tantam expectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur, vicit; legatique eo maturius missi P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposendum.

_Nationality of the Saguntines. Hannibal is wounded._

VII. Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe.
opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus, seu multitudinis incremento, seu disciplinae sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, pervastatis passim agris, urbem tripertito adgreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque quam cetera circa vallem vergens: adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries moenibus adnoveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro satis aequus agendi vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat. Et turris ingens inminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus submovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Poeni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abset, quin opera ac vineae desererentur.

* A breach is made in the wall, but an attempt to storm the town fails. *

VIII. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur. Per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix *accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi*
ad moverique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus—ad centum quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur;—oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifarim distineri coepti non sufficiebant. Itaque iam ferebantur arietibus muri, quassataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem: tres deinceps turres quantumque inter eas muri erat cum fragore ingenti prociderant. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conseri solent, sed iustae acies velut patenti campo inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos inritat. Poeno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum adnatur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem inmitteret. Itaque quo acerius et confertim magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abiegno et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum extabat; id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stuppa circumligabant lineabantque pice; ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebant nudumque militem ad inequentes ictus praebebat.

A Roman embassy, not being received by Hannibal, proceeds to Carthage.

IX. Cum diu ancesp fuisset certamen, et Saguntinis, quia praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Poenus,
quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde ineditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

5 Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum opera esse legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos pro-tinum Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes Factionis Barcinae praemittit, ut praepararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari populo Romano posset.

Hanno in the Carthaginian Senate supports the claims of Rome.

X. Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque inrata legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam foederis magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum adsensu audientium egit, per deos foederum arbitros ac testes senatum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum: monuisse, praedixisse sc, ne Hamilcaris pro geniem ad exercitum mitterent: non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec umquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera. “Iuvenem flagrantem cupidine regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praebentes, ad exercitus misitis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur foedere: mox Carthaginem circumsede-bunt Romanae legiones ducibus isdem dis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? Legatos ab
LIBER XXI. CAP. X.

sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit, ius gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur pulsi, ad vos venerunt; res ex foedere repetunt. Ut publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius saeviant. Aegatis insulas Erycemeque ante oculos proponite, quae terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo di homines, et, id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedes rupisset, eventus beli velut aecus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Carthaginim nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet, Carthaginis moenia quatit ariete: Sagunti ruinae — falsus utinam vates sim — nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dederimus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio mean le- vem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuvenem tamquam furiam facemque huius beli odi ac detestor; nec dedendum solum arbitror ad piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposceret, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque eius accidere neque ille sollicitare quietae civitatis statum posset. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatui satisfaciant, alios, qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno."
The Senate refuses the Roman demands, and the siege of Saguntum goes on.

XI. Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo nesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium, legatum Romanum. 5 Responsum inde legatis Romanis est bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum inuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginissenium societati praeponat.

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, 10 Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostis stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum ascendit. Ut vero pro contione prae- 15 dam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt, ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini, ut a proelii quietem habuerant, nec lassentem nec lassitii per aliquot dies, ita non nocet, non die umquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est; nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse 20 Hannibal, qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae cum admota catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasiarem ratus quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad 25 subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto structurae antiquo genere. Itaque latius, quam
qua caederetur, ruebat, perque potentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt, conlatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem iniminentem haberent, muro circumdant. Et Saguntini murum interiorem ab 5 nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrimque summa vi et muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione et minuitur expectatio externae opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia 10 hostium essent. Paulisper tamen affectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpentanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota 15 arma.

*Attempt to storm the city. Overtures of surrender.*

XII. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat, Maharbale Himilconis filio — eum praefecerat Hannibal — ita inipi gre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit, et tribus 20 arietibus aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum, et pars arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant, condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore 30 ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res *Τιτων*
detanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent, ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vincit animos, ubi alia vincantur, adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur. Erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum—et ipse ita iubebat—est deductus. Quo cum exemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, submota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit.

Address of Alorcus to the Saguntines.

XIII. “Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos retulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos veni; sed cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem—sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus—ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui, quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis, neque dum auxilia ab Romanis speraris, pacis umquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes, nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quem ad modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed quidquid relinquitur pro munere habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte diru-
tam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, 
locum adsignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. 
Aurum et argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se 
iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum 
vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vesti-
mentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. Haec victor hostis 
imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, 
fortuna vestra vivis suadet. Equidem haud despero, 
cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his remis-
surum; sed vel haec patienda censeo potius quam truci-
dari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra coniuges 
ac liberos belli iure sinatis."

*Saguntum is taken by storm.*

XIV. Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim 
multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, 
repente primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum 
daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privato-
que in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum 
coniciences eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. 
Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasis-
set, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu 
quassata procederat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poeno-
rum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset nu-
datum stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, 
non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal totis 
viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit signo dato, ut 
omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, 
ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est: 
cui enim parci potuit ex iis, qui aut inclusi cum con-
iugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt, 
aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes 
fecerunt?
The great booty captured. Duration of the siege.

XV. Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in caedibus vix ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat, et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat, et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

Octavo mense, quem coeptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsero; inde Carthaginem Novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint, et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticanum annem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excesisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

Consternation at Rome on hearing the news.

XVI. Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam retulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est, tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginien-

sectus metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad
portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent: nam neque hostem acriorum bellicosioremque secum congenerum, nec rem Romanam tam desiderem quam fuisse atque in- bellem. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacesisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum: Poenum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis Hiberae transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanicorum populos; concitatum aidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes: cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.

Preparations at Rome for war.


_A Roman embassy declares war at Carthage._

XVIII. His ita conparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fierent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium M. Livium L. Aemilium C. Licinimum Q. Baebium, in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginenses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et, si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: "Praecepta vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposecatis: cæterum haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposecatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur, et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quaerendum censeam, sed utrum iure an injuria: nostra enim haec quaeestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne _per foedus fieri._ Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid
publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum cavetur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis—necdum enim erant socii vestri—cautum est. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipieuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici: vos enim quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus ictit, quia neque ex auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri: itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis ictit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.” Tum Romanus, sìquì ex toga facto, “Hic” inquit “vobis bellum et pacem portamus, utrum placet, sumite.” Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferciter, dare, utrum vellet, subclamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes respon- derunt et, quibus accipierent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

**Futility of disputing about treaties. The Romans fail to gain allies in Spain.**

XIX. Haec directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis discipetare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod mutatum est, conparandum erat, cum in Lutati foedere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec excep- tum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo conprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur? Quamquam, eisì pròce...
foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utroquamque exceptis. Nam neque additum erat “Tis, quis tunc essent” nec “ne qui postea adsumere adserent;” et cum adsumere novos liceret socios, quis aecum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut receptos in fidem non defendi? Tantum ne Carthaginensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes recipierentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates et in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traiecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus beneigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punicorum populos, multos trans Hispanicorum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae ererent. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit: “Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram Carthaginiensium amictiae praeponamus, cum qui id fecerunt, crudelius quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quaeratis socios, censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est: Hispanis populis sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.” Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

Similar failure in Gaul. The envoys return home by way of Massilia.

XX. In iis nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati — ita mos gentis erat — in concilium venerunt. Cum verbis extolentes gloriem virtutemque populi Roman ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno
bellum Italiae inferenti per agros urbesque suas transi-
tum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus maioribusque natu iuventus sedare-
tur: adeo stolida inudensque postulatio visa est cen-
sere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id 5 avertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis populandos obicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthagi-
niensium inuiuriam, ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adver-
sus Poenos sumant arma. Contra ea audire sese gentis 10 suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta audita-
que: nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve sat satis prius auditum, quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab sociis 15 inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita: praecoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore — adeo fercia atque indomita ingenia esse,— ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Ita 20 peragratis Hispaniae Galliaeque populis legati Romam redeunt haud ita muito post quam consules in provin-
cias prefecti erant. Civitatem omnem expectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos transisse.

Hannibal gives his army a furlough. Final preparations for the invasion of Italy in the spring of 218 B.C.

XXI. Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Novam in hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis, quae Romae quaeque Carthag ine acta decretaque foret, seque non ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquis praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus, Hispani 30 generis milites convocat. "Credo ego vos" inquit "so-
cii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis,
aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse aut in alias terras transferendum bellum: ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum, sed etiam victoriae bonus florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam et gloriam quaeramus. Itaque cum longinquaque a domo instet militia, incertumque sit, quando domos vestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere volt, commatum do. Primo vere edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus." Omnis fere visendi domos oblata ultrro potestas grata erat, et iam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

Hannibal, cum recensisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gadis profectus Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispam Galliasque itinere Italianum peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido praesidio firmare eam statuit. Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum, levium armis, petuit, ut Afr in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pigneribus obligati, stipendia facerent. Tredicem milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites caetratos misit in Africam et funditores Balares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitatis missis quattuor milia conscripta delectae inventutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem iubet.
**Hannibal is left to defend Spain. Hannibal's miraculous vision.**

XXII. Neque Hispaniam neglegendam ratus, atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad solicitantos principum animos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat firmatque eam Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Balaribus quingentis. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afrigenus, quadringenti quinquaginta et Numidae Maurique, accolae Oceani, ad mille octingent et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites, et, ne quod terreris desset auxilii genus, elephanti viginti unus, classis praeterea data tuendae maritumae orae, quia, qua parte bellii vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinquemices, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinquemices erant et triremes quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus reedit. Atque inde profectus praeter Onusam urbem ad Hiberum maritumam ora ducit. Ibi foma est in quiete visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se defleceret oculos. Pa
dum primo nusquam circumspectem aut respicientem secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum, quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequississe; tum vidisse post sese serp
tem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac vir gulforum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore caell ni

**nimbum. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset,**
The army, 102,000 strong, crosses the Ebro and reaches the Pyrenees. Desertion of 3000 Spaniards.

XXIII. Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traecit praemissis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Burgosiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quae subjicta Pyreneis montibus est, subegit, oraque huic omni praefecerit Hannonem, ut fauces, quae Hispanias Galliis iungunt, in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenaenum saltum traduci exercitus est coeptus, rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae inesuperabile Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos aniceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi inritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans.

Crossing of the Pyrenees. Friendly interviews with the Gauls.

XXIV. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaenum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaenum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida inposita, metu servutius ad arma consternati, Ruscinonom aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntia tum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens, oratores
ad regulos eorum misit: conloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilior esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum, nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. 5 Hospitem enim se Galliae, non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italian venisset. Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per finis suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

The praetor Manlius is sent to put down a rising of the Cisalpine Gauls.

XXV. In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpis iam transisset, 15 Boi sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum terrosis ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo, sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum, diffisi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam con fugient, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, M. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. 25 Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, ali P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviro agrum metantis impetus sit factus. Mutinae cum obsiderentur et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulari

The praetor Attilius is sent to help him. The consul Scipio, on the way to Spain, finds Hannibal about to cross the Rhone.

XXVI. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Attilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum dilectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilia de ferre Manlio iubent, qui sine ullo certamine — abscesserant enim metu hostes — Tannetum pervenit.
Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum praetore erat, scripta legione nova profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Salluvium montis pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum ostium Rhodani—pluribus enim divisus annis in mare decurrit—castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenaeos montis. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus, quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis ab iactatione marituma militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. Hannibal ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Incolunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento habent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum trajectis ulteriori ripam annis armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal et Volcarum ipsorum, quos sedes suae tenuerant, simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgende turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis inducti alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

**Passage of the Rhone by the Punic army.**

XXVII. Iamque omnibus satis conparatis ad traiciendum terrebat 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 duces Galli edocent inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi ratione caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi virique et alia onera traierentur. 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 quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exequendum. Postero die prefecti ex composito fumo significant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accept Hannibal, ne temporis deesset, dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traicientibus lintribus praebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a pumpibus trahebantur praeter eos, quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equi usui essent, inposuerant in naves.

The Gauls are driven off and the elephants brought across the river.

XXVIII. Galli occurrent in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dexteriis tela, quamquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum, militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa traicientes suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terri-
bilior ab tergo adoptus clamor castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, anicepsque terror circumstabilbat 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 diffugiant. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisset credo, certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elefantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis iritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam sequeretur, nantem traxisse gregem, ut quomque timentem altitudinem desitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis constat rati bus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam, a terra in annem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut beluae audacter velut per solum ingrederentur. Altera ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus feminis acti ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vinculis, ab actuaris aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis aliis deinde repetiti ac traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continent velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor, cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur. Ibi urgentes inter se cedentibus extremis ab aqua trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen, sed ponderi ipso stabiles deiectis rectoribus quaeendis pedememptim vadis in terram evasere.
Encounter of Hannibal’s and Scipio’s cavalry.


Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coeptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consererat, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum reguliqve Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes, integro bello nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam adgrediendum censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum obliterata memoria superioris bellii, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertas horrendam, metuebat.

Hannibal, resolving to push on at once to the Alps, addresses his men.

XXX. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando, se, quinam pectora semp
Liber XXI. Cap. XXX.

serit. Per tot annos Vincentis eos stipendia facere, neque ante Hispании excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversа maria amplexantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde, quod quicumque Saguntum obsedissent velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad ex- ortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaenum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum am- nem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in conspectu Alpis habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere, — quid Alpis aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis; nullas profecto terras cælum contingere nec inexsuperabiles humano generi esse; Alpis quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere animantes; pervias faucis esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos, quos cernant, lega- tos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpis transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpis ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo tuto transmississe. Mili- ti quidem armato nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustive esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gal- los 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 inter- iacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.
The march up the Rhone, through the country of the Allobroges, where Hannibal settles a civil war, and thence toward the mountains.

XXXI. His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rector ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes agri aliquantum amplexi confluent in unum; mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat. Regni certamine ambigeabant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, Braneus nomine, a minore fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius seditionis peropportuna discéptatio cum ad Hannibalem recta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ex senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiorii restituit. Ob id meruit commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quem insames frigoris Alpes praeparari cogerant. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri ten-dit in Tricorios haud usquam impedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus tran-situ est. Nam cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites gignit.— et ob eadem pediti
LIBER XXI. CAP. XXXII.

quoque incerta via est—ad hoc saxa glareasque volvens, nihil stable nec tutum ingredienti praebet; et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgressientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

Scipio sends his army to Spain and returns to Italy. Hannibal meets with some opposition on his march.

XXXII. P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post, quam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves redit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibal ocerursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad defendendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit eo qui circa Padum erat exercitus, Italiam defensurus.

Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam familia prius, qua incerta in maius vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquuo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope inmixtæ, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora, terrem renovarunt: Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt inminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque
ad visenda loca praemissis postquam conperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque quam extentissima potest valle locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentis, cum se inmiscuissent conloquiis montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliu, quam quod parabatur, consumpto, cum eodem, quo constiterant, loco castra communiissent, ubi primum digressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum ipse cum expeditis, accerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tuerant, cousedit.

***Attacks on the Carthaginians in a narrow pass. Then three days of easy marching.***

XXXIII. Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen relicum incedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente conspiciunt alios arce occupata sua super caput inmini- nentis, alios via transire hostis. Utraque simul obiecta res oculis animisque inmobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultum misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quid- quid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad pernicem fore rati, diversis rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia adsuet et current. Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente, ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussaeque valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et
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icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem
ingentem simul hominum ac sacerdotum omnium generis
facerent; multosque turba, cum praecipites desertaque
utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis dei-
cit, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo
iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quae quamquam
foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac
suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret.
Deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque
esse, ne exustum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam in-
columnem traduxisset, decurrerit ex superiore loco et, cum
impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit.
Sed is tumultus momento temporis postquam liberata
itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec per otium
modo, sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castel-
lum inde, quod caput eius regionis erat, viculosque cir-
cumiectos capitis, et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per triduum
exercitum aluit, et, quia nec a montanis primo perculsis
nec loco magno opere impediebantur, aliquantum eo
triduo viae confecit.

Treachery of the mountaineers.

XXXIV. Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus
alium, ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto,
sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circum-
ventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oraiores ad
Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos
memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poeno-
rum; itaque oboedienter imperata facturos; commen-
tum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides
acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec asper-
nandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fieren, be-
nigne cum respondisset, obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis
et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus,
nequaquam ut inter pacatos, composito agmine duces
eorum sequitur. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant, ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans omnia sollicitusque incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte altera 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 tergo vis hominum urgebant. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope pernicem ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praevidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliqui erat, occurrentes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

The summit of the pass is reached. Two days' halt. Beginning of the descent.

XXXV. Postero die iam segniis intercursantibus barbaris iunctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum, modo in noxissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunatatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti, sicut per artas praecipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tumum ab hostibus quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides eis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in : "iva habita, fessisque
labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumentaque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in promonturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere 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.

Procedere inde agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem temptantibus. Ceterum iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat—ut plerique Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt,—difficilius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec, qui paulum titubasset, haerere adfixi vestigio suo, aliquique super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.

*At one point the road becomes impassable.*

XXXVI. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rumem, atque ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus 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 constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quae res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rumem inviam esse. Di-gressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita autea qu????
longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. Ex vero via inexpectabili fuit: nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicam altitudinibus esset, molli nec praecellae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infraglaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingredi- 5 bantur. Atreti ibi (ōctāta) erat, via lubrica non receptiro vestigium et in proni citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuuissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant; ita in levit tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius in contendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

The obstruction is removed after four days, and the descent accomplished in three more.

XXXVII. Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tantum nivos fodiendum atque 20 egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites duxi, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingente lignorum faciunt, eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt, 25 ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliumque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim 30 fere cacumina sunt, et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles apricosque quosdam colles habent rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu digni-
ora loca. Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa, et quies
muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad pla-
um descensum, iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum
ingeniis.

The length of Hannibal's march from Spain, his route over
the Alps, and the number of his troops.

XXXVIII. Hoc maxime modo in Italianam perventum est, quinto mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam aucto-
res sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae
copiae transgresso in Italianam Hannibali fuerint, nequa-
quam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum
milia peditum, viginti equitum fuisset scribunt; qui mi-
nimum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius
Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime
auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Ligui-
ribusque additis: cum his octoginta milia peditum, de-
cem equitum adducta—in Italia magis adfluxisse veri
simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt;—ex ipso
autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit,
triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equo-
um et aliorum iumentorum amississe. Taurini semigalli
proxima gens erat in Italianam degresso. Id cum inter
omnes constet, eo magis miror amigi, quanam Alpis
transierit et vulgo credere Poenino—atque inde nomen
ei iugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Caelium per
Cremonis iugum dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum
non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos
Gallos deduxissent. Nec veri simile est ea tum ad
Galliam patuisse itinera; utique quae ad Poenimum fe-
runt obsaeptra gentibus semigermanis fuissent. Neque
hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab
transitu Poenorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi
eius, nomen norint inditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo
sacratum vertice Poenimum montani appellant.
Hannibal captures a town of the Taurini. Scipio hastens to meet him beyond the Po.

XXXIX. Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximae genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat; otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex inluvio tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominii tre-pido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; et iunxisset sibi non metu solum, sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantis defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars sequenda esset, Gallos praeuentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam inbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissi-mum lectus esset, praestantem virum credebat. Et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italian transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiicendarum Alpium et effectu. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum tricere, et ad Ticinum annem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.
Scipio's address to his army before the battle on the Ticinus.

XL. "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, superedessem loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secatus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cr. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populisque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberitis, ipsime huic voluntario certamine obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites paucarum verba facienda sunt. Ne genus bellii neve hostem ignotis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta bellii praemia Siciliam 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 detractaveret, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, plus spei nactus esse. 'At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit.' Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame, frigore, inluvicio, squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praestuti artus, niviregientes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis, reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem habetis. Ac nihil magis vereor, quam ne, cum vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum..."
foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.”

**Continuation of the consuls speech.**

5 XLI. “Non vereor, ne quis me haec vestri adhorrari causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem, consili participem ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, cum praetervehener navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressum praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum consendere manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, neque..., regressus ad navis, quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum, cum declinarem certamen inprovidis incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacesse ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an idem sint, qui ad Aegatis naverunt insulas, et quos ab Eryce duodevicenis denariis aestimatos emisisistis, 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 Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, quí
decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere: — veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus, cum Africa bello urgerentur. Pro his inpertitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de possessione Sicilliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant comparari nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Unus quisque se non corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum; qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.”

Hannibal makes captives fight for life and liberty, as an example to his soldiers.

XLII. Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circundato ad spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum projectis, interrogare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare.
The battle of the Ticinus begins unexpectedly to both sides.  
Defeat of the Romans. Rescue of the consul by his son.

XLVI. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigii; nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio inminente consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquuo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant, densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium sese expediébant. Scipio iaculatoribus et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidii; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatoribus fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps. Dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labenti- bus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circum- ventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis vulnerem pecu- niculumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis filii pro- pulsatum. Hic eit iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxume fuit, quos primos Numidae invase- nis consens sum armis modo, sed etiam corporibus suis in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse ce-
dendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Caelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtainuit.

The Romans retreat to Placentia. Hannibal follows, and encamps six miles away.

XLVII. Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, quo facile apparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte iussis militibus vasa silentio conligere castra ab Ticino mota, festinatumque ad Padum est, ut mari ratibus, quibus iuxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos moratorum in ceteriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit. Transire ponte non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Caelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo transasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea persimilis eius vix fidem fecerint, nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati traverserint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites et Hispanorum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei
unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communi vit et postero die in conspectu hostium acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

_Scipio entrenches himself on the Trebia and awaits the coming of his colleague Sempronius._

5 XLVIII. Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. Ad duo milia peditetum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt, quos Poenus beneigne adlocutus et spe ingentiun donorum accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos populanium animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum deflectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere velut iniecla rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium iam in loca altiora collisque inpeditiones equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefeller; mis-sisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate praedae in vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus, et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantisque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et collegam—iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat— ratus expectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem _nusquam praeparatis_ commeatibus maior in dies excipi-
ebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti num-
merum congerant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim
pararent, spes facta prodicionis, nec sane magno pretio,
nunnis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino, praefecto
praesidii, corrupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id 5
horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In capti-
vos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio
rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est.

*The Carthaginians send a fleet to invade Sicily.*

XLIX. Cum ad Trebiam terestre constitisset bellum,
interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae iminentes et a 10
Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique
res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad
depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae;
novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres
in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Mes-
sana duodecim naves ab Hierone, rege Syracusanorum,
missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Rom-
um opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam
in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis praeter
viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italian missas 20
quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere
ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybaei occupandi prae-
cipuam curam esse; credere eadem tempestate, qua
ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Aegatis
insulae deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. 25
Aemilio praeorti, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit
monetque, ut Lilybaeum firme teneret praesidio. Ex-
templo et a praetore circa civitates missi legati tribu-
nique suos ad curam custodiae intendere, et ante
omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli, edicto proposito, 30
ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves
deferrent, ut, ubi signum datum esset, ne quid moram
conscendendi faceret; perque omnem orationem, quae ex
speculis prosperarent adventantem hostium classem, missi. Itaque, quamquam de industria ita moderati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesens tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant; extemplo datum signum ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum; pars militum in muris portarumque stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum inparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Ubi inluxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnae esset, exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detectavere pugnam et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute.

The Romans defeat it off Lilybaeum. Sempronius arrives at Messana. Hiero of Syracuse promises him support.

LIBER XXI. CAP. LI.

Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem ornatam armatamque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulae et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit, pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adivisseret, eo senem adiutum; frumentum vestimentaque sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo maritumisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves accepere.

Minor operations in the Sicilian seas. Sempronius is ordered to reinforce Scipio.

LI. A Lilybaeo consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram, ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Advenienti Hamilcar, Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus milium oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore praeter insignes nobilitate viros sub corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam sensebat consul, ad insulas Vulci, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus. Iam forte transmiserant ad vastandum Italiae oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi agro urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consulis escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore conlegae ferret auxilium,

The consuls disagree. Trifling success of some of Sempronius' troops against the Carthaginians.

10 LII. Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virium erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter equestri proelio uno et vulnere suo animi minutus trahi rem malebat; recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incolabant, in duorum prae potentium populo rum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectabant. Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenus perinquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praedam militiae aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servasset animos, coacti ab auctoribus inuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laborant orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, spectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum
Liber XXI. Cap. LIII.

Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primum, qui egissent ope, defensos censebat. Is tum collega cunctante equitatum suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. 5 Sparsos et inconpositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerosque cum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes inter cedentesque; cumque ad extremum aequassent certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos fama victoriae fuit.

*Sempronius insists upon fighting, for which Hannibal is equally eager.*

LIII. Ceterum nemini omnium maior ea iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferti, qua parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicisse; restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter conlegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum animo magis quam corpore aequum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. 20 Quid enim ultra differri aut teneri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari? Castra Carthaginensium in Italia ac proprie in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos. "Quantum ingemiscant" inquit "patres nostri circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeneri suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus in media Italia paventis intra castra; Poenum quod inter Alpis Apenni- 30 numque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse?" Haec adsidens aegro conlegae, haec in praetorio propie contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propincum comitiis.
in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se
unum vertendae gloriae, dum aeger conlega erat. Ita-
que nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propin-
cum certamen milibes iubet.

5 Hannibal cum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret,
vix ullam spem habebat temere atque inprovidre quic-
quam consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama
prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse,
ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis cer-
tamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud
diffidebat. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sol-
licitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset,
dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilum vulnus faceret, dum
Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem
sciebat segnissi secuturam, quanto longius ab domo tra-
herentur. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propincum
certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet speculatores-
que Galli, ad ea exploranda, quae vellet, tutiores, quia
in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Ro-
manos retulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus
coepit.

The battle of the Trebia. 2000 Carthaginians lie in ambush.
The Romans are provoked to cross the river.

LIV. Erat in medio rivis praelitis utrimque clausus
ripis et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculata
ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vetribusque. Quem ubi equi-
tes quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvec-
tus ipse oculis perstravit. "Hic erit locus" Magoni
fratri ait, "quem teanes. Delige centenos viros ex
omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia
prima venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est." Ita
praetorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat.
"Robora virorum cerno" inquit Hannibal; "sed uti
numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis
novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestris similes eligite. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has bellis abhabetis." Ita Mago cum mille equitibus, mille peditibus dimissus. Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis, iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praecptum, ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratiseque equis signum expectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ab destinato iam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Apenninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludium praelabilis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non opes illa ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quidquid aurae fluminis adpropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt—et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbrium utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et procedente iam die fame etiam deficere.

The Romans are defeated, mainly by the superiority of the Punic cavalry.

LV. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostis nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baliare locat ante signa ac levem armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum, deim
graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantes statuit. Consul effuse sequentis equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedisti peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est. Proelium a Balaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua levis armatura est; quae res effecit, ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur. Nam cum vix iam per se resistent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube iacu- lorum a Balaribus coniecta. Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentis Poenus paulo ante curatis corporibus in proelium adulatorat; contra ii una fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum pedite solum foret pugnatum; sed et Balaris pulso equite iaculabantur in latera, et elephanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant, et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum inprovida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit innuma innotata acies, maxime praetor spem omnium aversum elephanto. Eos velit ad id ipsum locati mortuus coniectis et avertere et inscurti aversos sub causa maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant.
Part of the Romans retreat to Placentia. The remnant follow at night from their camp.

LVI. Trepidantisque et prope iam in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam. Quo novus terror additus Romanis, ut fusae auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnament, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alibi evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere, et, cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque prae imbre satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere aut gurgitibus absorpti sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, alii vestigia cedentes sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere; aliiis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et iumenta et elephantes prope omnis absorpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium castrorum et quod relicum ex fuga sauciorum ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri nequiban prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiecto Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.
frequentaverant adcolae mixti undique ex finitimis populiis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris consuluerat. Huius generis multitudo, fama ingre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa, armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrent, et, cum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et miles duci fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fus. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accepere; iussique arma tradere cum dicto paruisissent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tanquam vi captam urbem diriperent. Neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, praeternissa clades est: adeo omne libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseris exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

Hannibal’s attempt to cross the Apennines is defeated by tempest and cold.

LVIII. Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora erant, quies militi data est, et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate adiuncturus. Transeunt Apenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope fœditatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra enitentes vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere; dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere; tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo depreundi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero
laboris velut de integro statuim facta: nam nec explicare
quasi quam nec statuere poterant, nec quot statuum
est manuere, omnia perscindente vente et rapiente. Et
mox aqua levata vente, cum super gelida montium
omniva concreta esset, tantum vivis ac grandinis deiecit,
ut omnibus omissis procumbentes homines regminibus
vivis magis obrit quam secti. Tantaque vis rigoris
insecuta est, ut ex illa miseriae hominum iumentorum
magnum scum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet,
diu nequiret, quia torpensibus rigore nervis vix docere
artus poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese mo-
vere ac recipere animos et rarius locis ignis fieri est
ceptus, ad alienan operum quisque inops tendere. Bii-
dum eo loco velut obsessi mansere. Mutili homines,
multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui proelio ad
Tebiam facto superfluerant, septem absumpti.

An indecisive battle with Sempronius.

LIX. Decessus Apennino retro ad Placentiam castra
movit, et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero
die duodecim milia pedestrum, quinque equitum adversus
hostem vocit. Nec Sempronius consul—iam enim redi-
erat ad Roma—detrectavit certamen: atque eo die
tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere. Postero die
ingentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo
concurru adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie
vincere nunt solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra perseque-
rentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal pau-
eos propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis ceteros
conertos in media castra recepto, intentosque signum
e ad crumpendum expectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei
Hannibal eam, cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite,
Liber XXI. Cap. LX. 135


*Cn. Scipio gains over many tribes in the northeastern part of Spain and defeats Hanno.*

LX. Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumvectus Emporias adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Laetanis omnem oram usque ad Hibereum flumen partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae iustitiaeque fama non ad marimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Hibereum provincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam aliena-
laboris velut de integro initium fuit; nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant, nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscidente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento, cum super gelida montium iuga concreta esset, tantum nivis ac grandinis deiecit, ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti. Tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Bium eo loco velut obsessi mansere. Multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superuerant, septem absumpsi.

An indecisive battle with Sempronius.

LIX. Degressus Apennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit, et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia pedium, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit. Nec Sempronius consul—iam enim rederat ab Roma—detrectavit certamen: atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere. Postero die ingentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra perseuerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum ad erumpendum expectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus
Liber XXI. Cap. LX.


Cn. Scipio gains over many tribes in the northeastern part of Spain and defeats Hanno.

LX. Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaesque montes circumvectus Emporias adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Laetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae iustitiaeque fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam armorum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis P. praovincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad praesidium. Itaque, priusquam aliena-
rentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differently certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque 5 adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit: sex milia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum. Nam et castra expugnata sunt atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur et Cissis, pro-pircum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praedae oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium manciplorum; castra militem ditavere, non eius modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et eius, qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne 15 graviora impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

Hasdrubal, arriving too late to help Hanno, retires beyond the Ebro. He returns and stirs up the Ilergetes against the Romans. Scipio subdues them and winters at Tarraco.

LXI. Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus pedi-tum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occurredus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palatistine per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundae res neglegentiam creant, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, maiore fuga ad naves compellit. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico relictio Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum
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populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem
in pulso, cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium
Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hi-
bernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio
relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum 5
infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum
urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsedit, inträ-
que dies paucos pluribus quam ante obsidibus impera-
tis Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionesque
recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios 10
et ipsos Poenorum, procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa
Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul
iam urbe, cum intrare vellent, exceptit insidiis. Caesa
ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos
passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia 15
ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur.
Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro umquam nix
minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit; adeoque pluteos ac
vinea Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola ignibus aliquo-
tiens coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. Po-
stremo, cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem
profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tar-
raconem in hiberna reditum est.

Prodigies alarm the people at Rome.

LXII. Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme pro-
digia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in re-
ligionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt,
in quis, ingenuum infantem semenstrem in foro olitorio
triumphum clamasse, et in foro boario bovem in tertiam
contignationem sua sponte escindisse atque inde tu-
multu habitatorum territum sese deieciesse, et navium 30
speciem de caelo adfulsisse, et aedem Spei, quae est
in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam; et Lanuvi hastam se
commovisse, et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse

C. Flaminius, popular with the plebeians, is elected consul a second time, and inaugurated informally at Ariminum.

LXIII. Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae legiones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martis Arimin adesset in castris. Hic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum certaminum cum patribus; quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat, invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset
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maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo, sed iam cum dis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem ante auspiciato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie dis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi univ invisim videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret Iovique Latari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exilii causa solum vertisset. Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque consuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti placuit — Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihil magis eum moverunt, quam priore consulatu litterae moverant ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, inmolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit. Fuga procul etiam maior aequ.
ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a
plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus
inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus
a C. Atilio praetore acceptis in Etruriam per Apennini
5 tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.
Gallic plots against Hannibal. Servilius is inaugurated consul at Rome. Further prodigies occur.

I. Iam ver adipetebat, itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcenderet Apenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utrisque partis exercituum hibernis videre, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua consenserant, consensum indicantis, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus Martii magistratum iniiit. Ibi cum de re publica retulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere. Quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatis, Latinis feris actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nun-cupatis secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex
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maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae inmolatum est, lecti sterniumque imperatum — et eum lectum senatores strave runt — et convivium publicum, ac per urbum Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum 5 habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

Painful march of the Carthaginians through the marshes of the Arno into Etruria.

II. Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat, cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostendere tur iter, proprium viam per paludem petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros et omne veterani robur exercitus admixtis ipsorum inpedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit, sequi Gallos, ut id aminis medium esset, novissimos ire equites, Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua modo praerint duces, per praet altas fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti paene limo inmergentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant neque aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustiniebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel 25 victis taedio animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes. Maximeque omnium vigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua 30 sarcinis insuper incumbebant, aut iumentorum itinere totò prostratorum passim acervi tantum quod extaret
aqua quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, aeger oculis ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua extaret, vectus, vigiliiis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

Hannibal lays waste the country in order to provoke Flaminius to battle.

III. Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores habit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad conmeatus expedientos et cetera, quae cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquiringo exequabatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti. Consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicosque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum. Quoque prornior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus parat, et laeva relictost hoste Faesulas petens medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectionis quantum maximam vestitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consulii 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: conlegam expectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum, iatus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineri pugnaeque cum proposisset, “Immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus” inquit, “hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italian vastandoque et uerendo omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus, quam, sicut olim Camillum a Velis, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint.” Haec simul increpans cum oculis signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente conruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut foedo omine incipiendae rei, insuper nuntiatur, signum omni vi moliente signisero convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuntium “Num litteras quoque” inquit “ab senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus praet obtorpuerint.” Incedere inde agmen coepit, primoribus, superquam quod dissentierant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

Ambuscade of the Punic army in a defile near Lake Trasimenus. The Romans fall into the trap.

IV. Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque lacum omni clade bellis pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum inurias acuat. Et iam pervenerat ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennum subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relictto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi
Feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus; unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu eius expirasse ferunt, alteram, cui mors fili falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi ad primum conspectum redeuntis fili gaudio nimio examimatam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

Four thousand Roman cavalry captured in Umbria. Fabius Maximus appointed dictator.

VIII. Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio propraetore missa ad conlegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumenum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei fama varie homines adfecti: pars occupatis maiore aegritudine animis levem ex comparatione priorum du-cere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id, quod acciderat, per se aestimare, sed, ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam in valido gravior sentire-tur, ita tum aegrae et adfectae civitati quodcunque ad-versi incideret, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil, quod adgravaret, pati possent, aestimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium iam diu ne-que desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italian facilis erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, quod numquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem popu-lus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; iisque negotium ab senatu da-tum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et praesidia disponerent, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinde-rent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse. quando Italian tueri nequissent.
Hannibal marches through Umbria and thence southward into Apulia. Fabius consults the senate.

IX. Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletium venit. Inde cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae haud prospere temptatae viribus, quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum praeda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili adfectus. Ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus magis quam otiu aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Paelignos devastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. Cn. Servilius consul levibus proeliiis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de conlegae exercitusque caede audivit, iam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magistratum iniiit, vocato senatu, ab dis orsus, cum edociisset patres plus neglegentia caerimoniarum auspiciorumque quam temeritate atque insicta peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iubenterunt. Qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erucinae ac Menti voendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum voendas...
dum, si bellatum prospere esset, rescque publica in
eodem, quo ante bellum fuisse, statu permansisset. Sena-
tus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M.
Aemilium praetorem ex conlegii pontificum sententia om-
nia ea ut mature fiant, curare iubet.

The people vow a ver sacrum.

X. His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Len-
tulus pontifex maximus, consulente conlegium praetore,
omnia primum populum consulendum de vere sacro
censest: iniussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in
haec verba populus: "Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri?
Si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinque-
numerium proximum, sicut velim eam salvam, servata erit
hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Car-
thaginiensi est, quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui
cis Alpes sunt, tum donum duit populus Romanus
Quiritium, quod ver adtulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino,
bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt, Iovi fieri ex qua
die senatus populisque iussuerit. Qui faciet, quando
volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo facit, probe
factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oporterebit, profa-
num esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetve
insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo sce-
lus esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit
insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si
servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea,
quam senatus populisque iussuerit fieri, faxituri, eo populus
solutus liber esto." Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni voti
aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus trecentis triginta
tribus triente, praeterea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis alius
divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncu-
patis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum con-
jugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed
agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica
Liber XXII. Cap. XI.

quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cерeri. Tum aedes votae: Veneri Erucinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti aedem T. O tacilius praetor vovit.

Military preparations. Servilius joins Fabius. Capture of a Roman fleet on the way to Spain.

XI. Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello deque re publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia aget faceretque, ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturam ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit, edictoque proposito, ut quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset; ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituque cum ad Tiberim circa Ocricum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit, qui consuli nuntiaret, ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dicturae apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe adlatae sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia.
in Hispanicam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque ex templo consul Ostiam proficisci iussus navibusque, quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent, conpletis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi hostium cassem ac litora Italiæ tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in verba iuraverant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant in navis inpositi, alii, ut urbi praesiderent, relicti.

*Fabius watches Hannibal at a safe distance and steadfastly refuses battle.*

XII. Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Praeneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas coegeret, fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem illos Martios animos Romanis debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit, ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, quod cum duce haudquaquam Flamini Sempronique simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum edocti malis Romanis parem Hannibali ducem quaessisset. Et prudentiam quidem dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam haudcum expertus agitare ac temptare animum movendo crebro' castra populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit; et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viae, *si excipere degressum in aequom posset, occultus sub-
sistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebatur modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congrederetur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii co-gerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturae statio 5 conposita instructaque in subitos tumultus et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebat; neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum finitimoque receptu adsuefaciebant territum pri- 10 stinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud, quam quod inpar erat imperio, morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat; 15 ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua inmodicus primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adsingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat, premendoque superiorem, quae pes-sima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, 20 sese extollebat.

Hannibal marches through Samnium into Campania, hoping to get possession of Capua.

XIII. Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, inritat etiam de industria ducem Romanum, si forte accensum tot indignatibus cladibusque sociorum detrherere 25 ad aecum certamen possit. Inter multitudem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumemnum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum infecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in 30 Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque sidentem ac diffidentem .
Campanos ex Samnio penteret, moverunt. Monitos, ut etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendum sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrensis ab Latinorum nominum pronuntiatione os, Casilinum pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Caalatimque et Caenum agrum in Campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi cum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset. Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse, virgisque caeso ducet et ad reliquorum terrem in crucem sublato, castris communitatis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum praedatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populo ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terrorem latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

Dissatisfaction in the Roman army, encouraged by Minucius, the Master of Horse.

XIV. Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa; quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad probo bendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema iuga Massici montis ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae secta uren tes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, "Spectatum
huc inquit Minucius "ut ad rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia, venimus? Nec, si nullius al-terius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinu-essam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnita hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis ter-rarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc progressus? Tantum pro degeneramus a patribus no-stris, ut praeter quam oram illi Punicas vagari classes deducus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam factam vide-amus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem lenti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit, strepunt aures clamori-bus plorantium sociorum, saepius nostram quam deo-rum invocantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus deviasque callis exercitum ducimus conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacu-mina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisse, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis quaesitus, Italian ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac Poenis totiens serveve-rint maiores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, cum esset satis altum Iani-culum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in aecum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc Busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? Post multis annos cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis ce-
vicibus lugum superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quaе alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die, quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, inpeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque adparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse; arma capias oportet et descendas in aecum et vir cum viro congregiaris; audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant." Haec velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evocabantur, ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio ducem praetorios.

*Fabius tries to prevent Hannibal's return to Apulia.*

15 XV. Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostis intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis, sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquom extraxit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta vineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio.

20 Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, redivitum, Galliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse iuigi iisdem exercitum reducit misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex turba iuvenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas prospext, ac per occasionem
etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque praecepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese iusserat, quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidae alii atque alii occurrantes refugientesque ad castra prope ipsa eum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pervixere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis in se avitus, cum prius, quam ad coniectum teli veniret, avertisset hostis, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secatus est fugientes. Man- 10 cinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium redidit omni parte virium in par. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso cursu Cales primum, inde prope invisi callibus ad dictatorem per- 15 fugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces inminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum 20 posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. Duo inde milia hostes aberant.

Hannibal's stratagem to clear the mountain passes:

XVI. Postero die Poeni quod viae inter bina castra erat agmine conplevere. Cum Romani sub ipso consti- 25 tissent vallo, haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equitibusque ad lacessendum hostem. Carptim Poeni et procurando recipiendoque sese pugnaveret; restitit suo loco Romana acies; lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit 30 voluntate. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium ce- cidere. Inclusus inde videri Hannibal via ad Casilinum obsessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab ter- go divitum sociorum Romanis commenatus subveherec.
Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque et per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset. Nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces undique ex agris conlectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negodium datum, ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad montis ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

**Oxen with torches tied to their horns frighten away the Romans guarding the defiles.**

XVII. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montis, et metus ipse relucens flammae a capite calorique iam ad vivom ad imaque cornua veniens velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis omnia circa virgulta visa ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignis conspexere, circumventos se esse rati praesidio excesseree; qua minime densae micabant flammææ, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. *Et primo cum procul cernerent, veluti flammæ spī-
rantium miraculo adtoniti constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientis ad lucem tenuit. Inerea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.

*Fabius follows the Carthaginians into Apulia, and leaves Minucius temporarily in command.*

XVIII. Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclam ab suis levement armaturam facile—et enim numero aliquantum praeubabant—Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale supervenisset. Ea ad suetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior cum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Paelignos populabundus redidit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat nec absistens nec congridiens. Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apulum repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbe metu, quia conlapsa ruinis pars moenum erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra communit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quaet.
fortunae confidat, et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur; ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere; haud parvam rem esse ab totiens victore hoste vincit desisse, ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus — haec nec quam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

_In Spain Cn. Scipio surprises Hasdrubal’s fleet at the mouth of the Ebro._

XIX. Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adiectis quadraginta navium classem Himilioni tradit, atque ita Carthagine profectus naves prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus constringere, quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consili fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves inposito quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti peçigit. Altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia passuum distanter ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae retulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut inprovidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turris Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo con-spectis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum stre-pituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem
promunturiis, cum repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die expectantis, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam iam haud procul portu 5 esse. Haec equites dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat, varioque omnia tumultu strepunt ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, 10 cum alii resolutis oris in anchoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt, raptimque omnia ac prae-propere agendo militum apparatu nautica ministeria impedientur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus non adpropinquabat 15 modo, sed derexerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, temptata verius pugna quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem. Et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tum multis simul venientibus haud 20 sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadiis alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati partim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere. Duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae.

The successes of the Romans cause Hasdrubal to retire into Lusitania.

XX. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat, arma-tamque aciem toto praetentam in litore cerebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem, navis omnis, quae non aut perfrigerant proros litori inlisas aut carinas fixerant vadiis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere, 30 ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum eius victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant. Itaque ad
Onusam classe proiecti; escensio ab navibus in terram facta. Cum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petantu, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam praeda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti erat, ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebustum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata ubi in spem inritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta, cum in naves se recipissent, ex Balaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis, reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui cis Hiberum incolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrent, sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint obsidibus datis populi, amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

Hasdrubal returns near the Ebro to protect his allies, and is attacked by the Celtiberi.

XXI. Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquom aestatis tempus, fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidiaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilertum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribuni militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut
Liber XXII. Cap. XXII.

Tumultuariam manum, fudere, mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis magnaque parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam Classem erant, cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae miserant legatos obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt, provinciamque Carthaginensium valido exercitu invadunt; tria oppida vi expugnant. Inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militariibus signis capiunt.

P. Scipio arrives in Spain with a fleet. Spanish hostages, kept at Saguntum by the Carthaginians, are delivered to the Romans.

XXII. Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu, missus cum triginta longis navibus et octo mili-bus militem magnoque commetau advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariorum procul visa cum magna lae-titia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit; ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Carthaginensiibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custo-diri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus solerti magis quam fidelis consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis, tum, qualia plerum-que sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat.
perium habeat; quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicæ persequendæ procul ab Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quorum neutra hoc tempore praetore ageat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit; sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut absesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fuisse ac fugasse hostis. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanæ esset, audaciter se laturum suisse de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset. Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis. Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur, cum hostem verbis extol-leret bienniique clades per tementatem atque incri-tiam ducum acceptas referret, et magistro equitum quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consilii-que sit, prope diem effecturum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam multa milia hostium occidisse maiorem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii dimicare, pridie quam rogationis fe-
rendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce
ORTA CUM PLEBIS CONCILIUM ESSET, MAGIS TACITA INVIDIA DICTATORIS FAVORQUE MAGISTRI EQUITUM ANIMOS VERSABAT, QUAM SATIS ADEBANT HOMINES AD SUAENDUM, QUOD VULGO PLACEBAT, PRODIRE, ET FAVORE SUPERANTE AUCTORITAS TAMEN ROGATIONI DEERAT. UNUS INVENTUS EST SUASOR LEGIS 5 C. TERENCE VALERIUS VARRO, QUI PRIORE ANNO PRAETOR FUERAT, LOCO non HUMILI SOLUM, SED ETIAM SORDIDO ORTUS. PATREM LANIUM FUISSE FERUNT, IPSUM INSTITOREM MERCIS, FILIOQUE HOC IPSO IN SERVILIA EIVS ARTIS MINISTERIA USUM.

VARRO'S SUCCESSFUL CAREER AS A DEMAGOGUE. FABIUS IS NOT DISTURBED BY THE PROMOTION OF MINUCIUS.

XXVI. Is iuvenes, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pecunia a patre relictà animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit. Quaesturaque et duabus aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura perfunctus iam ad consulatus spem cum adtolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia petit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit.

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt; ipse, qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saevientis iniuriam tulit, acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris de aequato imperio, satis fidens hauudquaquam cum imperii iure artem imperandi aequatam, cum invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

THEY DIVIDE THE LEGIONS EQUALLY.

XXVII. MINUCIUS VERO CUM IAM ANTE VIX TOLERABILIS FUisset rebus secundis ac favore volgi, tum utique in-30 modice inmodesteque non Hannibale magis victo aetatis
se quam Q. Fabio gloriari: illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi aequatum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint; tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisset. Ergo securum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque judicio damnata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quem ad modum imperio aequato utantur; se optumum ducere, aut diebus alternis aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio, sed viribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia fortunam eam habitura, quamcumque temeritas conlegae habuisset. Sibi communicatum cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse; itaque se numquam volentem parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quae posset, servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent. Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt; item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia diviserunt. Castris quoque se separari magister equitum voluit.

_Minucius is tempted to battle and badly beaten._

XXVIII. Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit — neque enim quicquam eorum, quae apud hostes agentur, eum fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem; — nam et liberam Minuci temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabi
dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minuci et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquorem erat hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem procursum ad obstendendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat. Et erant in ahexto cavae rupes, ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quomque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius tenere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis pacis prima luce ad capiendum, quem ante diximus, tumulum avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque dejacere pellendos inde hostis ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat et vanis minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam dimitit; deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia incrascende certamine mittens auxilia peditum equ(itum)que iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certatur. Prima levem armaturam Romanorum, praeoccupatum ex inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter perculsos inpavida sola erat, videbaturque, si iusta ac recta pugna esset, haudququam inpar futura; tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta. Sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terremque in latera...
ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad
pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

He is rescued by Fabius and acknowledges his fault.

XXIX. Tum Fabius, primo clamore paventium audito,
dein conspecta procul turbata acie, "Ita est," inquit,
"non celerius quam timui deprendit fortuna tementa-
tem. Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute
et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud iurgandi suspen-
sendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferte.
Victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civi-
bus." Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circuns-
spectantibus fugam Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo
demissa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque, priusquam ad
coniectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos
a fuga effusa et ab nimis fero ci pugna hostes continuat.

Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique con-
fugerunt ad integrum aciem; qui plures simul terga
dererant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem nunc
sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac iam
prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus,
inferebantque signa in hostem, cum Poenus receptui
ccecinit, palam ferente Hannibile ab se Minucium, se
ab Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta,
cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis mili-
tibus, "Saepe ego" inquit "audivi, milites, eum primum
esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secun-
dum eum, qui bene monenti oboediat; qui nec ipse
consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii
esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata
sors est, secundam ac mediom teneamus et, dum im-
perare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus.
Castra cum Fabio iungamus; ad praetorium eius signa
cum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod
beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma ac dexterae texerunt, patronos salutabis, et, si nihil aliud, grato-
rum certe nobis animorum gloriem dies hic dederit.”

_He resumes his position as subordinate, and Fabius becomes popular at Rome._

XXX. Signo dato, conclamatur inde, ut colligantur 5 
vasa. Profecti et agmine incidentes ad dictatoris castra 
in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant 
converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, 
progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem 
Fabium appellasset circumfusosque militum eius, totum 10 
agmen patronos consalutasset, “Parentibus” inquit “meis, 
dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod fando possum, 
aequare, vitam tantum deboe, tibi cum meam salutem, 
tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeiscitum, quo onera-
tus sum magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abro-
goque et, quod tibi mihiqve exercitibusque his tuis, 
servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium au-
spiciumquex tuum redeo et signa haec legionesque re-
stituo. Tu, quaeo, placatus me magisterium equitum, 
hos ordines suos quemque tenere iubeas.” Tum dextrae 20 
interiunctae militesque, contione dimissa, ab notis igno-
tisque benignae atque hospitaliter invitati, laetusque dies 
ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabilia factus. 
Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non 
magis ipsorum imperatorum quam volgo militia ex 25 
utoque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum 
laudibus ad caelum ferre. Pari gloria apud Hanniba-
lem hostisque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum 
Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio 
ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut 30 
vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cuius 
terriblem famam a patribus accepissent. Hannibalem
quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

*Servilius' ineffectual invasion of Africa. Fabius resigns his command.*

XXXI. Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium circumvexit Sardiniae et Corsicæ oram et obsidibus utrimque acceptis, in Africam transmisit et, priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum uretertur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad litora Africæ accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta effusi, ac si in insulis cultorum egentibus prædarentur. Itaque in insidias temere inlati, cum a frequentibus palantes ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naves conspulta sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum Ti. Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amissum. Classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque Lilybaei T. Otaclio praetori, ut ab legato eius P. Cincio Romam rediceretur. Ipsè per Siciliam pedibus provectus freto in Italiam traiectit, litteris Q. Fabi accitus et ipse et conlega eius M. Atilii, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semenstri imperio acciperent.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Caelius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Caelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilii, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisse di-cendi dictatoris; quam moram quia expectare territa tertia iam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset; res
inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentis titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore creatus erat, fuisse dictator crederetur, facile obtinuisset.

The consuls continue his policy to the end of the year. Neapolitan embassy to Rome.

XXXII. Consulés Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, quod reliquum autumni erat Fabi artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exunti Hannibli diversis locis opportuni aderant carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant; adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal, ut, nisi cum fugae specie aeundum ei fuisse, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relictà spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si sequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme inpediente constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent: scire sese populi Romani aerarium bello exauriri, et, cum iuxta pro uribus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana, atque imperio geratur, aequom censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblatus. Gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicaverint, ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re maius ampliusque acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.
XXXIII. Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis qui per biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque manibus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio coniurassent; indici data libertas et aeris gravis viginti milia. Legati et ad Philippum, Macedonum regem, missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharum, qui bello victus ad eum fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxiliosque suis iuvisset, simul ad viendum ex propinquo, quae in Bois atque Insubribus gerentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipientos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit aedium Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse; itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano C. Pupius et K. Quinctius Flamininus aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret: se in eam diem, quam iussissent, comitia edictum. Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam consul alter a bello a vocabatur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum
dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum redit.

Great excitement attends the choice of consuls for 216 B.C.

XXXIV. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, volgus extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus per multos annos bellum quaerentibus Hannibalum in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Cum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari prospere posse apparuisset eo, quod M. Minucius absent Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caudem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobilis ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initios esse sacris et contennerre plebem, ex quo contemni a patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad egressu.
morando quaesisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator
esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, ut
viciosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur in-
terregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae
esse, et populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei,
qui mature vincere quam diu imperare malit.

**Varro and Paulus are elected. Four former praetors are
chosen again.**

XXXV. Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tri-
bus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Man-
lleo Volstone, M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium iam
familiarum plebis, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto,
quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius
consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia
rogando conlegae. Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisset
virium in competitoribus eius, L. Aemilium Paulum,
qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat ex damnatione con-
legae, ex qua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei,
diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. Is
proximo comitiali die concedentibus omnibus, qui cum
Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversando quam
conlega datur consuli. Inde praetorum comitia habita;
creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus; Philo
Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter civis
Romanos et peregrinos evenit. Additi duo praetores,
M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Al-
binus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt, nec
cuiquam eorum praeter Terentium consulem mandatus
honos quem non iam ante gessisset, praeteritis aliquot
fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli
novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

**Great increase of the army. New prodigies alarm the people.**

XXXVI. Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt. Quantae
autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo
et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix
quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem milia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina milia peditum, tres equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent peditis aequarent, septemque et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanisuisse, cum pugnatum ad Cannas est quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator praebuerat.

Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigii; nam et Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo crure signa in Sabinis sudasse, Caeretis aquas fonte calido gelidas manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat. Et in via fornicata, quae ad Campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti examinatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romam adtulerunt. Iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiae actae; aurum non acceptum.

Envoys from Hiero bring gifts and a few choice troops.

XXXVII. Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magnó commenátu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt caedem C. Flamini consulís exercitusque adlatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probe sciát magnitudinem populi Románi admirabilíorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuvant solectant, misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant magnó opere se patres conscriptos
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orare. Iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti adferre sese; accipere etiam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta milia modium titici, 5 ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussisset, subvecturos. Milite atque equitii scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis; itaque misisse mille
sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Balaures ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebat, ut praetor cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali submittenda. Ab senatu
ita responsum regii est: virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifare adiuvisse. Id, 15 perinde ac deberet, gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam adlatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum; Victoriam omneque accipere, sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi maximi. In ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad quinquaginta navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio praeptore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti addita, permiscumque est, 20 ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

Solemn oath taken by the newly levied soldiers. Boastfulness of Varro and despondency of Paulus.

XXXVIII. Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod numquam antea factum erat, iure iurando
ab tribunis militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum conventuros neque iniussu abituros; et ubi ad decuriam aut centuriam convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant, sese fugae atque formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut repetendi aut hostis fieri aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adationem translatum.

Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feraces fuere, denuntiantis bellum arcessitum in Italia ab nobilibus mansurun-que in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfectum. Conlegae eius Pauli una pridie, quam urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gravior populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo: Mirari se, qui dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret, quae sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque praedicere posset, qua cum hoste signis conlatis esset dimicaturus; se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus inmatura non praecепturum; optare, ut, quae caute ac consule gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; tementatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Et sua sponte apparebat, tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius

Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus furtur.

Fabius admonishes Paulus before his departure.

XXXIX. "Si aut conlegam, id quod mallem, tu similem, L. Aemili, haberes, aut tu conlegae tui esses similis, supervacamea esset oratio mea; nam et duo
iubernet ducerentque ad persequendos hostis ac pro-
tinus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus
turbae militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere
providendum praecavendumque esse; postremo, cum ali-
ter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere
posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana
exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere
extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum duobus equi-
tibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura
renuntiat insidias profecto esse; ignes in parte castro-
rum, quae vergat in hostem, relictos, tabernacula aperta
et omnia cara in promptu relict, argentum quibusdam
locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad praedam
vidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nun-
tiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militi-
bus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam
dux defuit; nam exemplo Varro signum dedit profi-
ciscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli
quoque auspicio non addixisset, nuntiari iam efferenti
porta signa conlegae iussit. Quod quamquam Varro
aegre est passus, Flaminis tamen recens casus Claudii-
que consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades
religionem animo incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis
distulere quam prohibuere inminentem pestem Romanis.
Nam forte ita evenit, ut, cum referri signa in castra
iubenti consulii milites non parerent, servi duo, For-
miani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque
Atilio consulibus inter pabulares excepti a Numidis
fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos. Deductique
ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans
proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus
adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio
alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia ma-
iestatem solvisset.
Hannibal, short of provisions, moves southward, and encamps near Cannae.

XLIII. Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra reedit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum quorentiumque annonom primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione 10 cepisse consilium fana esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse ita, ut relictus peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia inpeditora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem 15 Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montis exploratis cum relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de sequendo eo consilia agitari coepit. Cum utriusque consulis eadem quae ante semper fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo 20 praeter Servilium, prioris anni consulem, adsentire tur, ex maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas ur gente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturio vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id cum 30 ipsis castris per commodum fuit, tum salutare praecipue futurum erat, cum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi, terga tantum adflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi,
XLIV. Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiumt eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copis divisi. Aufidus amnis utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnan-di consules, derigit aciem lacesitique Numidarum pursuatione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini terneratam Varroni, 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 Italiam; se constrictum a conlega teneri, ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militiae; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad incon-sultam atque inprovidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore, diceret; videret, ut, quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aeque in pugna vigerent manus.

The battle of Cannae. Arrangement of the Roman forces.

XLV. Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras recuperet copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans 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 extemplo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cujus sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto conlega signum propositum instructaque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adiuvare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu — id erat flumine proprius — Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenuere, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dex- trum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

Order of battle of the Punic army.

XLVI. Hannibal luce prima, Balaribus levique alia armatura praemissa, transgressus 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 mediis Galli atque Hispani. Afrorum Romanam crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumenum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, disparec ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum
fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei prodigione venientem ad hostis nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam maximum emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispiae amicitiam. Sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum velut ignorantem monet, quo statu sit res: metum continuasse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiber castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas voluntibus res; itaque, quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devastiendos esse. Miranti Bostari percunctantique, quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, “Obsides” inquit “in civitates remitte; id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. Volt sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihi met deposco ipse, ut opera quoque in pensa consilium adiuvem meum et rei suapte natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam possim adiciam.” Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia calido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret, expromit, et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constitueto ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit. Diem inequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimissus, cum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti
ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eum eodem ordine, quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re 5 pari, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim gravis superbosque in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo adventu incognitus ante ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat; et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur 10 socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

Unpopularity of Fabius. Hannibal spares his estates when plundering the country.

XXIII. Haec in Hispания secunda aestate Punicî 15 belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis solles cunctatio Fabî fecisset; quae ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura hábebat, tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret, ita contempta 20 erat inter civis armatos pariter togatosque, utique post-quam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum laeto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duae res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris; una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum a 25 perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostilem abstineri iussit, ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces videri posset; altera ipsius facto, primo forsitam dubio, quia non expectata in eo senatus auct- 30 toritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso. In permutandis captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Ro-
manum Poenumque, ut quae pars plus recipreret quam
daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem prae-
staret. Ducentis quadraginta septem cum plures Ro-
manus quam Poenus recepisset, argentumque pro eis
debitum saepe iactata in senatu re, quoniam non con-
suluisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste
agrum misso Romam Quinto filio vendidit, fidemque
publicam inpendio privato exsolvit.

Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae
atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauc a reli-
quarat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas
exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in
statione erat simul castris praesidio et circumspectans,
necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

In the absence of Fabius, Minucius gains a trifling victory.

XXIV. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat;
praeerat Minucius magister equitum prefecto, sicut ante
dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quae
in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in
planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis
consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palat-
tos aut in castra relicta cum levi praesidio fieret. Nec
Hannibalem befellit cum duce mutatum esse belli rati-
onem, et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos.
Ipse autem, quod minime quis crederet, cum hostis
propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum du-
bus in castris retentis dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius
hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio milia in tumulum
hosti conspectum, ut intentum se sciret esse ad frumenta-
tores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque
ipsis inminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad
quem capiendum, si luce palam iaret, quia haud dubie
hostis breviore via praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi
Numidae ceperunt. Quos tenentis locum contempta pau-
citate Romani postero die cum deiecissent, ipsi eo

The people make Minucius equal in command with Fabius.

XXV. De iis rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione actum est. Cum laeta civitate dictator unus nihil nec famae nec litteris crederet et, ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere dicaret, tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id enim vero ferendum esse negat; non praeuentem solum dictato rem obstitisse rei bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare ac sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu

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nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transiret; uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eum sententiam alii totam aspernari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, cum aeque coniungi possent? Quia vide-
licet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse. Tum P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum "Capi ergo ma-
vultis" inquit "ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste,
aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab inter-
rogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur? Non
nu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene mori
quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum viro-
rum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis. Sed
antequam opprimit lux, maioraque hostium agmina ob-
saepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque inconpositi
obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via
fit quamvis per confertos hostis. Cuneo quidem hoc
laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disi-
cias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem
publicam salvam vultis." Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit
gladium cuneoque facto per medios vadit hostis. Et
cum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacula-
rentur, translatiis in dextrum scutis in maiora castra
ad sescenti evaserunt, atque inde protinus alio magno
agmine adiuncto Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Haec
apud victos magis impetu animorum, quos ingenium
suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum
aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

Maharbal urges an immediate movement upon Rome. *The horrors of the battle-field.*

LI. Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratula-
rentur suaderentque, ut tanto perfunctus bello diei quod
relicum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi
sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal, praefectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus, "Immo ut, quid hac pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto" inquit "victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, praecedam." Hannibali 5 nimiris laeta res est visa maiorque, quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait, ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: "Non omnia nimimum eidem di dedere; vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti 10 nescis." Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt. Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equites 15 que, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quosdam etiacent vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantis cervicem iugulumque 20 et relicum sanguinem iubentes haurire. Inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentisque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus naso auribusque laceratis, cum ille manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa, la- niando dentibus hostem expirasset.

*Surrender of some Romans in their camps. Kindness shown to the fugitives at Canusium.*

LI. Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum 30 brachio objecto flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque
equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostis acceperunt, traditique in custodiæm omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociiique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium persugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione, qua altera, tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti—quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat, nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur—omnis cetera praedae diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit. Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habitui sunt.

Young P. Scipio suppresses a plot of some young nobles to desert their country.

quam eos perditam spem foere; desperatam conploratamque rem esse publicam; nobiles juvenes quosdam, quorum principem M. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, praeterquam atroc, super 5 tot clades etiam novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli. Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse; irent secum 10 extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent; nulla verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium Metelli et, cum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus adlatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio 15 “Ex mei animi sententia” inquit, “ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram, neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens fallo, tum me Iuppiter optimus maximus domum, familia remque meam pessimissimo leti adficiat. In haec verba, M. Caecili, iures 20 postulo ceterique qui adestis; qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat.” Haud secus pavi, quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, iurant onnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

Varro unites the remnants of the army at Canusium. Exaggerated reports at Rome.

LIV. Eo tempore, quo haec Canusii agebantur, 25 Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos 30 vicenos et pediti denos, et arma quibus deerant dederunt, ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certaturnque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusa-
nus officii vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat, et iam ad decem milia hominum erant, Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolarem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quan-
tae secum peditum equitumque copiae essent, sciscita-
tumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an 
manere iuberet Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias 
traduxit. Et iam aliqua species consularis exercitus 
erat, moenibusque se certe, etsi non armis, ab hoste 
videbantur defensuri.

Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium so-
ciorumque, sed occidione occisum cum ducibus ex-
ercitum deletaque omnes copias adlatum fuerat. Num-
quam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultuosque intra 
moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque 
adgreiari narrare, quae edissertando minora vero faciam. 
Consule exercitique ad Trasumenum priore anno anisso, 
non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duo-
bus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntia-
bantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec 
militem esse; Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium ac iam 
prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens 
tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Conpares aut 
cladem ad Aegatis insulas Carthaginiensium proelio 
avali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere, 
et vectigalis ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut 
pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Han-
nibal succubuit: nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi 
quod minore animo latae sunt.

The Senate assembles, and order is restored to the city.

LV. P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores 
senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis 
custodia consulerent; neque enim dubitabant deletis 
exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod 
unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Cum in malis
sicuti ingentiis, ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et, nondum palam facto, vivi mortuque per omnes paene domos promiscue conplorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunctando — aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore — referant, quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit, et, si quid di immortales, miseri imperii, relicum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscendaque per inpigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, conploratus familiarum coercerat, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent, suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem expectet, custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egressi urbe, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvi salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

Tidings come at last from Varro. The Senate shortens the period of mourning. Bad news from Sicily.

LVI. Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes sisset, submotaque foro per magistratus turba, patres diversi ad sedandas tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae a C. Terentio consule adlatae sunt: L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem. Ad decem milia militum ferme esse inconpositorum inordinatorumque. Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretiis praedaque alia nec victoris aequo nec
magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatae quoque per domos clades vulgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacram anniversarium Ceres inter-
missum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas, nec
ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat.
Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra pu-
blica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus
triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum, sedato urbis
tumultu, revocati in curiam patres essent, aliae insuper
ex Sicilia litterae adlatae sunt ab T. Otacilio pro-
praetore: regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari; cui
cum ope inploranti ferre vellet, nuntium sibi esse
aliam classem ad Aegatis insulas stare paratam in-
structamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracu-
sanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo
provinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur; itaque
classae opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri
vellent.

*Execution of two Vestals. Human sacrifices are offered. Reinforcements are sent to the army, and new levies raised.*

LVII. Litteris consulis praetorisque recitatis, censue-
runt praetorem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti
praesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scriben-
dumque consuli, ut, cum praetori exercitum tradisset,
primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei
publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam
super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod
duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri
conpertae, et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam
Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem con-
sciverat. L. Cantilius, scriba pontificius, quos nunc mi-
nores pontifices adpellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum
fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio
ciaesus erat, ut inter verbera expiraret. Hoc nefas cum
*inter tot*, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset,
decemviri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus supplicisque deos possent placare, et quaeam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae 5 Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro bovario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaep tum, iam ante hostis humanis, minime Romano sacro, inbutum.

Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis, M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classica — ea legio tertia erat — cum tribunis militum Teanum Sedicinum prae missa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo conlegae, paucos 15 post dies Canusium magis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum dilectu edicto iuniores ab annis septemdecim et quosdam praetextatos sribunt. Quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item 20 ad socios Latinunque nomen ad milites ex formula accip iendos mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et formam novi dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit; octo milia iuvenum validorum ex servitii prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare, empta publice armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

Hannibal's treatment of his prisoners. The captive Romans send to the capital to ask a ransom.

LVIII. Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum geren- 30 tis intentus curis, cum, captivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumnennumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quo-
que vocatos, quod nunquam alias ante, satis miti sermone adloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse, et se id adniti, ut suae in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere; pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecentos pediti, servos centenos. Quamquam aliquantum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepigerant dentes se, laeti tamen quamcumque condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei, quam ut iurarent se redivuros, acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinare cerneret animos, condiciones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites adsequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

Speech of their envoys before the Senate.

LIX. Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. Quorum princeps "M. Iuni vosque, patres conscripti," inquit, "nemo nostrum ignorat nulli umquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam nostrae; ceterum, nisi nobis plus iustum nostra placet causa, non aliis umquam minus neglegendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissetemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei relicum ac noctem insequentem fessi labore ac vulneribus vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua
arceremur, nec ulla iam per conferos hostis erumpendi
spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta mili-
bus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis, aliquem ex
Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc de-
mum pacti sumus pretium, quo redempti dimittemur, 5
arma, in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus.
Maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro rede-
missae, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condicione
pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia
Tarentum misisse. Atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis et 10
ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade in-
famis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannensis cam-
pos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersu-
mus pugnæ, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et
vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostri quidam, 15
qui ne in acie quidem fuere, sed praesidio castris
relictæ, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium
venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis
fortunæ aut condicione invideo, nec premendo alium
me extulisse velim; ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis 20
pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique
inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut
Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito practulerint gloria-
tique sint in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei pu-
blicae esse. Sed et illis bonis ac fortibus militibus ute-
mini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod
beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fu-
erimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis;
octo milia servorum audio armari. Non minor nume-
rus noster est. Nec maiore pretio redimi possimus, 30
quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis,
iuriarum nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali
consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres con-
scripti, si iam duriiores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro
merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis: Pyrrho, 35
videlicet, qui hospitum numero captivos habuit, an.
bárbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest? Si videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus proecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri testis sollicitudinem et lacrmas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum expectantiumque respon-sum vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Sed si, me dius fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse senseamus, cum indigni ut redime-remur vobis visi simus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aesti-matus civis? Suum quisque animum habet, patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum; magis me famae periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

*Manlius Torquatus opposes the request of the captives.*

LX. Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac ne-cessitas in foro turbae virorum inmiscuerat. Senatus submotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice insensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi, si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praediiis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius *Torquatus*, priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque vide-
batur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur: "Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam peregissem; quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem tradum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, cum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiani iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aecum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quae illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adessest P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed cum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum victoria laetis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem milia arma-torum hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Si ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostis, dixit: 'Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones,' si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem, si nemo tantae virtutis ex titisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad.
salutem ferentem demonstrat, reduces in patriam, ad parentes, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus; quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil umquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam, immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis: sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem, Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradì iubentem. Quamquam quid ego ignaviam istorum accusò, cum scelus possim accusare? Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene momentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi insertes submovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret? Quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem Hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet. Ex milibus septem armatorum sescenti extiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberí atque armati redirent, neque his sescentis hostes obstitere; quam tutum iter duarum prope legi- gionum agminis futurum censetisuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusii fortia, fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quem ad modum hi boni fidelesque—nam fortés ne ipsi quidem dixerint—cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest adfuisset erumpentibus, qui, ne erumperent, obsistere conati sunt, aut non invidere eos cum incolimitati tum gloriae illo- rum per virtutem partae, cum sibi timorem ignavia- que servitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Malue- runt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem
LIBER XXII. CAP. LXI.

expectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. At enim ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsesi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia vitae deessent adfectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. Haec vobis is- torum per biduum militia fuit. Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, in castra refugerunt; cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redimamus? Cum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere et castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos de- dentos Hannibali, qui per medios hostis e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriae restitue- runt.”

*The Senate decides not to redeem the prisoners. The Romans are deserted by many of their allies.*

LXI. Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognitione attingebant, praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit, quia nec aerarium exhauriri, magna iam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Cum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam prose- cuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci re-
ditu in castra iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi
innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt
conprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deduc-
cendum ad Hannibalem esse.
5 Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primo venisse;
de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur
in urbem necne, ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis sena-
tus daretur. Morantibus deinde longius omnium spe
alios tris insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C.
10 Calpurnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato
Scriboni tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum
esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos le-
gatos tris ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres
remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina
captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione
esse exsolvissent; de iis dedendis magna contentione
actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis qui
dedendos censuerint; ceterum proxumis censoribus adeo
omnibus notis ignominiiisque confectos esse, ut quidam
eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri
non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac
publico caruerint. Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter
auctores, quam, quid veri sit, discernere queas.
Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus
25 fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum,
que ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit,
nulla profecto alia de re, quam quod desperaverant de
imperio. Defeceret autem ad Poenos hi populi: Cam-
piani, Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites
30 praeter Pentros, Brutti omnès, Lucani, praeter hos
Uzentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini,
Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnès
Galli. Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum
moverunt, ut pacis umquam mentio apud Romanos
35 fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum nec post-
quam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis.
Quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae, quod de re publica non desperasset; qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.
NOTES.

B. = Bennett's Latin Grammar.
A. = Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar.
H. = Harkness's Complete Latin Grammar.
G. = Gildersleeve-Lodge's Latin Grammar.
cf. = confer, compare.
sc. = scilicet, supply, understand, namely.

Page 1. Preface. 1. Facturusne operae pretium sim: whether I shall accomplish something worth the trouble, i.e. something of real merit and value; cf. Non operae est, 'it is not worth while,' page 30, line 3. See Classical Review, 1894, p. 345. Facturus sim, B. 300; A. 575, a; H. 640, ii.; G. 467. Quintillian (Inst. Orat. ix. 4, 74) remarks that Livy begins his preface with part of a hexameter verse. Such metrical lines, considered a fault in prose writers, were doubtless unconscious and accidental. Cf. page 196, line 22, Haec ubi dicta dedit, etc., a hexameter and a half. a primordio: he is about to write of Roman history as a whole, not, like Caesar or Sallust, of a single portion.

2. res: sc. gestas. perscripserim: the perfect subjunctive here in oratio obliqua represents the future perfect indicative of oratio recta. This, being a clause of protasis, is, of course, a dependent clause. B. 311, 319; A. 589, 1, 2, a, 3; H. 644, 2; G. 650, 656, 1. si sciam: if I should know; the supposition is regarded not as contrary to fact, but as possible. B. 303; A. 516, 2, b; H. 576; G. 506, 1.

3. ausim: archaic, for ausus sim: this form is not generally used in prose. Similar forms are faxo and faxim, which are often used by Livy. A. 183, 3; 192, a; H. 244, 4; G. 131, 4 (b), 2. quippe qui ... videam: inasmuch as I see. B. 283, 3; A. 535, e, n. 1; H. 502; G. 633. cum ... tum: both ... and.

4. rem: the undertaking. dum: not merely temporal, but introducing a reason for the preceding statement. semper: construe with novi; the idea is novi semper existunt auctores qui credunt.

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5. in rebus oertius aliquid: something more reliable in the way of fact.
6. rudem vetustatem: the inartistic simplicity of the ancients. Utcumque erit: however this may be, i.e. however my success may be judged. B. 312; A. 519; G. 625, 1.
7. memoriae: dative; construe with consuluisse. principis terrarum populi: of the leading nation of the world.
8. pro virili parte: to the best of my ability, as far as in me lies. Cf. the English colloquial "like a man."
9. in tanta scriptorum turba: many of the author's countrymen had written history, some of them famous men, like Cato, Sulla, and Caesar. in obscuro sit: a favorite form of expression with Livy; instead of the simple predicate adjective we have the neuter singular used substantively with a preposition. nobilitate: celebrity.
10. nomini = famae.
11. Res est praeterea, etc.: the second ground for hesitancy in undertaking the work. We notice here a confusion between the history and its subject, both signified by res. ut quae ... repetatur: since it reaches back, or must be traced back. Livy was born 695 A.V.C. Cf. note on videam, line 3. Notice how often Livy uses ut qui where Cicero would use quipem qui.
12. quae ... creverit: in this second relative clause res takes on a new sense; it is no longer the historian's undertaking, but the empire itself, the subject of his work.
13. laboret: is burdened; its vastness has become a source of weakness. et legentium, etc.: a third ground of hesitancy. This et corresponds to the et before inmensi, line 11.
15. quin ... praebitura ... sint: B. 298; A. 558, a; H. 595, 1; 596, 1; G. 555, 2.
16. festinatibus: dative, agrees with plerisque, line 14. haec: i.e. contemporary with the writer.
17. se conficiunt: is exhausting itself.
18. contra: adverb. ut ... avertam: a substantive clause of object, in apposition with praemium. B. 295; A. 570; H. 564, III.; G. 546.
19. malorum: i.e. the civil wars of the last generation.
21. curae: B. 204, 1; A. 349, a; H. 450, 451, 1; G. 374. In dealing with recent events a historian could scarcely help offending many of his contemporaries, inasmuch as the era of the civil wars had just closed. These wars had caused the utmost bitterness, and it was impossible to discuss the period from any point of view in a manner that would please everybody.
22. posset: imperfect subjunctive in apodosis, where a protasis contrary to fact is implied; i.e. 'could render the mind anxious, if the writer were not expers curae.' B. 304, 305, 1; A. 517, 521; H. 579; G. 597, 600. Translate, which otherwise might, etc.

23. ante conditam condendamve urbem: before the city was founded or should be founded; i.e. not everything that occurred before the foundation of Rome is to be considered, but simply those things that necessarily preceded its foundation and had some relation thereto. The first expression, being too broad and general, is limited by the second. We might translate, 'founded or planned.' Some translate, 'built or building.' poetici magis...monumentis: suitable rather to the fictitious tales of poets than to reliable records of history. B. 192, 2; A. 384; H. 434, 2; G. 359. Or, tricked out with poets' tales rather than (resting on) authentic memorials of history. Fabulis and monumentis would then be ablative.

Page 2. 1. traduntur: are handed down (by tradition) as having occurred.

3. humana divinis: adjectives used as substantives; on the case of divinis, see B. 218, 5; A. 368, 3, x.; 413, a, n.; H. 427, 474, 2; G. 346, x. 6; 348, x. 1.

5. ea = talis or tanta.

7. potissimum: in preference to all others. ferat: claims; subjunctive in intermediate clause (attraction). B. 324; A. 593; H. 652; G. 663, 1. tam: construe with aequo. tam...patiuntur: the races of mankind endure this (claim or boast) as patiently as they submit to the dominion (of Rome).

10. haud in magno...discrimine: I shall not consider of any great importance. mihi: ethical dative: B. 188, 2, b); A. 380; H. 452; G. 351. What I wish is that each one, etc.

12. artibus: methods.

13. labente deinde..., etc.: then let him follow with his attention the character of the people, giving way as the tone of public morality declined, then (observe) how it sank more and more, and at last began to fall headlong in ruin, until one comes down to the present age, in which we can endure neither the evils of our time nor their remedies. The metaphor is that of a building which settles at its foundations, then decays, and finally collapses in a heap of ruins. The objects of sequatur, line 15, are the noun mores and the two following indirect questions ut lapsi...sint...coeperint; ut being here interrogative. B. 300; A. 573; H. 649, 11; G. 467.

17. remedial: the cure for the desperate social and political evil.
of the time was the empire, established on the ruins of the republic, —monarchy substituted for anarchy. To many the remedy seemed as intolerable as the disease. It is well known that there was great opposition to the reforms of Augustus.

18. illud: predicate. rerum: sc. gestarum; of history.
19. omnis . . . exempli documenta: useful examples for every occasion. te: you; indefinite, = 'one.'
20. monumento: record. tibi tuaeque rei publicae: for yourself and for your state; the moral and political lessons of history are both indicated.
21. quod imitare capias: you may choose what to imitate. inceptu . . . exitu: B. 226; A. 418; H. 480; G. 397.
22. quod vites (capias): you may understand what to avoid. For the mood of imitare and vites, see B. 282, 2; A. 531, 2; H. 590; G. 545, 1. Ceterum: see Introduction, III. 7, c.
24. sanctior: purer. nec in quam, etc.: nor was there ever a state into which, etc.
25. serae: adjective used adverbially. inmigraverint: B. 283, 2; A. 535, a; H. 591, 1; G. 681, 2.
27. rerum: sc. familiarium.
29. desiderium . . . pereundi perpendique . . . , etc.: paronomasia and oxymoron; it is not meant that men really have such a wish, but that they act as if they had it. luxum: actual indulgence in extravagance and luxury, manifested outwardly; luxuria is the corresponding inward tendency of character.
32. initio . . . ordiendae: pleonasm.
34. si . . . esset . . . inciperemus: B. 304; A. 517; H. 579; G. 597. nobis: i.e. historians.
35. orsi (nobis): dative. tantum operis = tantum opus, direct object of orsi.

BOOK I.

Page 3. Chapter I. 1. satis constat: it is generally agreed. Livy gives the commonly accepted account; but here, as in other places where he uses this expression, he is not to be understood as vouching for the truth of the story.
2. saevitum esse, etc.: that cruelty was vented upon the rest of the Trojans, i.e. they were massacred. A passive impersonal; B. 187,
II, 6; A. 372; H. 518, 1; G. 208, 2. **duobus**: B. 188, 2, d); A. 381, 376; H. 425, 2; G. 345, n. 1. Notice Livy's fondness for the dative of reference, and sparing use of prepositions. **Aeneae Antenorique**: the former, the founder (through one of his descendants) of Rome, the historian's mother city; the latter, of Patavium, his birthplace. The two heroes are closely connected in *Iliad*, ii. 822.

3. **Iure hospitii**: Antenor had entertained Menelaus and Ulysses when they came to ask for the restoration of Helen; *Iliad*, iii. 207. **reddendaeque Helenae**: Antenor advised the return of Helen; *Iliad*, iii. 148 sqq.; v. 350 sqq.

4. **omne ius bellii abstinuisse**: refrained from every exercise of the right of conquest; the laws of war, as then understood, permitted the killing, maiming, or enslavement of captives.

5. **delude**: connect this word with variis; *diverging thenceforward*.

6. **Enëtum**: our author has a fondness for this form of genitive plural in the second declension, a form especially affected by the poets. Pylaemenes, king of the Enetii, allies of the Trojans, coming from Paphlagonia, was slain by Menelaus; see *Iliad*, v. 576. **seditione**: civil discord; from sê-(d)-ire; sê or sêd = 'without,' 'apart'; cf. sê-curus, sê-erno.

7. **ad Troiam**: before Troy; *Troia* would mean 'in Troy.'


9. **Euganeisaeque**: of unknown origin; their name is preserved in the Euganean hills, near Padua.

10. **in quem . . . locum**: translate, *Locus, in quem*, etc. The relative clause standing first, the antecedent, as usual, is attracted into and assimilated in case with the relative pronoun. B. 251, 4; A. 307, b; H. 399, 3; G. 616. Notice the separation of * quem* and *locum* by intervening words.

12. **Troiano**: attracted to the case of *pago*, instead of agreeing with *nomen*. This is frequent in giving names. B. 190, 1; A. 373, a; H. 430, 1; G. 349, n. 5. **appellati**: here agrees with the predicate nominative rather than with the subject. The real origin of the Veneti is uncertain. The resemblance here noticed is probably accidental.

13. **ab**: in consequence of. Notice that Livy is especially free in the use of *ab*, rather than *a*, before consonants. G. 417, 1, n. **domo**: why no preposition? B. 229, 1; A. 427, 1; H. 462, 4; G. 390, 2. **ad maiora rerum initia**: a case of hypallage; *maiora* should properly agree with *rerum*, and is to be translated accordingly. For this figure, cf. page 17, lines 4, 5, and page 13, line 24.

14. **in Macedoniam**: where he founded the city of Aenea on the peninsula of Pallene,
15. in Sicilium: to Egesta. The myth of Aeneas is connected with the worship of Venus at Egesta.

16. Laurentem agrum: a strip of the Latin coast from the Tiber southward to Lavinium; the vicinity of Laurentum. tenisse: sc. cursum or some similar word as direct object. This infinitive clause is subject of constat, line 1. Troia: the more usual construction would make this a dative. Cf. Troiano, above, line 12; the position is emphatic.

17. ut quibus... superesset: a causal relative clause. B. 283, 3; A. 535, e, n. 1; H. 592, 1; G. 626, r., n. 1; 633.

18. immenso: unmeasured, infinite. Milton says, "Of amplitude almost immense."

20. Aborigines: (ab, origine), yet the Siculi are spoken of as earlier inhabitants, a branch of the great Latin stock, found later in Southwestern Italy and in Sicily. It is hard to tell whether the derivation here suggested is real or only a popular notion. Some think the word is a sort of corruption of Aurunci.

23. adfinitatem: connection by marriage, while blood-relationship is consanguinitas.
13. *penates*: guardians of the *penus*, house-provision; then guardians of the family; the state considered as an enlarged family had its *Penates* also.

15. *Ea res utique*: *this fact at any rate*. *Troianus*: we may translate this dative as if it were genitive; B. 188, 1; A. 377; H. 425, n.; G. 350, 1.


17. *Lavinium*: the religious centre of the Latin confederacy, because it was the home of the Penates of Latium, where in later times the Roman consul and praetors had to sacrifice to Vesta and the Penates, on entering and on quitting office. In reality the lady’s name comes from the city’s name, not *vice versa*. *Brevi*: sc. *tempore*.


25. *Latium*: he was, according to tradition, afterward worshipped as *Iuppiter Latiaris*.

26. *rebus*: dative, with *diffsi*. *florentes*: the metaphor is the same in English. The Etruscan empire in early times extended as far south as Campania.

27. *Caere*: most probably locative ablative; the omission of *in* before *opulento oppido* is hardly conclusive proof that its appositive *Caere* is dative after *imperitans*, a case which nowhere else appears. Cf. *Praeneste*, page 142, line 6.

28. *imperitans*: notice our author’s excessive fondness for frequentative or intensive verbs. *iam inde ab*: Livy is fond of this emphatic form of expression. Translate, *from the very beginning*.


31. *haud*: *haud* usually negatives a particular word, *non* a proposition in general; hence *haud* is chiefly and most properly used with adjectives and adverbs. *gravatim*: the termination *-im* appearing in many adverbs, a form of which our author is particularly fond, is an old accusative case-ending. A few of these adverbs, e.g. *partim*, are true accusatives; the rest, formations by analogy. Cf. page 97,
line 10, grave, the usual form. socius: proleptic; in alliance; they were not allied till they had been joined.

Page 5. 1. nec: as often in Livy, = et ne, correlative with ut, page 4, line 32. nomine: sc. eodem.

2. Latinos: it is much more likely that the king’s name was derived from that of the nation. Cf. note on Lavinium, page 4, line 17.

3. deinde: from that time on. Toulon: dative. studio ac fide: cf. page 2, line 21, and note on inceptu.

4. in dies: day by day; denotes a process. ‘Every day’ = cotidie.

10. inde proelium: the battle which ensued.

11. Situs est: a usual inscription on a tomb was H.S.E, hic situs est. quemcumque sum dici fasque est: whatever by human and divine law it is right that he be called, i.e. whether man, god, or hero. The author scruples to speak more definitely: in being buried, Aeneas appears a mortal; as Jupiter Indiges, he appears a god.

12. super Numicum: on the banks of the Numicus (or Numicius), a small stream flowing into the sea a few miles south of the Tiber.

13. indigetem (indu, gigno): the Indigetes, “native” gods, were deities exercising protection over certain localities. This Jupiter or Pater Indiges was probably the river-god Numicus, thought of as an ancient king of that valley (cf. Tiberinus and the Tiber River, page 6, lines 12, 13), worshipped as a hero after his death in this locality, and later identified with Aeneas. The inscription on the so-called herōm of Aeneas, according to Dionysius, was Πατρός Θεός Χεθονοῦ ὑπὸ Πολαμοῦ Νομικαῦ Ρέιαμα διάκει; i.e. Divi Patris Indigetis, qui Numici amnis undas temperat. See Pfeffer, Römische Mythologie, 80 sqq.; Wis- sowa, Religion und Kultur der Römer, 183, 184, foot-note 4.

Chapter III. 14. imperio: B. 192, 2; A. 384; H. 434, 2; G. 359. The dative with maturus is rather poetic and post-classical.

17. res = res publica.

19. adfirmet: dubitative subjunctive. B. 162, 3; 277, a; A. 444; H. 557, 559, 5, n.; G. 466.

21. quem Iulium eundem: whom, as he also was named Iulus, etc.

24. multitudine: population.

26. sub Albano monte: at the foot of the Alban mountain, now Monte Cavo (3147 feet high), eighteen miles from Rome and plainly visible thence. No traces of the city remain. There are many opinions as to its site, but they are mere conjectures.
27. *porrectae*: generally applied to horizontal extension, as here.
28. *Longa Alba*: *Longa* is emphasized by being placed first, reversing the usual order. The length of the city is here the point of special attention. The name is usually understood as the Long White Town, but some prefer to derive Alba from *Valb* (cf. *Alpes*) = *Veb*, i.e. a height, a mountain, Sabine or Oscan *teba* (cf. *Tibur, Tiberis*).
30. *triginta . . . anni*: cf. the prediction of the Tiber god to Aeneas. *Aeneid*, viii. 43 sqq.:—

A sow beneath an oak shall lie along,
All white herself, and white her thirty young.
When thirty rolling years have run their race,
Thy son Ascanius, on this empty space,
Shall build a royal town of lasting fame,
Which from this omen shall receive the name.

—*Dryden’s Translation.*

But it is more natural to interpret this as representing Alba and the thirty Latin cities, than a period of thirty years. *ferme*: about, not ‘almost.’ *tamen*: notwithstanding the short interval.

4. *ausi sint*: in clauses of result the *perfect subjunctive* is regularly used as a historical tense; B. 268, 6; A. 485, c; H. 550; G. 513.
5. *Albula*: the "whitish" river (unless we follow a similar etymology to that suggested for *Alba*), owing to the character of the soil through which it flows. Cf. Horace’s *flavus Tiberis*, ‘the yellow Tiber.’ The other etymology would give the same meaning for both *Albula* and *Tiberis*, ‘mountain stream.’ See Ampère, *L’Histoire Romaine à Rome*, Vol. I. chap. ii.
7. *in silvis natus*: the derivation of *Silvius* from *Silva* is a fair specimen of the etymological myth, so dear to the Romans, of which innumerable examples occur in Livy’s earlier books.
9. *Prisci Latini*: i.e. the people of the ancient Latin towns, some of them older than Rome, as distinguished from the later "Latin colonies" all over Italy. Livy evidently takes the thirty Latin towns for colonies of Alba; cf. page 63, lines 13, 14.
10. *cognomen*: strictly speaking, it has the form of a *nomen* (gentile). This altogether imaginary list of kings was needed to fill the interval between the fall of Troy and the founding of Rome.
which Vergil (Aeneid, i. 265 sqq.) makes three hundred and thirty-three years: i.e. three for the reign of Aeneas, thirty for Ascanius, and three hundred for the Alban dynasty before Romulus. The accepted dates, 1184 and 753 B.C., would make the interval a century longer. But it is interesting to note that Ennius thought of Rome as seven hundred years old in his time, putting the founding one hundred to one hundred and twenty years earlier than the commonly accepted date.

13. ad posteros: construe with celebre; jussi with dedit; ad here = apud.

15. Aventino: dative.

16. per manus tradidit: handed down.

17. Romanae . . . urbis: more sonorous and stately than the usual Romae.

18. Proca: the Greek form Procas is more usual.

19. stirpis: cf. page 4, line 18, and note. maximus: sc. natu, superlative here used in speaking of two.

21. aetatis: his brother’s superior age. B. 200; A. 348; H. 440, 2; G. 363, 2.

23. Reae: dative after adimit, instead of ablative of separation. B. 188, 2, d); A. 381; H. 427; G. 345, n. 1. The word is explained as rea, ‘the culprit,’ alluding to her loss of chastity, or rea voti, ‘under the obligation of a vow’; the spelling Rhea suggests the Phrygian goddess and the supposed Trojan extraction of the Silvii. Observe how the king as the high priest of the nation appoints the Vestals.

24. Vestalem: sc. virginem; the worship of Vesta was common to all the Latins. Her altar, with its ever burning fire, was the family hearth of the state, from which the household fires were kindled at certain dates. It was tended by the Vestal Virgins, who were looked upon as the cherished daughters of the nation. Upon this subject in general, consult the interesting chapter in Lanciani’s Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries, chap. vi.

Chapter IV. 27. secundum: preposition; next after.

29. seu ita rata: either because she believed the fact to be so. honestior: more creditable to herself.

30. incertae = spuriae.

31. regia = regis; cf. muliebrem, puerilis, above, lines 2, 3, and note.

Page 7. 1. Sacerdos: emphatic; she was punished because she was a priestess.

2. profluentem aquam: into the current of the stream. iubet: sc. rex.
3. **Forte quadam divinitus**: by some providential chance. See Introduction, III. 7, b. Livy frequently uses an adverb for an attributive adjective. **Tiberis**, etc.: order, *Tiberis, effusus super ripas lenibus stagnis, nec usquam adiri poterat ad cursum justi amnis et spem dabat ferentibus*, etc.; *adiri* is here used transitively.

4. **ad iusti cursum ... amnis**: i.e. *ad iustum cursum amnis*; hypallage.

5. **et: and yet.**

6. **imperio**: B. 218, 1; A. 410; H. 477, 1; G. 407.

7. **in proxima eluvie**: at the edge of the overflow. **Ruminalis**: Rumina was the goddess of suckling; *ruma = mamma*. The Ficus Ruminalis stood on the slope of the Palatine Hill, toward the Tiber, near the Lupercal cave.

8. **Romulaem**: a false notion of later times. **Vastae**: waste or wild; ‘vast’ is quite a secondary meaning; cf. *vastare*, ‘devastate.’

10. **quo**: instrumental rather than locative ablative. **tenuis**: shallow.

14. **regii = regis**: Latin often uses an adjective where English would use a genitive.

15. **Faustulo**: perhaps from *vfax (faxeo) and *vful (tuli, opituliari); perhaps merely a diminutive form of Faustus; identical with Faunus, an ancient pastoral divinity; and *Larentia* is no other than Acca Larentia, mother of the *Lares*, guardian spirits of the Roman land. **ad stabula ... datos**: brought to the sheepfolds and given to his wife to bring up.

16. **qui ... putent**: relative clause of characteristic; B. 283, 2; A. 535, a; H. 501, 1; G. 631, 2.

17. **vulgato corpore**: ablative absolute; by reason of her prostitution. This kind of rationalistic interpretation of a myth is called “Euhemeristic.” Euhemerus was a philosopher of the time of Alexander the Great.

18. **fabulae ac miraculo**: hendiadys; for the marvellous tale.

20. **nec ... segreg**: concessive. **ad pecora**: i.e. when they were at pasture. **peragrare** and the subsequent infinitives are historical; this usage is most frequent where verbs are crowded together in rapid narration.

22. **feras**: sc. *bestias*; see Introduction, III. 6, c. **subsistere**: transitive: they lay in wait for.

24. **seria**: such encounters as are mentioned above; *locos*, sports, such as are mentioned in the next chapter.

25. **celebrare**: they engaged continually or habitually in.
Chapter V. 26. Lupercal hoc: the present, now existing Lupercal. Lupercus (‘wolf’), according to Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, 172, was the name of the priest of Faunus, originally a god of shepherds, in the pastoral age of civilization. Lupercal generally means the cave of Lycaeaean Pan, on the Palatine near the Ficus Numinalis; here it means the annual festival held in his honor on February 15.

28. Palatium: perhaps from the same root as pasco, Pales; ‘pasture’; the etymology in the text is quite fanciful.

29. genere: i.e. gente, the Arcadian tribe living about Pallanteum.

tempestatibus: poetic for temporibus; B. 223; A. 414; H. 479, 1; G. 403, 4 (a).

30. sollemne: substantive; custom; see Introduction, III. 6, c. ut... current: substantive clause, appositive to sollemne. B. 294, 297; A. 567, 570; H. 571, 4; G. 507, 1, II. 2; 553, 4.

31. Lycaeum Pana: Pan was worshipped by shepherds on Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia. Pan and Inuus (in, eo, god of copulation of cattle) seem to be only different names for Faunus, who corresponds substantially with the Greek Pan. As to the festival of the Lupercalia, see Fowler, Roman Festivals, 310–321.

Page 8. 2. deditis: dative; sc. iis or pastoribus, from the last sentence of chapter iv.

3. insidiatos: agrees with latrones, subject of cepisse.

5. ultras: ‘beyond,’ then beyond what is naturally expected or decent, outrageously, impudently. Crimini: a so-called dative of service. B. 191; A. 382; H. 433, 3; G. 356.

6. iis: Romulus and Remus.

7. hostilem in modum = hostiliter. praedas agere: the Latin equivalent of ‘cattle-lifting’; the cattle are driven, not carried; cf. ἄνευ καὶ φέρειν, applied to animate and inanimate plunder.

9. Iam inde ab: cf. page 4, line 28, and note. regiam: this is the emphatic word, specifying the nature of Faustulus’s hope.

11. et tempus, quo... congruer: and that the time when he himself had rescued them, exactly corresponded with that time. Congruere is usually followed by the dative.

15. Numitori: dative of reference qualifying the whole statement in a more remote and general way, instead of a possessive genitive modifying animum.

16. geminos: predicate; standing first because emphatic.

18. eodem pervenit: had arrived at the same conclusion (as Faustulus).
19. esse: impersonal; its subject is the clause quin ... agnosce-ret. B. 294; A. 558; H. 595, 1; G. 556, last example.  
21. globo: a poetic word, used eleven times by Livy; cf. page 13, line 19; page 17, line 2; page 147, line 6; Vergil, Aeneid, x. 373, glo-bus ille virum densissimus; ix. 515, globus imminet ingens. par-ad: strong enough for.  
22. aliis allo itinere: some by one way, some by another. certo: appointed.  
23. ad regem: in regem would be more natural.  
Chapter VI. 26. Numitor ... ostendit: a perfect example of the periodic sentence, with all modifying elements and subordinate clauses standing between the subject of the principal clause, which is the first word, and its verb, which is the last.  
27. regem: sc. domum. pubem: the young men of military age; a poetic word.  
28. in arcem ... obtenendum = in arcem, ad eam obtenendum, into the citadel, to hold it. præsidio armisque: hendiadys = præsidio armato. avocasset: had called them away from the protection of the king.  
30. se ... auctorem ... ostendit: assumed the responsibility.  
31. ut ... ut ... ut: interrogatives.
qui . . . qui: strictly uter should be used, as but two persons are in question. Qui is sometimes used for quis, especially in dependent questions.

18. tempia: not object of inaugurandum, but secondary object of capiunt. Templum, from the same root as rénicos, rénicos, is a definite space marked out by certain boundaries; here, for the purpose of taking auspices; it meant also the consecrated space where a deity was worshipped, and later the building put up in such an enclosure, a "temple."

Chapter VII. 19. Priori: emphatic by its position. Remo: dative of reference; the birds did not come to him, but appeared for him in the sky.

22. Tempore . . . praecepto: by priority of time; limited, like numero, by avium.

23. regnum trahebant: claimed the sovereignty.


26. transsiluisse muros: city walls had a peculiar sanctity among the Latins, so this action was not only a deadly insult, but a sacrilege. Murus, the general term for wall; moenia, the special word for a wall of fortification.

27. verbis quoque increpitans: upbraiding him with words also—as well as striking him. Sic deinde, etc.: sc. pereat or a similar expression. For another version of the story, see Ovid, Fasti, v. 467 sqq.; Vergil, Aeneid, i. 292.

30. conditoris nomine appellata: it is hardly necessary to say that this is an impossible derivation of Roma.

31. Palatium: Roma Quadrata, the original city of the Ramnes, nearly "square," was on the Palatine Hill, where traces of its walls still exist. munit: Madvig, Latin Grammar, 113, b.

32. Albano ritu, Graeco: sc. ritu; the Greeks sacrificed aperto capite, the Latins velato capite; the Latins burned the exta of the victims, the Greeks ate them at the sacrificial feast. Euandro: (εὖ and ἄρη, ἄρηδος) son of Hermes, perhaps the same as Faunus, appearing as an exile from Greece and under another name. Like Pan, he comes from Arcadia.

Page 10. 1. Herculem: the tenth of the twelve labors of Hercules was killing the three-headed or three-bodied monster Geryon, on the island of Erythéra, near Gades in Spain, and the capture of his cattle for Eurystheus of Argos.

2. mira specie: B. 224; A. 415; H. 473, 2; G. 400. Observe
that the ablative of quality must be limited by an adjective or equivalent genitive.

4. *traelecerat*: intransitive. *laeto*: *joy-giving*; the adjective has an active sense; cf. "Wine that *maketh glad* the heart of man."

5. *et ipsum*: *himself also*; he, as well as the cattle, was tired from the journey. *via*: construe with *fessum*.

6. *sopor*: heavy sleep; *somnus*, ordinary sleep.

7. *acoola . . . loci*: *dwelling hard by that place*. *Cacus*: not from *κάκος*, i.e. contrary of Evander, the ‘good man,’ but akin to *caucus*; a fire-breathing demon or fire-god, son of Vulcan, here appearing as a shepherd dwelling in a cave on the Aventine. The name is perpetuated in the *Scalae Caci* at the west corner of the Palatine Hill. Perhaps the staircase is the cause of the story. See *Classical Review*, xvii. (1903) 331, for a recent discovery in regard to the *Scalae Caci*. Vergil tells this story; *Aeneid*, viii. 205 sqq. It is worth while to compare his language with this. He says that Cacus took four of the cattle. *ferox viribus*: presuming on his strength. *Viribus*, causal ablative.

9. *armentum*: *ar(i)mentum* (*arare*); cattle fit to plough with.

*si . . . compulsisset . . . deductura erant*: this is not a condition contrary to fact, but a future condition from a past standpoint.

10. *eo*: in this and other adverbs of its class, the ablative case notion has been lost.

11. *aversos*: backward. *Bos* appears in this chapter as both masculine and feminine, probably owing to the blunder of some copyist.


14. *numero*: possessive dative, with *abesse* in the sense of ‘be lacking.’ A. 373, b; G. 349, n. 4.

15. *si forte . . . ferrent*: (to see) whether perchance their tracks would lead thither. An indirect question, introduced by *si*. B. 300, 3; A. 576, a; H. 649, n. 3; G. 460, 1 (b).


17. *animi*: B. 204, 4; A. 358; H. 458, 1, foot-note 2; G. 374, n. 7.


19. *ut fit*: *as is natural*.

20. *ex spelunca*: construe with *reddita*.

22. *fidem*: *protection*.

24. *auctoritate*: by the influence due to high character.
26. litterarum: the knowledge of the alphabet came to the Romans through the Greeks of Cumae. *artium*: B. 204, 1; A. 340, a; H. 451, 1; G. 374.
27. Carmentae: or Casmentae (*ca*<i>s</i>nere, ‘to sing, to prophesy’); a nymph of song and prophecy, sometimes represented as the wife of Evander.
28. Sibyllae: the Cumaean Sibyl, visited by Aeneas (*Aeneid*, vi. 9 sqq.). *miratae... fuerant*: see Introduction, III. 8, c.
29. trepidantium: hastening in alarm.
30. habitum: bearing.
31. aliquantum = aliquanto.
32. humanâ: *sc. forma*.
33. Iove nate: Hercules was the son of Jupiter (Zeus) and Alcmena of Thebes.
34. interpres: one who speaks in the name of another, which is the etymological meaning of ‘prophet.’ *deum*: this and the three next following words all end with the same sound. This was not agreeable to Roman ears, but it is a fault which Livy is not very careful to avoid.
35. aram: the *Ara Maxima Herculis* stood in or near the *Forum Boarium* (cattle market) at Rome, and there Hercules was worshipped as a god of commerce. Although the worship of Hercules represents Greek influence and foreign trade, it seems to have reached Rome indirectly through other Italian nations.

Page 111.
1. olim: *hereafter*, as in *Aeneid*, i. 203.
2. Dexstra: *sc. manu*.
3. accipere: i.e. interpreted as applying to himself; the opposite of *accipere* was *improbare omen*. *fata*: (*fari*); that which has been spoken, the decrees of destiny. *ara condita*: by founding an altar.
4. sacram: substantive.
5. factum: *sc. est*.
6. ad tempus: *in good time*, at the appointed time. *extra*: the eating of the entrails of the victim (instead of burning them on the altar), after the fashion of the Homeric age, is one of the Greek features of this rite.
7. Pinarium genus... vescerentur: this explains the supposed etymology of *Pinarus* (*πεινάω*, ‘to fast, abstain’).
8. sollemnium: substantive; of the sacrifices. See note to ge 7, line 30.
12. *tradito servis publicis*: this was done in the time of Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B.C., and was regarded as an act of impiety, which called down the anger of the gods, manifested by the extinction of the whole family within one year; Livy, ix. 29. But Diodorus (contemporary with Augustus), iv. 21, says it still existed in his time. Public slaves were ordinarily attached as assistants to the service of each divinity.

14. *Haec . . . una*: these alone.

15. *peregrina*: foreign to Alba, the mother city of Rome; *peregrinus*, from *per* and *ager*, 'across country'; Italian *pellegrino*, French *pèlerin*, English *pilgrim*.

16. *fator*: notice the frequency of verbal nouns in *-tor* and *-sor*; see Introduction, III. 1, d.

Chapter VIII. 17. *perpetratis*: notice the weakening of the radical vowel when simple verbs are compounded (*per patrare*).

18. *in popul unius corpus*: into a single national body.

19. *legibus: statutes; iura: principles of right*. But no difference is meant here. We have merely a pair of synonyms, according to the familiar Latin habit. The king possesses full legislative and executive power.

20. *ita . . . si*: only thus . . . if.

23. *Alii*: some, as if another *alii* were to follow.

24. *eum secutum numerum*: that he derived this number, or that this number followed (Romulus). The first interpretation is preferable. The Romans seem to have had a duodecimal as well as a decimal system, and the former was probably of Etruscan origin.

25. *me haud paenitit*: I am inclined. Livy not infrequently uses *haud* with verbs. This is not common in good prose, except in the phrase *haud scio an.* *quibus . . . placet*: who think. *apparitores hoc genus*: attendants of this class; *hoc genus*, originally appositive; B. 185, 1; A. 397, a; H. 416, 3; G. 336, n. 2.

28. *ita habuisse*: had this arrangement.

29. *communiter creato rege*: the Etruscan league consisted of twelve cities, mutually independent, which, however, in time of war or general danger appointed a king or commander-in-chief over the whole league.

30. *dederint*: as already stated, Livy often uses, for greater liveliness, primary tenses of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses of *oratio obliqua*, where we should expect secondary tenses. But many of the perfect subjunctives are to be understood as really aorists, i.e. of the same character as the historical perfect in the indicative.

32. *adpetendo*: by annexing; the logical subject is *indehinc*. 
Page 12. 1. *ad id* . . . *hominum*: with reference to the number of people.
5. *natam* (*esse*) *e terra*: cf. the familiar story of Cadmus and the dragon’s teeth. *ementiebantur*: used to pretend.
6. *nunc saepius*, etc.: now an enclosure which you encounter as you come down between the two groves. From this obscure statement we might infer that the author is speaking of the Palatine, but the Capitoline has two peaks, each in early times covered by a grove, and the depression between them was called *Inter Duos Lucos*. Tradition pointed to this as the site of the Asylum of Romulus. *descendentibus*: dative of reference. B. 188, 2, a); A. 378, 2; H. 425, 4; G. 353.
7. *turba omnis*: a rabble of all sorts.
9. *ad coeptam magnitudinem*: in proportion to the greatness of the undertaking.
10. *Cum* . . . *paeniteret*: when he began to be contented; the personal accusative is lacking, but easily supplied from the subject of the next verb, which is evidently Romulus. *consilium*: the Senate under the monarchy was always the royal council merely, with no independent power, though it nominated a king through an interrex when the throne became vacant. But here *consilium* may be abstract, ‘guidance.’
13. *patres*: the theory was that the Senate originally consisted of the heads (*patres*) of the several gentes. The word *patres* has two meanings, according to the context: (1) senators; (2) patricians; the whole body of the original burgesses, as distinguished from the plebeians and others who did not at first possess political rights. But Livy’s idea here is that patricians were such only because the heads of their houses had been members of the Senate. *ab honore*: in consequence of their official dignity.

17. *hominis aetatem duratura*: destined to last but a generation. *quippe quibus* . . . *essent*: B. 283, 3; A. 535, e, s. 1; H. 592, 1; G. 633.
18. *quibus*: by *constructio ad sensum* refers to Romanis, to be supplied from *res Romana*. *conubia*: the *ius conubii*, existing between two states, gave the citizens of either the right of contracting legal marriages with the citizens of the other. It did not exist as a *matter of course*, but by international agreement.

Page 12.
21. urbes quoque, etc.: the infinitives depend on the verb of saying implied in the previous context. **ex infimo:** Livy makes a very extensive use of adjectives as substantives, especially in the neuter singular. See Introduction, III. 6, f.

22. invent: B. 314, 1; A. 580; H. 643; G. 650.

23. scire: sc. se.

25. ne gravarentur: B. 316; A. 588; H. 642, 4; G. 652. **homin-nes:** as men.

27. adeo: for; introducing the ground for the preceding statement. **simul . . . simul:** at once . . . and, or though . . . yet.

29. rogitantibus dimissi: sent away with the question (oft repeated).

30. id enim demum, etc.: for in that way only would they secure marriage on an equal footing.

31. pubes: cf. page 8, line 27, and note.

32. ad vim spectare res coepit: the situation began to look like proceeding to violence; as if a resort to violence were probable.

Page 13. 1. **Cui:** the antecedent is vim.

3. **Neptuno Equestri:** Neptune (Poseidon) was the creator of the horse. **Consualia:** the festival of Consus (= Condius from condere), a god of harvests. He had an altar at the end of the circus, where horse-racing took place. This may suggest how the confusion between Neptune and Consus arose. The Consualia occurred on August 21st and December 15th.

5. **concelebrant:** they prepare to solemnize.

6. **mortales:** poetic for homines, and a favorite word with historians.

7. **etiam:** also, i.e. as well as to see the games. **proximi-que:** the superlative with quisque is usually found in the singular.

8. **Caeninenses,** etc.: Caenina was probably on the Anio, some six miles east of Rome, but this is uncertain; Crustumium was near the Tiber, about fifteen miles north-northeast, and Antemnae near the confluence of the Tiber and Anio, about three miles above Rome. Livy apparently regards them all as Latin towns. **iam:** finally. **Sabinorum:** the Sabines seem in early times to have extended their power further into Latium than in the historical period, and there is little doubt that a Sabine city on the Quirinal was united to the Roman city on the Palatine on at least equal terms. The legend that here follows may be regarded as an aetiological myth, of which the main purpose was to account for the Sabine element in the community. Aetiological (aetria, λόγος) myths are stories invented to explain...
the origin of existing historical facts, customs, names, etc., after that origin has been forgotten. It is curious to notice also how the marriage customs of most primitive peoples seem to be a reminiscence of the conquest of wives by violence.

11. brevi: sc. tempore; cf. page 4, line 17.

13. eo: the adverb eo loosely represents the dative spectaculo understood, indirect object of deditae. ex compósito: according to previous arrangement.

14. iuventus Romana: a poetic phrase, used by Ennius, Annals, 538. Vergil, Aeneid, i. 467, says, Troiana iuventus.

15. Magna pars ... raptae: sc. sunt; constructio ad sensum; i.e. raptae agrees not with pars, but with virgines, for which pars stands. in quem quaeque, etc.: i.e. ab eo, in quem quaeque, etc.

17. ex plebe: equivalent to a partitive genitive or to an adjective agreeing with homines; see Introduction, III. 1, f. Ex plebe is an anachronism, for there was then no plebs, existing as an inferior order beside the full burgesses. homines: subject of deferébant.

21. Talassio: it is needless to say that this account of the wedding cry is purely fictitious, and furnishes an admirable example of the etymological myth, for which the antiquarian taste of Livy’s age had a strong inclination. The real meaning of the word in question was even then no longer understood. See Preller, Röm. Mythol. 584.

22. hanc: this present; this ... of to-day. Cf. Catullus, 61 and 62.

23. ludico: used as a substantive.


25. per fas ac fidem: against right and truth. Wsb. explains per = παρά (παρά σενοντάς) in this archaic phrase; cf. perfidus, periturum.

29. tamen: i.e. in spite of their fathers’ insolence. in matrimonio: in lawful marriage, not in concubinage, as they may have feared. in societate ... fore: and would have a share in all the rights of property, in citizenship; and, what is dearest to human nature, in their children.

33. melloribus usuras viris: they would find their husbands all the kinder.

34. suam vicem: in his own capacity. See note on hoc genus, page 11, line 26.

36. purgantium: excusing their conduct on the ground of, etc.

4. tum maxime: just at that very time. sordida veste: a sign of mourning.

7. regem Sabinorum: king of Cures, the chief Sabine town; here called king of the Sabines, as opposed to all the Latin communities next mentioned.

10. Lente: too slowly.

14. nomen: by metonymy for those who bear the name, the nation.


21. victore: an instance of our author's characteristic use of a verbal noun in -tor as an attributive adjective. See Introduction, III. 1, d.

22. ostentator: another of his favorite verbals.

23. fabricato ad id apero ferculo: on a frame properly constructed for the purpose. These are the first spolia opima in Roman history.

25. pastoribus sacram: held sacred by shepherds; pastoribus is a dative of reference. B. 188, c); A. 378, 1; H. 425, 4; G. 352. The tree was sacred to Jupiter as all oaks were; see Preller, 96. The Capitoline Hill appears as yet uninhabited. Livy does not call this a triumph (cf. page 48, line 15), but Dionysius expressly says that Romulus introduced the custom of triumphs.

27. Feretri: probably from feretrum = ferculum; some derive it from ferio. Romulus rex regia: notice the alliteration, common in formal and solemn language.

29. dedico: expressive of an intention to be subsequently fulfilled, = destino.

30. me auctorem: my example.

32. primum omnium: this very ancient shrine was restored by Augustus.

Page 15. 2. nec...laudem: nor the glory of that gift cheapened by the large number of those who should share it.

3. conpotum: sc. laudis. vulgari: infinitive. Bina: B. 81, 4, b); A. 137, b; H. 164, 3; G. 97, r. 3. inter: in the course of. The two occasions referred to are when A. Cornelius Cossus slew Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, 437 B.C., and when M. Claudius Marcellus slew Viridomarus, king of the Insubres, 222 B.C.

4. opima...spolia: when the Roman commander slew the enemy's commander in single combat and took his armor, the trophies were called spolia opima. The adjective is here emphasized by its position.
Chapter XI. 7. per occasionem ac solitudinem: taking advantage of the deserted state of the country, the people being engaged in celebrating their triumph at Rome.

8. ad hos: for in hos, like ad regem, page 8, line 23.

9. legio: the levy, army, not the later 'legion.'

11. victoria ovantem: cf. page 33, line 12; this suggests Vergil's Turnus ovat spolio (Aeneid, x. 500). Heraclia: tradition says she was the only matron among the captured Sabine women; probably a goddess of marriage, identical with Hora, wife of Quirinus, with whom Romulus was identified after his death.

12. fatigata: importuned.


16. Utroque: to both places, Antennae and Crustumierium.

17. plures: more than for the other conquered places. It is taken for granted that the conquered cities ceded a part or the whole of their territory, and that Roman colonists were sent to occupy the ceded land. The Crustumine was preferred to the other districts for the reason stated, and therefore more men gave in their names as colonists.

18. darent: characteristic subjunctive.

19. frequenter: in large numbers.

20. rapturam: one of the thirty curiae was named Rupta.

22. per aem: equivalent to a modal ablative or adverb.

24. Spurius Tarpeius: the following story accounts for the name Mons Tarpeius, by which the Capitoline Hill was often called.

25. arci: the later arx was on the northeast peak of the hill, but here the southwest peak, afterward called Capitolium, is meant.

26. aquam . . . sacris: tradition says that Tarpeia was a Vestal and fetched water from the fountain of the Camenae for the service of the goddess.

27. petitum: supine. accepti, etc.: when they had been admitted, they killed her by throwing their shields upon her.

29. ne quid usquam, etc.: that no faith should ever be kept with a traitor.

30. fabula: (fari), the story. aureas armillas: it is not likely that the poor and frugal Sabines wore golden bracelets; there is probably here a confusion with the later Gallic conquerors of Rome, who delighted in personal adornment.

32. eam: i.e. Tarpeiam, subject of pepigisse.


2. ex: in accordance with. tradendi: that they would give her.
3. *recto arma petisse*, etc.: *that she asked for their shields outright* (in order to disarm them), and *that when she appeared to be acting treacherously* (toward the Sabines) *she was slain with her own recompense.*


Chapter XII. 5. *tamen*: *at all events*, whether the one story or the other be correct.

6. *quod...campi est*: *the whole plain.*

8. *aequum*: sc. *campum.* We say, "*on a level.*"

9. *in adversum Romani subiérer*: *the Romans advanced up the hill.*

10. *Principes*: best understood as subject of *ciebant*, with *Mettius* and *Hostius* as appositives. *ab Sabinis*: *on the part of the Sabines.*

11. *Hostius Hostilius*: said in chapter xxii, to have been the grandfather of King Tullus Hostilius.


14. *inclinatur*: *gives way.* *portam Palatii*: the Porta Mugonia or Mugionis, one of the three gates of Roma Quadrata, the original Palatine city, was on the north side of the hill, near the highest point of the Sacra Via and the Arch of Titus.

15. *actus*: *carried along, swept away.*

18. *superata*: *passed over and left behind.*

20. *saltem*: (perhaps *sal(u)tim*, *at least.* *deme...siste*: the solemnity of the invocation is heightened by the chiasmus and alliteration. *Romanis*: B. 188, 2, d); A. 381; H. 427; G. 345, r. 1.

21. *Stator*: the epithet is emphasized by being placed first. *quod...sit*: B. 282, 2; A. 531, 2; H. 506; G. 630.

22. *praesenti*: note the constant use of this adjective to characterize the help of the gods. Cf. "*A very present help in trouble,*" Psalm xlvi. 1.

29. *toto quantum foro spatio est = toto spatio, quantum foro est*; a case of attraction. No preposition is needed because of *toto*; B. 228, 1, b); A. 429, 2; H. 485, 1; G. 388. The ground afterward occupied by the Forum was then a swampy valley, and so continued till the construction of the system of cloacae.

30. *hospites...hostes*: an instance of *paronomasia*, i.e. the use in juxtaposition of words of similar sound, quite frequent in Livy. See page 71, line 9, and page 97, line 6. See Introduction, III. 10, m.

31. *longe alius...alius*: *one thing...a very different thing.*

Page 17. 1. *haec gloriantem*: *thus boasting*; notice the use of the cognate accusative with this verb.
2. ferocissimorum iuvenum: of the most valiant soldiers.
3. Ex equo: cf. ἄφιε ἐπὶ τοῖς; on horseback. eo: construe with facilius.
5. Mettius in paludem, etc.: this aetiological myth explains the name of a marshy pool which existed in the Forum.
7. averterat: had diverted (from the battle). periculo: causal ablative.
9. favore: encouragement, applause; the language is borrowed from the amphitheatre or circus, where partisans of particular contestants encouraged them by gesture and voice (adnuere, vocare).
11. res Romana erat superior: the Romans were getting the upper hand.
Chapter XIII. 12. quarum: objective genitive.
13. crinibus . . . veste: ablative absolute of attendant circumstance.
15. dirimere . . . dirimere: parted the hostile armies . . . put an end to the angry contest; historical infinitives.
16. iras = iratos.
17. nefando: (ne, fari), unspeakable, abominable. parricidio: not patri-cidium, but from par and caedere, hence the murder of an equal, a fellow citizen. Cf. the quaestores parricidii of early Roman law, the 'trackers of murder.'
18. nepotum . . . progeniem: the former, their offspring consisting of grandchildren; the latter, their offspring, consisting of children; nepotum and liberum are so-called genitives of definition, used where an appositive might well stand. B. 202; A. 343, d; H. 410, 4; G. 361.
19. Si ad finitatis, etc.: note the change from oratio obliqua to oratio recta; this often serves, as here, for heightened effect. It is unusual in Cicero.
21. Meius peribimus: it would be better for us to perish.
22. alteris: the one or the other (class) of you; the word being used of two categories of men, not of two individuals; it would be natural to repeat sine alteris in place of aut. orbae: fatherless.
23. Silentium . . . quies: the former is cessation of speech; the latter, of action.
28. Quirites: this etymology is uncertain; the word perhaps comes from quiris, 'a lance,' and means the 'spacemen,' the soldiers of the state; or from the same root as curia, and means 'the members of the curiae.' Curibus: about twenty-five miles northeast of Rome, now the village of Correze. appellati: its subject is to
be supplied from *geminata urbe*, i.e. all the citizens of the enlarged community. **Monumentum**: as a memorial.

30. *vado*: (vadere), where one can walk, on solid ground. **Curtium lacum**: this was a bog at the foot of the Palatine Hill, subsequently drained and filled up. Livy, Book vii., chapter vi., relates another story to account for its name, — the legend of M. Curtius, who leaped, full armed and on horseback, into a chasm which opened in the Forum and could be closed only by the sacrifice of “the most valuable thing in Rome,” understanding thereby its military prowess.** appellare**: the direct object is the understood antecedent of *ubi*; they called the place where, etc.

31. **Ex**: immediately after. **repente**: has the force of an adjective; the sudden coming of joyous peace.

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Page 18. 2. **curias**: the *curia* was a civil organization, under a *curio*, consisting of several *gentes*, having a common worship, real or fictitious kinship, etc.

3. **nomina earum**: some of the *curiae* had Sabine gentile names, others had local names.

4. **hoc**: i.e. than thirty.

5. **aetate an ... virorumve**: -ve is used to express an alternative within an alternative; cf. page 37, line 5, -ve ... *aut*; page 108, line 23, *aut ... aut ... -ve*.

7. **centuriae**; (centum), bodies of (theoretically) one hundred men, i.e. one from each *gens*, ten from each *curia*. **Ramnenses** ... **Titienses**: sc. *equites*; the derivation is not as here stated; adjectives in *-ensis* are not formed from personal names.

8. **Lucerum**: if the Luceres were the conquered Albans, it would

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1 As this book is going through the press, the following paragraph appears in the daily papers:—

**Rome**, April 1904.—Signor Giacomo Boni, the famous archaeologist, who is directing the excavations of the Roman Forum, made to-day what is considered the greatest discovery of many years. He came upon the place where there was an altar dedicated to Marcus Curtius, a patriotic Roman youth, who, in 362 B.C., to placate the gods, jumped, completely armed and on horseback, into a chasm which had opened in the Forum, and which the soothsayers declared could not be filled except by the sacrifice of the chief wealth or strength of the Roman people. After Curtius’s sacrifice, tradition says, the chasm immediately closed up.

The orifice of the chasm found by Signor Boni is formed by twelve large stones roughly sculptured. The archaeologist also found a hole which contained the remains of sacrifices made in later years to young Curtius on the altar.
be proper to speak of only twenty *curiae* in Romulus's time. But the existence of three tribes in the Roman *populus* is one of the "ultimate facts" of history, and, upon such points as the origin of the Luceres, Livy, with characteristic conservatism, refuses to commit himself. Perhaps in antiquity the most general belief was that the Luceres were of Etruscan origin, and their name derived from *lucum*, 'a lord.' We are not much more certain even with regard to the Ramnes and Tities.

Chapter XIV. 13. *Laurentium*: living around Laviniunm, about eighteen miles south of Rome; cf. note on *Lavinium*, page 4, line 17; at that time it was a considerable seaport. *pulsant*: maltreated. *iure gentium agerent*: made complaint according to international law; they had a right to demand the surrender of the offenders for punishment.

14. *plus poterant*: had more influence (than the claims of justice had).

16. *solumne*: see note on this word, page 7, line 30.

18. *erat*: indicative in a subordinate clause of indirect discourse; B. 314, 3; A. 588; H. 643, 3; G. 628, r. *ob infidem societatem regni*: on account of the mistrust caused by a divided (shared) sovereignty.

19. *haud*: construe with *iniuria*.

20. *quidem*: emphasizes *bello*; *he abstained from war, to be sure* (but, etc.).

22. *renovatum est*: this was done yearly after the Latin festival. (Book viii., chapter ii.) Here the religious act of renewing the treaty expiates the guilt of both parties.

23. *quidem*: emphasizes *his*; *with these, to be sure*.

25. *nium vicinas prope se*: pleonasm.

26. *priusquam . . . esset, quantum . . . apparebat*: *before there should be as much strength in the new state as it was evident there would (ere long) be.* B. 292; A. 551, b; H. 605, i., ii.; G. 577.

27. *occupant . . . facere*: like *φθάνω* with a participle; they anticipated (the Romans) by beginning war; cf. page 38, line 28, and page 112, line 29. Cicero and Caesar do not use this construction.

28. *inter urbem ac Fidenas*: Fidenae, the *tête de pont* of the Etruscans for many years on the Latin side of the Tiber, was only five miles above Rome.


Page 19. 1. *a Fidenas*: Livy regularly uses the preposition with names of towns "from which." See Introduction, III. 5, b. *mille passuum*: *mille* in the singular is usually an adjective; here it is a noun.
3. *omnibus copulis*: an instance of the ablative of accompaniment without a preposition, so frequent in Livy; thus used, it shades off into the modal ablative. See Introduction, III. 5, a. *locis . . . obscuris*: a hopelessly corrupted passage in the Mss.; *in dark (shady) places round about* (i.e. amongst) *the thick underbrush.*

5. *id quod quaerebat*: refers to *hostem excivit.*

9. *velut . . . trepidante equitatu*: while the cavalry were apparently wavering. *Velut trepidante = velut si trepidaret.* See Introduction, III. 9, f.


11. *plenis . . . portis effusi*: like Vergil's *plenis Agmina se fundunt portis* (*Aeneid,* xii. 121, 122).

13. *Inde*: i.e. *ex eo loco.* *transversam*: *in flank.*

14. *mota . . . signa*: the advancing of the standards; *signa* is subject of *addunt.*

17. *circumagerent*: before they could wheel about; see note to page 18, line 26.

18. *effusus*: *in wilder haste.* *quippe vera fuga*: ablative of manner, or else nominative; *sc. erat*; for *this was genuine flight.*


20. *haerens in tergo*: pressing close upon their rear.

21. *obicerentur*: see note to page 18, line 26.

Chapter XV. 23. *Fidenatis*: adjective agreeing with *belli.* *contagione*: infection, as of a disease. *Veientium*: Veii was situated in a high, steep, rocky position, twelve miles northwest of Rome, on the Cremera River; for a long time it was Rome's chief antagonist.

25. *si Romana . . . essent*: (because such nearness was unsafe) *if the Roman arms were dangerous to all the neighbors*; subjunctive expressing the thought in the minds of the Velintines.

27. *populabundis*: we often have to notice the author’s fondness for adjectives in *-bundus.* See Introduction, III. 6, a. *iusti . . . bellis*: regular warfare, opposed to *tumultuarium.*


31. *dimicationi ultimae*: *a decisive conflict*; the dative is, strictly, governed by *intentus* only. *Intentus* is also used with *ad* or *in* and the accusative.

Page 20. 2. *egressi*: sc. *sunt.* *de*: not *from,* but *for,* in *defence of.*

3. *viribus . . . adiutis*: not helping his power by any artifice.
4. **tantum ... robore**: by the sheer strength; *tantum* means 'only.' **veterani**: in using this word of the militia of early Rome, the author unconsciously introduces an idea belonging to a much later time.

5. **ad moenia**: construe with *persecutus*. *Murus* is the general word for 'wall'; *moenia* means the fortifications of a city. Livy uses the two words in this sentence for variety, not with a difference of meaning.

9. **oratores**: envoys; literally, 'pleaders.' **Agri parte**: cf. page 43, lines 11, 12, where substantially the same statement is repeated. B. 208, 2, b; A. 353, 1; H. 450, 3; G. 378, r. 3. **mul-tatis**: dative, agreeing with the indirect object of *datae* (*sunt*).

10. **indutiae**: (*indutus = inseritus*; hence a period of interruption in the course of a war), *a truce*; in dealing with the Etruscans the Romans always concluded a truce for a fixed number of years (of ten months each), not a definitive peace.

11. **ferme**: essentially, in a general way.

12. **fidel**: dative with *absonum*, which is also used with *ab* and the ablative. B. 192, 1; A. 383; H. 434; G. 350, n. 2.

13. **non ... non ... non**: for the more usual *neque ... neque ... neque*.

15. **Ab illo**: agent with *datis*. **viribus**: cause or means, with *valuit*.

16. **valuit**: sc. *urbs*. **quadranginta ... annos**: i.e. Numas's reign. **deinde**: with adjective force, the next. See Introduction, III. 7, b.

18. **longe ante alios acceptissimus**: pleonasm, a doubly strengthened superlative. See Introduction, III. 10, n.

19. **Celeres**. (*celer, -cello*), probably an old name for the *equites*, mentioned in chapter xiii., though the author regards them as a separate body, but does not state whether they were cavalry or footmen. The statement seems like an implication that Romulus grew despotic in his last years, and reminds us of the Greek tyrants. The whole story is perhaps due to confusion about the meaning of *Celeres*.

19. **Chapter XVI.** 22. **immortalibus**: worthy of immortality, famous.

23. **contio*em**: (*con*(ven)tio), assembly. **ad Caprae palu-de**: the 'Goat's Marsh' was in the locality afterward occupied by the Circus Flaminius in the Campus Martius.


26. **contio**: B. 188, 2, d); A. 381; H. 427; G. 345, r. 1. **ab-stulerit**: cf. page 6, line 4, and note. **in terris**: on earth.
27. Romana pubes . . . obtinuit: a good example of the periodic sentence. Pubes, like invenes in other places, is equivalent to milites; the military age was from seventeen to forty-six.

28. ex: after, as at page 17, line 31. die: weather.

30. patribus: notice that the person believed is in the dative; the thing believed, in the accusative, is here represented by the clause sublimem raptum esse. sublimem: on high.

Page 21. 3. salvere . . . inuent: they all cried, Hail Romulus, son of a god! etc. pacem: protection, favor; we say, the "peace of God." pacem precibus expossunt: this is very like Vergil, Aeneid, iii. 261, votis precibusque inuent exposcere pacem; and vii. 155, pacemque expossere Tueris.

4. volens (et) propitius: asynedeton. sospitet: an archaic word.

5. tum quoque: even at that time.

7. manavit: gradually spread.

8. alteram: sc. famam. nobilitavit: gave currency to.

9. addita: sc. esse.

10. Proculus: this praenomen occurs only in early times. According to some authorities, the gens Iulia was brought to Rome from Alba in the reign of Tullus Hostilius; cf. page 38, line 3, where our author seems to contradict himself.

11. gravis: construe with auctor; a weighty authority for any statement, however extraordinary. quanvis: limits maguæ.

13. prima hodierna luce: at early dawn to-day.

15. perfusus: notice the frequent metaphorical use in Latin of words of flowing. venerabundus: another of Livy's favorite adjectives in -bundus.

16. contra intueri: to look into his face; because it was not permitted men to behold the gods, except as a special mark of favor. Abi, nuntia: asynedeton, especially common with two imperatives.

17. ita velle, ut . . . : without ita, velle would have been followed, as usual, by the subjunctive without ut, or by an infinitive clause.

20. sublimis: predicate; to heaven; cf. Vergil, Aeneid, i. 415, ipsa (Venus) Paphum sublimis abiit; cf. also page 44, line 18.


Chapter XVII. 24. Patrum: here not 'patricians,' but senators, who at this time were all patricians, as it was not till the time of Tarquinius Priscus that representatives of the most important plebeian families were introduced into the Senate as conscripti.

25. versabat: was occupying, exciting.
26. pervenerat: sc. certamen ac cupidō.
27. ordines: the two tribes, Rannes and Titries. Oriundi: a poetic word.
28. ab sua parte: on their side. non erat regnum: there had been no king. in societate aequa: concessive; though the partnership was on equal terms.
30. Romani vetere: the Rannes, the Romans of the Palatine. peregrinum: see note on this word, page 11, line 15.

Page 22. 1. aspernabantur: objected to. regnari: being intransitive, is impersonal in the passive, hence 'they wished that there might be a monarchy,' not 'they wished to be ruled by a king.'
2. libertatis dulcedine: the author’s republican sympathies are well known.
4. circa: adverb as adjective.
5. Et . . . et: though . . . yet.
6. nemo . . . inducebat: no one could make up his mind to give place to another; the direct object of inducebat is alteri concedere.
7. Ita: under these circumstances. rem: the government. centum: this was the original number of the senators; Livy seems to have forgotten the doubling of the Senate, which is at least implied in chapter xiii., geminata urbe, etc. decem decurlis factis: various explanations of this arrangement have been suggested, but its precise nature cannot be understood; the only point that is clear is that each senator had his turn in ruling for five days.
12. in orbem: in rotation. annuumque: inexact in speaking of five hundred days.
13. ab re: from its real nature, i.e. an interval between two reges. quod . . . nomen: a name which. nunc: an interim was appointed for the last time in 52 B.C. tenet: is current, obtains. tenet nomen: suggests Vergil's nunc magnum tenet Ardea nomen (Aeneid, vii. 412).
16. et ab ipsis creatum: and that, one of their own choosing. passuri: sc. esse.
17. ea moveri: that this intention was on foot. offerendum: sc. esse.
18. ita gratiam ineunt: adopted a popular course, but in such a way that, etc.
20. populus: strictly speaking, this consisted at the time of the patricians only, but Livy, with some historical inaccuracy, already confuses populus and plebs; it was the so-called constitution of Servius Tullius that first made the whole body of plebeians citizens, i.e. mem-
bers of the populus. inusisset: should elect; iubere is the proper word to denote a decree of the comitia centuriata, i.e. the populus, as constituted by Servius Tullius, voting by centuries.

21. si patres auctores fierent: if the senators should confirm (their choice); the senators had reserved the power of confirming the king's election, and thus retained as much power as they granted the people. Historically, patres auctores flunt means that the Senate authorized the newly elected king to appear before the comitia curiata (assembly of patricians by curiae) to ask for the lex curiata de imperio, by which sovereignty was formally conferred.

22. rogandis, etc.: in voting for laws and magistrates; rogare is said of the magistrate presiding over the comitia, who asked the people whether they favored or opposed the proposed law or candidate, to which question they replied by their votes, without debate or amendment. usurpatur: (usus, rapere; 'seize to one's self by using'), is observed, practised.

23. ius: legal formality. ineat: see note to page 18, line 26. in incertum eventum: in anticipation of the uncertain (as yet unknown) result.

25. interrex: it was the interrex for the time being who nominated the king. contione: contiones were public meetings where no voting, but only speaking, took place; to be distinguished from comitia. Quod . . . sit: and may it prove, etc.; optative subjunctive; the solemn formula used at the opening of the comitia, whereby they were placed under divine protection. Cf. "God save the King!" "God save the Commonwealth!" in a modern proclamation.

28. numeretur: B. 282, 3; A. 535, f; H. 591, 7; G. 552, n. 2.

29. ne victi beneficio viderentur: not to be outdone in complaisance.

30. modo: only. sciscerent: this is the verb technically used for enactments of the plebs. This whole story cannot be regarded as an historically correct account of the election of a king at Rome, for in fact the senators chose an interrex, he nominated the king, and the citizens in comitia curiata could simply accept or reject the nominee proposed. ut . . . decerneret: this ut clause follows sciscerent, rather than iuberen, which would require an infinitive clause.

Chapter XVIII. 32. Numæae: (akin to numerus, rémos), the law-giver or arranger of the commonwealth; the name and character are entirely mythical, and the account of this reign is simply a list of institutions, chiefly religious, attributed to a king of this name; there may have been a king named Pompilius, though even that name is sometimes derived from pompa, 'a (religious) procession.' Pompilius
may be the Sabine form of the Latin Quinctilius. It is well known that the earliest Roman legal system had a religious basis.

3. Pythagoram: Pythagoras of Samos settled at Croton, and founded there a school of philosophy; he was a contemporary of Tarquinius Superbus, rather than of Servius Tullius. Numa resembled him in his application of philosophy to practical and political affairs. Pythagoras exercised a strong influence in forming the aristocratic governments of the Dorian cities of Magna Graecia. His system of doctrine was characterized by asceticism and by a mystic treatment of mathematics.  
4. amplius . . . annos: B. 217, 3; A. 407, c; H. 471, 4; G. 296, r. 4.  
5. circa: in and about. Metapontum Heraclea quem et Crotona: cities of Magna Graecia, the two former on the Gulf of Tarentum, the third at the southeast extremity of Lucania.  
7. coetus: associations.  
8. fuisset: past condition contrary to fact. in Sabinos: sc. adlata esset. quo linguae commercio: by what common language.  
11. ingenio: causal ablative.  
14. tetraca ac tristi: harsh and stern. Sabinorum: the Sabines were for ages proverbial for their virtue and simplicity.  
16. patres Romani: here there is confusion between the whole Senate and the Roman members of it.  
20. ad unum omnes: all to a man. deferendum: sc. esse.  
21. augurato: Livy frequently uses the perfect participle alone as an ablative absolute. See Introduction, III. 9, a. urbe condenda: by founding the city.  
23. augure: augurs appear to have existed before this time, but not as public officers, nor in an organized collegium; cf. page 9, line 18. deinde: thereafter. ergo: archaic; = causâ, the adverb here appearing as preposition with the genitive; cf. τεκα and other adverbs similarly used in Greek. B. 198, 1; A. 359, b; H. 446, 5; G. 373, r. 1.  
24. sacerdotium: a religious office, not properly a priesthood. deductus: escorted, conducted, not 'led down.' in arcem: on
the northeast summit of the Capitoline Hill was the *auguraculum*,
the station for taking the auspices, a space cut off by certain limits
(*templum*); see figure. The line N S is the "cardo," E W is the
"decumanus"; the observer stood at the centre, facing E or S. The
augur, after dividing the sky similarly by imaginary lines into four *regiones*, two for
favorable and two for unfavorable indications, interpreted the signs which appeared.
Here one only of the dividing lines is mentioned.

27. *lituum*: perhaps an Etruscan word
meaning 'curved' or 'crooked'; possibly
akin to *litare*.

30. *meridiem*: (probably *medi*-, *diem*,
'mid-day'), the augur was facing east in this case; ordinarily augurs
faced south. *septemtrionem*: the *septem triones* were the seven
draught oxen, i.e. the seven stars of *Ursa Maior*, or the Great Dipper
in the northern sky. Or perhaps *septentrio* means 'septet.'

31. *signum contra . . . animo finivit*: he fixed in his mind a
landmark opposite him, i.e. on the horizon, as the end of the *decumanus*;
the same was done to the westward.

34. *pater*: this word is already included in *Iuppiter* (*Diuupiter,
*Diespiter*).

36. *uti*: archaic for *utinam*. *signa*: the flight or cries of birds,
or thunder or lightning. *adclarassis = adclaraveris*; A. 183, 5;
H. 244, 4; G. 131, 4 (b), 2; cf. *ausim*, page 1, line 3.


2. *declaratus*: i.e. by the god who sent the omens. *de templo*:
from the *auguraculum*. Dr. Moritz Müller points out that the
taking of auspices, as above described, really preceded the announce-
ment of the nomination of the king by the *interrex*.

Chapter XIX. 4. *regno . . . potitus*: the *lex curiata de imperio*
is not mentioned, though Cicero (*De Republica*, ii. 13) assigns its
origin to Numa.

5. *vi et armis*: hendidays. *eam*: i.e. *urbem*, the object being
thus repeated in order to sharpen the contrast between *de integro con-
dere* and *conditam*.

6. *adsuascere*: governs the accusative alone or with a preposition,
the dative, the ablative, or even the genitive; see *Classical Review*,
xxvii. (1908), 43; its subject here is general, 'men,' or *ferocem popu-
lum* to be supplied from line 8.
8. Ianum: the gate of Janus Bifrons stood at 'the lowest part of the Argiletum,' in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal, and thus between the Roman city of the Palatine and the Sabine city of the Quirinal; through this gate the united armies went out to war.

9. infimum: the lowest part, next to the Forum. B. 241, 1; A. 293; H. 497, 4; G. 291, n. 2.

12. clausus fuit: has been closed, not 'was closed'; it is the occurrence, not the resulting state, that is thus expressed; the latter would properly be clausus est. T. Manlio consule: 235 B.C.

14. post bellum Actiacum: the battle of Actium, in which Octavianus (Augustus) defeated Antony and Cleopatra, was fought 31 B.C., and the gate of Janus closed 29 B.C. It was closed again by Augustus 25 B.C.; this book was therefore apparently written between 29 and 25 B.C. The title of Augustus was conferred on Octavianus, January 16, 27 B.C.

15. imperatore: emperor.

18. luxuriarent: run riot, fall into license and lawlessness.

19. rem: appositive to metum iniciendum, line 21.

20. illis saeculis: as they were in those times; cf. page 5, line 25; page 23, line 1.

22. descendere ad animos: sink into their hearts. commento: cf. consilio, page 21, line 9, used in a similar sense. 'The fabrication of a miracle.'

23. Egeria: one of the Camenae, nymphs of brooks and fountains, song and prophecy; the connection of these ideas appears in the word lymphaticus, 'inspired.'

25. cuique deorum: i.e. sacris cuiusque deorum. He could not precisely put a priest in charge of (praeficere) a god.

27. omnium primum: the regulation of the calendar was of the utmost importance for religious purposes, on account of the numerous festivals, etc., as well as for civil ones. ad: according to. duo-decim menses: the lunar month is twenty-nine days, twelve hours, forty-four minutes; twelve lunar months therefore were approximately three hundred and fifty-four days. The solar year is approximately three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter, so an intercalary month of alternately twenty-two or twenty-three days, called Mercedonius, was inserted after February 23 or 24, i.e. at the end of the year, March being in early times the first month. But this correction was made so irregularly that when Julius Caesar reformed the calendar, he had to insert sixty-seven days besides the intercalary month in the year 46 B.C. The Julian calendar was corrected by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, but the Gregorian calendar was not
adopted by the British government till 1752, when the necessary correction was made by omitting eleven days from September. "Old Style," still used in Russia and Greece, means the Julian calendar. The Gregorian calendar omits the 29th of February in centennial years not divisible by four hundred. The confusion of the Roman calendar was due partly to the imperfect astronomical knowledge of the pontiffs, partly to their intentional manipulation of it for political purposes.

29. desuntque . . . dies: the numeral is wanting in the Mss.
30. anno: dative. qui . . . orbe: which is marked by the solar revolution, i.e. the period from one summer solstice to the next.
31. vicesimo anno: this seems to be a confused reference to the nineteen-year "cycle of Meton" used at Athens. But Meton probably lived in the second half of the fifth century B.C., while Numa, according to the Roman chronology, reigned 716-673 B.C.
33. nefastos: dies fasti were those "per quos praetoribus licet fari"; nefasti those "per quos nefas fari praetorem"; i.e. business days and holidays, days on which court could or could not be held. The praetor was the judge when Varro wrote the above definition. Under the monarchy it was the king who exercised supreme judicial functions. Only certain ones of the dies fasti were also dies comitiales, "quibus cum populo agi licet," i.e. on which it was lawful to hold comitia.

Page 25. Chapter XX. 5. Dialem flaminem: a flamem (from flag, flagrare, flamma; or flare, 'to blow,' hence 'a kindler'; or flamen, from the fillet worn round the head) is the special priest of a particular deity; this is the chief priest of Jupiter, who with the flamines Martialis and Quirinalis constituted the flamines maiores, distinguished from the twelve minores. These three priests were in all periods patricians. In this case the usual order, flamem Dialis, is inverted.
6. Romuli: B. 204, 3; A. 385, c, 2; H. 435, 4; G. 359, r. 1.
7. ipsos: in person. regiae vicis: of the royal office; vicis in the genitive is not used by any writer earlier than Livy, and by him only once elsewhere; cf. page 51, line 31.
8. adsiduum: permanent and resident; the flamem Dialis was never permitted to be absent a single night from the city, nor to sleep three successive nights out of his own bed. These and numberless other restrictions (see Aulus Gellius, x. 15) rendered the office as much a burden as an honor, so that, according to Tacitus (Annales, iii. 58), it was vacant for seventy-five years just before the Christian era.
9. insignique . . . veste: a toga praetexta and a peaked cap, called apex, without which peculiar dress he might not appear in public. curuli (currus) . . . sella: originally a chariot seat, later an ivory chair used by the highest magistrates. We may think of the king in the earliest times as sitting in his chariot to administer justice in the city, where all others were obliged to go on foot. regia: emphasized by its abnormal position between the two parts of a compound word.

11. virginesque: they were emancipated from the potestas of their fathers, and, that they might not be subject to the manus of husbands, vowed to virginity for thirty years. There were at first four, afterward six, vestals at Rome. Vesta's temple and the house of the Vestals stood at the southeast end of the Forum, close to the base of the Palatine. Their discovery a few years since created extraordinary interest in the excavations of Rome; see Lanciani, Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries, chap. vi. Alba and Lavinium were ancient centres of the worship of Vesta, which was general among the Latins.

12. genti: Livy uses alienus with the dative. conditoris: sc. urbis.

13. stipendium: besides grants of money, the Vestal college was endowed with portions of the public land. publico: sc. aerario.

14. caerimoniis: sacred distinctions; their persons were sacred and they enjoyed great consideration, e.g. the privilege of riding in the city, and respiting criminals on the way to execution.

15. Salios: (salire), the Leapers. Gradivo: from gradior, the champion war-god, marching at the head of his people.

16. tunicae: consisting of a tunic; genitive of definition.

17. ancilia: (amb-, caedere) from a silver coin of the gens Licinia we learn that the general shape was ☼. The story is that one such shield fell from heaven, as a pledge of Rome's future dominion, and that Nuua, to prevent its being stolen, had eleven others made exactly like it.

18. ferre: this procession and festival took place in March, the month sacred to Mars. carmina: certain fragments of the Saliaric hymns form the oldest extant specimens of the Latin language. They were unintelligible to the Romans of Livy's time; see Horace, Epist. ii. 1, 86; Quintilian, i. 6, 40.

19. tripudii: explained by sollemnique saltatu, a 'three-step' war-dance.

20. Pontificem: the author probably had in mind the pontifex maximus, chief of the college of pontiffs, though no others are men-
tioned in this connection. This official, though not a priest of any particular deity, had in republican times the general supervision of the whole religious system of the state, the care of the Vestals, the regulation of the calendar, the keeping of the Annales Maximi, etc. The etymology of pontifex is not certain; Mommsen derives it from pons, facere, taking pons in the general sense of 'road.'

21. exscripta exsignataque: copied out and authenticated by seal.

22. quibus hostis: the division of functions among the gods was so minute, and the characters of some of them so diversified, that the uninitiated needed instruction as to the proper quarter in which to make their supplications. Different deities required different sacrifices, and formal correctness in the ritual was the sine qua non of Roman worship. All this necessitated a learned body to perpetuate the ritualistic lore.

25. quo = ad quem. consultum: supine, for advice.

26. peregrinos: the introduction of foreign rites without the authority of the Senate was a species of treason.

27. nec . . . modo = ac non . . . modo. caelestes: pertaining to the gods above.

28. placandosque manes: the gerundive, except with a few verbs, is not used in the accusative without a preposition; here it is allowed only in order to coordinate with funebria. A. 506; G. 430.

30. aliove quo visu: or by means of any other phenomenon. susciperentur: accepted, i.e. understood as applying to the Roman people. curarentur: attended to, by proper expiatory offerings. The usual word is procurare.


5. ius iurandum: regard for one's oath.

8. formarent: subjunctive after cum, causal as well as temporal, though with cum . . . tum we usually find the indicative in both clauses.

13. ex opaco specu: sc. profluens.

14. arbitris: (adbiter; ad, bitere, 'one who goes to see'), witnesses.

15. deae: i.e. Egeria. Camenae: (Casmenae, from casnere, canere), fountain nymphs, later identified with the Greek Muses; their grove was in a valley near the Porta Capena.

17. Fides: the personification of good faith in business relations. sollemnne: sc. sacrificium, as at page 18, line 16; the (periodic) worship, held October 1st. id: a curious use of the pronoun; here id, of course, agrees with sacrarium, but it means for this (worship),
that is, the reference of the pronoun is really to sollemne. sacra-
rrium: this shrine was near the Capitoline temple. flamines: i.e.
the three flamines maiores. bigis curr: appositives.
18. ad . . . usque: generally usque ad. involuta: i.e. with a
white bandage, emblematic of purity and inviolability.
21. sacris faciendis: B. 339, 7; A. 505, b; H. 627, 2; G. 429, 1.
Argeos: there were twenty-four Argean chapels, six in each region
of the city. Their precise nature and the meaning of the name are
unknown. (See Fowler, Roman Festivals, 111 sqq.) Yearly, on March
16th and 17th and on May 15th, it was customary for a religious pro-
cession to visit them all in succession; and on the last-mentioned date
twenty-four (or twenty-seven) wicker figures of men were thrown into
the Tiber, probably as an expiatory offering. These figures are some-
times understood as a relic of an earlier human sacrifice.
24. deinceps: with adjective force, successive. alius alia:
instead of alter altera, which would be more strictly correct in
speaking of but two kings. These words perhaps emphasize the
difference between the kings as distinct from their mere number.
27. temperata: regulated, organized.
Chapter XXII. 29. res: the government. Inde: in the sense
of deinde.
30. Hostili: see chap. xii. infima: at the foot of; cf. page 24,
line 9, and note.

Page 27. 1. clara: not predicative, but attributive to pugna.
issit = creavit, elected.
2. patres auctores: see note to page 22, line 21.
5. Senescre: was growing feeble.
6. materiam: occasion.
7. agrestes: country people. Albani: sc. agrestes. Though Rome
is represented as originally a colony of Alba, no special connection ap-
pears to have been preserved between them. Roma: sc. agro.
8. Imperitabet: there is no apparent reason for the use of the
intensive verb. It is not perfectly clear whether Livy considered
the rulers of Alba kings for life or yearly dictators; more probably
the latter. He calls Mettius (page 28, line 8) a dictator; it is not
likely that he meant to imply a change in the form of government.
9. legati: i.e. fetiales; cf. chap. xxxii. sub: about.
11. negaturum: sc. esse.
12. Albanum: singular for plural, as often, or else sc. regem.
pie: justly, with a good conscience, with due regard for the rights
of gods and men.
14. celebrant: attend.
16. in tricesimum diem: to begin at the expiration of thirty days.
18. omnium: B. 204, 1; A. 349, a; H. 450, 1; G. 374.
21. ni = si non.
22. Ad haec: in reply to this.
23. uter: relative; its antecedent is eum (populum). In Latin the relative clause usually stands first, and then contains the antecedent (attraction) in the case of the relative pronoun (assimilation).
25. expetant: transitive, with dīi (supplied from deos) as subject; or intransitive, with clades as subject. It seems to be a confusion of two phrases, — poenas expetere and clades vertere.

Chapter XXIII. 28. natosque: poetic for liberosque. prolem:

29. ab... stirpe regum... Romani: this is true of Romulus only, their founder.
30. orundi: see note to page 21, line 27.

Page 28.  2. in unum: as will appear in chapter xxix.
3. ingenti exercitu: see note to page 10, line 3.
5. mīlia: B. 217, 3; A. 407, c; H. 471, 4; G. 200, n. 4. fossa

Cluilia: this was probably once the boundary of Roman territory on this side. King Cluilius is a pure invention to account for this name; cluere = purgare; cf. cloaca.

7. abolevit: fell into oblivion. Notice the mood; B. 293, iii. 1;
A. 554; H. 603, ii. 1; G. 571.
9. ferox: full of confidence.
10. ab ipso capite orsum: having begun at the very head. The king, the head of the nation, had died already, and this was to be regarded as the beginning of divine judgment.

11. expetiturum: in with accusative, instead of the usual ab with ablative.
14. stativis: sc. castris. Mettium: a Hostilius and a Mettius were the opposing leaders in chapter xii. in the battle between the Romans and Sabines; evidently this is the same legend appearing in another form. In the next sentences we are struck by the resemblance to the story of Aeneas and Latinus in chapter i. Ducit: marches. See Introduction, III. 4, b.
17. satis scire: sc. se.
19. si vana adierantur: in case fruitless proposals should be made.

21. Postquam... stabant: it has been ascertained that Livy uses the imperfect with postquam nearly a hundred times. The usual
tenses are the perfect and the historical present. \textit{structi} = \textit{instructi}.

See Introduction, III. 8, b.

22. \textit{infinit}: poetic for \textit{inquit}.

23. \textit{non redditas res}: failure to make restitution.

25. \textit{audisse}: sc. \textit{dicentem}, agreeing with \textit{regem}. \textit{eadem prae te fere}: allege the same pretext. Wsb. says that Livy prefers after \textit{dubito} the infinitive to the subjunctive with \textit{quin}.

26. \textit{dictu}: B. 340, 2; A. 510; H. 635, 1, 2; G. 436.

28. \textit{recte an perperam}: a dependent question, to be completed by supplying \textit{siat}.

29. \textit{interpretor}: decide. \textit{fuerit}, etc.: \textit{let that be a matter for the decision of him}, etc. B. 275; A. 439, n. 1; H. 560; G. 263.

30. \textit{gerendo bello}: see note on \textit{sacris faciendis}, page 26, line 21.

31. \textit{Illum te . . . monitum}: monere in the active is commonly followed by a secondary object in the accusative, when this is a pronoun, instead of \textit{de} with the ablative. Such an accusative is retained with the passive.

32. \textit{circa nos}: in our vicinity. \textit{quo . . . hoc}: B. 223; A. 414, a; H. 479; G. 403.

34. \textit{iam cum}: just as soon as.

35. \textit{spectaculo}: a sight; the implication is, ‘a sight of interest.’ B. 191, 2, a); A. 382, 1, n. 1; H. 433, 3; G. 356. \textit{ut . . . adgreendantur}: a clause of purpose. The Etruscans will look on, not merely for the pleasure of the sight, but in order to make this attack.

Page 29. 2. \textit{aleam}: literally, ‘a die’; here, \textit{a contest of doubtful result}.

6. \textit{Quaerentibus}: may be considered as an ablative absolute, or a poetical dative of agent with an involved idea of interest. \textit{ratio}: plan.

7. \textit{materiam}: the means.

Chapter XXIV. 8. \textit{trigemini}: tradition says that the mothers of these youths were sisters, married at the same time, and that the six children were all born on the same day.

10. \textit{ferme}: scarcely any.

11. \textit{nobilior}: better known.


13. \textit{Auctores utroque trabunt}: \textit{there are authorities in support of both views}. In Rome there was an altar of \textit{Janus Curiatus}, as well as a \textit{pila Horatia}; but the Horatii were prominent in early Roman history, and the Curiatii were rarely heard of. \textit{plures}: the histo-
rian decides the question, as in many other instances, by the majority of voices,—a rather uncritical method.

15. quisque: in apposition with the subject of dimicent (i.e. trigemini).

16. ibi = penes eos; on their side. unde = a quibus. Ab frequently means 'on the side of.' Cf. ab Sabinis, page 16, line 10.

17. Nihil: adverbal; = non with added emphasis. convenit: are agreed upon.

18. dimicarent: when does the subjunctive follow priusquam? B. 292, 1, 2; A. 551, b; H. 605, ii.; G. 577, n. 3. foedus: a compact.

19. his legibus: upon these terms, conditions. cuius: for utrius.

20. cum bona pace: peaceably and honestly. imperitaret: notice the intensive form.

21. ceterum: but. eodem modo omnia: the formality is in all cases the same, while the conditions vary in the different instances.

22. vetustior foederis memoria: hypallage for vetustioris foederis memoria.

23. Fettialis: strictly an adjective in agreement with sacerdos or legatus understood. Fettiales were not peculiar to Rome, but found among other Italian nations. The Roman college of Fettiales had twenty members. They were the consecrated agents of international intercourse, and attended to the solemnizing of treaties, declaration of war, exchange of prisoners, etc.

24. patre patrato: the chief or spokesman (pater) appointed (patratus) for the time being. Varro says that four fettials were usually sent at once. It is said that the chief fettial was called pater because he was given patria potestas in cases where he had to deliver up citizens to the enemy, as sometimes happened.

25. Sagmina (vsac, sacer): the 'sacred tufts' of grass brought from the Capitoline, the centre of the city. They were pulled up by the roots, with earth adhering to them, and were symbols of the home soil. The fettial who carried the tufts was called verbenarius; cf. verbenae, line 32.

26. posco: usually takes two accusatives in Livy. Puram: i.e. herbam. ex arce: from the Capitoline Hill.

29. vasa: implements.

30. quod . . . fiat: so far as it may be done. quod = quantum. B. 283, 5; A. 535, d; H. 501, 3; G. 627, n. 1. sine fraude: without prejudice. mea: has the sense of an objective genitive, coordinate with populi Romani.
32. *verbena*: generally used in the plural; tender branches or twigs of laurel, olive, myrtle, cypress, or other tree. Derivation uncertain.

Page 30. 2. *sanctendum*: making the treaty binding by the sanction of religion,—with an oath. *fit*: the position of this word is curious; translate, `the pater patratus is appointed.'


6. *illa*: refers somewhat loosely to *legibus*, line 4. *prima postrema*: from beginning to end. *tabulis cerave*: (stone) tables or (wooden tablets covered with) *uax*. Some editors make of this, by hendia dys, 'waxen tablets.'

7. *dolomalo*: evil intent. *utique* = *etuti*.

8. *legibus*: we ordinarily find the preposition *ab* after *defeceris*.


11. *porcum*: a hog was the regular sacrifice upon the conclusion of a treaty.

13. *saxo*: genus; *silice*: species; a flint was the symbol of Jupiter or of his thunderbolt, by which he punished perjury. The solemnity of this imprecation is heightened by the threefold alliteration, *hic hodie, potes polles, saxo silice*.

Chapter XXV. 16. *sicconvenerat*: as had been agreed.

17. *sui*: substantive; *their countrymen*.

19. *intueri*: infinitive after the notion of saying implied in *adhortarentur*, line 17.

20. *suopte*: emphatic form of *suo*. *pleni adhortantium vocibus*: inspired (filled with ardor) by the encouraging shouts of their friends.

21. *Consederant*: had sat down, were sitting.


23. *praesentis*: immediate. *quippe* = *nam*.


25. *Itaque ergo*: pleonasm. *minime*: a very strong negative. *spectaculum*: generally an exhibition whose object was to please or amuse, e.g. the games of the circus; this exhibition is 'anything but pleasing.'

28. *periculum... imperium*: the chiastic order makes *sed* unnecessary.
30. ea . . . quam: such as.

31. fecissent: represents the future perfect indicative or perfect subjunctive, obversatur being in the historical present (secondary tense). This is an expression of the feelings of the champions in informal oratio obliqua. B. 314, 323; A. 561, 2; 592; H. 642; G. 663. statim: they proceed at once to business, without preliminary by-play. concrepuerunt: first the javelins rattled on the shields, then the swords flashed. The hand to hand encounter begins at Consertis . . . manibus, page 31, line 2.

Page 31. 1. perstringit: thrills. neutro = in neutram partem.
Analogous to eo, 'thither'; quo, 'whither.'

3. ancesps: indecisive.

5. super alium alius: we should rather expect super alterum alter. Cf. alius alia, page 26, line 24.

8. examines: breathless with anxiety.


10. ut . . . sic: while . . . yet.

11. ferox: confident of success. capessit: intensive or meditative of capere. A. 263, 2, b; H. 364, 2; G. 191, 5.

12. securus: sc. esse.

14. magnis intervallis: ablative of manner or attendant circumstance.

19. qualis (clamor) . . . solit (esse). ex insperata faventium: of those who applauded an unexpected success. Ex with the ablative neuter of an adjective or participle is a favorite form of adverbial phrase with our author. See Introduction, III. 7, d.

20. militem: champion.


25. dabat: rendered.

26. trahebat corpus: we say, "dragging himself along." Vergil has aegra trahebant Corpora (Aeneid, iii. 140, 141).

27. ante se: i.e. ante suam stragam; temporal. strage: rather a poetic word as here used. obicitur: has the reflexive sense of the Greek middle voice. illud, etc.: what followed was not a battle.

28. fratrum Manibus: to the shades of my brothers. It was necessary to appease the shades of the slain.

30. Male: scarcely, with difficulty. arma: his shield.

31. superne: over the top of his shield. fugulo: sc. in. Livy goes far toward the style of poetry in his suppression of prepositions. See Introduction, III. 5, a.
32. *eo:* seems to be both ablative of cause and of degree of difference; the construction called *drô koivô.*

35. *dicieris alienae:* *subject to foreign dominion;* opposed to *suî iurîs.* This is one of our author's favorite predicative genitives of possession. See Introduction, III. 2, a.

36. *extant:* *are still to be seen;* the mounds so called existed in Livy's time in the *campus sacer Horatiorum,* on the *Via Latina,* five miles from Rome.

Page 32. 2. *ut et:* *exactly as.*

Chapter XXVI. 3. *digredereantur:* see note on *dimicarent,* page 29, line 18.

4. *imperaret, imperat:* the juxtaposition emphasizes the fact of Tullus's new authority.

8. *Principe:* *at the head of the returning army.* B. 239; A. 290; H. 497, 3; G. 325, r. 6.

9. *dispensa:* this implies the existence of the *conubium* between Rome and Alba.

10. *fuerat:* the use of *fui* and *fueram* for *sum* and *eram,* in the compound tenses of the passive, is characteristic of Livy. *portam Capenam:* this gate, through which passed the *Via Latina,* was one of those in the wall of Servius Tullius, and so did not exist at that time; but the name indicates the locality of the occurrence.

11. *paludamento:* here *military cloak;* generally it means the purple or scarlet cloak of the commanding general, assumed on going out to war.

12. *solvit crines:* a sign of mourning.

13. *animum:* *wrath.*

14. *in:* *in the midst of* (at the time of).


16. *inmaturum:* untimely, inappropriate to the occasion.

19. *patribus:* here means patricians, constituting with the *plebs* the whole community.

20. *facto obstabat:* *was a set-off against, palliated, extenuated, his deed.* *ad regem:* the king was the supreme judge of the community, but he could delegate his judicial power.

22. *secundum:* *preposition; in accordance with.*

23. *Duumviro:* probably an extraordinary commission for the case in hand, though they are often identified with the permanent *quaestores parricidii.* Their function seems to have been merely to
establish in a final manner that the crime had been committed. The defence, if any, had to be made on the appeal. *perduellionem*: *high treason*; he had usurped the sovereign power in presuming to punish his sister, and so had committed an act of hostility to the state. The crime, aside from this aspect, was murder, *parricidium*. *Perduellio*, from *duellis*, ‘a public enemy’; cf. *duellum* = *bellum*, just as *dusis* = *bis*, *duonus* = *bonus*, etc.; the earlier *du* is in many words replaced by a later *b*.

**24. secundum legem**: it seems better to regard this phrase as limiting *facto*, than as limiting *judicent*; the former implies that this appointment was made under a general law governing such cases. *horrendi carminis*: the law was contained in a (metrical) formula horrible in its provisions. B. 203; A. 345; II. 440, 3; G. 365.

**26. provocarit**: sc. *reus*; the accused. *provocatione certato*: let him prosecute his case by appeal (to the people). Under the monarchy the king seems to have had the option of allowing or refusing the privilege of appeal; it became a constitutional right in capital cases, by the Valerian laws passed in the first year of the republic.

**27. obnubito . . . suspendito, vererato**: the subject of these imperatives is the *lactor*, who carried out the sentence of the magistrate. See page 33, line 1. Such easily supplied words are usually omitted in the concise phraseology of statutes. By the veiling of his head, the criminal is marked out as devoted to the infernal gods, to whom also barren trees (as well as barren animals) were sacred. The ‘barren tree’ became in time a gibbet. The culprit was hung up by the arms and scourged to death. *arbori*: an old locative form like *humi, domi*, etc., or else an ablative of place with the preposition omitted.

**28. intra . . . vel extra**: generally executions were outside the walls. *pomerium*: (*post, murus, moeris*), see note to page 54, line 25.

**29. qui se absolvere non rebantur . . . posse**: the law said *judicent*, ‘condemn,’ and their judgment would but bring the case before the people on appeal.

Page 33. 1. *Accessarat . . . iniciebatque*: notice the tenses; *he had come near and was proceeding to throw*, etc., when something else happened.

2. *auctore Tullo*: *by permission of Tullus*; the king’s consent, necessary for the appeal, is given.

4. *ad = apud*. 
5. Publio ... proclamante: by the declaration of Publius, etc.
6. patro iure: the patria potestas, the power of the pater familias over all members of his family, was unlimited, extending in early times even to life and death. In a case involving capital punishment, however, it was usually exercised with the advice of a family council.
7. animadversurum fuisse: represents animadvertissem of oratio recta. B. 321, s, 2, a); A. 589, 2, b, 2; H. 647; G. 597, n. 4; 659, 2.
9. senex juvenem: notice the juxtaposition of the contrasted words.
10. Pila: may be understood as neuter plural, weapons, i.e. 'trophy,' or feminine singular, pillar.
13. furca: a fork-shaped frame, laid upon the shoulders of the criminal, whose arms were stretched out and tied upon its limbs, preparatory to the scourging.
14. quod ... possent: result clause; a sight so hideous that even the eyes of the Albans, etc.
19. modo: provided (you do it), etc.
22. non ... nec ... nec: notice the double negatives.
23. ipsius: of the culprit himself.
25. ut ... iuveretur: while the legend of the Horatii and Curiatii cannot be entirely accounted for, some of the features of the story are manifestly aetiological. There was at Rome an altar to Iuno Sororia, where certain sacrifices were offered by the gens Horatia, though at public expense. In the same street, which led from the Carinae along the western slope of the Esquiline to the Vicus Cyprius, and just where one approached this altar, was a beam fixed in the opposite walls, called sororium tigillum, apparently from the neighboring altar; and under this beam the Horatii, when sacrificing, passed, it seems, with head veiled, as was usual in the Roman ritual, when sacrificing. This suggested the idea of passing under the yoke (a sign of humiliation) in expiation of a crime committed by a Horatius against his sister. In the vicinity was an altar to Ianus Curiatius, which suggested that this was the same Horatius who fought against the Curiatii, in the combat commemorated by the Pila Horatia in the Forum. Such is, in substance, the explanation of Schömann, quoted more fully by Professor Seeley (Livy, i. Introduction).
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29. sub fugum: a conquered army was sent under the yoke as a sign that it received life and freedom by the mercy of the victor.
33. saxo quadrato: of heavn stone. A. 403, 2; H. 470, 1; G. 396, n. 3.
3. vanum: unstable, vacillating. recta . . . pravis: i.e. from
the Roman standpoint.
4. pravis: sc. consiliis.
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for his own countrymen.
10. colonia: abstract, in apposition to the concrete Fidenates.
For the conquest of Fidenae by the Romans, see chapter xiv.
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of the Rhine and Moselle.
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21. Inde = deinde. satis subisse: that he had approached
near enough (to the mountains).
22. erigit: halts, or else draws up in array.
23. ordines explicat: deploys his ranks.
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that side to which fortune should give the victory. Miraculo: predi-
cative dative, a variety of the so-called dative of service. See note to
page 28, line 35.
26. latera: the right flank only, but the plural perhaps indicates
that several divisions had their flank exposed on that side.
28. in re trepida: in this dangerous crisis. Salios: the Salii
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or Palatini were said in chapter xx. to have been established by Numa.
Pallor ac Pavori: the gods who inspire fear and panic in the enemy;
by some authorities identified with Picus and Faunus, the Lares Hosti-
tilii, to whom was ascribed the protection of the city against enemies.

Page 35. 2. id (esse) . . . rati: believing it was as they had
heard, etc.
3. eo: cf. page 31, line 32, and note.
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33. saxo quadrato: of hewn stone. A. 403, 2; H. 470, 1; G. 306, n. 3.
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13. Ab Alba: Livy generally uses ab with the name of a town from which motion starts. See Introduction, III. 5, b. Dicit: as often, without an object; marches.

14. Confluentis: accusative plural, agreeing with Tiberim et Anienem. Some regard it as a proper name, like the German Coblenz (a modernized form of Confluentes), at the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle.

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21. Inde = deinde. Satis subisse: that he had approached near enough (to the mountains).

22. Erit: halts, or else draws up in array.

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Page 35. 2. Id (esse)...rati: believing it was as they had heard, etc.
5. Colonii: the former inhabitants, Etruscans, may have been
allowed to remain at Fidenae with the new settlers from Rome. The latter must have been driven out at the beginning of this revolt.

6. intersiderentur: the battle must have been south of the city.
8. alieno pavor: the panic of the others (the Fidenates).
9. ab tergo: in the rear; they must have changed front, for at the beginning of the battle the river was on their flank, unless here the Anio is meant, and not the Tiber. The historian seems to lose sight of the conquered enemy in the deeper interest of what now befell the Albans. Quo: i.e. toward the river.

10. oppress: sc. sunt.

Chapter XXVIII. 16. deductus: sc. est. devictos hostes: upon the defeat of the enemy.

18. Quod bene vertat: a stereotyped formula, with the tense of the verb unchanged even in dependence on a secondary tense, iubet being historical present; cf. page 22, line 25, and note.

19. sacrificium iustale: this was usually performed before battle. Lustralis is one of several adjectives in -alis first brought into prose by Livy. in diem posterum: to take place the next day.

20. ab extremo orsi: beginning at the furthest part of the camp.

21. etiam: also; introducing a second reason why they stood nearest, the first being that they were first summoned.

24. legio: see note to page 15, line 9.

27. Romani: a vocative standing first is unusual and emphatic.

28. quod . . . ageretis: any reason why you should return thanks.

29. hesterno . . . proelium: we should have expected hesterno in proelio, to correspond with in bello, and may translate accordingly.

30. non magis: we should say, not so much.

32. ne . . . teneat: parenthetical clause of purpose; that you may not be under a false impression (I tell you). B. 282, 4; A. 532; H. 508, 4; G. 545, n. 3.

Page 36. 1. illud: subject; meum imperium is the predicate.

2. consilium: artifice.

3. ignorantibus: i.e. in order that you — not allowed to know that you were being deserted — might not have your attention diverted, and give up the fight in discouragement. The participle agreeing with vobis expresses the means whereby this purpose was to be attained. So also ratus, line 4.
7. *inde*: i.e. from the field of battle.

8. *ductor* . . . *machinator* . . . *ruptor*: notice the climax, the second and third of these words having each a more emphatic position than its predecessor.

12. *Quod* . . . *sae*: *may this prove*, etc. See note to page 22, line 25.

15. *civitatem*: *citizenship*. *plebi* . . . *patres*: the historian takes for granted distinctions of *status* in Alba corresponding to those at Rome; but it should be remembered that the *plebs* was not yet part of the *populus* at Rome.

18. *Ad haec*: *sc. verba*; *at these words*.

19. *in variis* . . . *cogente*: i.e. while some desired to do one thing and some another, yet all being under the pressure of a common fear, etc.


29. *in diversum iter*: *in opposite directions*.


32. *ab* . . . *spectaculi* = *ab tam foedo spectaculo*.

33. *supplicium* . . . *exempli*: *hypallage*; translate *supplicii exemplum*.

34. *legum humanarum*: *the dictates of humanity*. *In allis*: *sc. supplicis*; *otherwise*.

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**Page 37. Chapter XXIX. 2. multitudinem**: *population*.  
**Legiones**: the infantry, as distinguished from *equites*.

3. *ductae*: *sc. sunt*.

6. *clamor* . . . *cursus = clamantes hostes et currentes per urbem armati*; *metonymy*.


8. *silentium* . . . *maestitia*: a very artificial arrangement of two phrases of the same meaning, with interchange of noun and adjective, and in chiasitic order. *defixit*: *stupefied*.

9. *prae metu*: *for very fear*; *causal, to be connected with defici-ente consilio*. *quid relinquarent*: *what to leave*.

11. *errabundi*: another verbal adjective in *-bundus*.

12. *ultimum illud*: *then for the last time*.  
B. 185; A. 397, a;  
H. 416, 2; G. 334, k. 1.
13. instabat: began to press. fragor: (frangere), crash.
16. quibus... elatis: i.e. is, quae quisque efferre poterat, elatis; attraction of the relative, with omission of the antecedent.
17. larem: the lar familiaris, the spirit of the ancestor of the family, the guardian genius of the house.
18. continens agmen: an unbroken procession.
20. vocesque... miserabiles: sorrowful cries.
22. velut captos: prisoners, as it were, in the hands of the enemy.
25. quibus: during which. The accusative would be more natural.
26. excidio... dedit: suggests Vergil's minatur Dejecturum arces Italum excidioque daturum (Aen. xii. 654, 655). templis: dative; the temples were spared. B. 187, n. a, b; A. 367, 372; H. 426, 2, 3; G. 346, n. 1, 2. Temperare is also followed by the ablative with ab; it is used here probably because no perfect passive of parere is in use. The worship of the distinctively Alban gods remained in its old seat, and in their case the sacra were not transferred to Rome.

The foregoing chapter has always been regarded as one of the finest descriptive passages in Latin literature.

Chapter XXX. 29. ruinis: ablative of means.
30. civium: Livy includes the plebeians among the citizens, having no idea of the distinction, still existing at that time, between the patricians, who were citizens, and the plebeians, who were only residents.
quo: B. 282, 1, a; A. 531, 2, a; H. 568, 7; G. 545, 2.

Page 38. 1. eam: assimilated in gender to the predicative accusative, sedem.
2. deinde: from that time on. habitavit: intransitive. in patre: i.e. he gave the heads of the principal houses seats in the senate.
3. Iulios: from page 21, line 10, it appears that there were already Iulii at Rome in the reign of Romulus. We are not to suppose that these six gentes were the only ones thus treated; but these, at least, were in after times regarded as of Alban origin.
4. templumque: a meeting place formally marked out and consecrated by the augurs. The word is almost equivalent to an adjective, 'consecrated,' qualifying curiam. The Senate often met also in the temples of particular gods. Cf. Aulus Gellius, xiv. 7: (Varro) docuit, nisti in loco per augurem constituio, quod templum appellaretur, senatusconsultum factum esset, tustum id non fuisse.
5. Hostilia: it was customary at Rome to name public works after the magistrate under whose charge they were constructed; e.g. the Via Appia and the Circus Flaminius were named respectively after the censors under whom they were built. The Curia Hostilia stood on the northeast side of the Comitium, facing nearly south. It was burned at the funeral of Clodius, 52 B.C. For the history of the building, see Middleton, Ancient Rome, I. 237 sqq.; Platner, Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome, 222.

7. omnium ordinum: the three orders of senators, knights, and people.

8. decem turmas: ten troops, of thirty men each, added to the previously existing three centuries.

9. eodem supplemento: with a reinforcement from the same source.

11. Hac fiducia virium = harum fiducia virium; causal ablative.

12. secundum: next after.

14. Feroniae: an Italian goddess, worshipped in common by several nations, at whose temple, near Mount Soracte in the ager Capenas, annual fairs were held. At her altars, especially at Terracina, it was customary to emancipate slaves. See Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, 231; Fowler, Roman Festivals, 252 sqq. mercatu frequenti: ablative of time and circumstance.

16. suos: probably refers to criminals and runaway slaves, who would have taken refuge in the asylum at Rome; so that retentos does not mean ‘detained against their will,’ but not delivered back to the Sabines. prius: probably a reference to the asylum of Romulus; see page 12, lines 2-10.

17. ferebantur: were alleged. haud parum: litotes, i.e. the affirmation of something by denying its contrary; this is stronger than an ordinary affirmation.

19. adiectione: this word, used only twice by Livy, does not appear in any earlier writer. — Wsb.

20. circumspicere: historical infinitive.

22. residuas bellorum iras: the lingering resentment caused by former wars. defectionem: does not here mean a revolt, — in which sense it could apply to subjects only, — but a breach of treaty obligation. Veii had not yet been subdued by Rome.

23. vagos: vagabonds.

25. nam de ceteris minus mirum est: in the case of the rest (of the Etruscans) there was less matter for surprise; i.e. the Velintines had been engaged in war with the Romans, while the other Etruscans had not, and therefore the latter had no special motive for attacking
17. *inlatam*: *occasioned*. *saluti*: see note on *fraudi*, page 58, line 17. *Ab Turno*: construe with *parari*; the infinitive clause is the subject of *dici*: *Dici necem... ab Turno parari.*

19. *ut... teneat*: notice in the subordinate clauses all through this speech the use of present and perfect subjunctives (except *peteret*, line 21), where we should expect to find secondary tenses. *Adgressurum fuisse*: the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact in *oratio obliqua*; cf. page 57, lines 7 and 10.

21. *auctor*: *summoner*. *peteret*: this is perhaps one of those cases where the ingenuity of scholars has been taxed to find a reason for what was only an unnoticed inconsistency of the author; it seems hard to say, without becoming altogether fanciful, why this single imperfect should occur among the primary tenses. We can scarcely think that Livy meant to imply all that Wsb. understands from this tense.


28. *Suspectam fact rem*: *confirmed the suspicion*.

32. *nisi gladiis deprehensis*: translate as a conditional clause with finite verb; the use of *nisi* with an ablative absolute is not uncommon in Livy.

Page 63. 3. *Ex omnibus locis*: *from every nook and corner*.

7. *indicta causa*: *without a trial*, which did not seem necessary under the circumstances.

8. *novo genere leti*: i.e. unusual in historical times; Tacitus (*Germania*, xii.) shows that it was in use among the Germans; cf. also Plautus, *Poenus*, v. 2, 65 (1025). *ad caput*: *at the source, fountain*; the *aqua Ferentina*, starting in the *lucus Ferentinae*, empties into the Tiber some six miles below Rome.

Chapter LII. 11. *novantem res*: *attempting a revolution*.


13. *omnes Latini*: cf. chaps. iii., xxxii., xxxiii., xxxviii.; it is not clearly stated before this that all the Latin towns were colonies of Alba.

15. *ab Tullo*: *from the time of Tullus*. In the treaty made by Tullus (chap. xxiv.) there is no mention of colonies of Alba.

16. *utilitatis*: with *causa*.


23. *superior... erat*: *the supremacy of Rome was acknowledged*. *Ceterum*: *besides*. *capita*: *the chief men*.

25. *documentum*: *warning*.

26. *junioribus*: *men of military age*; cf. the centuries of *iuniores* in the constitution of Servius (chap. xliii.).
27. ex: in accordance with; the same idea is expressed by quo, line 15, without a preposition.

30. secretum: separate.

31. manipulos: maniples, or double centuries, were in later times the smallest tactical unit of the legion; we suppose that at this early time the Romans fought in a phalanx, for the manipular organization was introduced, as Livy himself says (Book viii., chap. viii.), at the time of the great Latin war, 340 B.C. ex binis singulos, etc.: one new maniple was formed of one half of two old ones, and the two halves of each old one now formed parts of two new ones. Each new maniple thus consisted half of Latins and half of Romans.

Page 64. Chapter LIII. 1. ut...ita: though...yet.
2. pravus: unskillful. quin: nay even; the construction is independent.

3. degeneratum in aliis: his degeneracy in other respects; this use of a neuter participle for an abstract verbal noun is so common in Livy as to form a distinctive feature of his style; see Introduction, III. 9, b.

4. Volscis: a nation of the Umbro-Sabellian stock, which had advanced from the mountains into the southern plain of Latium and occupied it as far as the sea. in ducentos...annos: that was to last (including its intervals of peace) more than two hundred years. ducentos amplius: cf. page 22, line 4, and note.

5. Suessamque Pometiam: the chief town of the Volscians; see note to page 52, line 3. ex his: out of their midst or from their territory.

6. quadraginta talenta: following Fabius Pictor, who wrote in Greek, Livy uses the Greek term 'talent'; the only money in use in Latium at that time was copper; the sum here intended to be expressed was 1,000,000 asses graves = about $50,000.

7. refercisset: had realized. concepit animo, etc.: formed a plan for so magnificent a temple of Jupiter as, etc., i.e. the Capitoline temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

10. Captivam: this word is used several times by our author, referring to things without life, = captam; cf. page 107, line 17.

12. Except...eum: claimed his attention. lentius spe: which dragged on longer than he had expected; this is an instance of the so-called comparatio compendiaria. A. 406, a; H. 471, 8; G. 398, n. 1. Gabios: a Latin city about seven miles east of Rome.

14. pulso: sc. Tarquinio. B. 188, 2, d); A. 381; H. 427; G. 345, r. 1.
15. minime . . . Romana: a patriotic remark that the historian feels called upon to make more than once in the course of his work.

18. minimus: sc. natu.

19. transfugit: this is evidently a borrowed legend, not an historical fact; cf. the story of Zopyrus at Babylon (Herodotus, iii. 154).

21. frequentiae: the large number; see note to page 61, line 19.

22. ut . . . ne, etc.: these purpose clauses are subordinate to vertisse, rather than to taedere.

24. inter: from the midst of.

26. ne errarent: elliptical; (he informed them) that they might not be mistaken, etc. B. 282, 4; A. 532; G. 545, r. 3.

28. Quod si: but if.

30. Aequos et Hernicos: Umbro-Sabellian nations, in the northeast and east of Latium, respectively.

Page 65. 3. si nihil morarentur: colloquial; if they did not care for him; the phrase is like the formula, te nihil moror, used in dismissing an accused person when the charge was not sustained; cf. Livy, iv. 42, 8, and viii. 35, 8; for the case of nihil, see B. 176, 2; A. 390, s. 2; H. 416, 2; G. 334.


8. futurum: sc. esse. credere: sc. se.

9. brevi: cf. page 4, line 17, and note.

11. consilia: deliberations.

12. adsentire: this verb is usually deponent.

13. auctor esse: advised.

16. regiam = regis; cf. page 7, line 14, and note.

17. rebellandum: not 'rebel,' but renew the war.

20. vana . . . fides: mistaken trust.

21. ad ultimum: at last. belli: construe with dux.

24. certatim . . . credere: all eagerly agreed in believing.

26. obeundo: Tücker observes that we should expect rather subeundo or adeundo.

27. pariter: in like manner with the soldiers. largiendo: plunder was often sold for the benefit of the state, and was then of no advantage to the individual soldier.

30. videbat: imperfect after postquam; cf. page 28, line 21, and note.

32. omnia unus: antithesis, heightened by reversal of the natural order of the words. omnia . . . posset: the use of the neuter adjective is to express the extent of the action of the verb. See note to line 3.
Page 66. 2. deliberabundus: another example of this class of verbals so much affected by our author. The following story looks like an imitation of that of Thrasybulus and Periander (Herodotus, v. 92).

6. ut re imperfecta: as if he had not accomplished his errand.
10. ambagibus: riddle.
11. sua . . . opportunos: made easy victims by their own unpopularity.

14. volentibus: if they chose it; A. 378, 2, n.; H. 430, 2; G. 353, n. 2. The construction is a Grecism (βουλουένω, μοι ἐστιν); cf. page 125, lines 10, 11. fuga: voluntary exile.

15. iuxta atque = pariter ac or aeque ac; atque, ‘as’; Livy often uses iuxta in this sense. Largitiones: i.e. distribution of confiscated property among the partisans of Sextus.

17. consilio auxilloque: paronomasia; both words end in -silio.

19. in manum traditur: the treaty with Gabii is said to have been extant in Livy’s time in the temple of Seino Sancus (Dius Fidius), on the Quirinal hill.


21. foedus: agreements with the Etruscans were always truces for a fixed term of years (induitiae); cf. page 20, line 10, and note.

23. monte Tarpeio: the Capitoline hill, especially the southern part of it.

24. Tarquinios, etc.: this clause is epexegetical to monumentum; the idea is ‘posterity should say that the two Tarquins, etc.

25. a ceteris religionibus: from consecration to other deities.

26. esset tota: tota is predicative, might belong wholly.

27. inaedificaretur: subjunctive by attraction to the mood of esset, on which it depends. exaugurare: the limits previously consecrated by the taking of auspices were now, by a similar ceremony, deconsecrated, that they might be free for a new purpose.

Quae aliquot: several of which.

29. pugnae: cf. chap. xii.

31. movisse numen: exerted their power; numen from nuer, ‘to nod’; a nod is a sign of will.

33. Termi: Jupiter Terminus, god of boundaries, was worshipped in the form of a boundary stone, in the middle cella of the Capitoline temple. There was a hole in the roof above it, so that it stood under the open sky. In Book v., chapter 54, we find an allusion to the rest of this legend, concerning Invictas, who also refused to move.
Page 67. 1. non motam ... non evocatum: the fact that, etc.
3. finibus: elsewhere in Livy evocare takes ex with the ablative.
4. secutum: connect with est.
5. caput humanum: it was further related that this was the head of a certain king Olus (caput, Oli, -um), and the name of the hill was explained by this ludicrously naive story, which is an extreme example of the etymological myth.
6. aperientibus fundamenta: as they opened the ground to lay the foundations.
7. per ambages: for the meaning of this word, cf. page 66, line 10; page 68, line 26.
8. caput rerum: the capital of the world.
10. ex Etruria: these must have been haruspices. Augebatur ... animus: his ambition was stirred to incur greater expenses.
11. ad inpesas: sc. pecunias ... faciendas. Pompinae = Pometinae: of Suessa Pometia. Cf. page 52, line 3, and note; also page 64, line 5.
12. manubiae, in a strict sense, were the general's share of the spoils. perducendo ... operi: cf. sacris faciendis, page 26, line 21, and note.
14. praeterquum quod: besides the fact that; cf. page 47, line 12. crediderim: subjunctive of modest statement; cf. page 56, line 24, and note.
15. sola: like an adverb; only. Pisoni: see Introduction, page x. quadranginta milia pondo: reckoning one hundred pounds of silver to the talent, this would make four hundred talents instead of forty. It was usual to reckon only eighty pounds to the talent (Livy, xxxviii. 38, 13).
16. quippe summam: for (that would be) an amount.
18. et nullorum ... exsuperaturam: and would more than suffice for the foundations of any of the splendid buildings even of these times. This was written in the days of the emperor who "found Rome of brick and left it of marble."

Chapter LVI. 20. ex Etruria: the architecture of this period was mainly derived from Etruria, and this temple was in the Etruscan style, which was an ungraceful imitation of Doric forms.
21. pecunia ... publica: vectigalia, tithes for the use of the ager publicus, etc.; the king appears absolute in the disposal of the public funds and of the labor of the plebeians.
22. operis: workmen; B. 61; A. 107; H. 140; G. 69, c.
25. ut specie minora, etc.: less showy in outward appearance,
indeed, yet involving considerably more labor; the second phrase shows a curious change of construction.

26. foros . . . faciendos, Cloacamque . . . agendam: these gerundive phrases are in apposition with opera.

27. Cloacamque Maximam: so called to distinguish it from other sewers, e.g. those mentioned in chapter xxxviii.; this magnificent drain, or its successor, built of hewn tufa blocks and about twelve feet in diameter, runs for more than two hundred yards under the Velabrum, and carries the water from the low ground of the Forum and vicinity into the Tiber. Its mouth is partly visible, at the ordinary level of the river, in the stone embankment which lines the shore. It is the main artery of a system of drainage that must have occupied many years in building.

29. quicquam: adverbial accusative.

31. ubi usus non esset: when there was no employment for them.

Page 68. 1. Signiam: on the north side of the Volscian mountains in the valley of the Trerus (terra, line 2). Circceios: on the promontory of Circce, the southern frontier town of Latium on the coast (mari, line 2).

3. visum: sc. est. anguis: a symbol of the genius of the house.

6. anxlia . . . curis: anxiety for the future.

8. domestico: affecting his own household. Delphos: consultation of the Delphic oracle was very unusual; this is the first instance in Roman history.

9. responsa sortium: here in a general sense, answers of the oracle; sortes were wooden tablets inscribed with certain signs, and used in “casting lots” in order to interrogate the minds of the gods; this is a peculiarly Italian method of divination.

14. longe alius . . . induerat: literally, “a young man far other in character than the (young man) the imitation (pretence) of whom he had assumed.” Or perhaps = longe alius ingenio quam id ingenium erat cuius simulationem induerat.

15. in quibus: and among them.

19. ubi: has almost causal force.

20. factus ad imitationem: accustoming himself to feign.

21. Bruti: the Dullard; for the meaning of brutus, see Lexicon. This whole story seems simply an attempt to account for his name.

22. liberator . . . animus: liberator is an attributive adjective in this instance; the spirit which was to set free, etc. See Introduction, III. 1, d.

25. inclusum . . . baculo: Livy is the first author to omit the
preposition with includere. The gift was a very valuable one for a man in Brutus's circumstances to offer. ad id: for that purpose; cf. page 14, line 23.

26. per ambages, etc.: by way of symbolic representation of his own character.

29. ad quem: for ad utrum; they intend only themselves; but the oracle's answer, ‘qui primus,’ not ‘prior,’ applies to a third person. This, however, is perhaps accidental.

33. fuerat: for erat; see note to page 4, line 21.

36. alio ... spectare: had a different significance; cf. neutro, page 31, line 1. Pythicam: the priestess of Delphi was called Pythia.


5. Ardeam: an important town about twenty miles south of Rome. ut in ea regione: considering it was in that district; cf. page 5, line 25; page 107, line 22; page 146, line 23. The country around was swampy and unhealthful, but Ardea had a port on the coast and a considerable commerce.

9. popularium: adjective used substantively.

10. regno: not merely regt.

12. si: B. 300, 3; A. 576, a; H. 649, u. 3; G. 460, 1, (b).

13. parum processit: met with no success, owing to the strong situation of the city.

14. stativis: sc. castris. ut fit: as is generally the case.

15. commeatus: furloughs, leaves of absence.

17. otium . . . terebant = tempus otio terebant.

18. apud: at the quarters of ——, in the camp.


24. iuventae: this word was introduced by Livy into prose. inest: sc. nobis. praeentes: with our own eyes.

25. nostrarum: sc. uxorum. spectatissimum: the most striking, most signal proof. Seeley thinks cuique refers to the wives, and that the expression is equivalent to sit spectatissima quaeque secundum id quod, etc.

27. omnes: sc. clamant, iubent, or a like verb.

28. intendentibus tenebris: as the shades of evening were falling.

29. Collatiam: see note to page 48, line 4.

30. convivio lusuque: hendiadys.
Page 70. 2. lanae: spinning, carding, and weaving were the chief occupations of the Roman housewife; cf. the well-known inscription on the grave of a matron, “ianifica, pia, pudica”; and another, “domum servavit, lanam fecit.”

5. victor: adjective, like liberator, page 68, line 22.

Chapter LVIII. 12. ignaris: unsuspicious.

14. circa = quae circa erant. sopiti: sound asleep.

17. moriere: forms of second person passive in -re (rather than -ris) are rare in Livy.

18. pavida ex somno: awaking in affright.

20. versare . . . animum: tried in every way to work upon her feelings as a woman.

22. ad metum dedecus: fear of disgrace to fear for her life.

24. sordido: i.e. with a ‘mean’ man, a slave.

25. velut vi atrox: this is one of the least objectionable conjectures as to the reading of a very perplexing line in the Mss. Velut vi: i.e. by threats he accomplished the same result as if he had used force.

26. ferox . . . muliebri: triumphing in his conquest of her womanly honor.

29. ita facto maturatoque opus: need to do so, and that speedily.

31. Valerio: afterward called Publicola. Voleai: this prae-nomen does not occur elsewhere than in connection with this individual.

Page 71. 3. suorum: refers to the logical subject Lucretia, though the grammatical subject is lacrimae. lacrimae obortae: cf. Vergil, Aeneid, iii. 492, Hos ego digrediens lacrimis adfabar obortis; and xi. 41, lacrimis ita fatus obortis.

4. Satin salve = Satise salve agis or res se habent? Is all well?

Minime: colloquial; a strong negation, like our ‘anything but.’

7. mors testis erit? my death shall prove it.

8. haud impune . . . fore: colloquial use of adverb instead of adjective with esse.

9. hostis pro hospite: a favorite paronomasia of our author.

11. pestiferum: fatal; construe with mihi sibique.

12. animi: cf. page 10, line 17, and note. B. 204, 4; A. 358; H. 468, 1, foot-note 2; G. 374, n. 7. noxam: guilt.

15. videritis: B. 275; A. 439, n. 1; H. 559, 2; 600; G. 263.

18. eum: the pronoun recalls the attention to cultrum, after the parenthetical clause; cf. ei, page 60, line 30. prolapsa in vulnus: her head sinking on her wounded breast.

Chapter LIX. 25. sceletab: especially because of her conduct toward her father; cf. chap. xlviii.
30. in Brutii pectore: in the breast of the Dullard.
31. toti: adverbial, altogether; there is no adverb from totus.

Page 72. 3. Movet ... patris maestitia, etc.: cf. page 33, line 4.
4. tum Brutus ... auctor: as well as the surprising fact that it was Brutus who chid their useless tears and advised, etc.
6. adversus hostilia ausus = adversus eos qui hostilia ausi essent.
7. Ferociissimus quisque: all men of spirit.
10. regibus: to any of the royal family.
13. Rursus: again, on the other hand.
14. haud temere esse: that it was not without good reason.
18. magistratu: the tribunus celerum was not a magistrate in the sense in which that word was used under the republic, but an officer subordinate to the king, and not having the right, as such, to call an assembly of the people. Here he is made to act, in the king's absence, like a republican Master of Horse in the absence of the Dictator; but, as Seeley remarks, these proceedings were revolutionary, not constitutional.
19. pectoris: in the sense of 'character, disposition,' is rather poetic.
22. Tricipitini: i.e. Sp. Lucretius, the father of Lucretia.
23. Addita: sc. est.
25. demersae: absorbed; literally, 'plunged.'
26. circa: used adjectively.
28. memorata: sc. est. caedis: for this form of nominative, cf. stirpis, page 4, line 18; aedis, page 43, line 15. invecta . . . filia: his daughter's driving over; cf. patre proclamante, page 33, line 5; for the fact, see page 59, line 27.
29. ulteres parentum diti: it does not appear that any particular gods are meant.
30. praesens: existing at that time. indignitas: subjective; indignation.
31. scriptoribus: construe with facilia; the fiery indignation of the speaker could hardly be expressed by the historian. subicit: suggests (to a speaker); present tense because it is a general truth.
32. imperium . . . abrogaret: Tarquin had not been regularly elected by the people, nor had he received the auspices from a properly constituted interrex; he was therefore a usurper, and the people
had the right to take from him his *imperium*, which was *de facto* only. This would not have been true in the case of a king regularly and constitutionally appointed.

34. *nomina dabant*: enlisted, for service against Tarquin.

Page 73. 1. *praefecto urbis*: an officer left in command when the king, afterward when the consuls, left the city, "*qui ius redderet ac subitias mederetur*" (Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 11).

Chapter LX. 7. *fexit viam*: took another road.

9. *Ardeam*: the siege of Ardea and its result seem entirely forgotten in the interest of more important events.


17. *Regnatum*: sc. *est*; *the monarchy lasted*.

18. *Duo consules*: originally called praetors; these magistrates held at the beginning the same powers as the king, but there were two of them with equal authority, and their term of office was limited to a year.

19. *comitiis centuriatis*: the assembly of all the citizens, patricians and plebeians, voting by classes and centuries. *a praefecto urbis*: it seems that this ought to have been done by an *interrex*; Dionysius says that it was so done. The authority of *a praefectus urbis* ceased with the *imperium* of him who had appointed him. The sovereignty then would return to the *patres*, who would delegate it to an *interrex.* *a*: *under the presidency of.* *ex commentariis*: according to the constitution.
BOOK XXI.

Page 74. Chapter I. 1. parte: sharply contrasted with summae totius; a section of my work, the third decade, of which the second Punic war was the subject.

2. summae totius: of a whole history. Livy’s work embraces the whole history of Rome; the works of others had embraced single periods only.

3. maxime . . . memorabile, etc.: Thucydides opens his history with a similar statement about the Peloponnesian war. The second Punic war was memorable because it was a decisive conflict for supremacy between the Aryan and Semitic races, involving the whole subsequent history of European civilization.

4. umquam: he does not mean simply Roman wars, but all wars. gesta sint: this clause is put as a logical part of the statement contained in me scripturum, etc. B. 324, 2; A. 593; H. 652, 1; G. 663, 1. Hannibale: (-bāl, though the early Roman authors wrote -bāl), the name means “Grace of Baal”; Baal was the supreme god of the Phoenicians. The second Punic was very properly called the Hannibalic war; after its unsuccessful issue, the aristocratic party at Carthage tried to devolve all responsibility for it upon Hannibal, who was, at all events, not to blame for the final failure. But Livy considers it the affair of the Punic state, though in Book xxxiii., chapter 45, he says, Belli per unum illum non magis gesti quam moti.

5. gessere: B. 314, 3; A. 583; H. 643, 3; G. 629, r. (b).

6. neque validiores: the following sentence contains four reasons for calling this war maxime memorabile. opibus: all kinds of resources, sources of power.

7. his ipsis: it may be questioned whether the power of Carthage was not greater in the first war, when certainly the manifestations of it were greater. And Rome, of course, was subsequently more powerful, though perhaps never so vigorous.

8. virium . . . roboris: strength for offence and defence respectively, manifest outward power and inward vigor. beli artes: methods of warfare, tactics; yet the first war was mainly naval; the second, carried on almost entirely upon land. inter sese: seems to refer primarily to confereabant, like inter se . . . conterurunt, above; but probably in the author’s mind the phrase may have been associated also more or less distinctly with ignotas.
9. **expertas**: passive. **primo** ... **bello**: ablative of time.

10. **adeo** ... **aniceps Mars fuit**: so uncertain was Mars; the god of war, as in poetry, put for war itself (metonymy). **propius periculum**: nearer the brink of destruction, the reference being chiefly to the critical position of the Romans after the battle of Cannae; **prope** in all degrees is followed in Livy by the accusative.

11. **fuerint**: the perfect subjunctive is regular in a clause of result after a secondary tense; B. 208, 6; A. 485, c; H. 560; G. 513. **qui vicerunt** = 'the victors'; cf. **is qui iumenta agebat**, page 59, line 28; also page 74, line 5. An independent statement of fact not logically subordinate to **ut** ... **fuerint**, and so not put into the subjunctive.

13. **ultra inferrent arma**: presumed to make war. B. 286, 1; A. 592, 3; H. 588, II.; G. 541. **Poenis**: sc. indignantibus.

14. **superbe avaræque**: see note on **Sicilia**, etc., line 20. **credere** ... **litterae**: put into the subjunctive by a false analogy with **inferret**, line 13. **inperitatum**: one of the author's favorite frequentative forms.

15. **Fama est**: this is not a mere tradition, but a story attested by Polybius, Appian, Nepos, Valerius Maximus, and others. **annorum**: B. 203, 2; A. 345, b; H. 440, 3; G. 365, π. 1; a genitive of quality is not usually attached directly to a proper name.

16. **blandientem**: coaxing, wheedling, trying to induce by caresses, hence followed naturally by **ut ducetur**. **Hamilcar**: gift of Melkart; the great Hamilcar Barca, father of Hannibal and his valiant brothers, the "lion's brood."

17. **Africa bello**: the war of Carthage with her mutinous mercenaries and revolted subjects, at the close of the first war with Rome.

18. **altaribus**: generally used in plural with singular meaning. **sacris**: the victim.

19. **adactum**: sc. **esse**; the subject is **Hannibalem**, line 15. **hostem**: in deed as well as in feeling.

20. **spiritus**: genitive. **virum**: Hamilcar. **Sicilia Sardiniae amissae**: the loss of Sicily and Sardinia; Hamilcar was unsubdued in western Sicily, when his countrymen, regarding the war as settled by their naval defeat off the Aegates Islands, made peace in 241 B.C., ceding all their possessions in Sicily. Afterwards, when Carthage made preparations to subdue Sardinia, which had revolted, Rome pretended to regard this action as a menace of war against herself, and obliged Carthage to purchase peace by giving up the island and paying an indemnity of twelve hundred talents, about $1,500,000 (stipendio etiam insuper imposito). The indemnity exacted in 241 B.C. had, moreover, been increased by the Roman Senate beyond the
amount stipulated by the Roman commander in the preliminary
 treaty of peace. All this conduct explains *superbe avareque*, in
line 14.

21. *nam*, etc.: this is the reason in Hamilcar's mind, for his mor-
tification, quoted in *oratio obliqua*.

22. *inter*: *during*. *motum*: the same as *Africo bello*, line 17.

23. *stipendio*: *stip-i-pendium* (*stips, pendere*).

Page 75. Chapter II. 1. *curis*: refers to the last sentence of
chapter i.

2. *sub*: *immediately after*. *per quinque annos*: B. 181, 2;
A. 424, a; H. 417, 1; G. 336. The whole war lasted, according
to Diodorus, but four years and four months (241–237 B.C.), according
to Polybius three years and four months, and Hamilcar was not placed
in command at the beginning of it.

3. *novem annis*: B. 231, 1; A. 424, b; H. 417, 2; G. 393, r. 2.
These two phrases for duration of time show the author's fondness
for variety in syntax. Hamilcar was killed in a battle with the Vet-
tones in 228 B.C. *in Hispania*: there had been from remote an-
tiquity Phoenician colonies in Spain, but no great conquests till
Hamilcar's time; the country was valuable chiefly for its vast min-
eral wealth, and its hardy population, which made excellent soldiers.

6. *duce*: merely for variety, the form of expression is changed in
the next line to *ductu* with the genitive.

8. *pueritia*: inaccurate; he was eighteen at the death of his
father.

10. *obtinuit*: *held*. *flore ... conciliatus*: at first, as they
say, a favorite with Hamilcar because of his youthful beauty.

12. *profecto*: contrasted with *uit ferunt*; this is certain; that,
mere report. *animi*: *epexegetical to aliquam indolem*; a different
character, that is, the character of his mind.

13. *factionis Barcinai*: named after its leader, Hamilcar Barca;
this was the popular, national party, favoring war with Rome, which
gradually succeeded in driving its opponents from the management of
the government and in gaining control of the state policy. *plebem*:
using a Roman term in a general sense for the population of Carthage.

15. *principum*: the aristocracy and the rich, who desired peace
at any price. *consilio ... vi*: policy ... force of arms.


18. *nihilo ... tutor*: peace afforded no greater security to him
than war to Hamilcar.
23. praeberuit: cf. fuerint, page 74, line 11, and note.
25. renovaverat: had renewed the treaty already made in 241 B.C., but with the additional provisions here stated. This was in 225 B.C.
26. ut: providing that. finis ... imperii: the Romans had no possessions outside of Italy, except Sicily and Sardinia, and the Carthaginians had not fully conquered Further Spain.
27. mediis: Saguntum was several days' march from the Ebro, on the Punic side. This statement about the Saguntines is not confirmed by Polybius and is not absolutely reliable.

Chapter III. 29. quin: the predicate has been lost from the text; sc. eum imperatorem crearet, or some equivalent expression. Some editors regard this as a case of anacoluthon, without any lacuna in the text.
30. praerogativa: provisional or preliminary choice; in the Roman comitia the tribe or century first called on to vote was called tribus or centuria praerogativa. The adjective was then used substantively, and extended in meaning from the voting body to the vote itself. The vote of the first century was usually followed by a similar vote of the others. In regard to the case here in point, it seems to have been legally regular for the Carthaginian army to elect its general provisionally, subject to confirmation by the Senate and people at home. extemplo: ex, temp(u)lo; diminutive of tempus.
31. praetorium: the general's tent or the open space in front of it; as usual, Roman terms are applied to the affairs of a foreign people.

Page 76. 1. favor: applause.
2. viudum puberem: this is inconsistent with the rest of the story; cf. page 77, line 18; Hannibal was probably about twenty-six when chosen commander; this expression would be applicable to a boy of fourteen. We are told that he was nine years old when his father went to Spain, and that Hamilcar commanded there nine years, and Hasdrubal eight. As is often the case, the author may be following more than one account, and is sometimes betrayed into inconsistency.
3. accersierat: i.e. arcesserat (ad, cessere, causative of cedere; cf. arbiter for additer); this is in plain contradiction with chapter i., and with the words put into Hannibal's mouth in Book xxx., chapter 37, Novem ... annorum a vobis profectus post sextum et tricesimum annum reddi. senatu: the governing class at Carthage was an aristocracy of birth and wealth; there was a senate of nobles, presided over by the two Suffetes, or "kings"; but the chief power was really exercised
by the Council of one hundred and four judges.  fuérat: we have noticed the author’s frequent use of this auxiliary for erat.

6. ascum = aequum; in the Augustan age the Romans wrote cu- where afterward quiu- became usual.

7. tribuendum: sc. esse.

8. admiratones: surprise at.  ancipitis: self-contradictory.

10. fuendum: construed as if transitive; originally the verb was so.  fusto fure: the strength of the expression is increased by the pleonasm.  eum: i.e. florem.

11. repeti: the word means seeking in return, asking what one is entitled to.

12. pro... rudimento: by way of military training.

13. praetorum: in a general sense, commanders.  An... timemus: in this rhetorical question is stated a second ground for the previously expressed opinion of the speaker.

14. regni: Hamilcar and his successors in Spain were virtually independent sovereigns.  speciem: display.

16. istum iuvenem: that youth of yours; addressing the Barcine party.

18. vivere: depends on docendum.

19. quandoque: indefinite, sometime.

Chapter IV. 20. optimus: the aristocratic party always has the author’s sympathy, and, besides, this party favored peace with Rome.

21. maior pars: this implies that the nation at large supported Hannibal’s policy.

24. Hamilcarem: he was in the prime of manhood at his death.  iuvenem: predicative, as a youth.

27. brevi: sc. tempore; cf. page 4, line 17.  pater in se: his likeness to his father.


29. diversissimas: most opposite.

30. discernere: translate as if it were pluperfect.  B. 280, 3; A. 447, 2; H. 554, 3; G. 258.

32. ubi... esset: B. 287, 2, a; A. 542, 514, D, 2, b; H. 602, 3; G. 567, n.  Ubi = ‘whenever’; cf. ubi dixisset, page 42, line 8.

33. fortiter ac strenue: with gallantry and energy.

Page 77. 3. erat: sc. ei.

4. patientia: power of endurance.

7. id, quod... superesset: whatever remained after the performance of his duties; the subjunctive is of the same general character as esset, page 76, line 33.  gerendis rebus: dative.
8. ea: i.e. quies.
9. sagulo: the ordinary soldier's cloak; diminutive of sagum.
10. custodias stationesque: the former are sentries; the latter, pickets or outposts. Vestitus... arma...: antithesis emphasized by asyndeton.
12. idem... erat: he was at once.
13. Princeps... ibat: cf. page 32, line 8, and note. The imperfect tense here expresses his habit.
14. viri: vir is emphatic for is, as res is for id. Also viri alliterates with virtutes and vittia. vitia: it is always to be remembered that Hannibal's history was written by his enemies, who were inclined to exaggerate the darker features of his character, if not to invent them. But the medium through which we view him fails to obscure the grand proportions of his figure, which towers above the greatest of his contemporaries. The charges here made against him are the commonplaces of national antipathy. The Romans — generations after his death — could never think of their terrible foe without a thrill of rage and dread. In other passages Livy expresses admiration for Hannibal's great qualities. It must be admitted that Hannibal was sometimes cruel, but he was more humane than most of his countrymen: the fault was not a personal but a national characteristic; and the Romans were not tender-hearted.
15. perfidia... Punica: to those who read the history of Rome's dealings with Carthage, recorded, too, by Roman, not by Punic writers, this proverbial phrase sounds like mockery. We are not told what the Carthaginians thought of Romana fides. England has long been spoken of by the French as "perfidious Albion."
16. nihil veri: nihil and nullus are used in this passage to express negative qualities for which the Latin has no abstract substantives.
17. religio: conscience, sense of obligation to, or dependence upon, the supernatural. indole: cf. page 5, line 16.
18. meruit: served; sc. stipendia.
22. provincia: this word, used by analogy to Roman custom, means the sphere of duty specially assigned to a magistrate or general.
24. cunctantem = si cunctatus esset.
26. Quibus oppugnandis: by an attack upon these. move-bantur: indicative imperfect, rather than a periphrastic future from a past standpoint, in order to mark the inevitable certainty of the expected event; translate, would certainly be set in motion, i.e. at any time he might attack Saguntum.

28. in parte magis quam in dicione: on the Carthaginian side of the Ebro, but not yet conquered.

30. rerum serie: by the natural course of events. iungendo, without an object, is awkward; by annexion. Pliny the Younger, Ep. iii. 19, 2, uses the word in the same way: sollicitat primum ipsa pulchritudo iungendi.

31. Cartalam: a town not otherwise known, though it is possibly the modern Adêa on a tributary of the Guadiana.

33. stipendio: a war contribution.

Page 78. 1. Victor: nouns of agency are often used, and especially by Livy, as adjectives. Cf. page 68, line 22, and page 70, line 5.

2. Carthaginem Novam: this means ‘New Newtown’ (since Carthago = Newtown); now Cartagena; then the Punic capital of Spain, a large and splendid city with a fine harbor, and valuable silver mines in the vicinity.

3. stipendioque praeterito: the arrears of pay. cum fide: equivalent to an adverb, honorably.

4. animis in se: devotion to himself.

5. vere: 220 B.C. Vaccaeos: in northern Spain on the Douro (Durius). promotum: sc. est. To correspond with the rest of the sentence, should be promovit. Hermantica: possibly the modern Salamanca.

6. Arbocala: not known; perhaps the modern Albucella.

7. Ab Hermantica profugi: another instance of the use of a noun and preposition as an attribute; cf. page 61, lines 7, 8, and note. See Introduction, III. 1, f.


10. procul Tago: classical usage requires ab.

13. quies silentiumque: cf. page 17, line 23, and note. ab hostibus: on the part of the enemy.

14. traiicit: from the north to the south bank. ita: restrictive, only so far toward the river, or at a little distance sideways from the ford, or leaving an opening in the middle of the vallum.

20. invicta: this participle contains, in disguised form, the apodosis of the condition si dimicaretur. dimicaretur: impersonal passive of an intransitive verb.

21. feroces: brave.
22. id: i.e. id unum, that the fact of the river being between (them and the enemy) alone delayed their victory.

24. qua cuique proximum est: explains passim: each man taking the nearest way.

25. ex parte altera = ex altera ripa.

27. quippe ubi . . . posset, eques . . . gereret: B. 288, 3, a); A. 535, e, n. 1; H. 592, 1; G. 633.

28. temere: at random, without special aim or effort.

29. vel: even.

32. in hostis: i.e. Hannibal's men posted with the elephants on the south bank. ab elephantis: notice the use of the name of an animal in the ablative of agent. Postremi: in translating put cum, line 34, first.

33. ex varia trepidatione: after their flight in different directions.

34. priusquam . . . recipientem: B. 292; A. 551, b; H. 605; G. 577. Cf. page 18, line 26; page 32, line 3.

35. agmine quadrato: with the army marching in fighting trim; at first, doubtless, the phrase meant an army marching in the form of a square or parallelogram, so as to present a line of battle on every side; then any formation able to repel attacks from any direction.

Page 79. 2. Et iam, etc.: here, apparently, the campaign of 220 B.C. ends.

3. Carthaginensium: predicative possessive genitive.

Chapter VI. 4. ceterum: here, as so often in Livy and Sallust, = sed; see Introduction, III. 7, c.

5. certamina: controversies between Saguntum and its neighbors, in order to get a pretext for interference.

6. Turdetanis: this was the name of the chief nation of Baetica, in southwestern Spain; the neighbors of the Saguntines had the same name, and may have been a branch of the larger nation; they were enslaved by the Romans in 214 B.C. adesset: supported, backed, abetted.

7. nec certamen . . . quaer: that not a contest for justice, but a pretext for violence was being sought; this was in the winter of 220–219 B.C.

9. orantes: the present participle expressing purpose is unusual, found in poetry and later prose; A. 490, 3; cf. cohimentem, page 143, line 19. Consules: a mistake, as the author acknowledges in chapter xv.; these were the consuls of 218 B.C.; those of 219 B.C. were M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus.
11. introductis: i.e. after the ambassadors had been listened to by the Senate and had left the curia. de re publica retulissent: had laid before the Senate the question of the policy of the state; referre ad senatum de aliqua re is a stereotyped phrase for the action of the consuls, who had the right to convene, to preside over, and to consult the Senate when occasion required. It was the consuls who brought forward the original questions for discussion, but the senators were not obliged in their speeches to confine themselves to these subjects, and were able to call for the opinion of the body upon other matters. Theoretically the Senate’s resolutions were simply advice given to the magistrates, but in practice they had legal force.

13. sociorum: Livy does not tell when this relation with Saguntum was formed; Mommsen supposes it was in 226 B.C., just before the treaty made with Hasdrubal. quibus si videretur = qui, si eis videretur.

15. in Africam: we say ‘to Carthage in Africa,’ but the Latin is more precise: ‘to Carthage into Africa’; B. 182, 2, b; A. 428, j; H. 418, 1; G. 337, 6.

17. deferrent: here the sentence comes to an end without any principal verb; then a new one is begun with hac legatione. omnium spe celerius: comparatio compendiaria; sooner than any one expected. See Introduction, III. 5, c, and 10, h.


20. decernentes: proposing to assign.

22. intendebant (= intendendum censebant), etc.: were in favor of concentrating the whole war against Spain and Hannibal.

23. ex Hispania legatos: i.e. the return of the envoys about to be sent.

25. eo maturius: the sooner; eo is ablative of cause, or of degree of difference. See note to page 31, line 32.


27. si non absisteretur: the apodosis is atque inde Carthaginem, sc. irent; direct form: si non absistet . . . ite.

28. foederis rupti: for breaking the treaty.

Chapter VII. 30. Saguntum: now Murviedro (muri veteres; cf. Orvieto, urbs vetus); ruins of the ancient city are still visible.

Page 80. 1. mille: the distance is now about three miles.

2. Oriundi (from orior, like secundus from sequor): i.e. Saguntini. Zacyntho: now Zante, one of the Ionian Islands. Saguntum is merely an older transliteration of the same word into Latin; the early alphabet had no z and made no distinction between c and g, or
between \( \theta \) and \( \tau \); the Greek origin of the city is well attested historically, especially by coins.

3. **ab Ardea, etc.:** for this construction, cf. page 78, line 7; page 61, line 8, and note. This part of the story is evidently intended to explain the friendly relations with Rome. It is hardly necessary, for Rome had similar relations with the Greek cities of Massilia and Emporiae.

4. **maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus:** commerce or agriculture.

5. **disciplinae:** moral standard; the word expresses the effect of training in virtue.

6. **fidem socialis:** faithfulness to their allies; they were fighting for themselves, not for their allies, against Hannibal; but this is the Roman point of view, which makes the conduct of the Romans all the more credible. They seemed to feel it so, for in 214 B.C. the Senate ordered Saguntum to be restored to its old inhabitants; see Book xxiv. chap. xlii.

8. **Angulus:** probably a triangular bastion.

10. **circa:** quae circa erant. **vergens:** jutting out. **vinea:** mantle, heavy sheds about sixteen feet long, eight feet wide, and seven high, covered with planks, hurdles, and rawhides as a protection from missiles and fire. The besiegers rolled or carried them to the point where they were needed; see Judson, *Caesar’s Army*, 91 sqq.

11. **per quas = ut per eas.** **aries:** a long beam of wood suspended by the middle and swung endwise against a wall, or sometimes simply carried on the shoulders of the besiegers. Often it was provided with a metal head, sometimes shaped like that of a ram.

12. **procul muro:** i.e. the ground, looked at from a distance, seemed level enough; cf. page 78, line 10, and note on **procul**.

13. **haudquaquam prospere ... coepit succedebat:** impersonal, the attempt was by no means successful.

15. **ut in suspecto loco:** as the point was one where attack was expected. **ceterae ... altitudinis:** height in other places.

16. **emunitas:** built up; ex often has the force of up.

17. **timoris:** cause for alarm, reason for fear.

18. **submovere ... pati:** sc. Saguntini; historical infinitives.

19. **munitibus:** the besiegers.

20. **pro moenibus:** upon the battlements; **pro** is not merely ‘in front of,’ but ‘at the front of’; cf. *pro curia*, page 58, line 1

24. **adversum femur:** in the front of his thigh, the part turned toward the wall. B. 180; A. 397, b; H. 416; G. 338, 1.
25. tragula: a heavy barbed spear, hurled by means of a strap attached to the shaft.

26. ut non multum, etc.: so that the siege works and mantlets came near being abandoned. The quin clause is the subject of abesset. Cf. page 8, line 19, and note.


29. dum . . . curaretur: dum means ‘in order that in the meanwhile’; B. 293, iii. 2; A. 553; H. 603, ii. 2; G. 572.

30. ut . . . ita: as in lines 11, 12. operum . . . munitionum: the former are offensive, the latter defensive.

32. partibus: note the omission of the preposition with a local ablative. vix accipientibus . . . opera: some of which scarcely admitted the construction of siege-works.

33. coeptae: sc. sunt. Livy uses the active or passive of coepi indifferently with a passive infinitive.

Page 81. 2. ad: adverbial, ‘about.’ centum quinquaginta milia: he crossed the Ebro the following year with 102,000 men.

3. ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda: to meet all attacks and perform all duties.

4. multifariam distineri: to be dispersed at many points.

5. muri: i.e. the wall at different points.

6. una: sc. pars muri.

7. tres deincepta turre: three contiguous towers. quantumque . . . muri: what military engineers call a ‘curtain.’

9. ruina: breach. qua . . . procurum est: and yet here they rushed forward on both sides to battle, just as if the wall had been an equal protection to both, i.e. the Saguntines acted as if they had broken down the defences of the Carthaginians.

12. per occasionem partis alterius: when a favorable chance offers itself to either side.

13. iustae: regular, formal.

15. constiterant: took their stand. Hinc . . . hinc: on the one side . . . on the other.

16. cepisse . . . si . . . adnatur: corresponds to cepi, si adnitas of oratio recta, where the perfect apodosis, instead of a future, marks the certainty of the conclusion.

18. nec ullo: Latin prefers this to et nullo (nemine is not used). pedem referente: pedem referre = ‘to retreat,’ pedem inferre = ‘to advance.’

19. quo . . . eo: the more . . . the more.
20. confertim: Wsb. says this adverb occurs but twice in Livy.
21. vano: without doing execution.
23. cetera tereti, etc.: for the rest, round except at the end. This use of cetera, in plural, in adverbial sense, is unusual; cf. cetera egregium, page 40, line 13, and page 45, line 23.
24. sicut in pilo: the phrase modifies quadratum only.
27. id maxime: this circumstance in particular, i.e. quod...
cogebat, below. etiam si: even if... only. si haesisset... faciebat: cf. note on ubi... esset, page 76, line 32. The supposition is a general one.
28. medium accensum: lighted in the middle, where the tow was wrapped around it.
29. conceptumque... ignem: a fire kindled to much greater intensity by its very motion.
30. nudum: predicative, without defence.

Chapter IX. 33. quia... resisterent: the reason in the minds of the Saguntines. Poenus: the army, not the leader; it is characteristic of the author thus to use a singular for a collective or plural.

Page 82. 1. pro victo esset: was as good as vanquished.
2. in ruinis: into the breach; the fighting had been going on in the clear space inside the line of the wall.
3. fusum fugatumque: in total rout; two similar verbs instead of one modified by an adverb. Notice the alliteration.
5. Interim: here the scene shifts. ab Roma: see Introduction, III. 5, 6.
7. effrenatarum gentium: the wild, half-savage Spanish tribes, who might not respect the sacred character of envoys.
8. arma... rerum: this line is one of those accidental hexameters, so carefully avoided and yet occasionally found in prose Latin. in tanto discrimine rerum: in so important a crisis. operae esse, etc.: it was not worth his while, or he had no time to listen to embassies. Operae may be best understood as a dative of service; cf. page 30, line 3, and note.
10. Litteras... nuntiosque: messengers with letters.
12. suorum: of their partisans. quid... gratificari: to make any concession.

Chapter X. 14. praeterquam quod: except for the fact that page 40, line 28.
15. quoque: here also, as well as in its mission to Hann Hanno: the same as in chapter iii.
16. foederis: i.e. the one mentioned at page 75, line 25.
17. eget: pleaded.
23. supersit: strict sequence would require superesset. Ivvenem: a sudden change to oratio recta.
24. cupidine: cupidus is poetic for cupiditas.
25. cementem: the participle contains the apodosis of si...
vivat; i.e. 'he can see... if he can live.' ex bella bella: war after war. serendo: by instigating. succinctus armis legionibusque: zeugma.
30. per quos: by whose aid.
32. fortunam... populi: nations, like individuals, were conceived as watched over by tutelary genii.

Page 82. 1. bonus: ironical.
2. ius gentium: the law of nations, which required audience to be given to the ambassadors of allies, and even of enemies.
4. publica fraus: by giving up Hannibal the state as such would avoid responsibility for his breach of treaty; it would be otherwise if his acts were confirmed by their refusal to surrender him.
7. Aegatis insulas: the scene of the naval victory of the Romans under Catulus, which brought the first war to a close. Erycem: Hamilcar had maintained himself through the last years of the war at Mt. Eryx.
8. quae: asyneton; and in short all things which, etc.
9. puer: contemptuously referring to Hannibal.
11. Tarento: a Punic fleet appeared in the port of Tarentum in 272 B.C., but the Romans hastened to take possession of the city by land, it being surrendered to them by Milo, whom Pyrrhus had left in command. This was eight years before the first Punic war. Rome and Carthage had made a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance against Pyrrhus in 279 B.C. There were, according to Polybius and Livy, three treaties earlier than this, defining the mutual rights of the powers: viz., those of 500 B.C., 348 B.C., and 306 B.C.; but Mommsen denies the first. Polybius denies the existence of any clause, in that of 279 B.C., excluding the Romans from Sicily and the Carthaginians from Italy. Philinus was probably Livy's authority for the statement that the Carthaginians violated this treaty by the action mentioned
above, — a statement found in the epitome of the lost Book xiv. At any rate, this was not the cause of the first Punic war.

13. *di*: as avengers of bad faith. *hominis*: nominative; i.e. the Romans; read *di hominumque*. *et, id de quo*, etc.: and as to that about which, etc.; the sentence is anacoluthic, *id* having no predicate.

14. *aecus*: see note to page 76, line 6.


17. *utinam . . . sim*: B. 279, 1; A. 441; H. 558, 2; G. 261.

21. *in eo: in his (Hannibal’s) case*. paternas inimicitias: enmity with his father, due especially to the fact that Hamilcar had been preferred by the army to Hanno, as their leader in the war with the mercenaries.

24. *tamquam furiem facemque*, etc.: *who in his mad passion kindles the torch of this war*; the alliteration is intentional. Moreover, the Furies carried torches.

25. *dedendum*: *sc. esse*; this and the following coördinate infinitives depend on *censeo* understood.

28. *ad nos . . . accidere . . . possit*: this phrase expresses distance more forcibly than *nos audire . . . possimus*.

29. *quietae civitatis statum*: hypallage for *quietum civitatis statum*.

34. *decerno*: *I am in favor of, I advise*.

Page 84. Chapter XI. 1. *nemini . . . certare . . . fuit*: this saves the trouble of mentioning the arguments used on the other side.

2. *adeo*: *so true it is that*; an emphatic ‘for’; the word qualifies the whole sentence.

3. *Hannibalis erat*: was devoted to Hannibal; the majority was so decided that discussion seemed superfluous. B. 198, 3; A. 343, b; H. 439; G. 366.

4. *Flaccum Valerium*: note the inversion; this is very common when the praenomen is omitted.

5. *ortum . . . esse*: had been begun.

7. *Saguntinos*: brachylogy for *societatem Saguntinorum*; the alliance with Saguntum was of recent date, and they were not mentioned in the treaty of 241 B.C., which was very unfavorable to Carthage. *vetustissimae*: the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, Polybius says, was in 509 B.C.; Mommsen casts some doubt upon this, but there certainly was one in 348 B.C.

9. *Dum Romani*, etc.: the scene shifts back to the siege operations.
10. *miliem...bis*: plural pronoun because *miliem* is collective.
14. *pro contione*: *at a general assembly of the army.*
17. *ut...ita* (line 19): cf. page 80, line 11, and note.
20. *ut...reificerent*: a clause of purpose; result would be perfect (aorist) subjunctive. *novum murum*: behind the old wall.
22. *primum aut potissimum*: alliteration.
24. *satis scire poterant*: could feel quite sure.
25. *turris mobilis*: a wooden structure on wheels, propelled by men from behind.
27. *catapultis*: gigantic bows for shooting arrows and bolts nearly horizontally. *ballistisque*: engines for hurling stones at a decided upward angle. *tabulata*: *stories*, of which there were several in such towers, accommodating siege artillery of smaller size. For descriptions of siege engines, etc., see Judson, *Caesar’s Army*, 87 sqq.
28. *occasionem ratus*: judging that a favorable opportunity was come.
31. *caementa* (*caedimenta*), etc.: *the quarry stones had not been hardened into a solid mass by the use of time.*
32. *genere*: after the fashion of; primitive masonry was made without mortar. *Itaque latius*: pulling down a portion of a wall so loosely built brought down further portions, right and left.

Page 85. 1. *ruebat*: sc. *murus*. *patentia ruinis*: the breach; *patentia* is a neuter plural participle.
4. *haberent*: the sequence is regular, for *circumdant* is historical present.
7. *interiora tuendo*: by contracting their line of defence.
8. *in dies*: an exaggeration, of course, for we cannot suppose that every day a wall was demolished and another built farther back.
10. *Romani*: the Illyrian war was in 219 B.C., but it was not of such magnitude as to prevent the succor of Saguntum. *circa...essent*: and all the surrounding country was in the possession of the enemy.
11. *adfectos animos recreavit*: revived their drooping spirits.
12. *profectio...in*: the verbal noun followed by the same preposition as its verb. *Oretanos*: south of the Carpetani (note on page 78, line 9), about the upper Guadalquivir (Bætis) and Guadiana (Anas) and the Sierra Morena (*iuga Oretana*).
13. *dilectus*: the levy of troops was compulsory among the subjects of Carthage.
14. *metum...praebuissent*: had given reason to fear.
15. omiserunt mota arma: laid down their arms again; literally, 'the arms which they had taken up.'

Chapter XII. 17. Nec: And yet... not. Maharbâle: a very enterprising officer, often mentioned subsequently as commander of the cavalry.

18. ita... agente: pushed on the siege so vigorously.
19. cives: his own soldiers; there were few cives, in the proper sense, in the Punic army.

23. ad ipsam arcem: directly against the citadel.
26. Temptata... spes: slight as was the hope of peace, an attempt was made to secure it.

28. aliquid moturum: that he would accomplish something. B. 176, 2, b; A. 390, c; H. 416, 2; G. 333, 1.

29. postquam... movebant: the imperfect is used with postquam about a hundred times by Livy, four times by Cicero, twice by Caesar; it shows the action of the temporal clause still continuing when that of the principal clause begins. See note to page 28, line 21.

30. tristes: harsh. ut ab irato victore: as was to be expected of an angry conqueror.

31. transfuga... factus: turning from an intercessor into a deserter.

32. moriturum: would be put to death.
33. Postulabatur autem: Now what he demanded was that, etc. redderent res Turdetanis: this was necessary to justify his own action, for alleged injuries to the Turdetani had been the pretext for his attack on Saguntum.

Page 86. 1. egressi urbe: the position was strategically too important to leave in an enemy's hands. Hannibal wished to leave no hostile stronghold in his rear. For those times the terms offered were not very severe.

2. singulis vestimentis: cf. page 87, line 5, binis vestimentis; the inconsistency may be the error of the author or of a copyist, or both expressions may mean one change of clothes besides what they had on.

3. abnuente = negante.

4. vinci animos, etc.: that pride too is conquered when other things are overcome. Cf. the somewhat similar sense of animos, page 43, line 30.

5. interpretam: mediator.

6. publice... hospes: a guest-friend of the Saguntine state, i.e. a citizen of a community which had the relation of...
with Saguntum. Remember that the ancients had nothing like our
system of consuls at foreign towns.

8. praetorem: the commander-in-chief.
11. senatus: audience of the Senate.

Chapter XIII. 16. orator Hannibalis: he was not sent by Hanni-
ibal, and so was not a legatus. Whether Hannibal knew of his
-going is not perfectly clear from the context. If he did, he took an
unfair advantage in the circumstances described in chapter xiv.

17. ille: i.e. Alco.
21. pro: out of regard for.
22. alterius: generally used for alterius.

23. vel ea fides sit: let this very fact be a proof; ea agrees with
the predicate noun, instead of being neuter to correspond with its
antecedent, the substantive clause quod . . . fect. A. 296, a; 561, 572;
H. 306, 2; G. 525, 2.

24. restitistis . . . sperastis: the perfects mark a state of things
no longer existing. To express ‘you have been (and still are) resis-
ting . . . hoping,’ the present would be used.

26. Postquam: since; very rare with present tense; also an un-us-
ual sense of the word.

28. magis necessarium quam aequum: unavoidable rather than
favorable.

29. ita: on this condition.
31. et non . . . habituri estis: and shall not regard what is given
up as loss, since all belongs to the conqueror, but whatever is left as a
gift (from him).

33. vobis: cf. page 6, line 23, and note.

Page 87. 2. in quo . . . aedificetis: a relative clause of pur-
pose.

5. servat . . . si . . . velitis: Hannibal’s own words would be
servabo (or servo in the sense ‘I promise to preserve’), si . . . voletis.
inviolata: i.e. neither killed nor enslaved. binis: see note to page
86, line 2.

6. ab Sagunto: as usual in Livy, ab with the name of a town.
8. suadet: bids you accept.
10. vel haec: even these.
11. corpora: selves.

12. belli iure: construe with rapi trahique. sinatis: as if cor-
responding to patiamini (patienda, line 10); but the subjunctive is
required by potius quam. B. 284, 4; A. 571, a; H. 591, 6; G. 631,
3, r. 2.

14. concilium: subject of permixtum esset.

15. primores: the aristocracy, especially friendly to Rome, had most to fear from the enemy.

18. conicentes: here we are reminded that the Latin verb has no perfect active participle.plerique: in apposition with primores, line 15.

21. cohores...dedisset: begin the sentence with cum; the Roman cohort, after the reorganization of the army by Marius, consisted of three maniples of two centuries each, and ten cohorts formed a legion. Here the word is simply used in a general sense, 'a body' of soldiers.

22. nudatem stationibus: this state of affairs appears not to have been anticipated, and implies that Hannibal was not aware of the negotiations of Alorcus. Livy would be prompt to notice bad faith on Hannibal's part.

25. momento: sc. temporis; cf. page 107, line 13.

26. puberes: fighting men; the women and children would be sold as slaves. crudele: sc. fuit; as the Romans ordinarily did the same in storming towns, the charge of cruelty is hardly fair.

28. cui...parci: B. 187, ii. b; A. 367, 372; H. 426, 2, 3; G. 346, r. 1, 2. Saguntum was not destroyed; nor were all the inhabitants killed or sold into slavery; a Punic garrison was placed in the town and the Spanish hostages were confined in the citadel (cf. page 165, lines 24 sqsq.).

30. ante...quam morientes: notice the participle where we should expect a finite mood.

Page 88. Chapter XV. 2. de industria: purposely, in order to make it worthless to the captors.

3. in caedibus...fecearat: this is mentioned because those who were killed might have been sold as slaves.

4. militum praeda: i.e. slaves whom the soldiers were allowed to sell for their own benefit.

5. redactum: realized.

6. supelectilem: probably from super lectus, 'laid on the surface,' not fixtures, but 'movables.' vestemque: textile fabrics in general, not merely clothing, but carpets, tapestry, etc.; sending plunder to Carthage was politic, encouraging to his own party or bait to the opposition, for, by accepting it, the government was committed to his line of action.

The description of this siege, masterly in point of rhetoric,
into three parts, separated from each other by diplomatic episodes, has been aptly compared to a five-act tragedy: (1) page 79, line 29, to page 82, line 4; (2) page 82, line 5, to page 84, line 8; (3) page 84, line 9, to page 85, line 25; (4) page 85, line 26, to page 87, line 12; (5) page 87, line 13, to page 88, line 7.

8. quam: post is often omitted in such collocations; this is a colloquial habit. captum Saguntum: this was in the autumn of 219 B.C.

10. hiberna: sc. castra.

11. prefectus sit: in May, 218 B.C.

12. Cornelius . . . Sempronius: as previously stated (note to page 79, line 9), these were the consuls of 218 B.C.; it was their predecessors of 219 B.C., L. Aemilius Paulus and M. Livius Salinator, who received this embassy.


16. ambo: not quite correct, as Scipio had been wounded and did not take part in the fight.

17. breviora: i.e. occupied less time. principio anni: the author seems to forget that at this time consuls took office on March 15th, not, as later, on January 1st.

19. excessisse . . . non potest: cannot have been so late as.

20. pugna ad Trebiam: sc. commissa, facta, or the like; Livy in such phrases regularly omits the participle which earlier writers would express. See Introduction, III. 9, g.

21. Ariminii: in Umbria, on the Adriatic; the circumstances of this extraordinary proceeding of Flaminii are explained in the notes on chapter lxiii.

22. creatus: declared elected by the magistrate presiding at the comitia centuriata. No magistrate of lower rank could hold a consular election; if no consul was available, a dictator or interrex had to be appointed for the purpose. Sempronius went to Rome after the battle of the Trebia, presided at the election, and then returned to his army. The consuls at this time were elected ordinarily in December. Polybius’s chronology of the events of this book is perfectly clear and consistent, and by following it Livy would have avoided all difficulties such as he here confesses.

Chapter XVI. 25. Sub idem fere tempus: it is hard to see how these envoys spent so long a time in their expedition. Wsb. suggests that this remark may have been taken from an authority who made the siege much shorter.

29. non lati auxilii: for not having rendered assistance.
30. de summa rerum: for the life of the nation; the impending contest was for the very existence of Rome. velut si . . . esset: this sentence is parenthetical.

Page 89. 2. trepidarent magis quam consulerent: were too much disturbed for calm deliberation.

4. rem Romanam = Romam; cf. res Latina, page 5, line 17. desidem: a word not found before Livy (Wsb.). Cf. page 40, line 23. The author's statement is much exaggerated.

5. Sardos . . . Illyrios: an enumeration of the wars of the interval since the end of first Punic war, in 241 B.C. There had been also one with the Ligurians, not mentioned here. Sardinia and Corsica, so far as possessed by Carthage, had been seized by the Romans, as previously stated, but it took several years to subdue the inhabitants. The first Illyrian war was in 229–228 B.C., the second in 219 B.C. A severe contest with the Gauls, 225–222 B.C., resulted in the subjugation of the Boii and Insubres.

7. tumultuatum: tumultus expresses the disorderly and desultory hostile outbreaks of barbarians, as distinguished from bellum, formal, civilized warfare; the word has a shade of contempt, yet the last Gallic war had been a very serious one. belligeratum: archaic, not elsewhere used by Livy.

8. trium et viginti annorum: the whole interval between the first and second Punic wars; but Hamilcar did not go to Spain till 236 B.C.

9. duci . . . adsuetum: see note to page 24, line 6.


14. in Italia: it does not appear, in the light of the following context, that the Romans had as clear a notion of Hannibal's plans as this statement seems to imply. Polybius expressly tells us that their purpose was to fight in Spain.

Chapter XVII. 15. antea: before the news of the fall of Saguntum reached Rome. The statement of the election of the consuls and their choice of provinces stood in Book xx., which is no longer extant. provinciae: the 'provinces' or departments of duty were settled by the Senate, and one assigned to each consul by agreement, or by lot, as in this case.

16. Hispania: Hannibal was to be kept busy there.

17. Africa was to be invaded from the Roman province of cum Sicilia: cf. page 123, line 26, and note.

18. socium: genitive plural. This is not a contraction
rum. ipsis: i.e. consulibus; generally it was the Senate which determined the number of troops to be levied.

19. Quattuor et viginti, etc.: i.e. six legions. Romanorum...sociorum: the contingents of allies were usually somewhat larger than those of citizens; the cavalry was always more numerous.

22. quinqueremes: here an adjective; plenty of ships were available, owing to the late war with the Illyrians.

23. celoces: masculine in Livy; small, swift vessels, 'cutters' (probably from celer, cello). deduci: put into the water, launched. They were kept on land when not in use. Latum...ad populum: the question was put to the people (in comitia centuriata, as this was a question of peace or war) whether, etc.; the presiding magistrate said: Velitis iubeatisne populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici, ita vos, Quirites, rogo.

25. supplicatio: a special observance, a litany, wherein the citizens of all ranks and ages, going round in procession, offered prayers and sacrifices at the different temples. The same name was given to solemn thanksgiving after a victory.

26. quod bellum: in archaic style, the antecedent repeated in the relative clause.

28. ea: i.e. legiones, but agreeing with the predicate militia; cf. page 86, line 23, and note. quaterna militia...trecenti: four thousand each...three hundred each.

30. mille: an indeclinable adjective; militia, a substantive. naves longae: galleys, ships of war, propelled mainly by rowers; longer and narrower than merchantmen, which depended on their sails for motive power. Here the quinqueremes, mentioned above, are meant.

33. ita...si: only if. transmissurus: with orders to cross.

Page 90. 2. Manlius (Vulso): the praetor peregrinus; his forces would be a reserve for Scipio in case of need.

3. mittebatur: was about to go.

5. ea parte, etc.: in that kind of warfare, i.e. naval.

7. suo insto equitatu: their regular proportion of cavalry. This was commonly three hundred to a legion.

10. Gallia: the country along the Po, recently conquered, not organized as a province till 191 B.C.

11. eodem versa: intended for the same purpose; eodem is explained by in Punicum bellum; versa, neuter, agreeing with the various accusatives that precede, or specially with militia. Luterbacher makes versa agree with provincia, 'because it lay in the same direc-
tion (as Scipio's province). The other explanation is preferable.

**habuit**: received, contained.

Chapter XVIII. 12. **iusta**: in due form; to the Roman mind it was essential to begin the war in formally correct fashion, according to the fateful law; and this, notwithstanding that war was already determined upon, and, indeed, virtually begun.

13. **maiores natu**: the former ambassadors, only two in number, were comparatively young men; now five men of influence are sent.

**Q. Fabius**: the famous dictator of 217 B.C., surnamed Cunctator, the 'Shield of Rome.' **M. Livius L. Aemilius**: probably the consuls of 210 B.C.

14. **C. Licinius**: a man of this name had been consul in 236 B.C.

**Q. Baebius**: if, as is likely, this is one of the members of the first embassy, he can hardly be classed with the *maiores natu*.

15. **ad percussandos . . . ut indicent**: note the different ways of expressing purpose.

17. **fatentur ac defendunt**: should confess, and, with justification of the action, declare.

19. **senatus**: an audience by the Senate, as at page 86, line 11.

22. **Praecepta**: overhasty, assuming from the start that their opponents were in the wrong. **Inquit** is frequently wanting in Livy at the beginning of a direct quotation.

23. **tamquam**: on the ground that; here, as afterward constantly in Silver Latin, this word is used to introduce an alleged reason.

24. **deposcebatis**: i.e. as the guilty party, in order to punish him.

25. **ad hoc**: so far, as yet.

27. **exprimitur**: conative; an effort is being made to extort. **ut**

a **confessio**: a copy of the Greek construction, ὑστερίτη τῆς with participle; the meaning is active, the verb being deponent.

29. **ceneam**: ironically polite. B. 280, 2, a; A. 447, 1; H. 556; G. 257.

30. **nostra**: emphatic.

31. **animadversio in**: punishment of. **quid . . . fecerit**: connect with quaestio, not with **animadversio**. **suo . . . arbitrio**: upon his own responsibility.

Page 91. 2. **a C. Lutatius**: after the battle of the Aegates Islands, 241 B.C.

5. **At enim . . . excipiuntur**: the words of a supposed objector; at enim is elliptical,—But (some one will say, that makes no difference) for the Saguntines are protected by a special clause in that treaty, etc.
10. _allud . . . foedus_: the second treaty, also negotiated by C. Lutatius, did not differ radically from the first, but its terms were a little more severe. _publico consilio_: with the public sanction, the approval of senate and people.

12. _ne . . . quidem_: certainly . . . not.

15. _diu parturit_: has long been (and still is) in travail with; _parturire_ is the desiderative of _parere_. B. 155, 3; A. 283, 4; H. 366; G. 191, 3.

16. _Romanus_: Fabius, chief of the embassy. _sinu . . . facto_: holding up a fold of his _toga_ as if he were carrying something in it; _iterum sinu effuso_, line 19, letting it fall again as if to drop out its contents.

18. _Sub_: immediately after. _ferociter_: defiantly.

Chapter XIX. 22. _directa percunctatio_: straightforward demand for an explanation.

23. _ex_: in accordance with, befitting.

24. _cum ante, tum maxime, etc._: _now especially since._

25. _excisa_: _Sagunto_ is the ablative of the late and poetical form _ Saguntus_, which is feminine.

26. _quid_: in what respect.

27. _quod mutatum est_: Lutatius's treaty was altered at once by the Roman Senate; Hasdrubal's had been tacitly confirmed by the practice of years.

28. _diserte_: expressly.

32. _et si priore foedere staretur_: even if they should base their argument on the former treaty, abide by the former treaty, i.e. that of Lutatius as modified by the Senate.

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Page 92. 1. _sociis_: the Saguntines were included under this term, if no distinction was made between then existing and after-acquired allies.

4. _accum_: see note to page 76, line 6. _censeret_: would have thought; potential subjunctive; _censeat_ would mean 'would think (now).' B. 280; A. 447; H. 557; G. 259.

5. _ob nulla . . . recipi_: that no one, for any services whatsoever, should be received into friendly relations.

6. _fidem_: protection, for which the honor of the state is pledged. _Tantum ne_, etc.: in the sense of _modo ne_; (Everybody would consider it fair) if only it was provided that . . . not.

9. _scit . . . imperatum erat_: this was not mentioned previously.

12. _Bargusios_: a tribe near the Pyrenees and the city of Ilerda.
13. *qua taedebat*: construe with *erezerunt*, not with *excepti*; for the Bargusii, being north of the Ebro, were not subject to the Carthaginians.

14. *novae fortunae*: equivalent to the usual *novarum rerum*.


18. *respondit*: i.e. to the solicitations of the envoys. *vere-cundia*: sarcastic, *a modest request*.


*Chapter XX*. 30. *gentis*: the (Celtic) race; we may so understand it, though probably the word referred to the name of a particular tribe, lost from the text. The custom characterized the Gauls generally; cf. Caesar, *Gallic War*, v. 56. *venerunt*: the perfect confines the statement to the instance in question. In early times the Romans had attended the *comitia centuriata* in full armor.

31. *verbis*: used with *extollentes* to show that its meaning is metaphorical.

Page 93. 1. *inferenti = si inferret*: this implies that the invasion of Italy was expected.

2. *tantus . . . risus*: *such shouts of laughter*.


5. *transmittant*: we should expect the imperfect; the same is true of *sumant*, line 10.

11. *pelli*: to make room for the colonists of Placentia and Cremona, founded 219 B.C.

15. *Massillam*: (now Marseilles) a Greek city, a colony of the Phocaeans founded about 600 B.C., which early made alliance with Rome, and which had sent money to Rome in 380 B.C., to assist in paying the ransom demanded by the Gauls.


19. *subinde*: *occasionally, now and then*.

20. *Ita*: *with such (so small) results*.

22. *haud ita multo*: *not so very long*. *consules in provincias prefecti erant*: it is not probable that the consuls started before the return of the embassy.

24. *satis constante fama*: *while reports pretty well agreed, etc.*

*Chapter XXI*. The narrative is resumed from the point where it was interrupted by the digression beginning in chapter xv.

27. *hiberna*: for the winter of 219–218 B.C.

28. *forent = essent*: the two are usually synonymous in Livy, but *forem*, as an equivalent for *essem*, is avoided by Cicero and Caesar.
29. causam: war had been declared upon the refusal of his countrymen to surrender him.

30. ultra differendum: the siege of Saguntum had already delayed him too long.

31. vos . . . et ipsos: you as well as I. socii: really the Spanish subjects of Carthage.

32. pacatis . . . populis: causal ablative absolute. omnibus: a rhetorical exaggeration.

Page 94. 4. ex aliis gentibus: Hannibal's real design does not appear to have been known to his troops.

5. longinqua: distant.

7. invisere . . . visendi (line 10): A. 263, 4, n.

8. Primo: B. 241, 1; A. 293 ; H. 497, 4; G. 291, 2. vere: noun, not adverb. dis bene iuvantibus: so we say, "by the good help of God."


11. ullo: voluntarily, without their requesting it. desiderantibus . . . providentibus: dative agreeing with omnibus.

12. desiderium: ordinarily 'regret,' 'homesickness'; here rather the absence that causes such feeling. Per totum tempus hiemis: adjectival phrase, attributive to quies. See Introduction, III. 1, f.

13. labores . . . exhauriendos: toils already endured and those in store for them.

15. Vere primo: the author is fond of reversing the usual order in such phrases.

18. Gadis: (now Cadiz) outside the strait of Gibraltar; a very ancient Tyrian colony, celebrated for the worship of Melkart, whom the Romans identified with Hercules, as they did Baal with Jupiter, etc. vota exsolvit: paid vows already made.

19. evenissent: protasis of a future perfect condition of which the apodosis is a future infinitive implied in obligat votis: Hannibal bound himself by vows (to perform certain sacrifices) in case his further undertakings should result successfully. Inde partiens curas, etc.: it is probable that Hannibal, as Polybius says, made these arrangements in the previous winter at New Carthage, rather than in the spring at Cadiz.

20. inferendum atque arcendum bellum: offensive and defensive warfare.

21. Gallias: plural because the Romans made several provinces of Gaul; so people used to say, "the Jerseys" and "the Brazils."

22. ab Sicilia: Lilybaeum, at the west of the island, was only about ninety miles from the African coast.
23. **Pro eo**: i.e. *praesidio*: in the place of the troops sent to garrison Africa.

27. **mutuis pigneribus**: the homes, families, and property of the absent soldiers. **stipendia**: first 'pay,' then 'service' by which it was earned.

28. **caetrotos**: *targeteers*, men armed with the *caetra*, a small shield (nearly = *pelta*).

29. **Baliare**: according to the ancients, the name of the islands was derived from *βάλλειν* ('to throw'), owing to the skill of the people in using the sling.

32. **conquisitoribus**: *recruiting officers*.

33. **in civitates**: as appears from Polybius, cities of the Metagonians in Africa. The whole passage, from page 94, line 17, to page 95, line 18, seems to be an imperfect transcript of a passage in the third book of Polybius, who says that he copied the figures from the tablet of brass which Hannibal erected at Lacinium.

34. **praesidium eosdem**, etc.: as a garrison and at the same time as hostages.

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**Page 95. Chapter XXII.**

2. **circumtam**: *cannassed*.

4. **viro**: it is not usual to join an adjective directly to a proper name, therefore a common noun is put in apposition to the proper. **provinciam**: predicate accusative. **destinat**: assigns.

6. **Liguribus**: from the region between the Apennines and the gulf of Genoa. Men of this nation, according to Polybius and Herodotus, were found in the Punic service in early times. They were poor, warlike, and hostile to Rome.

8. **Libyphoenices**: descendants of marriages between the native Africans (Berbers) and the Phoenician settlers along the coast. They seem to have enjoyed some of the rights of Carthaginian citizens, and to have been upon a better footing than the rest of the subjects. Their relation to Carthage was much like that of the Latins to Rome. Mommsen regarded the name not as ethnical, but as political.

9. **quadringenti quinquaginta**: three squadrons. **Numidae**: from the country roughly corresponding to the modern Algeria; they furnished superb light cavalry. **Mauri**: the people of the modern Morocco and Fez.

10. **accolaee Oceani**: cf. page 10, line 7; page 99, line 18. **ad**: adverb, not preposition. **Hergétum**: living in the northeast of Spain, between the Ebro and the Segre, near the Pyrenees, and not subjects of Carthage.

13. **tuendae . . . orae**: genitive; instead of the more common
ative is used with *cum* to express simultaneity; there is really an inversion (*cum inversum*) of the principal and temporary clauses in this case. *ob veteres . . . iras*: they had been engaged in earlier wars with the Romans in 358 and in 283 B.C.

17. *circa Padum*: Placentia (now Piacenza) is on the south, and Cremona on the north bank.

18. *colonias*: the outlying bulwarks of Rome's power were her colonies, established as permanent garrisons near or among hostile races; to each of these two places six thousand men were sent.

22. *triumviri*: three commissioners — the regular number in such cases — sent to superintend the work of the *agrimensores*. *ad agrum . . . adsignandum*: to distribute land (to the colonists).

23. *diffid Placentiae moenibus*: the colony was not attacked, nor was it abandoned by the inhabitants. *Mutinam*: seventy miles southeast of Placentia, after ward a Roman colony, and a fortified town on the Aemilian Way, now Modena.


30. *obsiderentur*: the subjects are *agrestis multitudo* and *triumviri Romani*, lines 21, 22. *ad . . . artes rudis*: this adjective ('ignorant of') is usually construed with the genitive.


32. *intactis*, etc.: *sat idle before the walls without attacking them*.


2. *legati*: apparently the *triumviri* are meant; so Polybius understands.

3. *in id tempus*: i.e. for that special occasion.

4. *obsides*: given when they submitted to Rome, in 224 B.C.


7. *L. Manlius*: see note to page 90, line 2. *effusum*: in loose order. *ad Mutinam*: toward Mutina; he did not reach it.

8. *plerisque incultis*: for the most part untilled. We should expect the nominative agreeing with *silvae*, rather than this ablative absolute.

9. *inexplorato*: without reconnoitring; ablative absolute consisting of participles alone are common in Livy and in later prose; cf. page 23, line 21, and note.

14. *dum . . . ducebatur*: B. 293, i.; A. 556, a; H. 603, 1; G. 569.


20. *Tannêtum, vicum propincum Pado*: in fact it was between Parma and Mutina, and some ten miles from the Po. Strict usage would require *ad* before *vicum*.
21. contendere: perfect indicative.
22. ad tempus: sc. facto; temporary. commeatibusque flu-
minis: supplies brought along the river; the author was probably
thinking of the Po. Brixianorum: Brixia (Brescia) was the capi-
tal of the Cenomani, the only Gallic tribe friendly to Rome.

Chapter XXVI. 27. acceperunt: learned, received tidings. C.
Attilum (Serranum): if, as is probable, this man was praetor urba-
nus, it was unusual that he should take a military command.

28. dilectu novo: Scipio had just been raising troops to go to
Spain, part of whom were transferred to Manlius.

Page 99. 2. profectus: the departure of the consuls is mentioned
at the end of chapter xx. as preceding the return of the envoys from
Carthage and Spain, but it is probable that Scipio started in August.

4. Salivium: (same as the Salies) the most powerful of the
Ligurian tribes, living between the Maritime Alps and the Rhone.

5. proximum: nearest to Italy. pluribus: sc. ostiis; modal
or instrumental ablative with decurrit.

10. iactatone marituma: seasickness; the ordinary word is
nausea, but that is hardly in keeping with the dignity of Livy’s
“grand style.”

11. ducibus: guides. auxiliaribus: mercenaries in the ser-
vice of Massilia.

12. visendosque . . . hostes: to reconnoitre the enemy.

13. ceteris: other Gauls besides the Volcae. Hannibal had come
via Ruscino, Narbo, and Nemausus (Nismes) to the Rhone. He crossed
at a point about equally distant from the sea and the mouth of the
Isère, north of the mouth of the Durance, near Arausio (Orange),
perhaps at Roquemaure. Volcarum: the Volcae, in several tribes,
extended from the Pyrenees to the Rhone.

14. validae: numerous.

15. citeriore agro: on the west bank, nearest the Carthaginians
as they approached. Ancient authors had an inconvenient habit of
almost never speaking of the right or left bank, the north or south
bank.

17. suis: neuter; their possessions.

18. obtinebant, etc.: were holding possession of the further bank,
when Hannibal reached the river.

19. Volcarum ipsorum: partitive genitive. quos sedes suae
tenuerant: who had been unwilling to quit their homes (on the west
bank).

20. simul . . . simul et: at the same time . . . and also.
22. *tanta hominum urgente turba* : *from the burden of so great a host of men.*

23. *vis* : *force*, *i.e.* *number.* *navium* : *large boats.*

24. *lintrum* : *light skiffs.* *temere* : *carelessly.* *vicinalem* : a word not found before Livy (Wsb.).

27. *materiae* : *timber* ; *'fire-wood'* is *lignum.* *alveos informes* : *rude dug-outs.*

29. *faciebant* : *set to work to make.*

Chapter XXVII. 30. *ad tracciendum* : it is generally supposed that Hannibal crossed the Rhone near Roquemaure or, at any rate, not far from Avignon. One who sees the swift rush of the mighty stream realizes that it was a formidable obstacle to his progress.

31. *ex adverso* : *in front.* *equites virique* : *with horse and foot,* appositive to *hostes.*

32. *Bomilcaris* : son of one of the Suffetes or *'kings'* of Carthage.

33. *vigilia prima noctis* : *noctis* is pleonastic; for the day was divided into hours, and the night from sunset to sunrise into four equal watches.

Page 100: 1. *adverso flumine* : ablative absolute; *up stream.*

10. *mole* : *trouble.* *utres* : *leathern bags* that served as buoys when inflated. They were skins of animals, stripped off and sewed up so as to leave but one opening. *caetris superpositis incubantes* : leaning on their shields, which were rested on the buoys.

11. *alius exercitus* : *the rest of the army* (Ilanno's detachment).

12. *ratibus junctis* : this does not mean rafts joined together to make a bridge, but rafts formed by fastening logs together.

14. *intento duce* : concessive ablative absolute; *eager as the leader was.* *exsequendum* : the spelling *exs-* is more familiar.

17. *ne tempori deesset* : *not to miss the opportunity.*


22. *praebebat* : the subject is *Hannibal.* *pars magna nantes* : an example, often cited, of *constructio ad synesim* ; *pars magna = equi,* with which *nantes* agrees.

Chapter XXVIII. 26. ululatibus: an onomatopoetical word, commonly applied to barbarians. The behavior of these Gauls is like that spoken of by Caesar in the Gallic War, v. 37 and vii. 80.

30. nautarum, militum: omitting -que, as at page 83, line 13, *di homines. et qui . . . et qui*: the former referring to nautarum and militum, the latter to militum only; i.e. such of the army as could not be taken across at the first trip, and so remained cheering on the further bank.


Page 101. 2. ipse: Hanno, opposed to clamor.

5. vim facere: to resist. *pellebantur*: imperfect because the process occupied some time.

7. per otium: at his leisure.

8. tumuitus: noisy demonstrations.


12. refugientem: sc. rectorem.

13. nantem: agrees with ferocissimum, unless it be a gloss upon refugientem. *ut quemque . . . rapiente*: and the very force of the current swept each toward the other bank, whenever, though fearing the deep water, he got beyond his depth (literally, 'the bottom failed him'). It is not clear how the current carried them across.

14. destitueret: iterative subjunctive. So are agerentur, line 30, raperentur, line 32, and fecisset, line 34.

16. id: i.e. ratibus trai cere. *ut . . . ita*: not only . . . but also. *foret = esset*: the mood may be explained by expanding ante rem into si res nondum esset facta.

17. ad fidem pronius: easier to believe, more probable.

19. secunda aqua: down stream. See note to page 100, line 1.

20. pluribus = compluribus: several. *parte superiore*: higher up the bank. *ripace*: ripae is genitive with parte or with the adverbial phrase parte superiore, like the genitive with adverbs of place.

25. tamquam viam: as if along a road (on land).

27. ab . . . navibus: as if they were voluntary agents, leading us to think rather of the persons who propelled them.

28. pertrahitur: the subject is altera ratis.

29. Nihil . . . trepidabant: gave no signs of alarm.

30. donec . . . agerentur: subjunctive because the statement is general, not referring to any one trip, but to all.

31. ab ceteris: only one stationary raft is mentioned, so this is probably neuter, 'from whatever held it fast'; i.e. the raft and the bank.
34. circumspectantibus aquam: seeing the water all around them.

35. saevientes: maddened by fear. pondere ipso: it was a common belief among the ancients that elephants could not swim. Polybius tells how they waded over with the tips of their trunks held above water. So the word nantem above, line 13, is to be regarded with suspicion.

36. quaerendis pedememptim vadis: by feeling for the bottom, one step at a time.


4. alae: squadrons; ala is regularly used to designate a body of cavalry of the allies.

6. atrocius quam pro numero: a post-Ciceronian imitation of a Greek construction; than was to be expected from the number. H. 471, 7; G. 298, s. 1.

7. caedes: loss of life.

10. pars Gallorum: part, consisting of Gauls.

12. summae rerum prosperum eventum: ultimate success, success in the war as a whole.

13. incurtant amncipitisque certaminis: -que connects the adjective with the characteristic genitive, both modifying victoriam.

16. nec Scipioni ... poterat: Scipio could decide on no plan.


18. incertum: it is hard to believe that Hannibal can have hesitated here or thought of any other course than to hasten on, in order to cross the Alps before winter. The arrival of this embassy, however, would have a stimulating effect on his soldiers.

22. integro bello: without trying a battle.

23. nusquam ... libatis viribus: Polybius gives the numbers of the army after the passage of the Rhone as thirty-eight thousand foot and eight thousand horse.

24. censeat: historical present. timebat ... metuebat (line 27): the former implies to some extent the reproach of timidity or cowardice, the latter does not.

25. iter inmensum Alpesque: hendiadys.

26. fama: ablative. utique inexpertis: at any rate to people who had not tried it.

Chapter XXX. 28. postquam ... stetit: after he decided.

29. pergere ire: the tautology makes the phrase emphatic.

30. militum versat animos: sought to work upon the minds of
the soldiers. Notice in the following indirect quotation the alternation of primary and secondary tenses in the subordinate clauses like that of perfect and historical present in oratio recta.

Page 103. 1. facere: present, because they were still serving.
3. duo maria: the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Carthaginensive essent: were subject to the Carthaginians; this must be addressed to the Africans; it is very different from the speech to the Spaniards in chapter xxi.
4. quod ... Romanus: because the Roman people demanded the surrender of all who had fought against Saguntum, as if on account of a crime against itself; an intentional exaggeration.
5. noxam: in the Roman law the master of a slave who committed a wrong could escape liability for the slave's act by surrendering him to the injured party. A slave (or child or beast) so surrendered was called a noxa; the surrender was noxae dato. See Justinian's Institutes, iv. 8. The surrender of Hannibal to the Romans, because of his capture of Saguntum, would have been analogous to the surrender of a slave ob noxam.
7. liberandumque orbem: it was much later that the 'world' became subject to Rome; this is doubtless an historical prolepsis rather than a prophetic implication intentionally put into the speaker's mouth.
8. exortus: unusual for ortus.
9. multo maorem partem: Polybius says the distance from New Carthage to the Ebro was twenty-six hundred stadia, thence to the Rhone thirty-two hundred, thence over the Alps to Italy twenty-six hundred.
14. Italiae sit: belonged to, formed part of Italy.
16. montium altitudines = montes alti. Fingerent ... uiges: they might imagine them higher than the peaks of the Pyrenees; oratio recta would be fingat is or fingite.
21. sublime: in the air. Ne maiores quidem: i.e. even the ancestors of the Gauls whom they knew, had often crossed the Alps, for they were not natives of Italy.
24. modo: construe with migrantium; tuto: with transmississe.
28. caput orbis terrarum: a very unlikely expression for Hannibal.
29. adeo ... quod: usually adeo ... ut.
30. quondam: in 390 B.C.
31. ea: Rome and her possessions.
32. cederent: confess themselves inferior.
33. sperent: the author cannot consciously have intended all the fine distinctions attributed to him by editors at every variation in tense sequence; a certain careless ease in such matters is one of the charms of his style. campum interiacentem: the Campus Martius.

Page 104. Chapter XXXI. 1. corpora curare: to refresh themselves.

3. adversa ripa: up the bank.
4. esset: subjunctive in a reason denied.
7. Quartis castris: after four days' march.
8. diversis ex Alpibus: from different parts of the Alps; the Rhone rises in the Pennine, the Isère in the Graian Alps.
11. prope: near the confluence of the rivers and the point just reached by the army. We are led to suppose that Hannibal's army did not actually enter the Insula Allobrogum. iam inde: already at that time, and ever since.
12. discors erat: i.e. gens.
13. Regni: objective genitive.
14. imperitarat: frequentative for simple verb.
15. qui iure . . . poterat: refers to fratre, not coetu. pellabatur: notice the precision of the imperfect tense.
16. peropportuna: translate as an adverb.
18. principumque: the chief men of the tribe, not the two princes.
20. vestis: collective; this must have been much needed. The Spanish troops ordinarily wore white linen tunics, and the autumn was now coming on. A large part of the enormous loss in the passage of the mountains must have been due to the effects of the cold upon the natives of warm climates.

22. non recta regione: not in a direct line. The question of Hannibal's route over the Alps, already in Livy's time a matter of debate, has been a favorite subject of controversy ever since. Many books have been written in the vain attempt to settle it, and there is hardly a pass from the St. Gotthard to the Mediterranean that has not found its advocates. It is safe to say that the question will never be answered beyond a doubt. The great majority of historical authorities have narrowed it down to a choice between the Little St. Bernard, the Mont Cenis, and the Mont Genèvre passes. Livy's statements, such as they are, seem to point to the Mont Cenis, but with some probability in favor of the Mont Genèvre, and with a slight possibility in favor of the Col de l'Argentière. For a convenient discussion of this subject, see Capes's Livy, Appendix i. A résumé of all that was then known of
the matter was given by Hermann Schiller, in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* (1884), iv. 705, 737, 769.

Livy's description is picturesque and rhetorical, but affords no certain data for determining the route. We even wonder at times whether he really had any route definitely in his mind, or whether he was simply painting a word picture, with imaginary details. Probably both alternatives are true in a measure. Still, it is desirable to find a route which will suit both Polybius's and Livy's accounts, which at the same time will be one that Hannibal would be likely to choose in the actual circumstances of the case. If we must identify the *Druentia* with the Durance, then we must decide in favor of the Mont Genèvre, or possibly the Col de l'Argentière. But there is no sufficient reason for the identification. The *Druentia* may as well be the Drac or the Arc.

If Hannibal went by the Mont Genèvre pass, he must either (1) have marched a considerable distance southward from the *Insula* and then up the Drome and down the Buech, or over the hills, to the Durance; or (2) up the Isère to Grenoble, then up the Drac and over the Col Bayard, 4085 feet above the sea, and then down to the Durance near Embrun (2855 feet); or (3) up the Drac to the mouth of the Romanche, then up the latter, over the very high Col du Lautaret (8700 feet), and down to the Durance at Briançon (4330 feet). In the first case, the route is unnaturally indirect; in the second, it involves crossing a ridge of mountains from the Drac to the Durance valley; and in the third, the crossing of a pass nearly 700 feet higher than the Mont Genèvre itself before approaching the main range of the Alps. Livy's account, at any rate, does not suggest the idea that Hannibal crossed the mountains twice.

The Mont Cenis route is more natural and direct from Grenoble to Turin — up the Isère to the mouth of the Arc, up the Arc, over the Mont Cenis pass (8893 feet), down the Cenischia River to the Dora Riparia, and down the latter to Turin. The most elaborate and convincing of recent works on this subject (Osiander, *Der Hannibalweg*, Berlin, 1900) claims that this route satisfies the requirements of both Polybius's and Livy's accounts, besides being the fittest one for Hannibal's purpose. It is this route which is indicated on our map, opposite page 104.

23. *ad laevam in Tricastinos*: see map. *Ad laevam* is, at best, difficult to explain; the author may have said 'left' when he meant 'right'; Hannibal may have gone up the valley of the Isère on the south side among the *Tricastini*, and not turned to either side till he reached the Drac; or he may have turned *sout*
Insula, then struck eastward (ad laevam as he came southward) into the valley of the Drome, and then gone on via Vapincum (Gap) to Eborodunum (Embrun) on the upper Druentia (Durance). But the whole description of the route leaves much to be desired in point of clearness, and can in no perfectly satisfactory way be reconciled with the geography of the region. An ingenious explanation of the phrase *ad laevam* is based on the supposition that the Roman maps had the south at the top (as the augurs looked southward in observing the sky); then the east would be at the left side of the map, and our author speaks as if he had the map before him. *Recta regione* would mean, in this case, 'northward.' A simpler explanation is that Hannibal's camp on the frontier of the Insula faced south. *Ad laevam* then means 'eastward,' which is the general direction of his march toward the Alps.

**in Tricastinos:** it seems that the army did not enter the *Insula Allobrogum* at all; the northern boundary of the Tricastini was the Isère, and their capital, afterward named by the Romans *Augustum Tricastinorum,* is now Aoste on the Drome.

24. **Vocontiorum:** this nation inhabited a region east of the Tricastini; *Dea Vocontiorum (Die)* was one of their towns.

25. **Tricorios:** northeast of the Vocontii.

26. **ad Druentiam:** it is possible that Hannibal, after going up the south bank of the Isère, passed from the valley of the Drac into that of the Durance, by turning into that of the Romanche. The identification of the *Druentia* with the Durance is the strongest argument for the Mont Genèvre route, but this identification is by no means certain. Supposing that Hannibal followed the Mont Cenis route, we must understand by the *Druentia* some tributary of the Isère, probably the Drac. **Alpinus amnis:** the Durance rises in the Cottian Alps (Mont Genèvre); it has been remarked that the phrase *a que v im ingentem* does not suit the upper part of this river, where it is a small, insignificant stream. But we do not suppose Livy's description to be accurate.

31. **vada:** shoals. **gurgites:** deep places, pools.
less danger and trouble after crossing the mountains, because they were sure to suffer loss in so doing.

12. auxillis Romanis: troops sent from Rome to help the allies. B. 214, 1, d); A. 402, a; H. 465, 1; G. 390, 3.

14. fratrem . . . misit: he had a right to depute this command to a lieutenant. Under the circumstances, he seems to have taken the wisest course, for it was supremely important to keep Hasdrubal busy in Spain, and the Romans had not then the same reason that they afterwards had to fear Hannibal. There were already about twenty-five thousand troops in Cisalpine Gaul, apparently a sufficient force to check the invader. Scipio’s great mistake lay in not attacking the Punic army instantly upon its arrival at the foot of the Alps, before it recovered from its fatigues.

18. Genuam: he may have stopped there to gain further information, but he went on to Pisa; cf. page 112, line 8. qui circa Padum erat exercitus: the substantive attracted into the relative clause; the armies of the two praetors, besides the colonists of Placentia and Cremona.

20. ab Druentia: ab perhaps means from the place where he reached and perhaps crossed it, up along the river. campestri maxime itinere: by a route mainly through level country. East of Gap the valley of the Durance is quite broad, but this phrase is scarcely applicable. But if he had come by the valley of the Romanche he would not have gone near Gap. The valley of the Ubaye near Barcelonette has been suggested as what is meant, but that is too far south, unless he went over the Col de l’Argentiére. Remember, we do not know that the Druentia is the Durance. We may just as well understand the description to apply to the comparatively broad valley of the Isère, above the mouth of the Drac.


22. prius . . . praecepta: pleonasm. in maius vero ferri solent: are generally exaggerated; effervi would be more usual. See Introduction, III. 8, b.

24. montium: this terrific description seems unsuited to the lower slopes of the Alps. Livy had never visited this region. We notice in him, as in most ancient writers, an absence of appreciation of the picturesque in nature. They were so impressed by the terrors that they failed to see the grandeur of mountain scenery.

26. torrida: shrivelled; the same word expresses the effect of intense cold and heat. intonsi: with hair and beards w- inculti: unkempt, wild.
27. *visu . . . foediora*: one wonders if this can be a vague refer-ence to the repulsive idiots and the unfortunates afflicted with goitre, who are so numerous in Alpine valleys.

28. *Erigentibus . . . clivos*: *as they directed their march up the first slopes*. The scene may be some pass near Embrun, which may be the *castellum* mentioned at page 107, line 15. Adopting the Mont Cenis theory, we understand the place to be the vicinity of Aiguebelle, on the Arc, near its mouth.


32. *dedissent*: *would have caused*. *consistere signa iussit*: ordered a halt. *Gallisque*: these may be Cisalpine Gauls sent to meet the Carthaginians (cf. chap. xxix.), or guides furnished by Braneus, the Allobrogian chief.

Page 106. 1. *transitum ea non esse*: *that the passage of the gorge could not be forced.*

3. *quam extensissima potest valle*: in the widest part of the valley that he could find; note the superlative of a participle. Osiander identifies this locality with the valley about Aiguebelle, which is something like a mile and a quarter long and three quarters of a mile wide, elliptical in shape, with an entrance about a third of a mile wide.

4. *abhorrentis*: accusative; *who did not differ* (from the mountaineers).

7. *diabi*: dispersed. *subit*: approached. *ut . . . vim . . . facturus*: as if he were going to force his way.

11. *laxatas*: thinned out, reduced.

12. *quam pro numero*: than were in proportion to the number of those who remained in camp.

13. *in speciem*: *for appearance' sake, to deceive the enemy.*

15. *quoque*: ablative of *quisque*, agreeing with *viro*. *angustias evadit*: passed through the defile.

Chapter XXXIII. 17. *castra mota*: sc. sunt; *they broke camp.*

18. *incedere*: to advance in order.


20. *arc*: *stronghold*; in this case a natural one. Osiander finds this at Echaillon, near St. Jean de Maurienne, situated about one thousand feet above the Arc river. Moreover, he notes the existence of a fine echo (line 32) near by. *inminentis*: agrees with *alios.*

21. *via transire*: going along by the road; this illustrates the author's tendency to dispense with prepositions; we should expect
per viam; cf. marituma ora, page 95, line 21. hostis: construe with the first, as well as the second, alios.

22. inmobiles . . . definit: made them stand . . . motionless.

24. quidquid = si quid.

25. ipsi: i.e. montani. ad perniciem: i.e. for the destruction of the Carthaginians.

26. iuxta = pariter; often so used by Livy; the meaning is, 'whether there was a trail or not.' adsueti: the construction with in and accusative is exceptional; usually this word is followed by the dative, as at page 89, line 10.

28. sibi = pro se; selfishly. quoque tendente: as each one strove.

30. infestum . . . faciebant: endangered the column of march.

32. repercussae: re-echoing; applies properly to clamores, but is transferred to valles. territi trepidabant: were rushing about in their fright.

Page 107. 1. stragem: overturning.

3. turba: the pushing of the crowd in the narrow way.

4. in immensum altitudinis: a bold use of adjective as substantive; = in immensam altitudinem, to an enormous depth, into a fathomless abyss.

5. quosdam et armatos: implying that multos, line 3, means the mule drivers, not the soldiers. sed ruinae maxime modo: but very much like a falling wall.

9. interrupi agmen: the column was broken by the barbarian attack, so that front and rear were separated by a body of the enemy.

10. exutum = si exutus esset. B. 337, 2, b); A. 521, a; H. 638, 2; G. 593, 2.

11. traduxisset: i.e. through the pass. decurrit: perfect.

13. momento temporis: cf. page 87, line 25, where momentum is used without temporis.

15. Castellum: Osiander identifies this with St. Jean de Maurienne, which is still small enough to be called a castellum (it has about three thousand inhabitants). Cf. page 106, line 19, and note. As before suggested, the Mont Genève party might think that this was Embrun, which lies on the upper Durance, in an imposing position, on a hill above the river.

16. viculos: hamlets.

17. captivo: often applied to inanimate things. Cf. page 64, line 10, and note.

19. magno opere: often written as one word.
Chapter XXXIV. 21. Perventum: the frequent use of neuter verbs in compound tenses of the passive is characteristic of Livy’s style. frequentem: full of.

22. ut inter: considering that it was among; cf. page 5, line 25; page 146, line 23. populum: a district, not, as usual, the people who inhabited it; cf. similar use of δῆμος. There are many valleys among the foothills of this region, with mild climate and fertile soil, hence the large number of farmers (cūltoribus) is natural.

23. suis: i.e. characteristic of himself. The Romans learned to feel an exaggerated fear of Hannibal’s craftiness.

27. commeatum: provisions.

28. ad fidem promissorum: as a pledge of the fulfilment of their promises; brachylogy.

33. ut inter pacatos: sc. fieri solet. composito agmine: virtually equivalent to quadrato agmine; cf. page 78, line 36, and note.

Page 108. 2. robore: main body; generally the ‘flower’ of the army.

4. parte altera: on one side. subiectam: running close under.

6. petunt: assailed them.

7. In eos versa . . . quin, etc.: when the infantry faced about against these (enemies in the rear) it became perfectly clear that, etc.

10. accipianda . . . fuerit: when the apodosis of an unreal condition depends on a sentence which requires the subjunctive, the pluperfect is turned into the periphrastic perfect subjunctive. B. 322; H. 648, r. 2; G. 597, r. 5 (a). Tunc quoque: even then, as it was. extremum periculi = extremum periculum.

12. demittere agmen in angustiis: the infantry had not yet reached the narrowest part of the defile when it was thus attacked in the rear and flank. While he thus hesitated, the foremost part of the army, passing on, became separated from the rear, and the enemy took advantage of the chance to occupy the vacant road. quia non . . . reliqui erat: because no force was left to protect the rear of the infantry, as he had himself (with the infantry) protected that of the cavalry; i.e. the infantry itself was the rear guard.

14. per obliqua: i.e. downward and forward.


Chapter XXXV. 19. junctae copiae: i.e. after the separation of the previous night.

23. utamque . . . daret: a conditional relative clause corresponding to the form of protasis in A. 518, c; 519; H. 578, n. 1; G. 503, 1.
24. progressi morative: those who straggled ahead or lagged behind the main body.
25. sicut . . . ita: whilst . . . yet.
27. insuetis: those who were unaccustomed to the elephants.
29. Nono die: after beginning the ascent; the point of departure is not mentioned, but it is, no doubt, ab Druentia; cf. page 105, line 20. Nono: ninth, including the days of departure and arrival; three days were spent in fighting, one in camp, four in marching; Polybius gives the same number of days. in Ingram: the summit of the Mont Cenis pass is 6893 feet above the sea. per invia . . . faciebant: over ground where there was generally no road and after (fruitless) wanderings, which were caused either by the treachery of the guides, or, where they were not trusted, by the fact that valleys were mistakenly entered by those who guessed at the road; that is, they wasted time in exploring valleys that led them out of their way; the subjects of faciebant are fraus and valles.
32. Biduum: undoubtedly the day of arrival should be counted as one of these two. in fugo: on the summits of most of the Alpine passes there are considerable level spaces. stativa: sc. castra.

Page 109. 4. nivis . . . casus: a fall of snow. occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum: as the constellation of the Pleiades was now near its setting; i.e. their morning setting simultaneous with sunrise. We learn from Pliny that the ancients regarded the setting of this constellation at the end of October as the beginning of winter. If the passage of the mountains did not take place till the end of October, the events from this time to the battle of the Trebia, including the bringing of the Roman army from Sicily to the Po, are somewhat crowded. We may therefore translate occidente iam, approaching their setting, and place the crossing early in October, or possibly at the end of September.
7. pigritiaque et desperatio: indifference and discouragement.
8. praegressus signa: going to the head of the column from his place farther toward the rear. in promunturio: this has been regarded as one of the author’s rhetorical flights above the region of fact. But Osianter identifies the place with a small eminence rising from the plateau at the summit of the Mont Cenis pass, from which he himself obtained an actual glimpse of a part of the valley of the He happened to be looking just in the direction of Rome. The of the Apennines beyond the Po valley is visible from the pc question. He thinks that Hannibal would naturally have taken
trouble to find a favorable point of view and show to his men so
inspiring a sight.
13. uno . . . altero: note the change from cardinal to ordinal.
sumnum: adverbial accusative; at most.
17. furt: stealthy attacks.
18. ut: inasmuch as, since.
21. sustinere se a lapsu: to save themselves from falling.
22. paulum titubassent: had but slightly staggered or stumbled.
haerere adfixi vestigio suo: to keep their footing; adfixi expresses
the effort to remain firm in any one spot.
23. occidere: intransitive.
Chapter XXXVI. 24. rupem: probably a narrow rocky ledge on
which they were walking.
25. rectis: perpendicular. temptabundus: feeling for points
of support.
28. lapsu terrae: a landslide, avalanche. in . . . altitudinem: this is possibly a mistake made by the author in copying
from Polybius or their common authority. Polybius tells of a place
where the road was thus swept away for a length of 1 ½ stadia (937 ½
Roman feet). But the text of the sentence is very uncertain.
31. Digestus: left his place in the column of march.
33. quamvis longo ambitu: by however long a circuit.

Page 110. 1. circumduxeret: would be obliged to lead . . .
around; the subjunctive here has jussive force.
2. veterem nivem intactam: the unmelted snow of the year
before. It is not at all likely that this was at the altitude of per-
petual snow, but in shady glens the snow lasts all summer. The
description in some respects would suit such a place, in others it
seems like that of the slanting surface of a glacier.
3. mollis nec praestitae: sc. nonae nivi.
5. dilapsa est: was dissolved. per nudam infra glaciem: over
the bare ice beneath.
6. tabem: slush.
7. non recipiente vestigium: affording no foothold.
8. in prono citius pedes fallente: betraying the steps the more
readily because of its inclined surface.
9. adivissem: iterative subjunctive.
10. ipsis adminiculis prolapsis: when these very supports gave
way by slipping out from under them.
12. in levi tantum glacie: on what was nothing but smooth ice.
13. secabant . . . ingredientia, prolapsa . . . perfringebant: chiasmus.

14. lactantis gravius in contendo unguis: by striking their hoofs in too heavily, in their struggle (to rise).

16. alta concreta: deeply frozen; this seems to refer to an icy crust upon the old snow, rather than the solid ice of a glacier.

Chapter XXXVII. 18. in iugo: evidently not the summit (page 108, line 29), where they had halted two days, and which they had now left behind.

20. ad rupem munieandam = ad viam per rupem munieandam; to build a road through the rock; munire has the same root as moenia, communis, immunis, etc.

22. arboribus circa: this could not have been above the snow line, and seems to be a contradiction to lines 10 and 11 above, and to lines 29–31 below. dejectis detruncatisque: felled and trimmed.

23. struem: a heap.

25. infuso aceto: by pouring vinegar upon it; this story has always been a subject of controversy. This means of softening rock had long been used in the Spanish mines. Limestone would readily yield to vinegar thus employed. The soldiers may have carried sour wine or vinegar (posca) in their canteens. So there is nothing inherently improbable in the statement, if the operation was carried on upon a small scale; the difficulty would be to get enough wood and vinegar. The Journal des Savants for April, 1889, contains an article by M. Berthelot, "De l'emploi du vinaigre dans le passage des Alpes par Annibal," showing by citations that the ancients often used vinegar in this way. But this is, no doubt, a popular legend which became part of the marvellous story of Hannibal's march over the Alps. It found several echoes, however, in Latin literature.

26. mollunt . . . clivos: render the descent easy by curves at a moderate grade, i.e. a zigzag path down the face of the steep. anfractibus: from ambi- and frangere.

28. Quadririum: Polybius says the horses and baggage animals were able to pass on after one day's delay; that only the elephants were detained three days. Livy adds the two numbers together.

29. prope fame absumptis: almost starved to death.

30. obbruunt nives: this and the mention of the bare rocky summits are quite inconsistent with the large trees that have just been cut down in the vicinity, and shows how little we can base an upon the author's description of the march.

32. prope silvas: sc. fluentes; flowing by forests. judder for.
Page 113. Chapter XL. 2. supersedisse: I should have considered it superfluous. apud vos: illogical, for apud eum.

3. referret: i.e. si educerem; what would (in that case) be the use?

4. ad Rhodanum: a reference to the cavalry encounter described in chapter xxix... the expressions are highly exaggerated. vicissent: subjunctive by assimilation to referret, to which it is subordinate. B. 324; A. 598; H. 652; G. 668, 1. But habui (line 7) states a fact independently of the connection and subordination of the clause.

6. confessionem... habui: I held his confession in retreating and refusing to fight as equivalent to a victory.


9. meis auspiciis: the auspices were taken by the commander-in-chief; if they were taken by a lieutenant, it was only in the name and as the representative of the former, not in his own capacity. eum: i.e. exercitum.

10. volupt: singular because senatus populusque Romanus together constitute a single unit. ego: asyndeton; this is the beginning of the second member of the causal clause.

12. huic... certaminis: it was perfectly competent to the consul thus to take the direction of the Italian campaign, instead of going on to Spain, as originally intended.

14. cum iis est, etc.: brief for vobis dico cum iis esse, etc.

16. vicistis and exegistis apply, not to the individuals addressed, but to a former generation. per viginti annos: only ten years were finally allowed for the payment of the indemnity after the first Punic war.

17. Sicilian ac Sardiniam: see note to page 74, line 20.

21. incolumi: before the losses suffered in crossing the mountains. pugnam retractavere: refused to fight.

22. duabus partibus: two-thirds; tribus partibus would be three-quarters, quattuor partibus four-fifths, and so on. Even counting the whole losses since leaving the Pyrenees, this is a slight exaggeration.

23. At enim, etc.: a supposed objection offered by his auditors.

26. inluvie, aqualore: by filth and misery.

28. ad hoc: besides. praestis = frost-bitten — at the extremities (prae), i.e. the toes and fingers. torrida: parched, pinched.

31. habetis: you have to deal with.

33. forsitan: notice that it is here followed by the indicative, decuit.

Page 114. 2. committere ac profigare: begin and virtually decide; profigare has about the sense of our colloquial 'break the back of,'
4. conficere: put the finishing touches to.

Chapter XLI. 5. vestri adhortandi: vestri is, or was originally, neuter singular of vester; B. 339, 5; A. 504, c; H. 626, 3; G. 428, r. 1.

7. Licuit...ire: I might have gone.

9. haberem: I should (now) have.

11. minorem...molem belli: a less difficult campaign.

12. ad famam: upon hearing of.

14. Equestri proelio, qua parte: constructio ad sensum (per synesim); qua parte refers to equitatus included in the adjective equestri.

15. fudi: he was not personally present.

17. neque...: the sense is broken by a lacuna in the text.

20. timendo: ironical. hostis: A. 370, c. cum declinarem: depending on incidisse, not on videor; see note on vicissent, page 113, line 4.

21. occurrere in vestigis: to dog his steps.

23. alios: another sort of. per: during the last.

25. Ab Eryx: Eryx was the stronghold where Hamilcar had maintained himself during the last years of the first war, and whence he had to be allowed to depart with the honors of war. duodevicens denariis: eighteen denarii (= three dollars) apiece; a low price, but the Romans probably did not think it wise to ask more than a formal ransom. Scipio seems to make a clever use of the smallness of the ransom, in order to undervalue the Carthaginians.

27. itinerum Herculis: Hercules is said to have passed over the Graian (Grecian) Alps in coming from Spain with the oxen of Geryon; cf. Book I, chap. 7. vectigalis stipendiariusque: vectigal includes such regular taxation as tithes of produce, rent to the state for use of the ager publicus, port dues, and customs; stipendium is a general word for tribute, and is especially applied to a war indemnity imposed on a conquered state. The phrase here is a rhetorical exaggeration, for Carthage had paid only stipendium, and that for ten years, not twenty, so that the payment was finished in Hamilcar’s lifetime.

28. quem nisi...= qui, nisi eum...

29. agitatet: maddened. respiceret: would have some regard for.

30. domum: the honor of his family.

31. Hamilcaris scripta manu: Hamilcar had conducted th liminary negotiations with Lutatius Catulus.

33. leges: terms, conditions; cf. page 29, line 19. in maerensque: with rage and grief in his heart.
Page 115. 3. velim: subjunctive of modest statement.
4. velut si . . . videatis: B. 307, 2; A. 524, n. 2; H. 584; G. 602.
6. humanorum: sc. suppliciorum; tortures that man can suffer.
7. in Africam traerere: it was but ninety miles from Sicily.
8. intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine: an absurd exaggeration, as the third Punic war shows.
10. tutelae deinde nostrae duximus: we considered them there- after as under our protection; the Romans allowed them, at the beginning of the Mercenaries' War, to buy grain and levy troops in Italy and Sicily, but soon seized Sardinia by an outrageous abuse of power.
11. Pro his impertitis: in return for these favors.
13. utinam . . . esset: B. 279, 2; A. 441, 442; H. 558, 1; G. 261.
15. de: note the prepositions; de with the object one fights to gain, pro (line 16) with the object one defends.
17. nisi: if . . . not, not 'unless.'
18. quas dum, etc. = ut, dum eas, etc.
21. non = non solum. corpus suum: himself; we have already se as subject.
25. vis virtusque: paronomasia.
Chapter XLII. 27. Haece: sc. dixit or egit.
31. equis: whether any.
32. victor = si victor esset.

Page 116. 1. Cum . . . poscerent, et . . . esset: the sense is iterative, and we find the imperfect indicative in the principal clause, capiebat, line 5. ad unum: to a man. ferrum pugnamque: hendiadys.
2. deflecta: the lots were thrown into a vase or urn, or, in this case, probably a helmet, whence they were shaken out singly (exciderat). in id: like ad id, page 14, line 23.
3. cuiusque: not genitive of quisque, but = et cuius.
6. dimicarent: iterative subjunctive.
7. eiusdem . . . conditionis homines: i.e. the other prisoners.
8. spectantes vulgo: the mass of the spectators.
Chapter XLIII. 10. sic . . . adfectos: in this state of mind, referring, of course, to Hannibal's men. paribus: substantive; pairs.
11. dimisisset: he broke up this informal gathering, and called together a regular assembly of the army (contio). Polybius says he at once addressed the troops, which seems more natural.
12. in alienae sortis exemplo: i.e. at the sight of the conduct of
other men in their position, serving you as an example of how you should act in yours.

14. vicimus: victory is ours; perfect, to express a future event regarded as absolutely certain. A. 516, e.

15. quaedam: this pronoun is often used to introduce a metaphor.

16. condicionis: situation. nescio an: I rather think that, etc.

17. maloresque necessitates: more desperate straits.

18. dextra laevaque: ablative. duo maria: the Mediterra-
nean and the Adriatic.

20. circa: sc. est; we should rather expect a fronte, but the word is not to be taken too literally; there were many rivers in the neighborhood, of which they had but vague impressions. maior ac violentior Rhodano: a rhetorical exaggeration.

21. integris vobis ac vigentibus: when your numbers and strength were unimpaired.

27. parentibus: B. 188, 2, d); A. 381; H. 427; G. 345, n. 1.

31. In: in the hope of. agite dum: come on! Dum is merely intensive; cf. Age sane, page 69, line 27.-

32. Satis adhuc: long enough. vastis: wild, desert, not ‘vast.’

33. Lusitaniae: corresponding to the modern Portugal and the adjacent parts of Spain. Celtiberiaeque: the central region of the Spanish peninsula. consecutando... vidistis: you have fol-
lowed... without seeing.

Page 117. 6. emergit stipendii: after your campaigns are fin-
ished.

7. Nec = et ne. quam magni nominis... tam difficilem: difficult in proportion to the prestige of the enemy.

8. existimaris: B. 276; A. 450 (3); H. 561, 2; G. 263, 2 (b).

9. perlevi momento: by very slight effort; note the force of per.

10. fulgore: glamour.

11. cur... comparandi sint: B. 283, 1, 2; A. 585, a; H. 591, 4; G. 631, 2. Livy prefers the gerundive to the verbal in -bilis.

12. Ut... taceam: not to mention. viginti annorum mili-
tiam (sc. peractam): applicable to Hamilcar’s veterans, of whom there were doubtless a few in the army. illa: that well k-
B. 246, 3; A. 297, b; H. 507, 4; G. 307, 2.

13. Herculis columnis: the “Pillars of Hercules”; Calp
raltar) in Spain, and Abylla in Africa.

14. ab Oceano: very few had come so far.
16. hac ipsa aestate caeso, etc.: referring to the events in chapter xxv.

19. natum . . . eductum: this is consistent rather with the usual version of Hannibal's boyhood than with that implied in chapters iii. and iv. eductum: see note on the same word, page 49, line 30.

22. semenstri: the consuls took office March 16th. desertore: it will be remembered that Scipio had sent his original army on to Spain; cf. page 105, lines 12–17.

25. parvi: B. 203, 3; A. 417; H. 448, 1; G. 380, 1.

26. quod nemo est: B. 299, 1; A. 572; H. 588, 3; G. 525.

27. cui . . . decora: to whom also I cannot, from having been an eye-witness of his gallantry, recall his own brave deeds, specifying the time and place of their performance.

31. ignotos . . . ignorantesque: pleonasm.

Page 118. Chapter XLIV. 1. frenatos infranatosque: respectively, the Spanish and Numidian cavalry; the latter used no saddles and no bridles (infranatos); in- is here the negative prefix.

2. socios: Africans as well as Spaniards, all but the Carthaginian citizens.

6. inferentis vim quam arcentis: of the invader than of the defender; participles, with their object, equivalent to substantives or to clauses.

7. dolor, etc.: besides the natural smart of defeat, they had reason to resent Rome's unfair and overbearing conduct in the years since the first war.

9. deinde vos omnes: no such demand as this was made. qui . . . oppugnavissetis: who (as they said) had besieged; informal indirect discourse, implied in depoposcerunt.

10. deditos = si dediti essitis; cf. exutum, page 107, line 10, and note. adfecturi fuerunt: B. 304, 3, b); A. 517, d; H. 582; G. 596, 2; 597, r. 3.

11. sua: predicative. suique arbitri: predicative possessive genitive.

12. Cum quibus . . . habeamus: deliberative question in indirect discourse; the treaty of 241 B.C. forbade war with any ally of Rome.

13. modum inponere: to prescribe.

14. montium fluminumque: a rhetorical flourish; he means simply the Ebro River.

16. Ne transieris: perfect subjunctive in a prohibition; cf. page 117, line 8, and note. Here Rome appears as party to an imaginary
dialogue with Carthage, represented by Hannibal. *Ne quid...* 
cum *Saguntinis*: but the treaty with Hasdrubal had merely secured 
the independence of Saguntum.
18. *vestigio*: from where you are standing.
21. *autem*: do I say? This figure of rhetoric is called *epanor-
thosis*, 'correction.'
22. *unum* = *alterum*. *in Africam*: Sempronius never went 
beyond Sicily.
23. *in Hispaniam*: Scipio did not reach Spain in person till the 
following year. *Nihil... relictum est, nisi* = *nihil habebimus, 
nisi*; hence *vindicarium*, future perfect.
25. *respectum*: a refuge, a place to look back to. *sua*: referring 
to *quos*, the logical subject of the sentence, though it is grammatic-
ally the object.
26. *vobis*: dative with *necesse*.
27. *fortibus viris*: attracted to case of *vobis*; a Grecism. 
H. 612, 3. * omnibus (sc. rebus)... certa desperatione abruptis*:
renouncing with decision all hopes, etc.
29. *dubitabit*: wavers; euphemistic for 'inclines to the enemy.'
30. *fixum*, etc.: suggests Vergil's *animo fixum immotumque* 
(Aeneid, iv. 15).
32. *telum... acerius*: cf. Cicero, *de Amicitia*, 17, 61, *nec mediocri 
telum ad res gerendas*.

Page 119. Chapter XLV. 2. *ponte Ticianum insunt*: build a 
bridge over the Ticinus; originally they must have said *ponte ripas 
fluminis insunge*; the Ticino is a tributary of the Po, flowing into it 
near Pavia.
3. *castellum*: a redoubt, *tête de pont*. *insuper*: besides; we 
say, "over and above."
5. *ala*: five hundred seems to have been the regular number of 
a regiment of Numidian cavalry; cf. page 102, line 2, and page 193, 
line 17.
7. *defectionem*: from the Romans to himself.
9. *agrum Insubrium*: the fact is that most of the Insubres lived 
east of the Ticinus. *Victumultis*: in the district of Vercellae, later 
known for its gold mines. Livy thus puts the battle a good deal farther 
north than Polybius, who implies that it was quite near the Po; the 
scene of it cannot be certainly determined.
10. ab Ticino: from the vicinity of the Ticinus; Scipio had encamped some distance west of the river. Of course it is here implied that he recrossed it.

11.-Junxerat flumen: had bridged the river.

12. Prius . . . prefectos: probably an exaggeration, yet Polybius explains that Hannibal waited some time, expecting an attack of the Roman infantry.

13. Placentiam: this was on the south bank of the Po, near the mouth of the Trebia. satis sciret: was well aware.

14. moratorum: from moratus. in citeriore ripa Padi: Hannibal appears to have gone up the north bank of the Po, west of the Ticinus, till he found a crossing-place. But there has been a great deal of controversy about the different movements of the armies, and several questions remain to be settled.

15. sequiter . . . solventes: they may have delayed so long that the floating bridge had to be cut loose at the southern end. If so, they were left without means of crossing the river. ratem: bridge of boats.

17. in secundum aquam labente: drifting down stream. auctor est: is authority for the statement that, etc.


20. in ordinem: in a row.

21. ad sustinendum, etc.: to act as a breakwater. peritis: dative.

22. annis: genitive depending on peritius; B. 204, 1; A. 349, a; H. 461, 1; G. 374. fidem fecerint: would awaken belief, meet credence; subjunctive of modesty.

24. ut iam . . . utres: even granting that all the Spaniards had floated across on their inflated bags.

27. Potiores apud me auctores sunt: to my mind those authors have greater weight, are more credible, who, etc.

Page 122. 3. acie directa: with the army formed in battle array.

Chapter XLVIII. 5. in castris Romanis: the first camp was probably on the west bank of the Trebia, though near Placentia; there is no statement yet of either party's having crossed the river.


8. portas: a Roman camp had one gate on each of its four sides.

9. adlocutus et . . . accensus: adlocutor being deponent has no passive, hence the odd coördination of the active and passive participles.

12. contactosque eo scelere: infected by the bad example.
14. *gravis*: crippled by, suffering from; less strong than *aeger*.  
*adhuo*: strictly means ‘till now,’ but Livy often uses it of the past.  
*quarta vigilia*: the last quarter of the night, before sunrise.  
16. *ineditiores equiti*: less adapted for the movements of cavalry.  
17. *Minus...fellelit*: was less successful in eluding observation than at the Ticinus.  
19. *utique novissimum agmen*: especially the rear-guard.  
23. *transgressos*: i.e. from the west to the east bank.  
24. *metantisque castra*: laying out the camp. The Roman camp was always, so far as possible, of fixed proportions and upon the same plan.  
25. *citra*: i.e. on the west bank.  
26. *iactati*: irritated by motion. *collegam...expectandum*: Sempronius would come to join Scipio by the Aemilian Way from Ariminum on the Adriatic. This was the natural and easy line of communication with the capital. Therefore it seems extremely improbable that Scipio would have retreated from the east to the west bank, leaving Hannibal in possession of his line of communication.  
29. *Nec procul inde Hannibal*: on the opposite bank, however, as appears in the sequel.  

Page 123. 1. *Clastidium*: now Casteggio, about twenty-five miles west of the Trebia; a fortified place, where the Romans had a supply of military stores. *numerum*: quantity.  
2. *mittit*: sc. *milites* or the like. *viam pararent*: were preparing for an attack.  
4. *nummis aureis quadringeritis*: gold was first coined at Rome in 217 B.C., the year after this occurrence, but was not common till the time of Caesar; the *aureus* = 25 *denarii* = $4.16. These words mean an amount of gold of the value of 400 *aurei*; Roby, *Latin Grammar*, i., page 446.  
6. *horreum*: magazine; not very convenient if the Romans were west and the Carthaginians east of the river.  
Chapter XLIX. 9. *constitisset*: had come to a standstill.  
10. *interim*: the following events in Sicily had taken place before the encampment on the Trebia, and were rather simultaneous with the occurrences described in chapters xxvi.-xlvii. *Italicae imminentes*: in the vicinity of Italy.  
11. *terra marique*: all the fighting was at sea.
12. *Viginti quinqueremes*. . . *mille armatis*: i.e. about fifty combatants to each ship; by comparison with the next chapter we find that there must have been about two hundred rowers and sailors in each crew. This miserably inadequate fleet indicates the decadence of the Punic navy.

14. *Lipàras*: the Lipari Islands, north of Sicily, ceded by Carthage to Rome in 241 B.C. The *insula Vulcani* is south of and very near to Lipara, the chief island of the group, which seems to be meant by the general expression *Liparas* in this case. *teuerunt*: sc. *cursum*; reached; cf. *tenuisse*, page 3, line 16, and note.


16. *Hierone*: the faithful and valuable ally of Rome since the early part of the first Punic war. He was now near the end of his long life and his prosperous reign of fifty-four years. His death in 216 B.C. brought to an unhappy conclusion the friendly relations of his kingdom with Rome.

18. *opperiens*: waiting to receive.

19. *Cognitum*: sc. *est*. *praeter viginti* . . . *essent*, etc.: besides the twenty ships of the fleet to which they themselves belonged; *classis* is attracted into the relative clause.

22. *vetere socios*: a large part of the island had once belonged to Carthage. *Lilybaei*: (now Marsala) the strong fortress at the west end of the island, the siege of which had occupied the Romans during the last ten years of the first war.

24. *Aegatis insulas*: a few miles off Lilybaeum, to the northwest.

25. *deiectam*: driven out of its course.

26. *praetori*: there were then four praetors, including one for Sicily and one for Sardinia-Corsica. The praetor of Sicily was regularly stationed at Lilybaeum. *provincia*: cf. page 89, line 17; he may have been the incumbent of the preceding year, waiting for the arrival of his successor, or appointed to this province in subordination to Sempronius, who was expected to cross into Africa.

28. *legati*: lieutenants, staff officers, not envoys. *tribunique*: the six field officers of the legion were called *tribuni militum*; they commanded, two at a time, in rotation.


31. *socii navales = nautae et remiges*, as opposed to *milites classici*, marines; so called because in the early days of the Roman navy the crews were chiefly formed of allies, leaving citizens to do the fighting.
1. speculìs: watch-towers along the coast.
2. moderati . . . erant: had regulated; the fleet could easily arrive long before Hiero's letters.
3. pernox: a poetical word.
4. sublatis armamentis: with yards raised; i.e. under full sail.
5. demendis armamentis: it was customary to clear away the rigging before going into action.
15. circa ea ipsa loca: the references to the victory at the Aegates Islands grow a little tiresome.
16. vires conferre: to measure their strength, come to close quarters, i.e. grappling and boarding. velle and malle (line 20): historical infinitives.
19. eludere: to dodge, manœuvre.
21. socìis navalibus: as before, crews, distinguished from fighting men. adìnatim: to a sufficiency; akin to fatiscere, fatigare.
22. sicubi (si cubi, not sic ubi): if anywhere, wherever. conserta . . . esset: had become engaged at close quarters, had been grappled by the enemy.
23. numerus: in the first war the Romans ordinarily had one hundred and twenty soldiers and three hundred oarsmen and sailors to a quinquereme.
25. illis: i.e. Poenis.
27. Mille et septingenti: about fifty soldiers and two hundred sailors and rowers apiece; cf. page 123, line 12.
29. perforata: rammed by the beak of one of the enemy's ships.
30. reduce: usually in prose this word is applied to living beings only.
32. Messanam venit: i.e. from Rome.

1. ornatam armatamque: fully equipped.
2. praetoriam navem: the flagship; praetorius has the general sense, 'belonging to the commander-in-chief.'
3. cum exercitu et navibus: his army was 26,400 men, according to page 80, line 28 sqq. It had doubtless marched down by land to Rhegium, and, as a whole, certainly did not take part in the operations described in this and the next chapter.
4. in Siciliam: i.e. to the west of the island.
7. iuvenis: he was forty-three years old in 264 B.C., and now eighty-nine.
10. quibusdam volentibus . . . fore: that some would be glad of a change of government; apparently a Greek construction (cf. page 66, line 14, and note); though some explain volentibus as ablative absoluto.
13. Navigantes: i.e. along the northern coast of Sicily.

Chapter LI. 18. Melitam: Malta; fifty-eight miles southwest of Cape Pachynum. The inhabitants were mainly Greeks, and the island had not been ceded by Carthage in 241.

20. duobus millibus: ablative with cum; the case is not affected by the comparative minus. B. 217, c; A. 407, c; H. 471, 4; G. 296, r. 4.

21. traditur: a sort of zeugma; Hamilcar se tradit; oppidum traditur.

22. reditum: sc. est.

23. praeter . . . viros: the nobles were reserved for ransom or exchange. sub corona venierunt: were sold as slaves. The heads of such prisoners, like those of animals about to be sacrificed, were crowned with garlands. Vēneo is used as the passive of vendo.

24. ab ea parte: on that side.

25. censebat: cf. page 86, line 29, and note. insulas Vulcāni: i.e. the Lipari Islands, of which one in particular had this name. See note to page 123, line 14.


27. forte: they happened to be gone when the consul arrived, though they had not expected his arrival.

29. urbem: Vibo or Hippo, on the west coast of Bruttium. Repetenti Siciliam: on his way back to Sicily, or else immediately upon his arrival.

30. escenslo: descent, landing.

31. de . . . ut: (informing him) concerning . . . (ordering him) to, etc.

32. primo quoque tempore: as soon as possible; quoque is ablative of quisque. Nothing is said of the battle on the Ticinus; presumably this message was sent before it was fought.

Page 126. 2. Ariminum: a town (now Rimini) on the coast of Umbria, or, more properly, of the Ager Gallicus, lately connected with Rome by the Flaminian Way. Polybius says that the consul made the troops take an oath to meet him on a certain day at Ariminum, and that they completed the march in forty days from Lilybaeum. The navigation of the Adriatic in winter was dangerous. If we take Livy’s account as meaning that the whole army went by sea, we should question whether, after detaching so many ships from his fleet, the consul had enough left to carry the troops. mari supero: the Adriatic; the mare inferum was the Tuscan Sea.
5. quinquaginta . . . explavit: filled up the number of the fleet to fifty ships.
6. compositis Siciliae rebus: after taking measures for the defence of Sicily.
7. oram . . . legens: a Vergilian phrase; cf. lege litoris oram (Georgics, ii. 44). From this we should suppose he sailed up the eastern coast, but Polybius says he sailed to Rome and went thence by land.
8. Inde: along the line of the later Via Aemilia, a straight line to Placentia.
9. conlegae confungitur: we hear of no opposition to this junction, which tends to show that Scipio was on the east bank of the Trebia, Hannibal on the west.

Chapter LIII. 10. iam ambo consules (sc. opposit), etc.: the fact that now both consuls and the whole Roman forces were opposed to Hannibal made it quite clear, etc. quidquid . . . erat: this does not mean all possible or even all actual forces, but only that the usual consular army was about doubled, and that no other large force was immediately available.
14. animi minutus: see note to page 10, line 17; page 71, line 12.
15. alter: Sempronius. feroclor: more headstrong, impetuous.
16. inter Trebiam Padumque: i.e. west of the Trebia, south of the Po.
18. per ambiguum favorem: by a policy that committed them to neither side.
19. spectantes: aiming to secure. Id Romani . . . satis: the Romans were satisfied with this, provided they (the Gauls) committed no overt act of hostility.
21. accitum: cf. page 102, lines 20 sqq.
22. eam iram: anger at this; cf. Is pavor, page 120, line 23.
25. cum ad id . . . animos: although, up to this time, they had preserved their attitude of indecision.
26. ad id: sc. temporis.
27. ad vindices futuros: to those who (they expected) would be their avengers. The future participle here expresses an assumption of the Gauls.
29. cultorum: inhabitants.
32. ut alla vetustate obsolevissent: supposing other things to have been forgotten in the lapse of time. B. 308; A. 627, a; H. 586, ii.; G. 608. Bolorum perfidiam: the seizure of the triumvirs (chap. xxv.).
Page 127. 1. continendi... sociis: dative of the gerundive, expressing purpose, a rare construction in classical prose.
2. primos... defensores: the defence of the first ones who, etc.
4. mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme: a thousand footmen, most of them javelin-throwers; iaculatoribus is in the ablative, appositive to mille.
5. trans Trebiam: i.e. to the west.
7. invasisset: i.e. Sempronius's troops had attacked the enemy.
8. stationes: outposts.
10. sequentes inter cedentesque: notice the anastrophe of the preposition; see Introduction, III. 10, b.

Chapter LIII. 14. iustiorque: more complete.
15. gaudio efferri: was delighted, beside himself with joy; this is followed by an infinitive clause, as if it were a verb of thinking.
18. dilatam: notice the use of the participle with vellet; A. 497, c, n.
20. non... senescendum: they must not all grow feeble to keep the sick man company; cf. page 27, line 5.
21. differri: B. 315, 2; A. 586; II. 642, 2; G. 651, n. 1.
25. peti: were the object of attack.
28. soliti: an exaggeration; there had been but one invasion of Africa, and that a signal failure.
31. adsidens aegro conlegae: when he sat by the bedside of his sick colleague.
32. in praetorio: the open space in front of the general's tent is here meant. prope contioabundus: almost as if he were addressing an assembly of the army. Livy is fond of adjectives in -bundus, which are rare in classical prose.
33. propincum: see note on aecum, page 76, line 6. comitiorum: elections.

Page 128. 1. novos consules: the inauguration of consuls, March 15th, by the calendar, which was about two months in advance, really fell in January. This confusion of the calendar was not remedied till the year 46 B.C.
2. dum... erat: any tense of the indicative may follow dum, denoting time coextensive with that of the main verb.
3. parari = se parare.
8. percutum ac ferox: hot-headed and impetuous. It is curious to observe this same contrast of character repeated in several pairs of consuls, and even in the dictator and magister equitum of 217 B.C.
10. gerendae rei fortunam: the chance to gain a success.
11. Cuius: i.e. certaminis or gerendae rei.
17. et facere, si cessaretur, superet: and desired to force an engagement, if there should be a disposition to avoid it (on the part of the Romans).

Chapter LV. 22. in medio: between the Punic camp and the river.
23. inculta: sc. loca.
24. equites ... tegendo: the dative gerund with a direct object is very rare even in the poets.
27. centenos: one hundred from the infantry, one hundred from the cavalry.
30. praetorium missum: the council was dismissed. Apparently it was held on the field. On missum for dimissum, see Introduction, III. 8, b. Cf. page 120, line 11.

Page 129. 1. ex turmis manipulis: Roman technical terms; from the troops (of horse) and the companies (of foot). The Roman turma was the tenth of the three hundred equites of the legion; the maniple, the thirtieth part of the legion, and its tactical unit, containing at this period about one hundred and forty men.
7. inieicto deinde certamine: and then, after bringing on a fight.
8. citra flumen: across to the west bank.
14. ab destinato iam ante consilium: in accordance with his purpose already formed beforehand.
15. brumae (breu(i)mae = brevissimae): the shortest day, the winter solstice.
16. nivalis: the author is fond of adjectives in -alis, and introduces many for the first time into prose.
20. quidquid = quo magis; adverbial accusative.
21. acrior: translate by an adverb.
22. refugientes: accusative. incessuentes: nominative.
24. tum utique: then especially (however it may have been before).

Chapter LV. 27. miles: singular for collective.
28. ut mollient: to render ... supple.
31. ante signa: i.e. as skirmishers in front of the infantry with their standards. Each maniple had its standard; eagles were of later date.
Page 130. 1. quod virium . . . erat: the strength and stay of the army.

2. in cornibus: on the wings; constituting the wings.

3. ab cornibus in utramque partem: the meaning of this is disputed; some understand, beyond each wing, outside the cavalry, at the extreme ends of the line; others think it means, from the two wings toward the centre, supposing that the elephants were placed as a protection in advance of the wings of the infantry, leaving the centre open.

6. receptui: dative of purpose. circumdedit peditibus: placed them on the flanks of the infantry. Duodeviginti milia: as the legions consisted of four thousand infantry each (page 89, line 28), this would make five legions somewhat diminished by losses. Two legions had been stationed in Cisalpine Gaul at the beginning of the season, and another had been sent under the praetor Attilus (page 98, line 27). Sempronius had brought two with him. Two consular armies would ordinarily consist of four legions.

7. Romana: instead of Romanorum. socium: genitive plural; at this time there were four hundred and forty-three thousand socii and three hundred and twenty-five thousand Roman citizens of military age. nominis Latinis: the term is political; the “Latin name” included all who possessed the ius Latinum or Latii; see Morey, Outlines of Roman Law, 49, 50. Of the thirty original towns of the Latin league (Prisci Latini), some had lost their independence, some had disappeared, some had received full Roman citizenship. In their places, not in a Latin league, but in relation to Rome, were other towns, many of them the so-called Latin colonies, and many also far beyond the boundaries of Latium.

8. Cenomanorum: this tribe lived north of the Po, east of the Insùbres, west of the Venêti, about Brixia and Verona.

12. quae res effect ut . . .: and this movement had the result that . . .

15. insuper: besides.

16. Ad hoc: in addition to this. eminenter: the meaning of this depends somewhat on our understanding of ab cornibus (line 3); if we take the first view, it may mean ‘extending beyond’; if the second, ‘conspicuous.’

20. recentis: accusative plural.

21. contra: adverb.

25. in medium . . . tulerant: apparently they advanced obliquely.

26. simul: as soon as.
30. *Hos*: the elephants. *velites*: strictly speaking, this class of troops was not instituted till 211 B.C.; the meaning here is general, *light-armed troops*. *ad ipsum*: for this very purpose.


Page 131. Chapter LVI. 1. Trepidantisque: *sc. elephants.* prope iam in suas consternatos: just about to turn upon their own men, in their panic (*driven in fright upon*), etc.

2. *ad sinistrum*: the Punic left. *adversus Gallos*: elephants were new to the Gauls, while the Romans had known them for two generations, since the war with Pyrrhus.

6. *in orbem*: pregnant construction; after being forced *into* a circle they fought *in* that order; we say a "square," but the idea is the same, to face every way at once against the enemy.


10. *interclusis*: possessive dative; it was impossible in their flight to pick out a fit place to cross; besides, the water may have continued to rise.

11. Placentiam: as we have concluded that the battle took place on the west bank, we must suppose that the fugitives crossed again by a bridge close to Placentia. It is clear from this, however, and from lines 21-24, that Livy thought either that the battle occurred on the east bank or that Placentia was west of the Trebia.

12. *in omnes partes*: in all directions. *eruptiones*: attempts to break through, the enemy being on all sides of them.

14. *inter cunctationem ingrediendi*: while they hesitated to enter the water.


19. *hominis*: i.e. in Hannibal's army.

20. *prope omnis*: Polybius (iii. 74) says all but one; but cf. page 134, line 15.

23. *et quod relicum . . . erat*: and the remainder of the soldiers, who were in great part wounded.

24. sauciorem: probably those wounded at the battle on the Ticinus; those wounded in this battle could hardly have gotten back to camp across the river.

25. *traicenter*: according to the view we have taken, this must be a mistake; it is very improbable, at any rate. *sensere*: i.e. Poeni. *obstrepente pluvia*: sc. *aqua*; on account of the noise of the rain.

27. *sentire sese dissimularunt*: pretended not to hear.
29. *Pado trajecto Cremonam*: *crossed the Po to Cremona*, which was about sixteen miles down the river on the north bank. *duorum*: Sempronius, we suppose, was already at Placentia with his army.


2. *urbem Romanam*: more stately than *Romam*.

5. *revocatum*: see page 125, lines 20–32.

7. *quos . . . esse*: see note to page 127, line 21.

8. *territis*: *sc. Romanis*; dative with *advenit*. *Sempronius advenit*: this journey is mentioned by Livy only; see page 88, lines 22–24.

10. *fallendi*: *of passing unobserved*. This was rather a foolhardy expedition. A dictator or *interrex* might easily have been appointed to hold the consular elections. The constitutional rule required that they should not be held by one of lower rank than consul.

14. *iterum*, *for the second time*, applies to Flaminius only, whose first consulship was in 223 B.C. It is not unlikely, as appears from Polybius, that this election was held by Sempronius, on his way north, before the battle of the Trebia. But Livy mentions the journey twice (cf. page 88, lines 22–24).

16. *ut quaeque iis impeditione erant*: *wherever the ground was too rough for them*.

18. *clausi . . . erant*: not ‘had been cut off,’ but *were cut off* (and remained so).

19. *subveherent*: iterative subjunctive. *Emporium*: *(μυστροψείον)*, a trading place, a magazine, a market; Placentia, lying some little distance from the Po, had a port at the bank of the river. *opere magno*: *strong fortifications*.

20. *Eius . . . oppugnandi*: success in this operation would have cut off the supplies of the troops at Placentia.

23. *ad effectum*: *sc. incepti*; *for success*. Hanniba. had no means to prosecute a siege if his attempt at surprise failed. *spei*: construe with *plurimum*.

25. *sub lucem*: *just before dawn*.

26. *consul*: *i.e. Scipio*.

29. *praesidium*: here not the garrison, but the *fortified post* held by it.


32. *Gallico bello*: ablative of time. This was the war of 225–222 B.C., which ended with the capture of Milan, and was followed by *the foundation* of Placentia and Cremona.
Page 133. 1. frequentavertant: had settled in large numbers at.  
adcolae: those who had previously lived in the vicinity.  
mixti: Gauls and Ligurians.  
3. fama ... accensa: fired with emulation by the report of the  
gallant defence of the fort near Placentia.  
5. Magis agmina quam acies: more of a mob than an army;  
literally, 'in marching column rather than battle order.'  
8. triginta quinque milia: doubtless an exaggeration, as the  
place does not appear to be of very great importance.  
14. clades: outrage.  adeo: for, or so true it is that; thus  
used, adeo introduces a clause containing the ground of a preceding  
statement.  omne ... exemplum: every sort:  
15. editum: was practised; it was contrary to Hannibal's policy  
to treat any but Romans with severity.  
Chapter LVIII. 17. dum: as long as.  intolerabilia frigora:  
most of the army were natives of warm climates.  
19. in Etruriam ducit: he tried to march into Etruria; he did  
ot succeed.  
21. adiuncturus: sc. sibi.  
22. adorta: transitive, assaulted.  
23. ferretur: dashed.  
24. primo: corresponds to dein (line 26) and tandem (line 30).  
25. vertice intorti adfligebantur: they were caught up by the  
hurricane and dashed to the ground.  constitero: they halted.  
26. cum (sc. ventus) ... sineret: as the blast even then stopped  
their breath and prevented respiration.  
27. aversal a vento: with their backs to the wind.  
28. strepere: thundered; this and the following infinitives are  
historical.  
29. fragores: crashes, peals.  micare ignes: the lightning  
flashed.  capti auribus et oculis: deafened and blinded; capti  
means 'deprived of the use of'; cf. page 144, line 7.  
30. effuso imbre: when the rain had poured itself out, exhausted  
itself.  
31. accensa: aggravated; a curious metaphor in this case.  

Page 134. 1. explicare quicquum: to unfold anything (in the  
shape of a tent); quicquum is hides, or canvas, or whatever the mate-  
rial of the tents was.  
2. statuere: refers to the tent poles.  statutum esse: iter-  
ative subjunctive.  
3. perscindente: tearing to shreds; a very rare word.
5. *concreta esse*: had congealed. *deiscit*: the subject is *aqua*.
11. *movere ac recipere*: sc. *coeperunt*, from *est coeptus*.
13. *ad alienam...tendere*: each in his helpless state sought the assistance of others. *opem...inops*: paronomasia.

Chapter LIX. 17. *Degressus*: Polybius makes no mention of this attempt to cross the mountains, and there is a good deal of doubt as to the truth of the statement. *ad*: near, to the vicinity of.

18. *ad*: about. This means west of Placentia. Livy seems to crowd too many events and operations into the interval between *dubia signa veris* (page 133, line 18) and the actual opening of spring.

*milia*: notice the omission of the usual *passuum*.
20. *redierat*: i.e. after holding the elections.
22. *tria*: only three. *bina*: see note to page 15, line 3.
23. *pugnatum est*: this is probably an exaggerated account of one of the skirmishes that would naturally take place in the then existing circumstances.

29. *nona...hora*: the middle of the afternoon.
31. *receptui*: see note to page 130, line 6.
32. *laxatam*: had slackened.

Page 135. 1. *peditum robore*: the heavy-armed infantry.
5. *diremit*: put an end to.
8. *eius*: i.e. *numerii*.

9. *maior quam pro numero*: out of proportion to the mere number; cf. page 102, line 6.
11. *praefecti*: among the *socii*, corresponding to the *tribuni* of the Romans.

13. *Lucam*: in Etruria, on a tributary of the Arno, about twelve miles from the sea. This statement has been questioned, and causes a good deal of confusion. Sempronius would, it seems, naturally have gone to Placentia; and, from the beginning and end of chapter lxiii., it would appear that he did so.

16. *equestris ordinis*: meaning the eighteen centuries of *equites* established by Servius Tullius (cf. Book i., chap. xliii.), who served *equo publico* without pay, and had the right to wear a gold ring. Later
the cavalry provided their own horses, were paid, and wore iron rings, and the *equites equo publico* became an honorary body. Strictly speaking, the *ordo equester* dates only from the legislation of C. Gracchus, 123 B.C. *senatorum ferme liberis*: mostly sons of senators; they had equestrian, not senatorial, rank.


22. *Emporias*: a Phocaean (Greek) colony, a few miles south of the Pyrenees; the name is plural because the town was a double one, an Iberian settlement adjoining the Greek one.

23. *Laetanis*: inhabitants of the coast southwest of Emporiae, around the modern Barcelona.

24. *societatis*: Emporiae and the Bargusii were already allies of Rome; cf. page 92, line 12.

25. *dicionis*: predicative possessive genitive.

26. *ad* = *apud*.

27. *mediterraneis quoque ac montanis*: sc. *locis*; neuter plural. *fereci ores iam*: the idea is that the tribes were more savage in proportion to their distance from the coast.

30. *auxiliarium*: troops of non-Italian allies; they were not formed into legions. *cohortes*: used in a general rather than a technical sense. As previously observed, the Roman legion itself had not at this time been divided into cohorts.


32. *ad...praesidium*: expresses purpose. *alienarentur*: subjunctive because the clause means 'before they should be, i.e. in order to prevent their being estranged.'

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7. *cum praesidio*: besides the guard.

9. *dux cum...principibus*: notice the plural verb, according to the ordinary usage in such cases. *principibus*: in view of Polybius's account of this battle, it appears that this word applies to Spanish chiefs fighting on the Punic side. *Cissis*: probably a town of the Cessetani, who lived on the coast between the Laetani and the Ebro.

11. *rerum fuit*: consisted of things, etc.; *supellex* is appositive to *praedia, mancipiorum* to *rerum*.

12. *eius...exercitus*: limits *omnibus...rebus*.

14. *ne...essent*: that their baggage might not be too heavy for them to carry.
Chapter LXI. 17. accideret: arrived; cf. page 83, line 28.
19. mille: used here as an indeclinable substantive.
20. perditas res: the defeat.
22. Tarracone: subsequently an important Roman city, capital of the province of Hispania Tarraconensis. mili
tes... socios: see note to page 123, line 31.
29. in... animadvertisset: had punished; i.e. for letting themselves be surprised by Hasdrubal. praefectos: capt
ti
23. Vix
dum... aderat: vividly expresses the swiftness of Has
drubal's movements. Iller
getum: this tribe lay farther inland than those just mentioned, and extended from the Pyrenees to the Ebro.

Page 137. 4. cedit: sc. Hasdrubal.
6. Atanagrum: its position is not certainly known.
9. pecunia: by a fine.
14. exuti: reflexive in sense; stripping themselves.
15. minus quattuor pedes: see note to page 125, line 20. pluteos: screens.
19. vineas: mantlets; plutei were chiefly a protection in front, vineae from above; for cuts and description, see Judson, Caesar's Army, 98, 99.
22. pacti: used, like a verb of buying and selling, with an ablative of price. The meaning is, they surrendered after agreeing to pay Scipio twenty talents as the price of their being spared by him. Lu
terbacher remarks that this would be only about a month's pay for twelve thousand men, not enough to compensate them for the hardships of the siege. And Scipio's army was presumably a good deal more numerous. deduntur: reflexive; surrender themselves.

Chapter LXII. 24. Romae: see note to page 132, line 1. prodigia: prodigies were regarded as the manifestation of displeasure on the part of the gods. The place and circumstances of their occurrence were important considerations in their interpretation, with regard both to the source whence they came and the persons or communities to whom they were intended to apply. The lore relating to this subject was the province of the college of pontiffs, whose business it was to examine the evidence as to the occurrence of prodigies, interpret their significance, and prescribe the means by which the displeasure of the deities was to be averted. To assist in this matter, they kept a record from year to year of the well-attested prodigies, which served subsequently as a list of precedents.
In certain spheres of natural phenomena the (originally Etruscan) *haruspices* were consulted. They were especially skilled in the lore of lightning, and in the interpretation of the signs given by the entrails of animals slain in sacrifice, and of monstrous births. Where the ordinary resources failed or the omens were especially terrifying, and in times of great public danger, recourse was had to the Sibylline books, which were derived from a Greek source, and to the influence of which was due the gradual introduction of Greek divinities into the Roman Pantheon.

It appears that the state was concerned with such omens only as appeared within the limits of Roman land, and that, too, in the *ager publicus*. What happened on private land concerned the owner personally rather than the commonwealth. At this period there were numerous communities in various parts of Italy, possessing full citizenship, whose territory was part of the *ager Romanus*, and attached to one of the tribes; and also many conquered places belonging to the *ager publicus*.

25. *in religione:* toward fear of the supernatural.

27. *quis:* ablative; B. 89, footnote 2; A. 150, c; H. 182, footnote 3; G. 105, n. 2. *ingenuum:* born of free parents.

28. *triumphum clamasse:* had cried, "Io triumpha!"

30. *boario:* the cattle-market lay between the Tiber and the Palatine, the *forum otitorium* (line 32) was directly north of it, close to the Capitoline, but outside the Porta Carmentalis. In the same locality was the *aedes Spei* (line 31).

32. *Lanuvi:* as this town and Rome had common *sacra*, this omen applied to Rome. *hastam* (*Iunonis*): lances, before the use of images, were the symbols of deities.

Page 138. 1. *in agro Amiternino:* Amiternum was a Sabine town. Sallust was born there.

3. *visos... congressos* (*esse*): the subject is thoroughly indefinite—'beings' or 'apparitions.' *lapidibus pluvisse:* see note to page 39, line 3.

4. *Caere:* locative; this ancient city of southern Etruria, called sometimes the "Delphi of Italy," was from early times in friendly relations with Rome. *sortes:* oracular tablets; divination by "lots" was a distinctively Italian institution. Shrinking of the tablets was a sign of impending misfortune. *Gallia:* i.e. *Cisalpina.*


6. *libros:* i.e. *Sibyllinos.* See note to page 137, line 24. The
decemviri, later quindecemviri sacris factundis, were a permanent commission charged with the care and consultation (when ordered) of these sacred books.


8. subinde aliis: one after another. operata fuit = operam dedit, hence governs the dative.

9. hostiaeque maiores: mature animals, as distinguished from young ones, hostiae lactentes. It was the business of the pontiffs to say which should be offered in sacrifice.

10. quibus editum est: to whom it was declared (that they should be offered); edere is an appropriate word for the responses of priests and oracles, and here refers to the Sibyline books.

11. pondo quadranginta: forty pounds; pondo, treated as an indeclinable noun, is an ablative of specification, 'as to weight,' and libra in the appropriate number and case is understood with it.

12. lectisternium: the first recorded instance of this observance, which seems partly due to Hellenic influence, occurred in 399 B.C. (Livy, Book v., chap. xiii.). A costly banquet was prepared for the gods, whose images or symbols were laid upon couches spread (lectus, sternere) for them at the tables.

14. supplicatio: a kind of litany, in which all classes of the people went about to the different shrines to beseech the help of the gods. Algido (sc. monte): a ridge of the Alban hills.

15. Iuventati: this goddess, one of the Di Indigetes, afterward identified with Hebe, the wife of Hercules, had a chapel in the precincts of the Capitol, having refused to give up her place when the Capitoline-temple was built by Tarquin. Cf. page 66, line 33, for the part of the legend concerning Terminus, who also refused to depart.

16. aedem Herculis: near the Porta Trigemina. nominatim: contrasting ad aedem Herculis with circa omnia pulvinaria, the special with the general.

17. pulvinaria: the supplicationes were connected with the lectisternia, hence the use of pulvinaria here, the images of the gods being at the time laid upon them. Genio (populi Romani): the guardian spirit of the nation, analogous to that of each individual.

18. C. Attilius: cf. page 98, line 27; the consuls were both absent, or this duty would have fallen upon them.

19. in decem: for the next ten.

Chapter LXIII. 23. sorte: both being obliged to defend Italy, they cast lots for the two armies.

24. edictum et litteras: hendiadys. ad consulem: Sempronius; cf. page 140, lines 2–4.
25. **Hic in provincia**: the inauguration, according to rule, should have taken place at Rome, with solemn religious ceremonies.

27. **tribunus plebis**: in 232 B.C., when tribune, he had carried a law assigning to poor citizens land in Picenum and Umbria. This led to the Gallic war of 225–222 B.C.

28. **qui abrogabatur**: conative imperfect; *which they attempted to annul*. The Senate tried to compel him to lay down his consulship, owing to alleged irregularities connected with his election. A letter to this effect being sent him on the eve of his great victory over the Insublics, in 223 B.C., he refused to read the letter till after the battle.

29. **de triumfo**: after this victory the Senate refused him the honor of a triumph, as he was not in their view legally consul; so he triumphed by a vote of the people. **invisus**: carelessly made to agree with the subject of *habuerat*; it is really coördinate with *memor*. **ob novam legem**: probably in 220 B.C., directed against the new spirit of commercial speculation that had sprung up among the aristocracy. **novam**: unprecedented, or perhaps ‘recent.’

31. **uno patrum**: *alone of the senators* (not patricians).

32. **fuisse**: *had been*, not ‘was.’ The law did not apply to *filii-familias*, who, being under the *potestas* of their fathers, could not own property at all.

Page 139. 1. **maritimam**: sea-going. **trecentarum amphorarum**: amphora = one cubic foot, and so was called also quadrantal; three hundred amphorae = seven and one-half tons, not allowing for the difference between the Roman and English foot.

3. **patribus**: construe with *indecorus*.

7. **Latinumque feriarum morae**: the genitive is subjective; *delay caused by the Latin festival*. The new consuls had always to appoint by proclamation the time for this festival, and to offer in person the sacrifices to Jupiter Latialis on the Alban mountain, before departing from Rome.

8. **consularibus aliis impedimentis**: *other hindrances applicable to a consul*; the adjective has the force of an objective genitive.

9. **simulato itinere**: i.e. on private business.


15. **spretorum**: i.e. *deorum atque hominum*. **Capitolium**, etc.: here follows an enumeration of the formalities attendant upon the consuls’ taking office. **sollemnem**: usual, sanctioned by custom.

17. **senatum**, etc.: the Senate held a sitting at once in the Capitoline temple, at which religious matters were discussed and the time
for the feriae Latinae was fixed, and then one of the consuls delivered a speech de republica.

21. paludatus: after assuming the (red) military cloak, which was done at the Capitol before going forth to take command of the army. Paludamentum pallium fuit imperatorium purpura et auro distinctum. It was, like the axes in the fasces, a sign of the full military imperium, which could be exercised only outside the pomoerium.

22. modo: noun, not adverb.

24. solum vertisset: solum vertere, to take up one’s abode in another country; Romans could go into voluntary exile, when charged with a capital crime, and so avoid other punishment. They thus gave up their Roman citizenship, and usually acquired citizenship in a foreign state.

27. retrahendum: yet they seem to have been afraid to use actual force.

28. praesentem: in person.

34. inmolantique ei: dative of reference; inmolare is to sprinkle the sacred meal (mola) on the victim’s head.

35. sacrificantium: the priest’s assistants. proripuisset: this was a dire omen.

36. procul: in contrast to circumstantes.

Page 140. 2. Legionibus . . . duabus: we suppose they had been all winter at Placentia, and not that they proceeded at this time from Luca to Ariminum, and then back to Arretium; see note to page 135, line 13.

4. Atilio: doubtless he had been sent to relieve the wounded Scipio. The fifth legion was probably left to defend Cisalpine Gaul.

Apenini tramites: not the Via Flaminia, but mountain passes.

5. exercitus duci est coeptus: this should be exercitum ducere coepit, for Flaminius is the logical subject of the ablative absolute.
BOOK XXII.

Page 141. Chapter I. 1. ver: the spring of 217 B.C. hibernis: Hannibal had spent the winter in the neighborhood of Placentia, and, according to Book xxi., chap. lxi., partly in Liguria.

2. et . . . et: antithetic; though . . . and yet. ante conatus, etc.: cf. Book xxi., chap. lvi.; there could hardly have been time between the prima ac dubia signa veris (page 133, line 18) and the time when iam ver adpetebat for so much as the author attempts to include in the interval.

3. intolerandis: gerundive as attributive adjective; = intolerabilibus.

5. pro eo, ut . . . agerentque: instead of their plundering, etc.; a somewhat awkward equivalent for the Greek ávri τοῦ ἀγερόν; ferre agereque is a more usual expression than rapere agereque.

7. hibernis: the Romans had wintered in Cremona and Placentia; but cf. page 135, line 13, and note. videre: notice the frequency of this form of perfect.

9. fraude: construe with servatus erat.

10. levitate: construe with indicantium.

12. tegamenta capitis: wigs of different colors; Polybius mentions this fact. errore: confusion, uncertainty. etiam: i.e. by mistake as to his own identity as well as by the mutual treachery of the chiefs.

15. idibus Martís: the error in the calendar amounted at this time to about two months; by the corrected calendar this date would have fallen in January, and would not be simultaneous with iam ver adpetebat; there is a confusion in the author’s mind between the calendar and the actual season.

16. de re publica retulissent: see note to page 79, line 11.

19. imperium: in his case no lex curiata de imperio had been passed; this had to be proposed by the consul in person to the thirty lictors representing the ancient curiae, and though it was a mere formality, yet it was considered as of essential importance, and without it he could not take official auspices. In any event the auspices must be first taken at Rome; after that they could be continued abroad. The formality of the lex curiata is one of the best illustrations of the intense conservatism of the Romans. Magistratus: accusative plural. id: imperium, but especially auspiciun.
22. auspícia: subject of sequi.
24. concipere: institute, take; literally, ‘to formulate.’

Page 142. 3. equiti: cf. puero dormienti, page 49, line 2; B. 188, 1; A. 376; H. 425, 4, n.; G. 360, 1.
5. orbem minui: probably a partial eclipse; the usual verb for an eclipse is deficere.
6. Praeneste: an allied city in the east of Latium; locative. lapides . . . cecidisse: i.e. single stones; distinguish from lapidibus pluere, for which a novemdiale sacrum is always ordered; see page 39, lines 15–17. caelo: see Introduction, III. 5, a.
8. Capena: in southern Etruria. aquas Caeretis: the celebrated hot baths of Caere, of which the principal one was the fons Herculis.
10. Antii: on the coast of Latium.
13. sortes . . . excidisse: cf. page 138, line 4; they were kept on a string.
14. Mavors: old and poetic name of Mars.
15. signum: statue; standing in his temple on the Applan Way.
16. luporum: the wolf was sacred to Mars. Capuæ: the chief city of Campania and the second in Italy.
18. minoribus . . . dictu: less noteworthy.
21. auctoribusque in curiam introductis: those who reported prodigies were carefully examined, to test the correctness of their information.
23. maioribus hostiis: cf. page 138, line 9, and note.
26. cordi: see note on cordi, page 49, line 17.
27. carminibus: the Sibylline oracles were metrical.
31. Lanuvi: see note to page 137, line 32.
33. lectisternium: see note to page 138, line 13.
34. libertinae: this corresponds with the enrolment of libertin in the legions; see page 154, line 7. unde = ex qua.
35. Feroniae: see note to page 38, line 14. There was a temple of Feronia at Rome in the Campus Martius.
Page 143. 1. Decembri: of 217 B.C., an anticipation, in order to
finish the subject of the prodigies.

2. aedem Saturni: at the foot of the Capitoline hill, on the
side toward the Forum; it was used as the state treasury and rec-
ord office.

3. senatores: i.e. at their own expense; this was unusual: gen-
erally it was done by the Decemviri.

4. Saturnalia... clamata: they cried, "Io! Saturnalia!" Cf.
triumphum clamasse, page 137, line 28. This was an ancient Italian
festival or carnival, originally celebrated a single day, December 19.
It survives in the convivial features of our Christmas. Perhaps on
the occasion in question Greek rites were connected with it in obedi-
ence to the Sibylline books.

5. diem ac noctem: one day and one night; Madvig, Emenda-
tiones Livianae, 487, note 1 (2d ed.).

Chapter II. 8. dilectu: dative. B. 49, 2; A. 89; H. 131, 4; G.
61, x. 2. Besides the remnants of the last year’s army, each consul
received two new legions and a contingent of allies. profectus:
going back in the narrative to the beginning of chapter i.

9. Arretium: an important town and strategic position on the
Via Cassia, in Northern Etruria, now Arezzo.

10. aliud longius... iter: out of several possible routes we can
hardly identify any one as intended by Livy. Hannibal might have
gone to the west via Luna or Lucca to Pisa, or to the east via Bononia
and Ariminum. Manifestly his object was to beat Flaminius before his
junction with Servilius. It is not unlikely that the nearer way which
he chose brought him via Pistoria into the Arno valley, which, in the
vicinity of Faesulae (Fiesole), corresponds somewhat, in the spring,
to the description here given. The long time occupied in going so
short a distance can be explained only by the extraordinary diffi-
culties of the ground. In any case, it was a route which the enemy
did not expect him to take.

13. et omne: and in fact the whole.

14. necubi: (ne cubi), lest, anywhere; not nec ubi; cf. ali-
cubi, etc.

19. mollis ad talla: cf. page 97, line 31, pigerrima... ad... opera; cf. Caesar, Gallic War, III. 10, mollis ac minime resistens ad
calamitates perferendas mens eorum (i.e. Gallorum) est. dilabe-
rentur: slip off, desert. subsisterent: refuse to proceed. co-
hibentem: the present participle expressing purpose is unusual; cf.
orantes, page 79, line 9, and note.

20. qua modo: wherever, or anywhere... if only.
21. profundas: almost bottomless; there was no bottom but soft mud as far as they could reach. hausti: concessive.
22. inmergentesque se: plunging in.
23. sustinerse se prolapsi: to regain their feet when they slipped.
27. vigiliae: loss of sleep.
29. in sicco: a characteristic phrase,—an adjective, used as a substantive, with a preposition.
31. sarcinis: individual packs, distinguished from collective baggage, impedimenta.
32. tantum . . . dabant: afforded a bare resting-place to men who sought merely something that would stand above the water. Extaret is a subjunctive of purpose.

Page 144. 1. ad quietem parvi temporis: in order to rest for a little while.
3. primum: in the first place; the second cause is vigilitis, etc.
intemperie . . . frigoraque: bad weather with its alternations of heat and cold.
4. quo: B. 282, 1, a; A. 531, a; H. 588, 7; G. 545, 2.
5. vectus: concessive; though he was riding. Notice the following tamen. See Introduction, III. 9, f.
7. altero oculo capitur: lost the sight of one eye; cf. page 133, line 29.

Chapter III. 8. foede: ingloriously.
9. de: we should expect ex.
11. Arreti: a good position from which to watch Hannibal, who might be expected to march upon Rome by the line of the Via Cassia; thence also it was easy to combine forces with his colleague coming from Ariminum.
13. copias ad commetatus expediendos: opportunities for obtaining supplies.
14. in rem erat: it was to his interest, was useful.
15. exequebatur: i.e. exsequiabatur. in primis . . . fertillis: one of the most fertile. But Wsb. remarks that the statement does not apply to the country between Fiesole and Arezzo.
18. ferox ab consulatu prior: referring to the year 223 B.C.; see note to page 138, lines 28, 29.
19. non modo: translate as if it were non modo non. B. 343, 2, a; A. 217, e; H. 656, 3; G. 482, 5, r. 1. legum . . . maestatim
... deorum ... metuens: objective genitives for object accusatives with the participle of a transitive verb; cf. patiens, page 104, line 29. B. 204, 1, a; A. 349, b; H. 451, 3; G. 375.

21. prospero ... successu: besides military success, Flaminius had in politics been a successful opponent of the nobles; see note to page 138, line 27; and to his censorship were due the Via and Circus which bore his name. bellicis: referring to his victory over the Insubres in 223 B.C.

23. ferociter ... ac praepropere, etc.: we should remember that Flaminius has been painted for us by his political enemies. Here Livy's aristocratic bias is evident. We must admit that the consul was outgeneralled in the sequel, but that his intention was so utterly perverse is not clear. The battle of Lake Trasimenum was not of his choosing, and it is reasonable to suppose that he was marching to meet his colleague, as well as following the enemy, when he was so fatally entrapped. It was certainly proper to follow Hannibal, if not strong enough to stop him, when he appeared to be moving toward the capital. It is not his general purpose, but his carelessness in allowing himself to be surprised, that we must condemn. If Flaminius had remained at Arretium, Hannibal might have met and defeated Servilius. Livy's view of Flaminius is a traditional, but hardly a just one. See Capes's Livy, Appendix iii.

24. Quoque: quo que, two words.

25. laeva relieto hoste: apparently a blunder of the author, who is never satisfactory in his topography; going toward Faesulae, the Punic army would have Arretium on its right. But why should it go toward Faesulae? It is barely possible that there was another town of this name farther south.

31. suum: personal.

Page 145. 1. ceteris: i.e. legates, tribunes, and senior centurions, who would take part in the council of war.

5. effusa: unrestrained.

6. signum: the signal to march was given with the trumpets; for battle, by raising the red flag (vexillum) on the general's tent; this passage may simply mean that, by giving the former, Flaminius was understood as intending to fight at the first opportunity.


12. Camillum a Veii: in 390 B.C., when the Gauls had possession of the city of Rome, except the Capitol; but Camillus was in exile at Ardea when summoned to assume the dictatorship.

13. simul increpans: cf. page 32, line 15, for same expression.
17. signum: this was planted in the ground, the staff being sharp
at the bottom. omni vi moliente signifer: though the standard-
bearer exerted all his strength.
18. Num litteras quoque: to explain the allusion, see note to
page 138, line 28.
20. effodiunt: he shows a vigorous contempt for the popular
superstition.
22. primoribus: an unusual word for officers.
24. in vulgus: generally.
Chapter IV. 26. inter Cortonam . . . lacum: the distance is
about ten miles, the direction southeast. The lake is now called
Lago di Trasimeno or di Perugia; the railway from Cortona to
Perugia skirts the northern shore and passes over the battle-field.
insulae: B. 192, 2; A. 384; H. 434, 2; G. 350. ubi maxime: just where.
30. montes . . . subit: it is generally supposed that the locality
here described is the narrow passage between the lake and Monte
Gualandro, near Borghetto, which leads into a valley some four miles
long and one and a half broad. Another defile, near Passignano, is
the eastern exit. On the north side of the valley, about the middle
of its length, a spur of hills projects, at Tuoro, dividing the valley into
two distinct parts. Some put the headland of Passignano for the hill
of Tuoro, and place the eastern exit at Torricella. Livy's description
suits the locality first described, but that of Polybius does not, without
a great deal of explanation, and some have understood him to refer
to a region farther east, beginning with the pass of Passignano and
extending into the broad valley east of Magione in the direction of
Perugia; he speaks of the Romans as having hills on both sides of
them and the lake in their rear. Via . . . perangusta: the defile
near Borghetto.
32. inde colles insurgunt: this may mean the spur of Tuoro, or
the mountains at the east of the valley.
33. Ibi: it is reasonable to suppose that Hannibal placed his camp
east of the Tuoro hill, where it would be visible to the Romans, but
not till they were fairly in the valley.

Page 146. 2. armaturam = armatos, abstract for concrete; see
Introduction, III. 1, b. post montis: this again may refer to the
same spur of Tuoro, or to the hills surrounding the valley, behind
whose crests the light troops could easily be concealed.
3. ad ipsas fauces: the western defile, where the enemy would
enter the pass.
6. solis occasu, etc., and vixdum satis certa luce, etc.: these expressions show the haste of the consul in pursuit of the enemy, and help to account for the completeness of his surprise.


9. pandi: to deploy. id tantum hostium: the Africans and Spaniards (line 1).

16. campo . . . montibus: as in poetry, in is omitted.

17. inter se satis conspecta: quite visible to each other; conspecta = conspicabila, a word found only in late Latin.


22. expediri arma: on the march the shield and helmet were carried, for greater comfort, on the shoulders. The soldier's kit included, besides, many things that would be in his way when fighting. These would be laid aside on going into action.

Chapter V. 23. satis . . . inpavidus: the author seems obliged, almost against his will, to acknowledge Flaminius's courage. ut in re trepida: as far as possible in the panic; cf. page 5, line 25; page 107, line 22.

24. quoque: ablative of quisque; quoque vertente explains turbatos.

26. adire audirique: notice the assonance.

27. nec enim . . . votis, etc.: this remark, tending toward impiety, accords with the usual aristocratic view of Flaminius's character.

28. vi ac virtute: the author is fond of alliteration.

30. ferme: generally.

32. tantumque aberat, etc.: A. 571, b; H. 570, 2; G. 552, r. 1. sigma: i.e. their maniples. ordinum: centuries.

Page 147. 1. competeret animus: they had presence of mind. quidam = nonnulli, as is so often the case in Livy. onerati: i.e. they were cut down in their marching equipment. Cf. magis obruti quam tecti, page 134, line 7.

2. caligine: akin to celare, καλωττειν.

4. mixtos . . . clamores: mingled cries of triumph and terror. terrentium paventiumque: active and passive, referring to the Carthaginians and Romans respectively.

5. ora oculosque: a common alliteration.

6. globo: solid mass; cf. page 8, line 21, and note.
8. *impetus capti*: a phrase often used by the author; Wsb. distinguishes *impetus capere* from *impetus facere*, as expressing greater effort; translate, *charges were attempted*.


13. *illa*: the usual, the well-known; cf. page 117, line 12, and note. *principes hastatosque*: the order at that time was *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*; the arrangement had ceased to exist before the author's time, and if this expression is meant to be technically precise, he makes a mistake. For the three legionary systems, the phalanx of the earliest period, the later manipular order, and the cohort system, dating from the time of Marius, see Livy, Book viii., chap. viii., and classical dictionaries.

14. *nec* (sc. *ita ordinata*) *ut*, etc. *antesignani*: men of the front line, usually the *hastati*, whose standards would be placed just behind them.

16. *cohorde*: an anachronism; the cohort as a tactical unit dates from the time of Marius, 105 B.C.

17. *ante aut post*: sc. *signa*.

19. *eum motum terrae*: Caelius Antipater, in a passage quoted by Cicero (*De Divinatione*, l. 35), records this earthquake; Ovid gives the date of the battle as June 23d, i.e. by the corrected calendar, about the middle of April. Cf. Byron, *Childe Harold*, iv. 73 sqq.:—

> And such the shock of battle on this day
> And such the frenzy, whose convulsion blinds
> To all save carnage, that, beneath the fray,
> An earthquake rolled unheedingly away.

22. *senserit*: really an aorist subjunctive.

Chapter VI. 23. *Tris ferme horas*: this detail is mentioned by Caelius.

25. *robora virorum*: the bravest troops; abstract for concrete, as in poetry; cf. page 128, line 31; the generals had no regular bodyguard at this time.

29. *Ducario*: see note on *Troiano*, page 3, line 12. *noscitans*: the frequentative here, as often elsewhere, seems not to differ at all in meaning from the simple verb, which would be more correct.

30. *legiones nostras cecidit*: alluding to the campaign of 223 B.C.

31. *urbem*: we do not know what town is meant; Mediolanum (Milan), the Insubrian capital, was captured in 222 B.C., but not by Flamininius.

32. *hanc victimam = hunc pro victima*. *peremptorum foede*: in 223 B.C., Flamininius, being in a dangerous position, made a capitula-
tion and was allowed to depart; then securing the help of the Cenomani, he returned and defeated the Insubres. This may explain foede.

Page 148. 1. armiger<o>: a rather poetic word.
2. infesto venienti: to his charge.
3. tria<o>: the men of the third line, the tried veterans.
4. per . . . praeruptaque: everywhere through defiles and over precipices. evadunt: conative historical present; tried to escape.
5. pars . . . progressi: see note on pars magna nantes, page 100, line 22.
6. quoad . . . possunt: till they could keep only heads or shoulders above water.
7. capessere: a poetic construction; infinitive with inpulerit.
8. quae: i.e. fug<o>. immensa ac sine spe: endless and hopeless; the lake is about ten miles long and eight wide, and the author does not seem to know of the islands near the north end.
9. defici<o>entibus animis: when their courage failed.
10. Sex milia, etc.: these could escape the more easily, as they were, apparently, opposed by the light troops only.
11. agerentur: subjunctive in informal indirect discourse. ex saltu: doubtless the defile of Passignano is here meant. tumulo quodam: possibly the hill where Magione stands.
12. scire: by tidings.
13. perspicere: by sight. Inclinata . . . re: when the struggle was finally decided.
14. inca<o>lescente . . . diem: the dispersion of the mist by the increasing heat of the sun had cleared the atmosphere.
15. perditas res: that the day was lost.
16. Maharba<o>e: leader of Hannibal's cavalry; see note to page 85, line 17.
17. Punic<o>a religione servata fides: the usual sneer at Punic honor; to us it seems as reliable as Roman honor; and there are numberless instances where the Romans refused to ratify the terms of capitulation accepted by their generals, on the ground that they had exceeded their powers.
18. atque: defining; that is to say; cf. page 89, line 25.
20. memorata = memorabilis, like invictus, 'invincible.' Quindecim milia: other authorities make the losses in killed and prisoners considerably larger. Polybius makes the prisoners number fifteen thousand, and the Carthaginian loss smaller. At all events, the army was virtually annihilated.
Page 149. 4. Multiplex: *far greater*; literally, *many times as great.*

6. auctum ex vano: *groundless exaggeration.*


aequalem temporibus: *contemporary; temporibus* is dative.


12. Flamini . . . corpus . . . non invent: doubtless the consul’s political enemies regarded his deprivation of burial rites as a merited judgment of heaven. This conduct of Hannibal does not evince *inhumana crudelitas*; cf. page 77, line 15; page 198, line 18.

14. ad . . . nuntium: *to meet the messenger, to learn the news.*

16. repens: construe as an adverb with *adlata.*

18. frequentis contionis modo: *like a crowded assembly; a contio* was a meeting of the *populus,* but not in its legislative or elective capacity. *comitium:* the northeast portion of the Forum, in front of the senate house, the place where magistrates usually addressed the people.

20. M. Pomponius praetor (peregrinus): we should expect M. Aemilius, *praetor urbanus,* to appear on this occasion; the city praetor took precedence of the others, and we know that all four praetors were then at Rome.

28. ignorantium: notice the extraordinary number of present participles (eleven) in the remainder of this chapter, and with what skill and variety they are used. See Introduction, III. 9, k.

30. deinceps: equivalent to an adjective, following, attributive to *dies.*

33. circumfundebanturque: *and crowded around.*

34. utique: *especially.*

36. cerneres: a case of the somewhat rare subjunctive denoting possibility; B. 280, 3; A. 447, 2; H. 554, 3; 555; G. 258.  

gratulantisque aut consolantis: accusative.

Page 150. 2. porta: of the city.

3. alteram, etc.: Pliny the Elder (*N.H.* vii. 180) and Aulus Gel-lius (*N.A.* iii. 15) tell this story in connection with the battle of Cannae.

6. praetores: because there was no consul in the city.  

ab orto . . . solem: the Senate could not pass resolutions after sunset.

Chapter VIII. 10. quattuor milia equitum: the vanguard of the army of Servilius, who was advancing to join Flaminius.
11. propraetore: he had not been a praetor in 218 b.c., but he now had praetorian rank as a legatus of the consul.

13. averterant iter: had turned back. circumventa: cut off; Hannibal's light cavalry could easily do this, as the Roman horses were doubtless tired after a forced march.

20. rerum magnitudine: its real importance.

21. quod adgravaret: which placed any additional strain upon them.

22. remedium iam diu neque desideratum: the last dictator, rei gerendae causa had been A. Attilius Calatinus, in 249 b.c., after the overwhelming defeat of P. Claudius Pulcher, off Drepanum, in the first Punic war. Dictators for formal purposes were frequent. Fabius himself (see line 28) had been dictator, comitiorum habendorum causa, in 221 b.c.

23. dicendum: according to precedent, the Senate, as the ordinary executive council, determined when it was necessary to name a dictator. One of the consuls then ascended at dead of night to the Capitol, took the auspices, and named the dictator, whose authority then superseded that of the ordinary magistrates for not more than six months. This was tantamount to a proclamation of martial law. The dictator named his own subordinate colleague, the magister equitum, the special significance of whose title had long since become obsolete, and who served in general as second in command.

27. dictatorem populus creavit: in the comitia centuriata; the unusual nature of the crisis justified this unprecedented proceeding even in the eyes of the conservative Romans, though some authorities explain that Fabius was only a pro-dictator.

28. Q. Fabium Maximum: he earned the surname Cunctator by his cautious tactics in the ensuing campaign; cf. page 90, line 13, where he appears as chief of the embassy which declared war at Carthage.

29. M. Minucium Rufum: consul in 221 b.c.; he represents the popular, Fabius the aristocratic, party.

32. fluminum: especially the Tiber and Anio.

Page 151. Chapter IX. 1. recto itinere: i.e. straight toward Rome, the most direct route being via Spoletium in Umbria, sixty miles southeast of the field of battle.

4. coloniae: it had been a "Latin" colony since 240 b.c. haud prospere: without success; litotes.

5. quanta moles, etc.: how difficult it would have been to take the city of Rome; but Hannibal, destitute of siege artillery and with
out allies in central Italy, could not have thought seriously of attacking Rome.

8. Ibi: from this point he sent news of his victory to Carthage.

9. stativa: it was on this occasion that he supplied his African infantry with arms taken from the slain and captured Romans.

11. levi aut facili: the former refers to wounds and losses, the latter to the exertion needed in the fight.

13. Praetutianum: in the south of Picenum, the modern Abruzzi. Hadrianum: Hadria, or Hatria, was a colony founded 280 B.C., on the Adriatic coast of this district, just after the third Samnite war, when Rome was establishing her supremacy all over Italy.

14. Marsos, etc.: these nations, Osco-Sabellians, lived farther south; notice that there are no names for their districts.


16. Gallis: they were trying to shake off the Roman yoke.

22. vocato senatu, ab dis orsus: this is analogous to the usual procedure of a consul immediately after his inauguration. On such occasions matters of religion were always discussed first.

24. inscitia: military incompetence.

27. taetra: for ordinary cases the consultation of the pontifical books or the advice of the haruspices was deemed sufficient.

29. fatalibus: of fate, fateful, not 'fatal.' causa: ablative.

30. foret = esset.

31. ludos Magnos: called also ludi Romani, annual games supposed to have been instituted by Tarquinius Priscus, held in the Circus Maximus, in honor of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; cf. Book i., chap. xxxv.

32. Veneri Erucinae: there was at Eryx, at the western extremity of Sicily, an ancient and much venerated temple of the Phoenician Astarte. She was identified with Aphrodite or Venus, the mother of Aeneas, and so had a peculiar interest for the Romans.

33. ver sacrum: an ancient Italian custom of vowing to the gods all that should be born in a given spring from March 1 to May 1. In the earliest times the human offspring was included in the vow, and, when human sacrifice was no longer practised, was sent forth at maturity from the fatherland to find a new home. Much of the colonization of the Sabellian nations was thus brought about. Wissowa, Religion und Kultur der Römer, 132, 345, 354. The vow here mentioned does not include human beings.
Page 152. 4. pontificum: see note to page 25, line 20; since 300 B.C. the college of pontiffs had consisted of eight members.

Chapter X. 11. quinquennium: yet it was not till 198 B.C. that the vow was performed (Livy, Book xxxiii., chap. xliv.).

13. duellis: see note on perduellionem, page 32, line 23.
15. duit = det; B. 127, 2; A. 183, 2; H. 244, 3; G. 130, 4.
17. profana: not (already) consecrated. fieri: be offered in sacrifice.
19. lege = ritu. faxit: future perfect; see note on ausim, page 1, line 3.
20. profanum: considered as unconsecrated.
21. neque scelus esto: the owner shall be guiltless. rumpet = corrumpet: shall wound.
22. ne fraus esto: i.e. no responsibility on the part of the owner to replace the stolen beast. celepsit: future perfect, like faxit, above.
23. cui: from whom. See note on Reae, page 6, line 23. atro die: on a day of ill omen. faxit: if the owner offer in sacrifice.
25. antidea = antea; antid is archaic for ante, the d being the old ablative termination.
26. faxitur = factum erit.
28. aeries: i.e. assium; the odd numbers were supposed to be favored by the celestial, the even by the infernal gods, and with the Latins three and its multiples had a specially sacred character. The old libral as of 10 (nominally 12) unciae was retained in religious reckoning. For civil purposes the as was reduced in 269 B.C. to 4 unciae, and in 217 B.C. to 1 uncia. trecentis, etc.: ablatives of price and means.
31. edicta: ordered by proclamation of the praetor; cf. lines 2-5, above.
33. quos . . . cura: who, as they had some property of their own, were also concerned for the public welfare; they had "a stake in the country."

Page 153. 2. decemviris sacrorum: identical with the keepers of the Sibylline books. See note to page 138, line 6.

3. in conspectu: exposed to the public view, at a temple or in a market place. Iovi ac Iunoni, etc.: these are the twelve great gods of the Hellenic Olympus, whose introduction into the Rom pantheon was doubtless due to the Sibylline books, which were Greek origin. These deities were more or less identified with Italian ones, under whose names they appear, though often or
nally very different conceptions; e.g. the resemblance of Mars and Ares is a very superficial one. **unum**: sc. **pulvinar stratum**.

Chapter XI. 11. de re publica . . . rettulit: opened a discussion of the condition of the state; cf. page 79, line 11, and note.

14. acciperet; scriberet: the subject is **dictator**; **scriberet** = **conscriberet**; one of Livy's poetic tendencies is to use simple verbs for compounds. So in line 19 we find **scriptis** for **conscriptis**; see Introduction, III. 8, b.

17. *e re publica*: for the advantage of the state.


20. *castella*: small towns or villages; many of them occupied positions of natural strength.


27. *viatorem*: a general term for all the attendants of a magistrate, but specially the messengers, in distinction from other attendants.

28. *sine lictoribus*: he was to give up the insignia of authority in the presence of his superior; a consul had twelve lictors, a dictator twenty-four, a praetor six.


Page 154. 2. *portum Cosanum*: an important naval station on the coast of Etruria.

3. *ad urbem*: in the neighborhood of the city, i.e. in the dockyards above the Porta Flumentana.

5. *navalibus sociis*: see note to page 123, line 31.

7. *libertini*: then, as well as for more than a century later, military service was a duty, and, in theory at least, a privilege of free-born citizens only. *aetas militaris*: normally from seventeen to forty-six.

8. *in verba*: the oath was dictated to them by a military tribune, and they repeated it after him. Cf. first half of chap. xxxviii., and page 199, lines 20–22. *urbano*: the freedmen, no matter where they lived, were confined to the four city tribes, which were therefore regarded rather contemptuously.

10. *alli* = *ceteri*.
Chapter XII. 14. transversis limitibus: cross-roads, not paved like the great Viae. viam Latinam: this highway ran southeast from Rome via Casinum and Teanum Sidicinum, and joined the Appian Way near Capua; a branch of it led to Beneventum.

16. cogeret: subjunctive because the relative is indefinite. This is on the general principle represented by the "iterative" subjunctive in temporal clauses.


22. Martios: alluding sarcastically to the Roman claim of descent from Mars. debellatumque: and that the war was finished.

23. concessum: that they yielded the palm.

25. Flaminii: cf. fratris, page 58, line 1, and note.

26. futura sibi res esset: he would have to deal.

27. parem Hannibali: no Roman general was comparable to Hannibal, but it was the fashion of the aristocratic analists to enhance the negative services of Fabius, whose prudence may have been partly due to incompetence and timidity.

33. si . . . possit: to see if he could; see note on ferrent, page 10, line 15.

Page 155. 2. omittet eum: let him out of his sight.

5. statio: outpost.

8. neque . . . committebatur: and the result of the campaign was not staked upon a general engagement.

9. parva momenta levium certaminum: the influence of petty and trifling encounters.

10. receptu: retreat, place of refuge, doubtless their camp.

11. militem: singular for collective: the soldiery. minus . . . paenitere: to be less hopeless; literally, "dissatisfied"; this verb, not in a finite mood, is often used personally.

13. habebat: he found.

14. qui nihil alius . . . morae: whom nothing but the fact of his subordinate authority prevented from, etc.; Livy's aristocratic bias renders him somewhat unjust to Minucius, as before to Sempronius and afterward to Varro.

17. propalam in vulgus: openly, so that everybody might hear him. pro cunctatore: see note to page 150, line 28.

19. premendo: by disparaging = deprimendo; cf. page 205, line 19.

20. nimis . . . successibus: in consequence of the too great success of many men.
Chapter XIII. 22. ex Hirpinis: a nearly direct line from Luceria to Beneventum runs southwest via Aecae, over the Apennines, and through the country of the Hirpini. The distance is about fifty miles. The Hirpini were a Sabellian nation, led from their original home by a wolf (hirpus). They had been included in the Samnite league, but that existed no longer. Samnium, here used in a narrow sense, means the land of the Caudini. Telesia was fifteen to eighteen miles northwest of Beneventum. The latter was the name substituted for Maleventum, when the Romans planted a colony there in 268 B.C.

32. res maior quam auctores esset: the enterprise was too important to be undertaken upon their (sole) guaranty.

33. alternisque: sc. vicibus.

Page 156. 4. duci: the guide. in agrum Casinatem: it is hard to see why he should have taken the route via Casinum, when he was aiming at Capua. Polybius makes no mention of the misunderstanding, and the story is suspicious. Casinum is about forty miles northwest of Telesia; Capua, about fifteen miles southwest; Calliaca and Allifae, about nine and twelve, respectively, northwest. Casilinum, the modern Capua, was three or four miles north of ancient Capua, on the Volturnus; and Cales, four or five miles north of Casilinum. The campus or ager Stellas was north of the Volturnus and west of the Via Appia.

5. eum saltum: the pass into the valley of the Liris.

6. exitum: from Samnium or Apulia; but the Via Appia, the most direct road from Rome to Capua, remained open.

7. abhorrens ab... pronuntiatione: unable to pronounce correctly.

8. ut acciperet, fecit: caused him to understand.

12. ubi terrarum: B. 201, 3; A. 346, a, 4; H. 443; G. 372, n. 3.

13. mansurum: would lodge; spend the night.

17. agrum Falernum: north of the ager Stellas; famous for producing the best wine in Italy.

18. aquas Sinuessanas: these famous baths still exist, now called I Bagni, near Mondragone.

22. iusto... imperio: this was substantially true of most of Rome's dependencies at this period, before the era of foreign conquest and its consequent corruption. Yet Capua was treated with exceptional severity, and was anxious to throw off the Roman yoke.

Chapter XIV. 26. Massici montis: on the border of Latium and Campania; thence came the famous Massic wine.
29. celerius solito: Fabius's real object, as appears later, was to shut the enemy in the Capuan plain by seizing the passes.

32. colonorumque Sinuessa: a colony and fortress had been planted here in 296 B.C., at the time of the third Samnite war.

33. Spectatum: supine; ut ad rem fruendam oculis is a sort of appositive to it, both expressing purpose.

Page 157. 2. alterius: B. 66, footnote 1; A. 315, n.; H. 93, 3.

3. ne . . . pudet: are we not ashamed before these fellow-citizens? Pudet takes a causal genitive; civium, however, expresses the occasion rather than the cause of their shame.

8. pro: interjection.

10. dedecus . . . imperii: Philinus says that before the first Punic war the Carthaginians were excluded by treaty from the Italian waters, and such seems to have been the popular belief, though it is now known to have been erroneous.

12. modo: temporal adverb. indignando: there are nine ablative gerunds in this chapter.

19. aestivos saltus: mountain pastures used in summer.

21. M. Furius (Camillus): he is said to have delivered Rome, when dictator, from the Gallic invaders of 390 B.C. (Livy, Book v., chap. xlviii.)

22. unicus: unequalled, admirable; sarcastic.

28. Velos allatum: incorrect, for Camillus was in exile at Ardea when summoned to assume the dictatorship. Ianiculum: the highest hill at Rome, but on the north bank of the Tiber, and so on the road from Veii.

29. in aecum: to the plain.

31. Busta Gallica: the tombs of the Gauls, so called because many Gauls were said to have died of a plague, and their bodies to have been burned there, during the siege of the Capitol, after the burning of the city.

33. Furculas Caudinas: here in 321 B.C., during the second Samnite war, a Roman army, marching to relieve Luceria, was surrounded and made to pass under the yoke. Some identify the place with the valley east of Cancellio, about fifteen miles northeast of Naples, through which runs the highroad to Benevento.

34. L. Papirius Cursor gained great success in the same war, and captured Luceria in 320 B.C.

35. periostrando: by traversing; processions formed an important part of the ritual of the lustrum, and the word was readily transferred to general use.
Page 158. 1. Modo: twenty-four years before; another allusion to the battle of the Aegates Islands in 241 B.C.
6. debellari . . . posse: that the war could be finished.
13. haud dubie ferebant: they declared plainly.
Chapter XV. 15. pariter: tautological, unless it be taken in a temporal sense, = simul.
20. ab spe: there is a kind of personification of spe, thus used as the agent of destitutus. summa ope: modifies petiti.
21. circumspectaret: began to look around for.
22. praesentis . . . copiae: it was a region of fruit rather than of grain, and, besides, it had just been laid waste. non perpetuæ: this was not the only reason why Hannibal should prefer to winter elsewhere; he had possession of no cities, and the Romans occupied strong positions on the hills near by. On the broad, open plains of Apulia, in a fertile region, he would be master of the situation.
23. arbusta . . . consita, etc.: a loose construction; the meaning is regio . . . consita arbustis vineisque et omnibus, etc.
25. easdem angustias: yet Hannibal is represented as having come into the campus Stellas from Allifae, through the territory of Cales, i.e. apparently to the west of the hills between Cales and Casilinum, and now Fabius guards a position to the east of the same hills to keep him from going back.
26. Calliculam montem: somewhere in the range of hills extending from Cales to the Volturnus; the pass over the mountain is intended here rather than the mountain itself.
27. Casilinum: this fortress on the Volturnus, at the junction of the Appian and Latin Ways, blocked Hannibal's march by a southerly route.
28. dirempta: i.e. the river flows through the town. Campano: in the narrower sense, Capuan, for the ager Falernus was part of Campania.
29. reducit: the most natural and obvious thing for Fabius to do was to block the passage between Cales and Teanum Sidicinum.

Page 159. 1. occupatus: carried away.
2. excideruntque: sc. animo; were forgotten.
13. omni parte virium: a rather inaccurate phrase, as they had cavalry only on both sides, unless we understand it as meaning in all respects.

20. Appiae (viae) limite: by the line of the Appian Way.
agrum Romanum: the territory of the thirty-five tribes of cives Romani.

22. in viam: apparently the road over the Callicula mons.
23. Duo inde milia: sc. passuum; an unusually short distance.

Chapter XVI. 24. bina: see note on Bina, page 15, line 3.

28. Carptim: at different points, or repeatedly, or in detachments, it is difficult to say which of these meanings is the one intended; we have noticed Livy's fondness for adverbs of this form.

29. lenta: spiritless.

31. ab Romanis: on the side of the Romans.

32. Inclius: Polybius speaks only of an attempt to surprise Hannibal at one pass. A complete blockade of the district, such as seems here indicated, would apparently require more troops than Fabius had. via ad Casilinum obsessa: the road (to the south) being blocked at Casilinum.

33. tantum . . . sociorum = tot socii.  ab tergo . . . sociorum: allies in their rear, i.e. the Latins.

Page 160. 1. Formiana: Formiae was on the Appian Way, on the coast, a little north of the Liris.  Litternt: on the coast near Cumae, the scene of the voluntary exile of Scipio Africanus in 185 B.C. Livy makes a wide survey of the difficulties of the country, but does not give a definite indication where Hannibal crossed the mountains.

2. silvas: the silva Gallinaria near Cumae, infested in the author's time with brigands.

3. suis artibus: cf. page 107, line 23.
4. per Casilinum: i.e. up the Volturnus.
5. necubi: see note to page 143, line 14.
6. ludibrium oculorum: optical illusion.

11. domitos: broken to the yoke.

13. effecta: raised, collected.  Hasdrubalique: chief of the engineers or workmen, as Polybius tells us.

15. si posset: of course it was difficult to drive the oxen with any precision. The whole story is not very probable.
saltus: not along the pass, but so as to make the Roman flank had been turned.

Chapter XVII. 20. in adversos . . . montis: up the mountain.
22. ad vivom: to the quick. This spelling, rather than
was that of the Augustan age. **ad vivom ad imaque cornua:** hendiadys.

23. **repente:** equivalent to an adjective, attributive to *discursu*; this is one of the Grecisms characteristic of the Latin of the silver age.

24. **haud secus quam ... accensis:** *as if* (purposely) *set on fire.* **omnia circa:** adverb as adjective; cf. page 80, line 9; page 81, line 7.

29. **praesidio:** *station, post.*

33. **flammas spirantium:** the substantive is properly omitted, for the soldiers did not know what the creatures were.

Page 161. 3. **Levi ... armaturae:** cf. page 146, line 2, and note.

4. **incurrere:** *met, encountered,* not ‘attacked’; this verb is usually construed with *in* and the accusative.

5. **neutros ... tenuit:** a very awkward sentence; *kept both sides from beginning a fight before morning.*

6. **Hannibal:** for similar instances of a nominative inserted into an ablative absolute, cf. page 11, line 2, and page 104, line 21.

7. **Allifano:** for the position of Allifae, see note to page 156, line 4.

**Chapter XVIII.** 12. **ab suis:** *from their comrades.*

15. **ad suetior ... montibus:** see note to page 24, line 6.

16. **concursandum:** *skirmishing.*

18. **campestrum:** *used to level country,* not to mountains. **statarium:** i.e. used to fighting only in a regular formation.

21. **aliquot:** Polybius says one thousand.

24. **Romam se petere simulans:** Hannibal always strove by rapid movements to perplex and alarm the enemy.

25. **Paesilnos:** almost directly east from Rome; their chief town was Corfinium.

27. **absistens:** *avoiding.*

28. **Gereonium:** a town of the Frentani near the frontier of Samnium and Apulia. **urbem:** strictly it should be *ad urbem.*

30. **Larinate agro:** Larinum was about fifteen miles north of Gereonium.

33. **agens cum:** *urging upon.*

Page 162. 1. **confidat ... imitetur:** strictly according to the rule of sequence we should expect secondary tenses after *agens,* which depends on *revocatus* (*est).*

3. **judicationem:** *baffling.*
7. haec . . . praemonito: haec is cognate accusative retained with the passive verb. B. 176, 2; A. 390, c; H. 409, 1; G. 333, 1. It sums up the preceding points.

Chapter XIX. The narrative broken off at the end of Book xxi., chap. lxi., is here resumed. It will be remembered that Cn. Scipio had invaded Spain in the previous year and gained considerable successes.

9. aestatis: of 217 B.C.

11. Hasdrubal: the elder of Hannibal’s brothers. quem . . . acceperat: he had received fifty-seven ships, of which thirty-seven were equipped for use; cf. page 95, lines 15–18.

14. Carthagine (Nova): the modern Cartagena; see note to page 78, line 2.

15. quacumque = utracumque, i.e. by land or by sea.


17. idem consili: subject of fuit, = idem consilium. His purpose was configere quacumque parte, etc.

18. minus: mildly for non. ingentem: usually explained as agreeing by hypallage with famam instead of sociorum.

19. ad naves: construe with delecto; for ship-service.


23. Massiliense: cf. page 93, lines 15, 16, and note. speculatoriae: sc. naves; light, swift vessels, without beaks, used for reconnoitring. The rest of this chapter is especially vivid and picturesque.


Page 163. 11. cum . . . evehuntur: cum inversum; see note to page 46, line 10. resolutis oris: casting off their moorings; orae were cables from the sterns to the shore, = retinacula; the cables from the bows to the anchors were anchoria. in anchoras evehuntur: drifted out to their anchors (intending to raise them).

16. derezerat: had drawn up in line.

19. adversus amnis os: the mouth of the river as they moved up stream; cf. page 100, line 1; page 101, line 19.

Chapter XX. 30. religatas puppibus: tied by the sterns, i.e. with tow ropes fastened to the sterns.

32. pulcherrimum: the finest feature.
Page 164. 1. Onusam: see note to page 95, line 20.
5. Longunicam: its position is not known, but by reason of the
vis magna sparti it is supposed to have been near New Carthage.
6. sparti: Spanish broom, used to make ropes and cables.
9. praelecta est ora: did they coast along the shore. in Ebus-
sum: the largest of the Pityusae Islands, now Iviza, and counted as
one of the Balearic group.
10. Ibi urbe: the town also was called Ebusus.
11. nequiquam: without result.
12. frustra: with vain efforts.
17. citeriora: i.e. north of the Ebro. provinciae: Spain had
not yet become a Roman province.
20. facti sint: subjunctive because the antecedent of qui is meant
to be indefinite; the relative clause is characteristic.
23. saltum Castulonense: the eastern part of the Sierra Mo-
rena, or the “pass of Castulo,” leading over the range near the city
of that name, which was the capital of the Oretani, and so Cartha-
ginian in sympathy, “ut uxor inde Hannibali esset,” as Livy says,
Book xxiv., chap. xii. The distance from the Ebro is so great that
the story here told is improbable.
24. Lusitaniam: corresponding substantially with the modern
Portugal.

Chapter XXI. 26. per Poenum hostem: as far as the Cartha-
ginian enemy was concerned, if it had depended only upon the Car-
thaginian enemy.
27. avidaque: this adjective usually takes the genitive.
28. Mandonius: brother-in-law of Indibilis. qui: refers to
Indibilis only.
29. Ilergetum: between the Pyrenees and the Ebro; cf. page 95,
line 10, and note. ab saltu: sc. Castulonensi; cf. line 23.
33. auxiliis: probably Spanish.

Page 165. 1. tumultuarium: irregular.
3. cis: from his point of view, i.e. back to the Ebro on the
south side.
5. Ilergavonensium: south of the Ebro, along the coast.
Novam Classem: perhaps between Ilerda and Tarraco, but not
certainly identified.
Chapter XXII. 14. P. Scipio: the consul of 218 B.C., who had been wounded at the Ticinus.

15. prorogato... imperio: he was now a proconsul.
17. advento: and bringing with him.
18. ingens: swollen.
19. portum Tarracōnis: it was only an insecure roadstead; Emporiae was the usual port of the Romans in this quarter. ex alto: coming in from the sea. tenuit: reached.
21. communi animo: this is a contrast to the usual dissensions of the consuls.
23. nec ullo viso: the Latin idiom prefers this to et nullo viso.

24. Saguntum: this city had not been destroyed after its capture by Hannibal.
27. omnium: a decided exaggeration.
28. liberum: genitive.

Page 166. 1. sine... proditio: without betraying something of importance.
2. unum... corpus: a single ordinary and insignificant individual.
3. id agebat: his purpose was.
5. potestatis eius poterat facere: could put into his power; this is a statement of fact, not a report of the thought of Abelux, hence the verb is indicative.
8. Bostāris: the name means servant of Astarte; Livy thinks of him as the governor (praefectus) of Saguntum.
10. in ipso litore: the town was a mile from the shore (page 80, line 1).
12. in secretum: aside; cf. page 49, line 9.
15. cis: i.e. south.
16. novas... res: a change of masters.
19. tantae rel: of such importance, an unusual sense of res.
22. Volt... credi... fidem: every one likes to be trusted, and trust repose usua]ly begets a return of confidence.
24. domos: limit of the motion implied in restituendorum.
mihi... ipse: double emphasis.
25. opera... impensa: by the pains which I shall take.
27. ad: in comparison with.
30. **Scipionem**: i.e. Publius, the elder brother, as we learn from Polybius, iii. 99, 4.

31. **fide**: assurance of good faith.

33. **mandatis ... accipiendis**: in receiving instructions; ablative of means; see Introduction, III. 9, i.

Page 167. 4. **quo**: sc. ordine.

5. **Romanorum**: objective genitive with gratia.

6. **futura ... fuerat**: future from a past standpoint. **Illos**: the Carthaginians; though the last mentioned, they are the more remote in the writer's thought.

7. **gravis**: oppressive. **expertos**: passive.

9. **ante**: adverb.

12. **spectare**: were preparing for; historical infinitive.

Chapter XXIII. 15. **secunda aestate**: 217 B.C.

17. **cunctatio**: Ennius, quoted by Cicero (De Senectute, iv. 10), says, *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*; and cf. also Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 846, *Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem*. ut ... **ita** (line 20): though ... yet.

18. **sollicitum ... habebat**: kept in a state of anxiety.

19. **eum = talem. militiae magistrum**: the early title of a dictator was *populi magister*; corresponding to *equitum magister*.

20. **ratione**: by system.

21. **armatos ... togatos**: in the army ... at home (in civil life).

22. **laeto verius ... quam prospero**: gratifying rather than fortunate; i.e. pleasing at the time, but leading to sad results by inspiring over-confidence.

25. **una**: sc. res, as also with *altera*, line 29.

27. **solo**: dative of soluta.

29. **ea**: that action; attracted from *id* to the gender of the predicate, merces. **primo**: adverb. **forisitan**: generally used with a verb in the subjunctive mood. A. 447, a; H. 310, 1; 552; G. 457, 2, n.

30. **dubio**: questionable; agrees with *facto*, as does also *verso* (line 32). **non expectata ... auctoritas est**: he did not wait for the sanction of the Senate.

33. **convenerat**: it had been agreed.

Page 168. 1. **ut quae pars ... praestaret**: that the side which received more (prisoners) than it gave should pay.

2. **argentii ... selibras**: 2½ pounds of silver; the pound contained 84 denarii (about six to a dollar); 2½ pounds = 210 denarii, about $35. **in militem**: for each soldier.
4. argentumque...tardi se erogaretur: there was delay in appropriating the money; because the Senate was offended at Fabius's neglect to consult it in advance.

7. agrum: he had a small estate of about four acres between Rome and Gabii.

9. captae: cf. page 161, lines 27–30; such inconsistencies of detail are very frequent in Livy, to whom they seem to have been a matter of indifference. They are often due to his system of following first one authority and then another, without careful comparison.

11. duas...partes: two thirds.

12. expedita: i.e. with their arms, and unencumbered with baggage.

14. necunde: ne cunde, lest from any point.

Chapter XXIV. 15. Larinati: see note to page 161, line 30.

16. ante: at page 162, line 8.

18. alto: probably best taken with loco.

19. pro: in accordance with.

20. calidiora: more rash.

23. feroxius quam consultius: with more impetuosity than discretion. A. 292; H. 499; G. 299.

25. tertiam partem: Hannibal sent large numbers to forage, because he was anxious to lay in abundant supplies at Gereonium before the Romans interfered with his movements.

28. conspectum: visible. scire: sc. hostis.

29. Propior: i.e. nearer to the enemy than the hill mentioned in line 27. cf: i.e. Hannibali; construe with apparuit.

Page 169. 1. Tum utique: then certainly, whatever may have been the case before; cf. page 129, line 24. exiguum spatii: see Introduction III., § 2, b; exiguum is accusative of extent.

3. per aversa castra: from the rear of their camp, the part farthest away from Hannibal's; in other words, by the porta decumana.

7. artibus: tactics.

10. Iustae...dimicatum: that a regular pitched battle was fought.


Samnii: notice the omission of in because of toto.

21. duo castella: perhaps at the position of the enemy referred to on page 168, lines 30 sqq.

23. vanum: lying, boastful.

Chapter XXV. 28. ut vera omnia esse all true. B. 308; A. 627, a; H. 586, n.;

32. gerendae...gestae: cf. cond
line 23, and exhaustos aut exhauriendos, page 94, lines 13, 14. When he was present, he hindered any attempt to gain success; when absent, he prevented the recognition of success already gained.

33. quo diutius: a dictator might lay down his office at any time, but could not keep it more than six months.

Page 170. 3. ablegatum: cf. page 154, lines 3-6. praetores: since 227 B.C. there had been four,—the praetor urbanus, praetor peregrinus, and one each for Sicily and Sardinia. Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos: busy with Sicily and Sardinia.

8. quo . . . concessum sit: from which district they had retired before the Carthaginians. Quo . . . agro, ablative of separation; Poenis, dative of advantage. tamquam trans Hiberum (esset): alluding to the treaty made with Hasdrubal (page 75, lines 23 sqq.).

13. prope: construe with clausos.

14. ut . . . ut: when . . . as if.

17. abrogando: constitutionally a superior magistrate could not be deposed, though he might be induced to abdicate voluntarily. So this was an empty threat. Even supposing Fabius’s appointment irregular, it would have required an act of the comitia centuriata, by which he was elected, to annul it; and a tribune could not call a meeting of that body.

19. promulgaturum: sc. esse; would give notice of the bill he intended to propose.

20. mittendum = dimittendum: allowed to depart. See Introductory, III. 8, b.

22. suffecisset: had presided at the election of a consul suffectus, i.e. a consul to take the place of the dead Flaminius. in actione: in addressing the people.

23. popularis: pleasing (to the people). satis: quite.

24. hostem: Hannibal, not his army.

29. prope diem: soon; often written as one word. bono imperatore: ablative absolute.

31. in tempore: at the (right) time, opportunely.

34. M. Attilio Regulo: he had been consul in 227 B.C., and was now an old man, as he himself said (page 186, line 17).

35. rogationis ferendae: for voting on the proposal (of Metilius).

Page 171. 1. plebis concilium: whether this was or was not identical with the comitia tributa is one of the vexed questions of Roman constitutional history. But long before this time the principle had been established that resolutions of the plebs (plebiscita)
should have the force of laws binding the whole nation. The plebeian tribunes had the right to call this assembly and propose legislation to it. **magis tacita...prodire**: It was rather true that the unspoken dislike of the dictator and the popularity of the Master of the Horse worked upon people's minds than that individuals had courage to come forward and advocate what would please the public, etc.

4. **favore superante**: though there was abundant disposition to favor the measure; *superare* in the sense of *superesse*, and contrasted with *deerat* (line 5). **auctoritas**: the support of influential men.

7. **humili...sordido**: we may take the first as referring to his family, the second to his trade.

8. **ipsam institorem mercis**: a retailer of his own wares. Retail trade was considered ignominious by the Romans. The account of Varro's career is continued in chapter xxxiv.

Chapter XXVI. 11. **liberalioris**: more respectable; *liberalis* is what is worthy of a free man.

12. **togaque et forum**: public life; we say "the cloth" for the clergy, and "the bar" for advocates. At Rome the lower classes ordinarily wore the tunic; the toga was the formal dress for all public occasions. **proclamando**: contemptuous; by declaiming.

13. **rem (sc. familiarem) et famam**: property and reputation.

14. **honorum**: respectable people; as in Cicero, the word is used in an aristocratic sense. **honores**: men wishing to reach the consulship had to pass through a regular succession of lower offices.

15. **duabus aedilitatibus**: it was very unusual for a man to hold both aedileships.

18. **dictatoria**: this adjective may be equivalent to an objective genitive, or may mean, *such as a dictator excited in the popular mind*.

19. **unus gratiam tuit**: got the whole credit.

21. **aequi atque iniqui**: friends and foes.

22. **acceperunt**: understood.

23. **gravitate animi**: dignity, self-control; yet no English word adequately renders *gravitas*, the earnestness and sobriety typical of the best Roman character. **se**: i.e. *Fabium*. **ad = apud**.

25. **aequato imperio**: this was inconsistent with the whole idea and purpose of the dictatorship, an undivided and unlimited command.

Chapter XXVII. 31. **Hannibale...victo**: causal ablative with *gloriari*.

Page 172. 4. **annalium**: see Introduction, page ix.

6. **tremere**: the transitive use of this word is poetic, and, in prose, post-Augustan. The reference here is probably to Q. Fabius Rullia-
nus, Master of the Horse in 326 B.C., who barely escaped being put to
death by the dictator L. Papirius Cursor, for fighting contrary to orders,
though he gained a victory.

7. securum suum: he would try his own luck,
    act on his own responsibility.

12. optumum ducere: in Polybius it is Fabius who offers the
    alternatives, and Minucius who prefers to divide the army.

13. partitum temporibus: in equal periods.

17. omnia fortunam eam, etc.: that the fate of the whole enter-
    prise would then be staked upon the rashness of his colleague.

20. parte ... cesserunt: give up the chance to guide measures
    with prudence so far as he could.

22. exercitum: adversative asyndeton.

24. sicut consulibus mos esset: it is true that ordinarily the
    armies were equally divided between the consuls; but, when they
    were combined, it was customary for the consuls to command the
    whole forces alternately, usually one day at a time.

26. evenerunt: sc. sorte; fell to. pari numero: equally;
    ablative of manner.

Chapter XXVIII. 31. eum fallebat: escaped his knowledge.
    indicantibus ... explorantem: notice the awkward change of
    construction.

33. capturum ... decessisse: these infinitives depend on the
    notion 'he was glad to think' implied in gaudium (line 29).

Page 173. 2. quem qui ... facturus: the occupation of which
    would render, etc.

5. opera premium: worth his while; cf. page 1, line 1, and page
    82, line 8.

6. satis sciebat: he was pretty sure.

8. non modo: the negation in ne ... quidem affects the first as
    well as the second clause; translate as if it were non modo non. Cf.
    page 60, line 6, and note.

9. vestitum: agrees with quicquam. re ipsa: as a matter of
    fact, in contrast to prima specie, line 7. natus: fitted by nature.

11. et: and in fact. in anfractibus: in the windings of the
    valley. Possibly anfractibus may mean the undulations of the
    surface.

15. Necubi: final, ne cubi.


19. deprecere pellendos: begged to be allowed to dislodge.

22. levem armaturam: abstract for concrete.
28. Prima levils armatura: in contrast to sucedentem equitem, line 30.

30. sucedens tumulum: advancing up the knoll. sucedentem = subsequentem: coming behind them.

33. ista: in regular array. recta: with the enemy in front, i.e. not coming ex insidiis, as the case really was.

36. eum = tantum.


9. hosti...civibus: see note to page 6, line 23.

15. solutis ordinibus: having broken ranks.

16. plures simul: in a body, keeping together.

17. volventesque orbem: forming a circle; as we say, “forming square.”

18. sensim: only very slowly.

20. receptui: B. 191, 1; A. 382, 2; H. 433, 3; G. 356, n. 3.

21. palam ferente: openly admitting.

25. primum...secundum: the best...the next best; Livy here puts into Minucius’s mouth a quotation from Hesiod, Works and Days, 293.

28. extremit: lowest.

30. sors: rank.

31. in animum inducamus: let us make up our minds.

Page 175. 3. patronos: they owed their lives to their comrades as a libertus owed his freedom to his patronus. salutabilitis: equivalent to an imperative.

Chapter XXX. 5. conclamatur: command was given. The explanation of conclamare may be that, after the signal was given by the trumpets, the men took it up with their voices all over the camp.

6. vasa: all kinds of baggage, including tents and utensils.

8. tribunal: a raised platform, to the left and in front of the praetorium, where stood the general’s sella curulis.

10. circumfusosque militum: i.e. the soldiers of Fabius; a very unusual treatment of a partitive genitive. totum agmen: Minucius’s army.

12. modo: adverb of time. quod fando possum: which is all I can do by mere words.

14. plebeiscitum: whereby he was made equal in authority to Fabius. oneratus...honoratus: paronomasia; a solemn pun,— rather burdened than guerdoned.
15. antiquo: this word is not strictly applicable, as it means to vote against a proposed measure, i.e. I approve the old and wish no change. abrogare: the proper word for repealing or annulling what is already in force.

16. quod . . . sit felix: may it prove fortunate; cf. page 22, line 25, and note.

18. signa . . . restitudo: the standards were set up in camp before the general's tent.

22. hospitaliter invitati: i.e. they were invited by their comrades to their quarters, and entertained there.

26. pro se quisque: every one individually.

29. biennio: the Carthaginians were just beginning their second year in Italy, as they had arrived late in the fall of 218 B.C., but this was the close of the second campaign.

Page 176. 2. sedere in fugis: a witty allusion to Fabius's habit of keeping on the hills, out of reach of the Punic cavalry.

Chapter XXXI. The narrative is resumed from chapter xi.

5. centum viginti: the numeral, lacking in the Mss., is supplied from Polybius.

8. escensiones: landings, descents. Menige: Menix, or Meninx, a large and fertile island in the Syrtis Minor, the island of the lotus-eaters described in the Odyssey.

9. Cerphinam: a small island about equally distant east from Carthage and south from Sicily; construe as the object of inco-lentibus.

10. talentis: see note to page 67, line 15.

12. iuxta . . . ac si: just as if.

21. Ipse: Servilius, opposed to classis, not to legato. pedibus: by land, not necessarily on foot.

23. accitus: referring to both ipse and collega; traiecit (line 22) refers to ipse only.

24. semestri imperio: as already stated, the dictator's imperium was limited to six months at most (long enough for a campaign). Probably, also, it expired at the end of the term of the consul who had appointed him, though less than six months had elapsed since the nomination.

25. dictatorem: as dictator.

27. primum: misleading; he was the only one before the time of Cælius.

28. fugit: escapes the notice of; the subject is ius fuisset.

31. eo decursum esse: they had recourse to this expedient.
32. pro dictatore: i.e. to exercise a dictator's functions, though not technically a dictator, because not nominated in the constitutional manner.

Page 177. 1. augentis: exaggerating; it agrees with posteros. titulum imaginis: the inscription on his bust or mask; alluding to the custom of preserving in the atrium the images of those ancestors of the family who had held curule offices, together with inscriptions narrating their exploits.

3. obtinuiisse: brought about, caused.

Chapter XXXII. 4. Fabiano...Minuciano: adjectives, as often, where the English idiom puts genitives; cf. page 6, line 2, and note.

6. reliquom autumni: it was probably then October, as the battle of Trasimenum had been in April. As to the spelling, cf. vivom, page 160, line 22, and note.

8. carpentes...excipientes: harassing his army on the march and cutting off stragglers; cf. use of the adverb carptim, page 159, line 28.

13. repetiturus fuerit: a clause of result in the perfect subjunctive, and at the same time apodosis of a condition contrary to fact, is expressed by the periphrastic conjugation. B. 304, 3, 5); A. 517, d; H. 582, 2 (where this sentence is quoted); G. 597, v. 5 (a).

17. Neapolitani: Neapolis (modern Naples), an ancient Greek city on the Campanian coast, became an ally of Rome at the end of the third Samnite war, 290 B.C.

19. ita verba facta, ut dicerent: an unusual form of words to introduce a speech.

20. iuxta...ac: just as much...as; iuxta = pariter, see Introduction, III. 7, c.

22. geratur: the contest was going on.

24. fortunae: sc. adversae; cf. page 174, line 5.

26. in sese: in themselves, as distinguished from their property. They were expected to furnish naval assistance only, when called upon. Only Romans and Latins served in the legions.

28. duxissent...indicaverint: an unusually abrupt change from the narrator's to the speaker's temporal standpoint.

30. re: in intrinsic value; literally, 'in fact.'


Page 178. Chapter XXXIII. 3. in crucem acti: crucifixion was the ordinary way of executing slaves.
4. in campo Martio coniurasset: this is a puzzle to commentators; the common explanation — viz. that the slaves had surreptitiously got themselves enrolled as soldiers, and taken the military oath, which freemen alone had the right to do — may be the true one, but it is not entirely satisfactory, and the expression in the text is too vague to be interpreted with certainty. The Campus Martius was the place of military enrolment.

5. aeris gravis: sc. assium; in public rewards, as in religious rites, the libral as, ten times as heavy as the as of 217 B.C., was still used; this sum was about eight hundred and seventy-five dollars.

6. Philippum: Philip V. of Macedonia, with whom the Romans had two wars, conquered by Flamininus at Cynoscephalae, 197 B.C.

7. Demetrium: to Demetrios of Pharos was given by the Romans the rule over several islands on the Illyrian coast; he revolted, was defeated by Aemilius Paulus in 219 B.C., and, fleeing to Philip V., tried to induce him to espouse his cause against Rome.

8. fugisset ... iuvisset: subjunctives in subordinate clauses of informal oratio obliqua.

11. Pineum: when Queen Teuta of Scodra, who had aided the Illyrian pirates, was defeated by the Romans in 228 B.C., her young stepson Pineus was placed on her throne, under the guardianship of Demetrios. The tribute imposed on Pineus was now overdue (dies exierat).

13. si diem proferri vellet: if he wished to have the date of payment postponed.

14. usquam terrarum: anywhere in the world. See note to page 156, line 12.

16. In religionem ... venit: became a subject of religious scruple, caused reproaches of conscience. aedem Concordiae: beside the temple of Juno Moneta, on the arx, not the famous temple on the Clius Capitolinus, dedicated by Camillus, 367 B.C., after the long contest about opening the consulship to plebeians.

17. seditionem: this probably occurred at the point reached in Book xxi., chapter xxv.

18. locatam: contracted for; public contracts were usually made by the censors, sometimes by commissioners specially appointed.


27. interregem: this title was a relic of the ancient monarchy; cf. Book i., chap. xvii.

29. Patribus: the Senate had the right to decide whether an interrex or a dictator should be appointed. rectius: more proper, the consuls being still in office.
Page 179. 1. vitio: there was some informality in the appointment that was not immediately noticed.

2. ad interregnum: the consul's term having meantime expired, a dictator could not be named, and therefore an interrex was appointed.

3. prorogatum . . . imperium: i.e. the consuls became pro-consuls.

Chapter XXXIV. 4. Interreges: in the early centuries of the republic elections were very frequently held by interreges; it was never the first interrex, and it generally was the second, who held the election; the first one was appointed by the Senate, each subsequent one by his predecessor; each held office five days; the patrician senators alone had a share in the formalities of an interregnum. See Book i., chap. xvii., and notes; also page 26, line 29; page 40, line 8. prodivit: nominated.

6. patrum: the nobles; i.e. all families, plebeian as well as patrician, whose ancestors had held curule offices, which gave admission to the Senate. The old war of castes between patricians and plebeians had long since been superseded by that between nobles and commons.

8. principum: i.e. the leading politicians among the nobility.

10. aliena invidia: by the unpopularity of another man (Fabius). extrahere: to raise up.

11. ne se . . . homines: lest men should get accustomed to being made equal with them (i.e. attain senatorial rank) by railing at them.

13. cognatus: strictly speaking, a relative on the mother's side, a relative on the father's side being agnatus. As these men did not belong to the same gens, the former must be meant.

19. universis: if united.

24. prius = magis.

28. hominem novum: the first of a family to obtain a curule office was so called. The most famous novus homo (this is the usual order of the words) was Cicero.

29. nobiles: the meaning of the word is explained in the note on patrum, line 6. sacris: mysteries; the sense is rather metaphorical than literal; the essential bond of unity in a gens, or family, was community of sacra, i.e. a common worship of the same household gods or gentile divinities, especially the deified ancestors common to all the members by birth or adoption. What is meant here is that plebeians admitted into the charmed circle of political "nobility" were as anxious as any patricians to keep out "new men."

30. ex quo: sc. tempore; as soon as; from the moment that.

31. id actum: that this was their object.
27. *pugnam . . . in Africa*: the battle of Zama, 202 B.C.

Chapter LV. 30. *praetores*: the highest magistrates in the absence of consuls. Upon them devolved the chief executive power. It should be remembered that the Senate was in theory a mere advisory body. The magistrates acted by virtue of their *imperium*, but took counsel of the Senate, which, however, had no initiative of its own.

31. *curlam Hostiliam*: see note to page 38, line 5.

32. *neque . . . dubitabant*: Livy uses indifferently *quin* clauses or infinitives after negative or interrogative *dubito*; cf. page 185, line 9.

Page 201. 1. *siculi . . . ita*: as . . . as, not 'though . . . yet.'

3. *nondum palam facto*: as the facts were not yet published.

5. *Appla et Latina via*: the two great southern roads, by which fugitives or messengers from the battlefield would arrive.

13. *agendum*: measures were to be taken.

15. *publico*: from appearing in the streets.

18. *suae . . . fortunae*: as to the fate of his own relatives; *sua fortuna* means what specially concerned himself.


Chapter LVI. 25. *pedibus . . . issent*: had voted for (without debate); the division was made by going to one or the other side of the house.

27. *diversi*: in different directions.


Page 202. 1. *nundinantem*: bargaining, haggling; denominative verb from *nundinae* (novem dies), 'market days.'

3. *anniversarium Cerialis*: the regular *Cerialia* occurred in April. This statement is obscure, as the battle was fought nominally on August 2. The allusion may be to another feast of Ceres, mentioned by Cicero (*Pro Balbo*, 55; *De Legibus*, ii. 21, 37). The *Cerialia* was a festival of matrons, and so many of them were in mourning that few were left to wear the white festal garb.

7. *diebus triginta*: ablative. The usual time was ten months, the most ancient Roman year being of that length.

10. *T. Oticilio*: see page 176, line 20.

11. *regnum Hieronis*: Syracuse and the country about it along the east coast of the island. See note to page 123, line 16.
13. Aegatis insulas: off the northwest corner of the island.

stare: was lying or was cruising.

15. Lilybaeum: see note to page 123, line 22.

16. alien: the rest of; cf. page 100, line 11.

Chapter LVII. 19. praetoris: i.e. of the pro-praetor Otacilius.

20. M. Claudium (Marcellum): he had not yet gone to his province (cf. page 180, line 24). He was already a distinguished soldier, and had gained a signal victory over the Gauls in 222 B.C., slaying their king, Viridomarus, and thus gaining spolia opima for the third and last time in Roman history. classi: probably the one mentioned page 176, line 18.

28. necata: it was deemed sacrilegious to lay violent hands on the Vestals who had been consecrated to the goddess, and so, when convicted of unchastity, they were buried alive in a subterranean vault in the campus sceleatus by the Colline gate. Pliny the Younger (Ep. iv. 11) gives an account of the execution of a Vestal under Domitian.

29. scriba . . . quos: constructio per synesim, the relative indicating the class to which the individual belonged.


2. missus: notice the following constructions: Delphos . . . ad oraculum . . . sciscitatum.

3. suppliciis = supplicationibus; archaic.

4. finis: as feminine this is ante-classical or post-classical, or poetic. fatalibus libris: the books of fate, probably the Sibylline books; they are often so called by Livy.

6. in foro bovario: (usually boario); see note to page 137, line 28.

8. minime Romano: what Livy disapproves is "un-Roman"; the blame is here laid upon the foreign books. There are several traces of human sacrifice in Roman history, e.g. M. Curtius, Decius Mus, the ver sacrum, etc.

13. legio tertia: it appeared, page 198, line 29, that the third legion was at Cannae. This may have been the third marine legion, or a new count may have been made after the destruction of the consular army, or it may be a mistake.

14. Teanum Sidicinum: an important town in northern Campania, commanding the Via Latina.

17. dictus: by the consul. M. Iunius (Pera): the last dictator rei gerendae causa. Ti. Sempronius (Gracchus): consul in 215 and 213 B.C.
19. prætextatos: boys under seventeen, who had not exchanged
the toga prætexta for the toga virilis.
21. Latīnum nomen: cf. page 14, line 14; page 130, line 7, etc.
ex formula: the list of those capable of bearing arms, according to
which the quota of each of the allied communities was regulated.
186, line 12. By being enrolled in the legions, the slaves were eman-
cipated.
27. cum: concessive.
28. copia fieret: the opportunity was offered.
Chapter LVIII. 29. secundum: immediately after.

Page 204. 8. aliquantum adicēbatūr: cf. page 198, line 1,
where no distinction is made between equītes and pedītes.
9. equītibus: in the case of the knights; dative of reference.
17. aliqūid oblītus: B. 206, 2, a; A. 350, a; H. 454, 2; G. 376, n. 2.
20. dictatoris verbis: in the dictator's name.
21. finibus Romānīs: the territory of the thirty-five tribes of
cives Romāni.
Chapter LIX. 22. senātus: an audience of the Senate; cf. page
86, line 11.
23. M. Iunī: the dictator, as the presiding officer, is addressed
first and by name.

Page 205. 7. a Gallīs: in 390 B.C.
8. patres vestros: more than sixty years before, the Senate had
sent an embassy concerning an exchange of prisoners to Pyrrhus of
Epirus. illos: as everybody knows.
14. nisi in quibus: only because, etc.
19. premendo = deprimendo: by disparaging.
23. praetulerint, etc.: apodosis with condition omitted.
25. utemini: you will find; cf. page 13, line 33, and note.
28. fortunā: station in life, rank.

Page 206. 5. In tueri potestis: the doors of the curiā were stand-
ing open, so that the crowd outside was visible to the senators.
10. in discrimine: at stake.
11. me diuus fidiūs: i.e. īta me diuus (deus) fidiūs īuvet, 'so help
me,' etc. Deus Fidiūs was the Sabine god Semo Sancus.
13. indigni ut: dīgnus is regularly followed by a relative clause
of characteristic.
18. animum: feelings.
21. vos... pepercisse: that you grudged the money.
Chapter LX. 24. in comitio: the northeast part of the forum, in front of the curia.
28. arbitris: including the delegates of the prisoners; see note to page 26, line 14. consul: passive because individual members were called on by the presiding magistrate for their opinions. coeptus: passive form, according to the rule, with a passive infinitive.
29. publico: sc. aerario, or some such word.
32. mutuam: as a loan. praedibus: sureties, bondsmen; præs = præae, vas.
33. praediiis: landed estates, i.e. 'mortgages.' cavendum: that security should be given to the nation. T. Manlius Torquatus: consul in 235 and 224 B.C.; the surname was from the torque, or necklace, of a gigantic Gaul slain by his ancestor, 361 B.C.
34. prisciæ, etc.: Cicero would not thus join a genitive of quality with a proper name; cf. annorum, page 74, line 16, and note.

Page 207. 4. quid enim alium quam: in translating, put quam directly before ut; alium, B. 176, 2, a); A. 390, c; H. 409, 1; G. 333, 1.
19. ipsis: they too, as well as the Romans.
21. etiam per confertos: even if they had been in close array.
23. alium: i.e. Tuditana. Nocte prope tota: rhetorical exaggeration; cf. page 196, lines 8 sqq.
28. memoria: in the time of. P. Decius (Mus) secured the retreat of the Roman army in the first Samnite war, 343 B.C., by seizing and holding, with a small detachment, a position where their destruction by the enemy seemed almost certain.
30. priore: not primo, as the speaker knew of no third Punic war. Calpurnius Flamma, in 258 B.C., in Sicily, sacrificed himself and his detachment to save the army.
34. si... diceret... ducerem: a future or ideal condition thrown back into past time; A. 516, f; G. 596, 2.
35. vos: here the speaker changes to the second person, and addresses the envoys of the captives directly; at line 16 of page 208 he changes again, and addresses the Senate.

Page 208. 10. deminiuti capite: capitis deminutio was a loss or change of status; there were three degrees of it: maxima = loss of liberty; media = loss of citizenship; minima = change of family. These men suffered the maxima capitis deminutio, for they lost liberty as well as citizenship. Being no longer cives, they had no patria to regret. abalienati = privati.
attempts (and would have succeeded).
23. haberet: sc. patria.
24. extiterunt = extiterunt.
28. viginti milia: a round number, but an under-statement.

Page 209. 2. At . . . ad erumpendum, etc.: rhetorical statement, made in order to be contradicted with emphasis.
8. Orto sole: the speaker drops his irony and states the fact as it was.
10. vobis: B. 188, 2, b); A. 380; H. 432; G. 351; addressing the Senate.
14. vos: addressing the captives.
Chapter LXXI. 27. in . . . emendos: a rare construction in Livy for expressing purpose; but cf. page 94, line 20.
29. locupletari: a weak argument; the same result would follow if the prisoners were sold as slaves, and we learn that these very ones were sold in Greece for five hundred denarii apiece. (Livy, Book xxxiv., chap. 1.)
30. redimi: present, instead of future, showing the certainty of the decision.
33. fallaci reditu: cf. page 204, lines 15 sqq.

Page 210. 7. ita: on condition that. ne . . . daretur: stipulative subjunctive.
12. nec = et . . . non.
14. per causam: under the pretext.
18. proxumis censoribus: temporal ablative.
19. notis: the nota was the censor’s entry on the list of senators, equites, or citizens, giving the reason for the degradation of those whose names were removed therefrom; thence it came to mean any brand of disgrace.
22. publico: cf. page 201, line 15, and note.
24. ea clades: i.e. the battle of Cannae.
25. vel ea res: even this fact.
28. imperio: sc. Romano. Delecere: the nations here named did not all fall away at once, but gradually; but it was at this time that defection on a large scale began.

Page 211. 2. causa maxima: it is not unlikely that Varro, like Flaminius, has been made a scapegoat for the errors of the govern-
ment. It is altogether probable that the Senate and people had
resolved to fight a pitched battle and end a situation that was felt
to be no longer tolerable. The extraordinary preparations and this
subsequent action of the Senate support this view. After the event
it was easy, and soon became traditional, to lay the blame on the
plebeian consul.

3. frequenter: in crowds; see Valerius Maximus, iii. 4, 4.

5. nihil recusandum supplicii foret: there is no extreme of
punishment that he would not have had to bear; the Carthaginians
were in the habit of crucifying generals who were unsuccessful.

6. foret = esset.
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