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# COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

EDITED BY

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

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 LIVY. BOOKS I. AND II.

GREENOUGH





COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

LIVY

BOOKS I. AND II.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

J. B. GREENOUGH



GINN & COMPANY

BOSTON · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · LONDON

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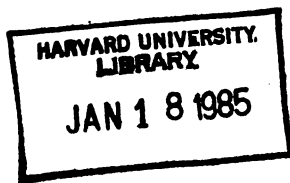


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GINN & COMPANY · PRO-  
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## PREFACE.

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THE editor holds, as he has often said elsewhere, that the essential object of studying Latin is to learn to read Latin with readiness and accuracy ; that the proper method of *learning to read* is to *try to read*, in the form and the order in which the author presents his ideas and conceptions, and with as little translation into the vernacular as possible. This is especially true of Livy, who is a professional *raconteur*, always aiming to produce a graphic effect on the mind of his reader. This book is accordingly edited with a view to that object and that method. Discussions of historical and grammatical points have been made subordinate to the presentation of Livy's exact ideas as they lay in his mind, and the precise order in which in their parts and their totality he intended to present them. The teacher as well as the pupil will perhaps miss some historical and grammatical lore and many translations which they have become accustomed to associate with classical studies, but which the editor has purposely omitted. Yet in compensation it is hoped that both will be led to a better knowledge of the author and of the Latin language than they would get by following the customary method of exhaustive comment on irrelevant topics.

49X.49

The text, with a few exceptions, is that of Weissenborn's second edition, and to the judicious commentary of the same scholar the editor is more indebted than to any other. The grammatical references (Gr.) are to the revised edition of Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar (1888).

December 19, 1890.

## INTRODUCTION.

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### LIVY.

I. Of our author, Titus Livius, as of so many ancient authors, we hardly know more than that he lived, wrote, and died. A few facts and some inferences can be gathered from scanty notices in various contemporary and later writers. He was born at Patavium (*Padua*), according to St. Jerome, in 59 B.C., and died 17 A.D., at the same place, but must have lived the greater part of his life at Rome. The year of his birth was that of the famous consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, and his death was in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius. He thus lived through the Civil War, and saw the downfall of the Republic and the establishment of the Empire and the reign of Augustus. He must have come of a wealthy family, and no doubt was educated at Rome.

We do not hear of him as an advocate nor as a teacher of rhetoric or philosophy, but he wrote some instructions in rhetoric addressed to his son and some essays on philosophy. To these branches of study he seems to have devoted himself. It was probably as a branch of rhetoric that he took up the composition of history. He appears in no public capacity, but he enjoyed the friendship of the imperial family, and lived a quiet literary life, engaged in the composition of his great work. This he began between 27 and 25 B.C., and did not finish, or at least did not publish completely, until after the death of Augustus, — a few years, that is, before his own death. This work must have been, as it seemed to the ancients, an enormous undertaking. Beginning with the coming of Æneas, it contained the detailed

history of the Roman people down to the death of Drusus, 9 B.C., and probably was intended to be continued to the death of Augustus. There were originally one hundred and forty-two books. These were divided into series of fives and tens, each series embracing some marked epoch of history. Thus, at the beginning of the sixth book, he says, 'Quae ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani gessere . . . quinque libris exposui.' The first ten books describe events to the establishment of Roman supremacy in Italy, at the end of the Second Samnite War. The twenty-first begins with the Second Punic War, and seventy-one to eighty embraced the Social War. This division is not systematically carried out, but in later times the "Decades of Livy" has become a common expression. Of this great work we have preserved the first decade, the third and fourth, and part of the fifth (*i.e.* five books, two of which, however, the forty-first and forty-third, are incomplete), — in all *thirty-five*. All the rest, one hundred and seven books, have been lost. Of the "Lost Decades," epitomes (*periochae*) by an unknown hand, which have been preserved, give a meagre account of the contents. The title of the work seems to have been *Ab Vrbe Condita Libri*, though Livy himself once (XLIII. 13. 1) speaks of the books as *Annales*, and Pliny the Elder (*N. H. Praef.* 16) calls them *Historiae*.

#### HIS QUALIFICATIONS FOR WRITING HISTORY.

2. Livy was not in our modern sense a historian. He was a rhetorician, who, with honesty, patriotism, and moral fervor, devoted himself to setting forth the received account of Roman history in a manner that should be interesting, instructive, and elevating. Of law, politics, religion, and tactics he had no special knowledge, even as they were in his own day, much less as they were in the early times of which he writes. Of the events narrated in his earlier books, especially in the two in this volume, historic truth was then and still is unattainable. There was in most cases absolutely no contemporaneous record

of events. Even the ordinary evidence in documents and the like had perished before critical skill had been developed to make use of them. In the place of true history had sprung up fables, legends, and falsified traditions, sometimes the natural outgrowth of popular imagination, and sometimes of family pride or political partisanship. The most important events in the history of the Roman constitution were enveloped in a cloud of inconsistent traditions, wild guesses of ancient writers, and deliberate lies.

3. To ascertain the exact truth amid all this falsehood by careful investigation, Livy had neither the ability nor perhaps the desire. If a fable was not too absurd on its face for his contemporaries to credit, it might stand, sometimes with a word of doubt not too strongly expressed, or an attempt at explanation. (See the founding of Lavinium, I. 1. 11; the miraculous parentage of Romulus, I. 4. 2; the story of Acca Larentia, I. 4. 7; and Livy's own words, V. 21. 9, '*sed in rebus tam antiquis si quae similia veri sint pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam*'). If contradictions and inconsistencies were not too glaring, they could be lightly glossed over, or avoided by omission (see the story of Ascanius, I. 3), so as not to be apparent in the continuous narrative.

#### EARLY HISTORY OF ROME.

4. No doubt, as in all traditions, there is a germ of truth somewhere in these stories relating to the founding and earliest history of Rome. But what it is and where it is, is as difficult to find as the woman's leaven in the three measures of meal after the whole was leavened. The site of the city appears to have been the home of shepherds that pastured their flocks on the Campagna. The Romans thought these shepherds came from Alba, and referred their Latin customs to that city as their origin. They clearly were of Latin stock, and may have come from Alba as well as anywhere. But that they as such founded any Rome, with or without a Romulus, seems



utterly incredible. Rome owes its importance, as all cities do, to its geographical position. It commands the Tiber, the only avenue to the interior for miles along the coast. There can hardly be any doubt that a nomadic and later agricultural people came down the peninsula from the North, without any thought of communication by sea with any part of the world. When the Greeks and Phœnicians 'discovered' Italy, its inhabitants were in much the same situation in regard to the rest of the earth as the North American Indians at the discovery of America. What the foreigners wanted was the raw materials which this wild country furnished, and which were paid for by the products of civilization. This foreign commerce seems to have lighted upon Etruria first, as is indicated by the early importance of Cære and other towns on or near the coast. Presently it attacked the Tiber, and of this river the shepherds of the Palatine had the command. Rome therefore became the entrepôt, or at any rate the toll-house, of Italian commerce. The earliest significance of Rome is attached to the region along the Tiber, the haunt of the merchants, where the Circus Maximus afterwards stood (see I. 7. 3 n). The Palatine was of no importance except as a stronghold to defend the traders (and probably blackmailers), who could by means of it control all commerce with the interior, whence the raw materials wanted by the foreigners must come. Hence Rome, from being a station of shepherds, became a centre of commerce. The Sabines, a kindred stock, were close by in the mountains, and wanted to have their share in the foreign wealth. They took or had already occupied, for the same purpose as the Latins (Albans), other hills close by. After many contests they early became united into one community with the Latins. In the course of this development foreign influence made itself felt, probably by permanent settlement rather than by mere commercial intercourse. Why Lavinium should have been selected as the point around which the legends of foreign settlement should crys-

tallize it is not easy to see. By no possibility could *Lavinium* be derived from *Lavinia*, any more than *Rome* from *Romulus*. It is possible, of course, that foreign settlers may have established themselves there before the Tiber was opened, and afterwards removed to the new entrepôt. That around a growing city of the kind referred to a miscellaneous population of adventurers and refugees should have gathered is what one could expect from more modern examples. In time, after wealth had accumulated, it would be natural that agriculture should again become prominent, and thus give rise to the prevailing agricultural character of Roman society. For it was not by manufactures that Rome grew, but by the raw products of the soil, for which she served as the great collector and distributor. Again, at a later time, war became the prevailing occupation of the Romans, and the world-conquest which they effected began.

5. Such, or something like it, must have been the nucleus around which crystallized the great mass of fable which was received as the history of Rome. The conflicts of the orders of the state it is not so easy to unravel, because we cannot tell with certainty the real character of patricians, clients, and plebs, and the relations in which they stood to each other. The most probable supposition is that the *plebs* was composed of alien residents, attracted originally by commercial activities, and afterwards established as landholders in the state, but not of it. On no other supposition can the marked difference between them and the patricians on the one hand and the clients on the other be satisfactorily explained. But their true character, as well as the steps by which they gained a foothold in the state, will probably ever be a mystery. Many indications point to a conquest of the city at an early time by its Etruscan neighbors, and a long occupation, from which the Romans finally succeeded in freeing themselves, living thereafter under an oligarchic republic.

But such a history as this, even if Livy had known it, would

have been but a meagre field for a patriotic rhetorician, and so we have, fortunately perhaps, the received accounts, full of poetry, legend, and materials for national pride.

#### LIVY'S AUTHORITIES.

6. Naturally Livy's history is none of it the result of original research. His authorities are the historians and antiquaries who had come before him. These are chiefly, especially for the early books contained in this volume : —

*Q. Fabius Pictor* (cited by him as *Fabius*), who wrote in Greek the story of the Second Punic War, of which he was a contemporary, with an introduction treating of the earliest times, no doubt strongly colored by the family pride of the *Fabii*.

*L. Cincius Alimentus*, who covered the same ground, lived about the same time, and also wrote in Greek.

*L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi* (cited as *Piso*), consul 133 B.C., who was, perhaps, the most eminent of the authorities consulted. This author combined with his annals accounts of early customs and institutions.

*Valerius Antias*, who had written a history of the city from its foundation. It appears to have been less trustworthy, however, than the other works used by Livy, and more highly colored by family pride even than that of *Fabius*.

*C. Licinius Macer*, tribune 73 B.C., who wrote as a partisan of the *plebs* in their conflict with the aristocracy.

*Q. Aelius Tubero*, contemporary with Cicero and known to us as the opponent of Ligarius, who wrote a history from the earliest times down to the Civil Wars.

For the later books *M. Porcius Cato*, the censor, *L. Caelius Antipater*, a contemporary of the Gracchi, *Q. Claudius Quadrigarius*, *L. Cornelius Sisenna*, praetor 78 B.C., *Polybius*, the Greek, and many others, contributed materials for our author's use.

7. In his treatment of these authorities Livy naturally varies much, according to the nature of the events to be narrated.

But in general he seems not to have done as even a rhetorician might do, made a special study of all, and then made an independent account, but to have taken now one and now another to follow for certain events, and then abandoned him for some more attractive authority. The earliest events he has drawn from the more simple accounts of Fabius, Piso, and Tubero. For the next epoch, that of the beginning of the Republic, he has followed Fabius, occasionally diverging to some other annalist.

The change in his sources sometimes leads Livy into inconsistencies. A case of this kind is found in this volume. At Bk. II. chap. 21 he seems to abandon his authorities, and begin chap. 22 from a new source. In doing this he displaces the chronology, giving a new date to the battle of Lake Regillus, and repeating some of the events he has already narrated (cf. 17. 6 and 22. 2).

#### HIS QUALITIES AS A NARRATOR.

8. If we disregard Livy's faults as a historian, — and for many purposes they may well be disregarded, — we shall recognize in him a narrator whose skill amply justifies the estimation in which from his own time till now he has been held. His work is a narrative, and its truth or falsity makes no difference in his talent. His power of imagination makes him, as it were, an eyewitness of the scenes and events. He is filled with the most appreciative sympathy for human motives and human actions, especially the more pathetic and the more noble. His moral tone is lofty, without any trace of hypocrisy or cant. If an event or situation is to be depicted, he knows how to seize upon precisely the point of view which will give the most telling effect. The form of narration and the language which he selects, though often careless, are always vivid and forcible, and bring the scenes before us with intense life and animation.

## HIS STYLE AND LATINITY.

9. 'Livy's Pictured Page' is a just summary of the character of his works. His style is that of the Augustan age, a little removed from the rigid formalism of Ciceronian Latin; but it is never turgid, affected, nor strained. If we had not already adopted Cicero as the only model, and decided that other writers are less pure, we might well set Livy in that place, and call Cicero and Caesar antiquated.

The peculiarities of Livy's style, as they affect the beginner, are mostly such as arise from the nature of his work and its purpose. Some, however, belong to the change which was going on in the language generally, and many are at the same time of both classes.

*a.* As the work deals with matters recorded in earlier annals, archaisms are often apparently copied from his sources, either intentionally or accidentally, it is hard to say which: *e.g.*, *exsignata*, I. 20. 5; *ausim*, *Praef.* 1; *haud* with all parts of speech; alliteration, as in I. 16. 3; and many others.

The lively and vivid representation to the imagination of events in their progress which was Livy's aim produces several effects on his style:

*b.* A tendency to dramatize, which brings in many words and constructions of common speech, and causes a *naïveté* of statement adapted to the speakers and actors themselves: *e.g.*, *viden tu puerum hunc?* I. 39. 3; *flexit viam Brutus* (*senserat enim adventum*), I. 60. 1 (here the reason, instead of being formally made subordinate, takes the colloquial form of parenthesis); *id mirum quantum profuit*, II. 1. 11; *enimvero non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse*, II. 45. 11; *velle ne scirem ipsi fecerunt*, II. 45. 12. Here belongs also the frequent use of *adeo*, introducing an explanation of what goes before (see I. 9. 5; I. 10. 7).

*c.* A rapid flow of narrative, which causes many breaks in construction, *constructions ad sensum*, omissions of connec-

tives (see I. 6. 4), and omissions of words to be supplied from the context, together with a general carelessness of grammar and occasionally a want of perspicuity; e.g., *darent, Praef.* 13; I. 15. 1; and the indicative for subjunctive in I. 17. 2.

d. His ethical sympathy with the events, and the pressure, as it were, under which the narrative is composed tend to a poetical form of composition, marked

(1) By poetic phraseology; e.g., *Romulum Remumque cupido cepit*, I. 6. 3. Cf. for a poetic word, I. 9. 6.

(2) By poetic constructions. Cf. the frequent use of the dative (e.g., *parentibus*, I. 13. 3; *praetereuntibus*, II. 49. 7).

(3) By the use of highly wrought imagery: see the figure in *desidentes*, etc., *Præf.* 9; *devolvere retro*, I. 47. 5.

Other peculiarities belong to the earliest stage of the changes which distinguish imperial from republican prose,—changes which Livy, among the rest, himself helped much to produce. In these his style is marked, not so much by absolute novelties, as by the more frequent use of modes of expression which are more rare in earlier Latin.

e. Thus the use of the perfect participle in agreement to express an abstract idea has its roots deep in the language, but in Livy is so frequent as to be almost a feature of his style: e.g., *iram praedae amissae*, I. 5. 3.

f. The present participle as a noun (*legentium*, 'readers'; *nocentium*, 'the offenders') is not unknown at any period of the language, but in Livy it becomes one of his stock forms of speech.

g. So with adverbial expressions made of a preposition and noun: e.g., *inter precationem*, II. 8. 7; *in obsidione et fame*, II. 11. 5.

h. So attributive expressions made of a noun and preposition become more frequent in Livy: e.g., *omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas*, I. 34. 6; *loca circa forum*, I. 38. 6; *area ad aedem*, I. 38. 7.

i. The use of adjectives agreeing with subject or object to

express modifications which really belong to the verb is not uncommon: e.g., *serae immigraverint, Praef. 11*; *adeo mitem praebuisse, I. 4. 6.*

j. Nouns are used in apposition to express attributive ideas: e.g., *pastor accola eius loci, I. 7. 5*; *exsule advena, I. 34. 5.*

k. Participles take the place of clauses more frequently in Livy than in other writers: e.g., *concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis, I. 7. 9*; *haec eum haud falso memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare iussit, I. 35. 6.*

l. The perfect participle is often used without any feeling of tense: e.g., *pater moritur uxore gravida relicta, I. 34. 2*; *rebus suis Lavinium translatis civitate cessit, II. 2. 10*; *caesum, II. 36. 1 n.*

m. The use of the gerund or gerundive, especially in the ablative of manner, becomes a mannerism almost: e.g., *agere varie rogando alternis suadendoque, II. 2. 9*; *miscendo consilium precesque, II. 9. 1.*

n. Shorthand expressions, with an attribute of any kind, taking the place of a descriptive clause: e.g., *factio haud dubia regis, I. 35. 6.*

o. Livy has also his favorite derivatives and turns of phrase: as adjectives in *-bundus*; *nunquam alias ante*; cf. *adeo* (see *b*, above), and parentheses with *enim*.

p. A form of speech not really strange to the language is frequent, wherein a quality is summed up in an abstract, and made the main feature of an expression: e.g., *adversus tanti belli terrorem, I. 2. 4*; *foeditate spectaculi, I. 28. 11*; *concient miraculo rei novae atque indignitate homines, I. 59. 3.*

q. The use of the neuter singular of adjectives and pronouns, either alone or with a partitive genitive, apparently a colloquial usage, becomes more frequent, but not yet so common as in later writers: e.g., *ex infimo, I. 9. 3*; *quidquid civium, I. 25. 1*; *pro indignissimo, I. 40. 2*; *quidquid deorum, II. 49. 7*; *ullius, II. 59. 8.*

In constructions we may notice :

*r.* The imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive in repeated action — a growth of the times : *e.g.*, *ubi dixisset*, I. 32. 13 ; *si adesset*, II. 58. 7.

*s.* The more free use of the infinitive instead of clauses. See I. 4. 9.

*t.* The indicative with *quamvis*, *forsitan*, etc. See II. 40. 7.

*u.* The free use of the dative — a more picturesque and poetic construction : *e.g.*, with *absonus*, I. 15. 6. See *d* (2), above.

*v.* The free use of the ablative of manner for more exact modifiers : *e.g.*, *periculo*, I. 12. 10.

*w.* Particles with participial phrases instead of a clause : *e.g.*, *velut*, I. 14. 8.

*x.* It is more in arrangement than anything else that Livy differs from other prose writers. His narrative is not so much to inform the intellect as to excite the imagination. Hence he does not affect the finely balanced periods of Cicero, though periodic structure is almost inseparable from Latin ; but with a skilful use of all the means of co-ordination and subordination, he presents a picture, stroke after stroke, with the proper emphasis to give its proper prominence to each detail, often leaving the grammar to take care of itself. In the skill with which he uses the position of the single words in a clause to produce these effects, he is unequalled (see I. 17. 4 ; II. 25. 3). It is impossible for us to get the effect he intends to produce without noticing the position of every word. Indeed, he sometimes for effect gives artificial and forced emphasis, which produces the effect, to be sure, but at the sacrifice of simplicity (see I. 11. 6).

Which of these or what other peculiarities of style gave rise to Asinius Pollio's charge of *patavinity* (provincialism), nobody has ever satisfactorily determined. But whatever the crime was, we may well forgive him, being sure that it can be nothing very bad.





# TITI LIVI

## AB VRBE CONDITA

### PRAEFATIO.

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 vul-  
gatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut  
in rebus certius aliquid adlaturos se aut scribendi arte

LIVY'S DOUBTS AS TO HIS SUCCESS  
COMPARED WITH THAT OF OTHERS.

1. *Facturusne operae pretium sim* (beginning a hexameter; not usually an approved style; see Quint. IX. 4. 74, and cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 1), *whether I shall accomplish anything worth while; i.e.* worthy of recognition in proportion to the trouble. Cf. Sen. *de Ben.* III. 23. 2 and V. 1. 2. — *facturus* is emphatic as opposed to the undertaking of the work. Cf. *operae pretium faciat*, XXV. 30. 3, *operae pretia mereri*, XXI. 43. 9, where the other words are the emphatic ones.

a *primordio urbis*: opposed to partial histories, such as were most of those current. — *perscripserim*: Gr. 307. *c.* — *satia*, *very well*; often so used with an expressed or implied negative. — *sciam*: early and colloquial use of the present instead of the imperfect subjunctive in conditions really contrary to fact; Gr. 308. *c.* — *ausim*: an early and colloquial form; Gr. 128. *c.*

2. *quippe qui . . . videam, seeing*; Gr. 320. *c. N.* 1. — *cum . . . tum*: see Gr. 208. *d.*

*rem: i.e. eo modo gloriari.* Livy is deterred from boasting of what he intends to do by the fact that such boasts are old and common, and, he implies, not always fulfilled. Cf. opening of Book XXI. — *dum . . . credunt, where, etc.*; almost equivalent to a participial construction (Gr. 290. *c. N.*). — *novi semper, etc.*: the emphatic position of *novi* and the interlocked position of *semper* make the expression mean 'every new writer that arises thinks,' etc.; cf. V. 42. 6, *novae semper cladis*, and III. 66. 2.

*rebus, in the facts, or matter; i.e.* the investigation side of history. *certius: i.e.* than their predecessors. — *scribendi, etc.: i.e.* the rhetorical side. — *rudem*: as the taste of the time changes, the old is considered less cultivated and elegant. Cf. *prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo*, II. 32. 8.

3 rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Vt cumque erit, iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse, et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini officient meo, consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis 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

THE CERTAIN SATISFACTION IN  
THE WORK.

3. utcumque erit: *i.e.* whether I succeed or not.—*iuvabit (sc. me), I shall be glad*: notice the emphatic position.—*pro virili parte . . . consuluisse, to have done my part also, etc.* The expression seems to come from military or official usage (*cf. viritum*), referring to the proportion that belongs to a single man out of a body.—*ipsum*: the *me* has already been implied with *iuvabit*.

in obscuro: this use of the neuter adjective instead of a simple predicate or an abstract noun is characteristic of the later writers.

nobilitate ac magnitudine, *fame and greatness*; not definitely used of any particular quality, but indicating that they were conspicuous and distinguished men like Fabius, Cato, Caesar, Varro.—*officient, obscure*; *i.e.* not that he himself is necessarily so small that he isn't seen in the crowd, but that they are so great that he couldn't expect to be seen.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE WORK:  
ITS ENORMOUS LABOR; IT IS  
UNAPPRECIATED.

4. res: emphatic, opposed to scriptorum; *the subject, too, is one,*

*etc.*; another consideration which prevents him from being sure of success.

septingentesimum: *i.e.* from the founding of Rome, supposed to be 754 B.C.

repetatur, *is (to be) treated from, etc.*; always with the idea of going back to get something. For mood, see Gr. 320. c. N. 1.

exiguis: of course, the state being small, its history must be limited in abundance of material. Livy's mind wavers between the size of the state and the mass of historical material,—a *thaumotropic* view to which he is all the more tempted by the fact that *res* may mean either the state or the material.—*laboret, threatens to fall*.

et legentium: loosely opposed to operis; difficult for the writers, and unsatisfactory to the readers. Livy has in his mind chiefly the earlier history, though not that alone. Cf. *a primordio*, 1; *supra sept. annum*, and *primae*, 4; *prisca illa*, 5. The participle, though rare in the singular, is in the best writers not uncommon in the plural, as a noun of agency, and is used still more freely by Livy and later writers.

haec: *i.e.* of our own time.—*quibus*: the deeds and the his-

*republic*

praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Ego contra 5  
hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu  
malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper  
certe dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis  
expers curae, quae scribentis animum etsi non flectere  
a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.

Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis 6  
magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum  
monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in  
animo est. Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo 7  
humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat, et si  
cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad

tory of them are confounded; to  
the account of these new deeds in  
which, etc.

praevalentis: cf. magnitudine  
laboret, above.

ipsae: see Gr. 195. l.

#### THE INWARD COMPENSATION.

5. quoque: *i.e.* besides any suc-  
cess in the undertaking.

malorum: *i.e.* the civil war.

omnis: cf. *sine omni*, without  
any. But here the idiom is like  
our own.

curae: *i.e.* the fear of giving  
offence in the treatment of recent  
occurrences. Cf. Hor. *Od.* II. i. 6,  
*plenum opus aleae*. — scribentis:  
cf. note on *legentium*, 4. — flec-  
tere: *i.e.* so as to warp his account  
through fear or favor: 'It could not  
make the historian untrue, but might  
worry him.' — posset: contrary to  
fact; *i.e.* 'if I were not expers  
curae.' Livy is speaking now only  
of the earlier history, and in this he  
is expers curae.

#### HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE EARLY HISTORY.

6. conditam condendamve: *i.e.*

built or building; the first referring  
to the accounts of the immediate  
founders; the second, to the adven-  
tures of Aeneas and their conse-  
quences. For construction, see Gr.  
292 a, 300, and cf. *inter bibendum*  
and the like, and *ante domandum*,  
*Georg.* III. 206. The construction is  
no doubt an old one retained in collo-  
quial use. — decora, becoming. —  
poeticis: *i.e.* when truth is not re-  
quired. — incorruptis, unfalsified;  
*i.e.* untainted by any suspicion of  
untrustworthiness. — monumentis,  
records, as the sources of history. —  
adfirmare, refellere: not merely  
affirm and deny, but establish and  
attempt to refute.

7. datur, we grant (emphatic). It  
is an indulgence not denied to early  
times to invent such myths, and so  
they are justifiable, whether we  
believe them or not. — ut . . . fa-  
ciat: see Gr. 317. a.

divinis: the neuter in the cases  
which are alike in all genders is  
rare in Cicero, but becomes com-  
mon later. Here it is more natu-  
ral on account of humana pre-  
ceding.

si cui populo, etc., if ANY people  
ought to be ALLOWED. — consecrare,

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.

- 8 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 desidentis primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue

*add sanctity to.* — *referre*: sc. *origines*. — *ea*, etc.: i.e. they have such fame as a *warlike people*, that the nations of the earth, having been conquered by them, may well allow their claim. — *suum*: the position continues an implied emphasis on the Roman people, and at the same time opposes *suum* to *conditoris*. — *potissimum*, rather than any other; precisely the god of war. — *ferat*, claims. — *et hoc*: i.e. this claim as well as their actual sovereignty. — *patiuntur*: the repetition of the verb implies 'as we see they are willing to do.'

8. *animadversa*, etc., criticised or appreciated. — *haud*: modifying in *magno*. — in *magno discrimine ponam*, attach any great weight to. Cf. *aequa in laude ponendum est*, Cic. *Top.* 18. 71; *in honore ponunt*, *Cluent.* 20. 57; and *nullo discrimine habebō*, *Aen.* X. 108. No doubt the expression is derived from book-keeping (cf. *lucro appone*), and *discrimen* is used in the sense of *controversy*. — *equidem*, I'm sure.

#### INSTRUCTION TO BE GOT FROM LATER HISTORY.

9. *ad illa*, to the point; i.e. the following (as more generally interesting) questions. — *mihi*: ethical dative; almost as much as 'my feeling is.'

*vita*, private life; *mores*, public morals. — *per*, by the instrumentality of, not by, which would be *a*. — *artibus*, means, but referring to the personal conduct and qualities of the Romans. — *deinde*: used to connect the decline with the growth. — *labente disciplina*, as their principles were sapped.

*velut desidentis primo mores*, the first giving way, as it were, of morals. — *desidentis*: of a gradual subsidence, as opposed to *magis lapsi sunt*, and finally to *praecipites*, etc. The whole figure is derived from a decaying edifice. — *deinde*: the second moment. — *ut*, how. — *vitia*, etc.: the figure is from the healing art. Sufficiently active remedies would kill the patient.

10. *hoc illud est*, this is the

in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitēre capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu quod vites.

Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit; adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia in-

*thing.* — cognitione rerum, the study of history, as we should call it. — omnis te, etc.: the emphasis gives the force: 'Every example should have a personal application, getting force from the conspicuousness of the case where it occurs.' — tibi, etc. (continuing the emphasis of te): i.e. personally and politically (rei publicae).

inde . . . inde: the clauses are rather loosely opposed. It is only in a free sense that capias can be used of foedum. It would rather correspond to vites; but this is made to correspond to imitere. Still the turn, or, if we like, *zeugma*, is not unnatural, as capias takes the place of something like notes.

#### RICHNESS OF MATTER FOR EXAMPLES.

11. *ceterum, but* (now, if it becomes a question of that). — aut . . . aut: as usual, exclusive. A modest form of asseveration, where the first alternative is stated, but evidently not believed possible.

me: the emphasis gives a force like 'I feel sure, unless, etc.' — amor: i.e. his fondness for the subject he has himself chosen. —

nulla unquam, etc., there NEVER was ANY. — nec . . . nec: Gr. 209. a. 2. — maior, grander. — sanctior, more devoted to justice and piety. — ditior: and hence more valuable for the purpose expressed in 10.

civitatem, etc.: Cicero would probably say *nec ulla civitas in quam*. The change is irregular, but natural in a careless writer. — serae: a somewhat poetical use of adjective for adverb; Gr. 191. — immigraverint, gained an entrance; as if they were of foreign origin. For mood, see Gr. 320. a. — paupertati: Livy is thinking of the Cincinnati, Fabricii, and Curii of ancient times.

adeo, in fact: properly, 'to that degree was it true that,' etc. — rerum, etc.: notice the chiasmus, Gr. 344. f.

#### UNFAVORABLE COMPARISON OF LATEST TIMES.

12. *nuper, but of late*; cf. XXXIX. 6. — desiderium, a longing; almost what we should call a mania. — pereundi, of ruining themselves: a kind of passive (or middle) of *perdo*.

vexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantae  
 13 ordiendae rei absint. Cum bonis potius omnibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tanti operis succēssū prospēros darent.

BUT ONE SHOULD NOT BEGIN WITH COMPLAINTS, BUT RATHER WITH GOOD OMENS.

sed: he corrects himself after the preceding utterance. — futurae: see Gr. 293. *b*.

necessariae: *i.e.* when we come to treat of those times. — erunt: here forsitan is equivalent to *for-tasse*, and has no effect on the mood of the verb, a usage which became more and more common in the later writers. — ordiendae: pleonastic,

as is common with words of beginning.

13. bonis: complaints would be of bad omen. — poetis: as Homer and Virgil.

nobis: prose writers. — libentius, etc., *be more disposed to*, etc.

orsis: a poetic word. — succēssus: the plural where we use in English the singular; Gr. 75. *c*. — darent: thrown into the imperfect by the tense of the preceding (contrary to fact) condition; see Gr. 287. *g*.

# TITI LIVI

## AB VRBE CONDITA

### LIBER I.

Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in 1  
 ceteros saevitum esse Troianos; duobus, Aeneae Anteno-  
 rique, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque  
 Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos  
 abstinuisse; casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum mul- 2  
 titudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et  
 sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quae-  
 rebant, venisse in intimum Hadriatici maris sinum, Euga- 3  
 neisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsus

#### AENEAS IN ITALY.

(Cf. Virg. *Aen.* V. 827 seq., VII. 25 seq.)

1. iam, *well then*; forming the transition from the preface.—satis constat, *it is sufficiently settled, generally agreed*; not necessarily that Livy believed it. Cf. *Pref.* 6 and 8.

saevitum esse, *the Greeks vented their rage*; i.e. the others were slain.

—duobus: a poetic dative instead of ablative; cf. *arcere, depellere*.—Antenori: cf. *Aen.* I. 242 seq.

hospitii: Ulysses and Menelaus were entertained by Antenor when they came to demand Helen. This, of course, implies some relation of the kind mentioned.

auctores: for Antenor, cf. *Il.* III. 148–264, VII. 345 seq.; for Aeneas, *Il.* XX. 298, XIII. 460; where, however, it is not definitely asserted.—ius, etc.: i.e. they let them go free.

—Achivos: a poetic word.—abstinuisse, *gave up*; refrained from exercising.

2. casibus variis, *through various vicissitudes*; they were alike spared, but their later destiny was different; cf. Virg. *Aen.* I. 242 seq.—Antenorem: continuing the story in indirect discourse.—multitudine, *a large colony*; regularly used of the common people; the population.

Enetum: shorter form for *Enetorum*. There seems to have been a tribe of this name in Asia. *Il.* II. 852.

seditione, *revolution*; such as was common in Athens and many Greek cities. Such disturbances usually produced many exiles.

rege, etc.: explaining ducem... querebant: cf. *Il.* V. 576.—venisse: the emphasis may be represented by 'finally landed' or 'immigrated,' as opposed to his wanderings on the way.

3. Euganeis: a tribe once settled about the Italian lakes. They may have been of Italian stock. See



Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primo egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pagoque Troiano inde nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati. 4 Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fati primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab 5 Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves super-

Helbig, *Die Italiken in der Poebene*. — et, and in fact; as still appears; though, of course, these names may have been given from the story. This is a remark of Livy outside of the indirect discourse.

in quem . . . locum: see Gr. 200. b. — primo: i.e. their first landing, though they afterwards conquered the whole country. — Troiano: the name; see Gr. 231. b. — universa, united; i.e. including both stems.

Veneti: the resemblance of name may have been merely an accident giving rise to the story; but such migrations were common in early times, and the story may possibly be true in its main features.

appellati: attracted to the nearest noun; see Gr. 204. b.

4. Aeneam: cf. *Antenorem*, 2. — ab, from.

maiora: we should expect *maiorum*; but it is almost a tendency of the Latin, especially in poetry, to make an adjective agree with some subordinate but grammatically leading part of a complex idea. Cf. *Aen.* VII. 44, *maior rerum ordo*.

rerum: we should say *destiny*; but Livy has in his mind the Roman state. Cf. *res Romana*, 9. 1.

fatis: a common idea with the Romans. Cf. *Aen.* I. 2, III. 182, VII. 123.

Macedoniam: there was a city *Aenea* in this province, perhaps connected with the worship of *Venus*, to which cult this name *Aeneas* especially belongs. Cf. *Aen.* III. 17, which probably refers to the same place.

Siciliam: Segesta was very early recognized as a kindred city by the Romans. It is likely that the myth of *Aeneas* was connected with the worship of *Venus* on Mount *Eryx*, and perhaps came from that region by way of *Cumæ* to *Latium*. Cf. *Aen.* Book V., and *Tac. Ann.* IV. 43. 6.

Laurentem agrum: this region lies south of the mouth of the *Tiber*. Its chief city was *Laurentum*, about fifteen miles southwest from *Rome* and a little southeast from *Ostia*. Cf. *Aen.* VII. 171. — tenuisse: *sc. cursum*, which is often omitted.

5. Troia: the emphasis causes the nominative instead of the more common dative; cf. *Troiano*, 3. — et huic: the name seems to have become attached to several places, probably only through the influence of the myth.; cf. *Cic. Att.* IX. 13. 6, *Troianum (praedium)*. — ibi: *Virgil* puts the landing farther north, by the mouth of the *Tiber*. — ut quibus: explanatory of the Trojans' predatory excursions; in the characteristic relative construction, 2

esset, 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<sup>6</sup> pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt; alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa<sup>7</sup> canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percunctatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria

favorite one with Livy; properly, 'as persons to whom,' etc., 'as men would naturally do,' etc.

Latinus: see *Aen.* VII. 45. — urbe: *i.e.* Laurentum. The ancient commonwealths consisted of an *opidum*, a fortified city which was the centre and citadel, and the *ager*, as much land—usually ten or a dozen miles across—as could be cultivated and defended by operations from the city. In case of invasion, the persons and property were taken into the city for security, and the country abandoned, or else the militia was rallied to repel the invaders. — Aborigines: it is uncertain whether this has a real or only a popular Latin etymology. It may have been a tribe, but was supposed to mean the original inhabitants of Italy.

6. inde, from that point. — proelio: the emphasis gives the force, 'Some say there was an actual battle; others, that only the lines were formed,' etc. — adfinitatem: *i.e.* by the marriage with Lavinia.

7. inter primores, to the front; among those who fought in the first line.

mortales: used by Sallust and later writers for *homines*. The use of the word at all adds a little emphasis to the question, like 'what manner of men they were,' or 'who the strangers were.' — unde . . . domo: *i.e.* 'where was their home, and by what chance they had come away from it?' *Vnde domo* are often used together, but here *domo* is connected also with *quo casu*. — aut: we should expect *et*; but the Latin often presents questions, like negatives, disjunctively; so quidve. This form of expression gives a peculiar force to a question, like 'Who are you, or why have you left your homes (any way, whoever you are)? We don't know you, nor have you any business to be away from home, nor at any rate to be making depredations on our land.' So *Aen.* I. 369.

8. audierit: in direct discourse, *audivit*, and the tense is retained (Gr. 336. B. α). — multitudinem: *i.e.* the people in general; cf. 2. n. — Troianos: answer to qui mortales and unde; cremata: answer to quo casu; sedem: answer to quidve quaerentes. — patria,

domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbis locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextra data fidem futurae  
 9 amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam, Aeneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in  
 10 matrimonium data. Ea utique res Troianis spem adfirmat tandem stabili certaue sede finiendi erroris.  
 11 Oppidum condunt, Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

*native city*; the fatherland of the ancients was their city. — *condendae urbis*: the dative might have been used, depending on the verbal idea. — *sedem, locum*: referring to *domo profugos* and to *patria* chiasmatically. It is of the greatest assistance to remember, in reading Latin, that it is a very formal language, and proceeds by antitheses and ideas regularly matched, not always in exact form, but always in substance. The best way to be sure what a Latin expression means is to see what it is opposed to. — *nobilitatem, the fame*; *i.e.* as being the well-known Trojans and Aeneas. — *animum, their spirit*, as shown by their conduct, intrepid, but not malicious nor savage.

*fidem*: only a pledge; the treaty follows afterwards. — *sanxisse*: used like our *sealed*, made it binding by the hand-shaking; a very old form of promise.

#### UNION OF THE TWO RACES.

9. *foedus*: a formal treaty, with religious ceremonies (*ictum*). — *salutationem, mutual greetings*. Cf. *salve, salutem dicere*.

*penates*: the gods of the household. Exactly what they were is

very uncertain; perhaps the Romans didn't know themselves. Their name is evidently connected with *penes, penitus, penus*, so that they represent the gods of the inner family life of the Romans.

10. *ea res*: the marriage. — *utique, fully*; properly, *at any rate*, however doubtful the hope might have been before, but implying that there was *some*. — *adfirmat, confirmed*; the original meaning, for which usually *confirmo* is used. — *stabili, permanent*, likely to last (objective); *certa, secure*, about which they had no distrust (subjective). The Latin is very fond of presenting the two sides or phases of an idea in a way that seems to us tautological.

11. *Lavinium*: the name of the woman is probably made up from the name of the town; see Introduction, 4. — *brevi*: often thus without *tempore*. — *stirpis*: a longer form, retaining the original *i*. — *quoque*: *i.e.* an heir to the line as well as a founder of it. — *novo*: in reference to the earlier marriage of Aeneas, see *Aeneid*, *passim*, where this son is assigned to the first marriage; cf. 3. 2.

Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique simul petiti. 2  
 Turnus rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adven-  
 tum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre pa-  
 tiens, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra 3  
 acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli, victores  
 Aborigines Troianique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde 3  
 Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etrusco-  
 rum 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 Troianam crescere  
 ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit.

Aeneas, adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Abori- 4  
 ginum sibi conciliaret nec sub eodem iure solum sed  
 etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem

#### WAR WITH TURNUS AND DEATH OF AENEAS.

2. bello: notice the emphasis. So far they had had peace, now they had a trial of war. — Turnus: see *Aen.* Book VII. *segg.* — fuerat: see Gr. 291. b. R.

2. victores: as if 'were victorious, but,' etc.

3. Rutulique, and the rest of the Rutulians; as often with *-que*. — diffisi rebus, despairing of success; properly, not having confidence in the condition of their affairs. — florentes: emphatic as opposed to diffisi rebus. — Mezentium: Virgil makes him a king of a small portion only of the Etruscans. — Caere (ablative): one of the twelve cities of the Etruscan league; here represented as master of all. — oppido: Cicero would use *in*; but poetic constructions begin to appear in Livy. — tum: in Livy's time it was in ruins. — nimio, very

much, as in comedy. — satis tutum: like our *very safe*; cf. *satis scio*, *Pref.* 1. — rem: in the usual sense of *power*. — gravatim: i.e. without making any objection to the request implied in confugiunt. — socia, in alliance; proleptic; of course they were not such until after the action of iunxit.

4. adversus, to meet. — tanti belli terrorem, so formidable an enemy. — belli: almost concrete in Latin, referring to the combined force arrayed against him. The whole, by the use of *adversus* and by the position, makes a shorthand expression for 'This combination was so alarming that Aeneas felt the need of some special measures to meet it. These he found in the closer union of his two classes of subjects, and therefore, to attach, etc., he called, etc.' — ut, wishing to; cf. *Aen.* XII. 190, 823, and 837.

iure . . . nomine: their position had been the same, but from the

- 5 appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere; fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum, sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui impleset, tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in  
6 aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum mortalium operum fuit. Situs est, quemcumque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum fluvium, Iovem indigetem appellant.
- 8 Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat, tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume

difference of name there was a lack of common national feeling which was now secured.

5. *ac*: the ideas are closely united, where *aut* would separate them.

*fretus*: the emphasis gives the idea, 'And such was his confidence, etc., that he did not shrink from the contest, and that, too, in the open field.' — *his animis*: *i.e.* studio *ac fide* in both classes. — *coalescentium*: this to us awkward compression of a relative clause into a participle is characteristic of post-Ciceronian Latin. It emphasizes the meaning of the participle. — *iam*: notice the force of 'coming to,' 'getting to,' or the like, which is always present in this word. — *cum*: introducing a new subordinate concession. — *bellum, the enemy, or the invasion*; cf. *belli* above (4).

6. *secundum, etc.*: as if it were 'Then there was a battle in which the victory rested with the Latins; but for their commander it was,' etc. It is only by following Livy's unexpressed thought, as shown by the order, that the sense of his words can be made out. — *Latinis*: Livy follows poetic

usage in the very free use of the dative of possession or reference.

— *operum*: not exactly *deeds*, nor *toils*, but something between, say *efforts*. — *situs est, his grave is*; the regular expression on tombstones. The disappearance which is implied is not expressed definitely; cf. *Pref.* 7. — *quemcumque, etc.*: *i.e.* whether god, hero, or man.

*super, on the bank of*. — *Numicum*: a little stream south of Lavinium. — *indigetem, local*, as tutelary divinity of a single place, to which he is supposed to be *native*. Likely enough the worship of Aeneas is confused with that of the river god Numicus. Cf. Dionysius, I. 64; Tib. II. 5. 43: —

Illic sanctus eris cum te veneranda Numici  
Vnda deum caelo miserit indigetem.

#### THE ALBAN DYNASTY.

8. *maturus*: the emphasis means something like 'His natural successor wasn't *old* enough yet to *take his place*, but the *place* was kept safe for him till he *was*;' or 'the *youth* of Aeneas' son prevented his

*mansit. Tantisper tutela muliebri — tanta indoles in Lavinia erat — res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud ambigam — quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet? — hicine fuerit Ascanius an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, 3 ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus — 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 deductam coloniam 4*

immediately succeeding him; but *the throne* was kept for him till he *could*. — *tantisper*: i.e. *ad puberem aetatem*; the story doesn't tell how long. — *tutela muliebri*: i.e. *strange as it may seem, explained by tanta*, etc. — *tanta*: i.e. *so great*, as is indicated by the facts which are set forth; a form of expression common enough in all languages, and particularly common with Livy; cf. *adeo, Pref. 11*. — *res*: in its regular meaning of *state*, as in *res publica*.

2. *ambigam, discuss*; properly, *question*, implying that there was doubt; hence *haud* is more admissible; cf. *haud dubito*. — *adfirmet*: see Gr. 268. — *hicine*: the colloquial old form of *hic* with the interrogative *-ne*; see Gr. 100. ft.n.

*fuerit*, etc., *whether it was this Ascanius*. — *maior, older*. — *quem*: sc. *is*, the predicate of *fuerit*. — *Iulum eundem, being the same as*, etc., in apposition with *quem*. — *nuncupat, claims*; a somewhat formal legal word.

3. *is*, etc., *now this Ascanius*, resuming after the parenthesis. — *genitus*: the later writers often use relatives with a participle in this manner. — *abundante*: emphasized as the reason of the emigration. — *multitudine*: regularly of the undistinguished numbers of population or followers; cf. 1. 2 and 8.

*florentem*: and so not needing a hero to foster it. — *iam, getting to be*. — *seu*: often used, especially by later writers, as an abbreviation for two appositives with *sive . . . sive*; i.e. *Laviniae seu matri seu novercae*; whether one or the other. — *sub, at the foot of*. — *porrectae*: cf. *coalescentium*, 2. 5 n. — *Longa*: emphatic; cf. the same words again in the next line. The whole tradition is probably manufactured. It is difficult to see how any *white town* could have been built in this position. The word *Alba* is probably from some pre-Latin language; see Helbig above cited on 1. 3.

4. *Lavinium*: sc. *conditum*, obscurely implied in *deductam*.

triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes cre-  
 verant maxime fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae  
 nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque  
 primum puerilis regni movere arma aut Mezentius Etrus-  
 5 cique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat,  
 ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tibe-  
 6 rim vocant, finis esset. Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii  
 7 filius, casu quodam in silvis natus. Is Aeneam Silvium  
 creat, is deinde Latinum Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot  
 8 deductae, Prisci Latini appellati. Mansit Silviis postea  
 omnibus cognomen qui Albae regnaverunt. Latino  
 Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus,

tamen: *i.e.* notwithstanding the shortness of the time.

fusis Etruscis: this gives a chief reason for the rise in power.

morte: *i.e.* when there was no king.

inter: often thus used of time combined with circumstance or situation.

muliebrem: *i.e.* when there was only a woman at the head of affairs.

rudimentum: not merely *beginning*, but *inexperienced attempts*.—  
 movere arma, *make any hostile demonstration*.

Etruscique: cf. *Turnus Rutulique*, 2. 3 n.

ausi sint: for tense see Gr. 287. c.

5. pax: here Livy resumes again the narrative interrupted, after the battle in 2. 3, by the digression on Aeneas and his son. It is not unlikely that Livy follows another source here, combining two different accounts. See note on *Silvius* below.

ita, *with the proviso*; often a clause which seems like a result clause as defining a correlative, is really a purpose clause expressing something which is originally a

command or the like. Cf. Gr. 317. a.—  
 Etruscis: a free use of the dative of reference.

6. Silvius: this personage is made by many the son of Aeneas (cf. *Aen.* VI. 763). The following reigns are intercalated to fill up the gap of three or four hundred years between the fall of Troy and the founding of Rome (cf. 29. 6). The whole dynasty seems purely mythical.

7. Prisci Latini: the meaning of this expression is involved in doubt. It seems to distinguish cities in power before Alba became the head of the Latin league. Livy is inconsistent with himself about them, as in 33. 4, where the name is used for the Latins generally; cf. also 38. 4; 52. 2; 32. 11 and 14.—  
 appellati: *sc. sunt*.

8. Silviis: the regular dative of names. Cf. 1. 3; and see Gr. 231. b. This was probably a real traditional name at Alba.

cognomen: Silvius seems like a gentile name (*nomen*), but probably was not felt by Livy as such. Such names are all supposed to be derived from the name of a founder, which Silvius, as an adjective from *silva*, is not felt to be.

Capeto Tiberinus, qui in traiectu Albulæ amnis submersus celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit. Agrippa 9 inde Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius a patre accepto imperio regnat. Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit. Is sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc pars Romanæ est urbis, cognomen colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque Amu- 10 lium procreat; Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat.

Plus tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia ætatis. Pulso fratre Amulius regnat. Addit 11 sceleri scelus: stirpem fratris virilem interimit, fratris filiae Reae Silviae per speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantæ origo urbis 4

**Tiberinus**: obviously derived from the name of the river. — **celebre, famous**; properly, widespread and much used.

9. **fulmine ipse ictus, etc.**, *his death by lightning passed it on from HIM to Aventinus*; cf. *ab urbe condita*, and see Gr. 292. a. — **ipse**: made necessary by the putting of Aventinus in the emphatic place. — **per manus, in succession**; i.e. as his successor. — **Romanæ**: emphatic as opposed to the Alban kingdom; see Gr. 344. a. — **cognomen**: cf., for the confusion of *nomen* and *cognomen*, 8 n.

10. **Proca**: the proper Latin form, without the *s*; cf. *navita* with *vab-rens*. — **stirpis**: partitive genitive. — **maximus**: without regard to the number (two), as we should say 'eldest son' in any case. — **legat**: apparently by will; cf. *voluntas* below.

11. **per speciem, under pretence**; adverbial phrases with *per* are very common, especially in later writers, without any particular definiteness in the meaning of the preposition.

**Vestalem**: cf. 20. 3. — **legisset**: the king is also high-priest, to which functionary the choice belongs.

#### BIRTH AND EXPOSURE OF ROMULUS AND REMUS.

4. **sed**: i.e. every attempt was made to cut off the succession, *but*, etc. — **debebatur**: i.e. *was predestined by*; properly, *owed to* the fates, and so bound to be accomplished, in spite of human endeavor. — **ut opinor, I imagine**; i.e. it would seem so as we look at the circumstances detailed in the myth. — **tantæ**: i.e. the city became so great that we are justified in thinking the occurrence was not a mere chance, but



- 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 vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.
- Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis, et posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes
- spem ferentibus dabat. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio in proxima adluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est — Ro-

had a divine purpose which couldn't be thwarted.

2. seu ... seu: cf. 3. 3; notice the less exact correspondence of form in the two members, which becomes more common in the later writers. — incertae: a euphemism; *dubious*; of an uncertain father. — nuncupat: cf. 3. 2 n.

3. dii: because Mars has been mentioned above. — homines: merely added to give the idea, 'no power, human or divine, can,' etc. — iubet: naturally, the king. Livy is not so careful as the earlier writers about changing the subject when no ambiguity is to be feared.

4. forte quadam divinitus, *it happened providentially*. There is no inconsistency in the expression in Latin any more than in English. Cf. also the Greek *θελα τινη τῶν*. — Tiberis: the subject of the whole. — lenibus: *i.e.* in comparison with the current in the channel. — nec ... et, *not ... and at the same time*; the common set of correlatives where one branch is negative and the other affirmative. — ad iusti, etc.: an explanatory phrase used loosely, as if he had before said *adire Tiberim*, like an English colloquial, 'The fire

couldn't be got at, to the centre of it.'

— iusti amnis, *the river proper*. — posse: emphatic; *that it was possible*. The two ideas are, 'They couldn't get at the river bed, and didn't need to either.' — languida: cf. *lenibus* above. — infantes: *i.e.* being mere babies, they might be drowned in any pool. The word is properly subject of *mergi*, but as so often in Latin, is conceived as repeated with *ferentibus*, where we express a pronoun. — ferentibus: cf. *legentium*, *Pref.* 4 n. — dabat: the subject is grammatically *Tiberis effusus*, but logically the situation indicated as far as *stagnis*. The case differs from the common ones of the sort in that *Tiberis* is used first in its simple sense, and afterwards in combination with *effusus*, etc. It is to be remembered, however, that to the Romans *Caesar mortuus* meant *Caesar dead*, even when we are obliged to translate it *the death of Caesar*.

5. velut, *supposing that*, etc.; cf. the common Latin use of *tanquam*, and (rarely) *ut*; see 54. 7. — defuncti: *i.e.* by so doing they had done what they had been ordered. — nunc: Ovid (*F.* II. 412) says

mularem vocatam ferunt — pueros exponunt. Vastae 6  
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 vagi-  
tum cursum flexisse; eam summissas infantibus adeo  
mitem praeuisse mammas ut lingua lambentem pueros  
magister regii pecoris invenerit — Faustulo fuisse nomen 7  
ferunt; ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos datos.  
Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores  
vocatam putent, inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

the spot was marked, but the tree  
could hardly have been standing in  
Livy's time, unless Livy supposes it  
to be the same that grew in the  
Comitium; cf. 36. 5. This one must  
have been on the slope of the Pal-  
atine, on the road to the Circus  
Maximus. — *Ruminalis*: from *Ru-  
mina*, a goddess of suckling, proba-  
bly with no reference to the wolf  
and the twins. — *vocatam*: *i.e.*  
from that time on.

6. *vastae* . . . *solitudines*, a  
wild, uninhabited space. — *tum*:  
later it was in the most populous  
part of Rome.

*tenet*, is preserved; not given up  
or exploded. — *fluitantem*: *i.e.*  
floating and not sinking as they ex-  
pected it would. — *lupam*: such  
stories are found in the myths of  
many nations. — *puerilem*, of the  
babes. — *flexisse*: *i.e.* was at-  
tracted by and turned to, etc. —  
*eam*, and that she. This use of a  
pronoun in accordance with the  
English idiom is not usual in Latin,  
but here makes the statement more  
significant by separating it from the  
rest. — *summissas*, crouching over,  
thereby accomplishing the action of  
*praeuisse* by lowering the dug.  
— *mitem*: where we should expect

an adverb; cf. *serae*, *Pref.* 11. —

*magister*: *i.e.* the king's shepherd.

*regii*: the emphatic position is  
explained by the fondness of the  
Latin for emphasizing persons; cf.  
*regis imperio*, 5.

*invenerit*: for tense cf. *immi-  
graverint*, *Pref.* 11.

7. *Faustulo*: cf. *Troiano*, I. 3.  
The word is a diminutive of *Faustus*,  
and is drawn from the early mythol-  
ogy of the Romans. Cf. *Faunus*  
from the same root in *faveo*. — *ad  
stabula*: because *datos* implies  
that they were taken there. The  
shepherds' hut is referred to, where  
the sheep were folded at night. —  
*Larentiae*: another name from the  
mythology. She is represented with  
the name Acca (mother?), as  
mother of the Lares Præstites, and  
called also Luperca or Lupa. Her  
festival was the Larentalia. — *sunt  
qui*, etc.: the *Euhemerizing*, or  
realistic interpretation of the old  
myths, came very early in Rome, and  
was especially practised by Ennius;  
cf. Gellius, VII. (VI.) 7, and Macro-  
b. I. 10, 16. — *fabulae ac miraculo*,  
to the marvellous story. The Romans  
were fond of taking an idea apart  
and presenting its component parts  
separately. This is hardly a rhetori-

- 8 Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragrarē saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere pastoribusque rapta dividere et cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos celebrare.
- 5 Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein

cal figure in most cases, but it is usually called hendiadys.

8. *ita geniti*, etc.: such instances of noble birth and pastoral education were familiar to the minds of the ancients; see Cic. *de Am.* 19. 70. — *stabulis, at home* in the huts; *ad pecora, in the pasture*, when the flocks were driven out. — *segnes*: i.e. they were energetic and ambitious, as suited their birth. — *venando*: a still stronger indication that they were not mere shepherds, and at the same time a preparation for their higher destiny. — *peragrarē*: notice that the historical infinitive is a tense of description, not of mere narration, — *proceeded to, began to, used to*, etc.

*saltus, woods*; properly the high mountain passes, gaps, generally lightly wooded, and used by the ancients for pasture land.

9. *feras*: i.e. especially savage and dangerous ones. — *subsistere, face*; i.e. fight with them and not run away. Cf. *Romanum subsistere (withstand)*, IX. 31. 6.

*latrones*: i.e. gradually working up to the generous pursuits of war. — *dividere*: the royal genius of the youths comes out still more in the leadership which is here implied. — *crescente*: the increase of their numbers is correlative with the more organized character of their expedi-

tions (*seria*) and their sports. — *celebrare, practise in company*; properly, perform in numbers, or often; cf. *creber*.

#### DISCOVERY OF THE TWINS' PARENTAGE; AMULIUS KILLED.

5. *Palatio*: probably connected with *palatum* and meaning 'the round hill.' Still *Pales*, a god (or goddess) of shepherds, *Palatua*, perhaps the same divinity, and *palea, chaff*, are suspiciously near. It may be that the words all belong together through some more remote association. — *Lupercal*: a very ancient festival was celebrated at the Palatine to the god *Lupercus*, identified with *Faunus*, originally, however, the defender of the flock against wolves (*Lupercus, arceo*). The regular name is, as usual, in the plural, for which *Lupercal ludicrum* is here substituted with a reference to *iocos* above. This god had a grotto called *Lupercal* (also the neuter adjective) near the *Ficus Ruminalis*; see 4. 5. The whole cult probably belongs to the early nomadic life of the Italians. — *hoc, the present*. — *Pallanteo*: of course, a later invention, but made to accord with the Evander story. The association was no doubt assisted by some likeness to the Greek *Αἰκεία*, so called from Mount

Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo 2  
 genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca,  
 sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi iuvenes  
 Lycaeam Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam  
 current, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum.

Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insi- 3  
 diatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus  
 vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio  
 tradidisse ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant in 4  
 Numitoris agros ab iis impetum fieri, inde eos collecta  
 iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic  
 ad supplicium Numitori Remus deditur.

Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat, regiam stir- 5  
 pem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis in-  
 fantes sciebat et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id

Lycaeus ('Wolf Mountain') in Arcadia, the birthplace of Pan. He again is identified with Lupercus and with Faunus as well; but he is properly a god of fruitfulness of the flock; and it is with this function that the Lupercalia had a special connection.

2. eo genere: *i.e.* from Pallanteum. — tempestatibus: properly, seasons; here, simply time. — sollemne, rite; considered as regularly recurring. — nudi: *i.e.* without even a tunic; imitating the dress of the god himself, who is represented as clad only with a goatskin, the early shepherd's dress. — per: cf. *per speciem*, 3. 11 n. — lasciviam, wantonness. — currebant: *i.e.* through the city. Such proceedings had a lustral significance. The superstition connected with the festival, in regard to the Roman women, is well known. There were two colleges of Luperci, the Fabiani and the Quinctiliani, a division connected with the two brothers.

3. deditis (dative after insidia-

tos): *sc. iuvenibus*. — notum: *i.e.* so that the brigands could take advantage of it.

iram praedae amissae: see *Introduct.* 9. 2. — latrones: cf. 4. 9. — ultro, even going so far as to, etc., though they themselves were the guilty ones.

4. crimini, etc., the charge that they laid most stress on was, etc. — fieri: the present seems to be used to represent the historical present used in their charge. — inde: *i.e. ex agris*. — agere: the chief booty in ancient times was cattle and slaves. — sic: *i.e. on this account, or so it happened that*, etc.; cf. *itaque*. — ad supplicium: the emphasis expresses the idea, 'was found guilty and,' etc. — Numitori: as the injured party; a trace of a very ancient custom.

5. iam inde, etc., already from the very first. — se: representing Faustulus in the indirect discourse. — et . . . et: the fact and the time are opposed with emphasis. — id

6 ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut per necessitatem aperiri noluerat. Necessitas prior venit. Ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem tetigerat animum memoria nepotum, sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset quin Remum agnosceret.

7 Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum — nec enim erat ad apertam vim par —, sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus, ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant.

8 Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Alba-

ipsum: *i.e.* the fact of the exposure. — immaturam: before it was sufficiently ascertained and ripe for disclosure. — per occasionem, *on a favorable opportunity*; per necessitatem, *in case of necessity*; he did not want to be hasty unless some circumstance should make the suggestion natural or necessary. This use of *per* loosely to make an adverbial phrase is almost a mannerism of the later writers.

6. ita: cf. *sic*, 4. — metu: that Numitor might unwittingly do some harm to Remus. — forte et, *it happened also that*, etc. — comparando, etc.: *i.e.* noticing the coincidence of their age with the time of the exposure, and Remus' bearing, which indicated a higher birth than that of ordinary shepherds, he was led to inquiry, and was confirmed in his suspicion. — eodem: *i.e.* the same conclusion as Faus-

tulus, explained by the *ut* clause. — esset: impersonal in Latin, though best rendered by a personal construction in English.

7. undique: exaggerated, for two sides only. — regi: not against him, but for him; the toils were closing in on him. — globo: *i.e.* not an open attack of a body, but a concealed gathering and insidious attack.

erat: for the emphasis, see Gr. 344. d. (2). — a domo: not the regular use of *domus* as the place from which, but like *ab Corintho*, 47. 4, as the standpoint from which. The whole indicates that Numitor assents to the plot, though he takes no active part in it until the events described in 6. 1.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF NUMITOR.

6. dictitans: the frequentative denotes that this was a pretence to summon the forces (pubem) to the citadel, and so have them under his

nam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelus in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent, parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe quae conderetur fore. Inter-  
venit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni

command, ready for the concilium below.—in arcem, etc.: a short form for *in arcem ad eam obtinendam*, etc.—avocasset, called off; i.e. from the palace, (under the pretence of defending the most important point,) so as to leave the king to his fate.—se: referring to the subject of vidit.—gratulantes, to congratulate him; the pres. part., as often, with the force of a future to denote purpose.—concilio: i.e. an assembly of the people.—cogniti, recognized, as belonging to him.—auctorem (sc. esse), responsible.—ostendit, made known.

2. contionem: so called, as resembling the meetings called by a Roman magistrate for the purpose of publishing anything to the people.—agmine, in a solid body; not a disorderly mob.—secuta, etc., they were followed by an assenting voice from all the multitude which, etc.; probably an echo of the earlier method of choice of

a king; cf. the customs of the Gauls, etc.—ratum... efficit, confirms, ratifies.

3. re: i.e. the power; cf. 3. 1, res Latina.—cupido, etc.: see Introd. 9. d (1).

et, and in fact; a favorite use of et with Livy. Here the force is, 'And it was a very natural and practicable plan for,' etc.—supererat, etc., there was an excessive number, etc.—ad id, and besides these.—pastores: i.e. those among whom Romulus and Remus had passed their youth.—accesserant: a sudden change of the point of view to the moment of the founding.—qui, etc., so that they, etc.—facile, without question; cf. facile princeps.—facerent: characteristic subjunctive; a population which, etc., but better translated by a result clause.—conderetur: representing quae conditur in direct discourse.

4. cogitationibus: i.e. the spes above mentioned.—avitum: cf. 3.



cupido, atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satismiti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.

7 Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur sex vultures, iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo sese ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat. Tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur. Ibi in turba

10.—inde: *i.e.* the real cause was ambition, though the occasion of the quarrel was a slight one, given in quoniam, etc.—foedum, *unseemly*, as between brothers.

aetatis: cf. 3. 10.—ut dii, etc.: a purpose of capiunt.—tutelae (genitive), *to whose protection the region belonged; i.e.* under whose it was. The notion of such local divinities was a very widespread one.

qui: relative; *the one to give.*

templa: in its technical sense of a spot chosen according to the augural ritual (see 18. 6 *seq.*) for the purpose of observing certain phenomena therein (inaugurandum).

#### KILLING OF REMUS.

7. priori, *first*.—utrumque, etc., *each was hailed as king by his particular followers*.—sua: the reflexive, because utrumque is the subject of discourse, although not the grammatical subject.—consalutaverat: the pluperfect refers the action to the time of vertuntur. The Latin in order to make a unit

of the circumstances takes an arbitrary point of time, and refers the rest of the statements to that.

tempore . . . praecepto, *from the priority of time*; literally, seizing upon the time ahead of the others, who had only the number.

numero: a general word is implied in praecepto, which, of course, is not true of numero. It is not necessary to supply it, because Livy does not have a definite word in his mind. This usage is often called zeugma.—trahebant, *were proceeding to claim*; a description of the state of things when the time of vertuntur begins.

2. altercatione, *a war of words*.

—certamine: abl. of cause.—irarum: the plural assigns more vividly the angry feeling to each of the two parties; see Gr. 75. 3. c.—ad caedem, *to bloodshed*; not the murder of Remus, but the mutual violence.—vertuntur, *are excited*; *i.e.* beginning with words, they at last come to blows.—ibi, *thereupon*; in the caedes.—in turba, *in the mêlée*; emphatic as opposed to ab irato Romulo.

ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatio fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros, inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset 'Sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea!', interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euanthro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone interempto boves mira specie abegisse memorant ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens

muros: see 44. 3, and note. The act was a kind of sacrilege.—verbis: with increpitans.—quoque: *i.e.* as well as a blow.—sic: *sc. pereat*; or cf. 26. 4.—interfectum: other accounts are given or implied in *Ov. Fast.* V. 469; *Virg. Aen.* I. 292.

#### FOUNDING OF ROME; CULT OF HERCULES.

3. condita: the city was not fully built until after the fracas, so that Romulus was the founder in either case. Livy derives *Roma* from *Romulus*, which is etymologically impossible.—nomine: abl. of separation; cf. *ab nomine*, 23. 3.—Palatium: the hill which was the site of the earliest city, or at least the citadel of it. Remains of the earliest walls are still to be seen on the hill. They did not occupy the whole of the summit, which was originally divided by a ravine into two parts, of which only the northwestern one was occupied by the citadel or *Roma Quadrata*.—sacra: in the minds of the ancients, an idea inseparable from the founding of a city, and hence next mentioned.—aliis. *the other*; as often in Livy.—Albano: *i.e.*

old Italian. See *Introd.* 4.—ritu: the ritual of Greek worship and of Italian seems to have been distinctly different.

Herculi: the worship of Hercules must have been very early introduced by Greek merchants. His altar, the *Ara Maxima*, was in the low land by the river, west of the Palatine, where must have been the commercial quarter; and this altar had a special connection with good faith in bargains. In the growth of legends the worship was naturally associated with Evander.

facit, *performs*; but implying the establishing of a permanent cult.

4. Herculem: this divinity, who came to the Greeks from the Phoenicians, had as his tenth labor to steal the cattle of Geryon, the three-headed monster of the island of Erytheia. To accomplish this feat, he passed westward along North Africa, and, crossing at the Pillars of Hercules into Spain, on the coast of which the island was supposed to be, returned with the cattle by way of Europe. It was on this return that he was supposed to have come to Italy.



- nando traiecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse.
- 5 Ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor adcola eius loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit.
- 6 Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse numero sensisset, perguit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi ex
- 7 loco infesto agere porro armentum ocepit. Inde cum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum

loco herbido: the low land between the Capitoline and Palatine and the river. — laeto, *luxuriant*; as in poetry. — reficeret: the purpose of procubuisse; *i.e.* he stopped, and being tired himself from his journey (as well as the cattle, implied in quiete) lay down.

5. ferox viribus, *arrogant on account of his strength*; what we express in other connections by 'a bully.' — avertere: a technical term for carrying off cattle and other booty. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* X. 78.

agendo: opposed to aversos traxit below. — compulisset: a kind of indirect discourse, representing the thought in Cacus' mind. This construction easily passes into the contrary-to-fact form, of which it is, no doubt, the origin; see Gr. 307. *f.*, and compare 308. *d.* — aversos: opposed to agendo. — eximium: here equivalent to a superlative; see Gr. 93. *c.* — quem-

que: limiting partitive apposition with boves. — caudis: evidently an imitation of Hermes' trick; see *Hymn to Apollo*, 413.

6. perguit: a continuance of the action implied in perlustrasset; *i.e.* having looked over all that were directly in sight, he proceeds farther, thinking they might have strayed. — si . . . ferrent: *i.e.* to see whether, etc. Properly a construction of omitted apodosis; cf. Eng. *in case*, and Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, 494. — foras, *out*; *i.e.* from the cave. — incertus animi, *puzzled*; for constr., see Gr. 218. *c. r.* — porro, *away, farther on*. — ocepit: rare with the complementary infinitive, but here used like other words of its class.

7. actae, *as they were driven away*. — ad, *from*; properly, 'in accordance with'; cf. *ad famam belli*, VI. 27. 9. — ut fit, *as usual*; *i.e.* cattle usually miss their absent

mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem cum ad speluncam vadentem Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans morte occubuit.

Euander tum ea profugus ex Peloponneso auctoritate 8 magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir miraculo 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 Euander concursu pastorum 9 trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis excitus postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augus-

companions. This is a good example of the manner in which in Latin, and especially by Livy, one stroke is added after another to complete the statement, and each with reference to what has just preceded. The only way to read Latin is to take it as it comes, and often a sentence must be broken up in translating, in order to keep the proper interdependence of the parts. — *inclusarum*: *sc. in spelunca*. — *ex spelunca*: *sc. reddita*; the whole is a very common short-hand form of expression. — *convertit*, *drew the attention of*. — *fidem*: the regular cry of one calling upon his companions or countrymen or the gods for assistance, and common in the comedy (*O fidem popularium*, etc.); here inserted to give a more striking picture.

8. *Euander*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* VIII. 51. *seq.* — *Peloponneso*: *i.e.* from Arcadia. — *auctoritate*, *personal influence*, from respect for his character. — *imperio*, *power*, as a recognized monarch. — *miraculo*: *i.e.* as an apparently miraculous invention. — *litterarum*: *i.e.* the art

of writing, which evidently came to the Latins by way of Cumæ, an Æolic colony.

*venerabilior*: *i.e.* the power of writing seemed divine, but still more so did the famed origin of Evander. — *Carmentae*: derived from *carmen* on account of the metrical form of prophecy, and the supposed divine inspiration of poetry; an Italian nymph whose name is preserved in the Porta Carmentalis at the foot of the capitol. There seems to be nothing strange to Livy in an Italian nymph being the mother of a refugee from Arcadia; but the names are doubtless all inventions. Probably the traditional mother of Evander was identified with this Latin prophetess; cf. *Aen.* VIII. 339; *Ov. F. I.* 499. — *fatiloquam*: in apposition with *quam*. — *Sibyllae*: cf. *Aen.* VI. 9, *seq.*

9. *pastorum*: cf. 7. — *trepidantium*, *crowding around*; properly, hurrying hither and thither around Hercules, not venturing to arrest him, but holding him at bay. — *manifestae*, etc., *caught in the act of open murder*. — *ampliorem*: properly, with *formam*; *augus-*

- 10 tioremque humana intuens, rogat qui vir esset. Vbi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, 'Iove nate, Hercules, salve,' inquit. 'Te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit tibi que aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissimam olim in terris  
 11 gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat.' Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata ara  
 12 condita ac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime in-

tiorem: properly, with habitum, though attracted to formam; humana: belonging to both, but agreeing in gender with formam. — qui: cf. *qui mortales*, I. 7, and see Gr. 104. a.

10. patremque: notice the division into groups, the first two words in one, and the last one in the other.

Iove, etc.: in accordance with the answer given to his question. — aucturum: the standard expression for being added to anything; cf. *Aen.* V. 565. — cecinit: cf. *Carmentis*, 8 n. This prophecy accounts for the dedication of the altar before the apotheosis of the hero. — maximam: the altar so called stood in the low ground by the Tiber, near the gate of the Circus Maximus. It was no doubt erected under Greek influence, and seems to have been connected from very early times with the foreign trade of the city. Upon it bargains were solemnized, and the deity, by the name *Dius Fidius*, was identified with *Semo Sancus*, the Sabine god of faith; see Mommsen, Book I. chap. xii. — ritu: every cult had its own peculiar ritual, either borrowed from abroad or developed from very early times; cf. *Graeco Herculi*, 3.

The chief peculiarities of this rite were: offering with uncovered head, consuming the offering sitting, and the exclusion of women, — all Greek forms, introduced, doubtless, by the early merchants along with the divinity himself.

11. accipere: a regular word upon the announcement of omens. It would seem to have been necessary for the favored mortal to accept the favorable omen to make it valid. Cf. *accipio omen, mea filia*, Cic. *de Div.* I. 46. 103; and Serv. to *Aen.* V. 530, *nostri arbitrii est visa omina vel improbare vel recipere*. — impleturum: i.e. so far as he was concerned, by erecting and dedicating the altar; cf. IX. 34. 18; *Aen.* VIII. 271; Prop. V. 9. 67.

12. primum: the first offering to inaugurate the cult. — ministerium: i.e. as assistants to Hercules, who probably is conceived as having acted as chief priest. — Potitiis ac Pinariis: the names seem manufactured; but they may well be relics of descriptive names in some still older rites; cf. IX. 29. 9; Virg. *Aen.* VIII. 269 seq. — familiae: logically appositive to the names, but, according to Latin usage, absorbed into the relative clause; cf. Gr. 201. d.

clitae ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte ita evenit, ut <sup>13</sup> Potitii ad tempus praesto essent hisque exta apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii ab Euandro edocti <sup>14</sup> antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt, donec tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus <sup>15</sup> una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium <sup>8</sup> multitudo, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit; quae ita

<sup>13.</sup> *exta*: as particularly sacred, the heart, liver, etc. To this day, in Greece, these parts of the lambs, roasted whole on Easter Sunday, are treated as special dainties; and the editor, as a stranger, has had them presented to him on such an occasion.—*dapem*: it is to be remembered that every sacrifice in ancient times, except those to the gods below, was a feast. Cf. for the whole matter *Aen.* VIII. 179 seq.—donec Pinarium, etc.: apparently this family became extinct first.

<sup>14.</sup> *antistites*: i.e. for the *ministerium* above mentioned.—*tradito*: i.e. they abandoned the actual performance of the rites to slaves, and, thereby committing a religious offence, they as a consequence died out.—*publicis*: to every worship were attached certain slaves who were considered the property of the divinity or of the commonwealth. In this case, instead of being only assistants, they were allowed to perform all the rites, and hence the pollution and consequent guilt of the Potitii. See IX. 29. 9.

<sup>15.</sup> *tum*: i.e. this is the only foreign rite that dates back from time immemorial. Very many other foreign rites were afterwards introduced.—*fautor*: this explains the adoption by Romulus of this particular foreign rite. As destined himself to follow the example of Hercules, he had a fellow-feeling for the hero, mentioned by Livy as a kind of omen or inspired consciousness.

#### THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW STATE.

<sup>8.</sup> *divinis*, etc.: attended to first according to the order of business taken in the senate; cf. rite (*in due form*).—*ad concilium*: not a legislative assembly, but a *contio* to hear his determination. Cf. 6. 2.—*corpus*: i.e. an organized commonwealth.—*legibus*: including the whole constitution.—*iura*: not differing from *legibus*, but used for variety.—*dedit*: as king without the action of the community.

<sup>2.</sup> *ita, only*; properly, so (*and so only*), on this condition; a very com-

sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant; me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et apparitores et 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 creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.

4 Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis quam ad id quod tum hominum erat munirent. Deinde ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e

mon use of *ita . . . si*. — *sancta, binding*; sacred in the eyes of the people. — *se ipse*: himself as the lawgiver; we should expect *ipsum*, but the Latin idiom is otherwise; see Gr. 195. *l.* — *venerabilem, imposing, majestic*. — *insignibus*: including all the insignia mentioned in 3. — *imperii, of royalty*. — *lictoribus*: as the executors of his supreme authority, carrying the rods and axes.

3. *secutum, adopted*; followed as a rule. — *me haud paenitet, I am content*; have no reason to regret. — *apparitores*: the lesser servants of the king and the magistrates. — *duodecim*: the number twelve was closely bound up with all the reckoning of the Romans, though they had also a decimal system. One of the systems was undoubtedly foreign, and the duodecimal system may have come from the Etruscans. Twelve

cities were reckoned as belonging to the Etruscan league.

#### GROWTH OF THE STATE.

4. *interim*: while the constitution was preparing. — *in spem*: as a hope looks forward, there is a natural tendency to say 'into the (future) hope,' rather than 'in the (present) hope.' Livy is the first who so uses *in*. — *quod tum*: of course, on Livy's interpretation of this myth, the number was small. There is little doubt, however, that the city grew for commercial reasons, as have Chicago and San Francisco, and that adventurers flocked thither from all quarters. The strength of a regal government, however, made an asylum more natural than a vigilance committee.

5. *vana, weak and feeble*; a mere extent without corresponding internal strength. — *vetere consilio*:

terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Eo 6 ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida 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.

cf. the example of Cadmus, *Ov. Met.* III. 105.—*saeptus*, enclosed for some purpose.—*descendentibus*, as you go down. *Gr.* 235. *b.* —*lucos*: the Capitoline Hill had two summits, on each of which seems to have been a sacred grove, and between these a depression.—*asylum*: there were in Greece and Italy many such places of refuge (cf. *Tac. Ann.* III. 60 *seq.*), to which persons might flee and be under the protection of the divinity. This sanctity was often violated, but was in the main respected. There is no reason to believe that the statement here is not true. The growth of Rome seems to indicate an influx of adventurers (*avida novarum rerum*) who were attracted by the sudden mercantile importance of the city. It is more probable, however, that the asylum already existed than that it was opened expressly; cf. 30. 5; XXXV. 51. 2.

6. *id.*: referring to the influx.—*ad*, towards; looking forward to the size of the city as planned by Romulus; cf. 4.—*roboris*, real strength; partitive with *id* or *primum*, with both of which it properly belongs, and having reference to *vaia magnitudo* above.

7. *iam*: i.e. after the accessions.—*paeniteret*, had no reason to be dissatisfied.—*consilium*, a head; properly, wise counsel to direct the powerful body; but the word is used in a half abstract and half concrete sense as being the regular name for any council, and especially for the senate.—*soli*: i.e. these were all the heads of families that there were.—*patres*: i.e. heads of old clans. It must be remembered that the father, so long as he lived, was the only free member of a family, while all his descendants, however numerous, were in his power.—*certe*: as opposed to the doubt in *sive . . . sive*.

*ab honore*, as a distinction, as a council of the elders; cf. *senatus*, *carl*, *alderman*, and similar words. This would agree with the first supposition tolerably well, but not at all with the second, unless we suppose the name to have become accidentally attached to them, as fathers *par excellence*.—*patricii*: this part is no doubt true, as the word is an adjective, like other words in *-icius*; cf. *Cic. de Rep.* II. 12. 23, *Romuli senatus, qui constabat ex optimatibus, quibus ipse rex tantum tribuisset ut eos patres vellet nominari patriciosque eorum liberos*.

- 9 Iam res Romana adeo erat valida ut cuilibet finitimorum civitatum bello par esset, sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent.
- 2 Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit qui societatem conubiumque novo populo
- 3 peterent : urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci ; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnum-
- 4 que nomen facere ; satis scire origini Romanae et deos adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem : proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere.
- 5 Nusquam benigne legatio audita est, adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent : id

#### EFFORTS TO SECURE WIVES.

9. iam, *by this time*. — hominis aetatem, *only one generation*. — quibus : referring to the persons implied in *res Romana*. — domi : because there were so few Roman women. — conubia, *right of inter-marriage*, a relation which seems to have been carefully guarded among the ancients ; cf. the struggle later between plebeians and patricians.

2. ex consilio : Livy conceives the proceeding as it would be under a consul later. — circa, *around among* ; a very common use of the word in Livy. — societatem : not necessarily for any other purpose than the conubium, for even that would require a treaty of alliance.

3. urbes, etc. : the learner must not forget the ease with which the Latin drops into indirect discourse whenever anything is to be quoted. The

apologetic tone here is on account of the youth of the state (*novus populus*). It was young, to be sure, but had a great future before it.

4. deos, etc. : referring chiasmically to *virtus* and *dii*. — proinde : the regular illative particle before any exhortation, summing up the reasons for the request or command. — homines, etc. : an additional reason, through an intimation of equality.

5. adeo, *to such a degree* (as is indicated by the preceding) ; a very common trick of language in Livy, giving the reason in the form of an antecedent to a result clause, as if it were, 'to such a degree did they, etc., that they nowhere received them.' — spernebant, etc. : *i.e.* they scorned them, and at the same time didn't wish to perpetuate them. — ecquod, etc. : a question implying a recommendation, as one might say, 'have you tried this means?' — feminis : of course, a most insult-

enim demum compar conubium fore. **1** Aegre id Romana 6  
pubes passa et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit.

Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industria parat Neptuno Equestri sollemnis; Consualia vocat. Indici **7**  
deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet, quantoque apparatum sciebant aut poterant concélebrant, ut rem claram exspectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, **8**  
studio etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates, **9** iam **9**  
Sabīnorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos cum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Vbi spectaculi tempus venit deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis signoque dato iuventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte in **11**  
quem quaeque inciderat raptae. Quasdam forma excel-

ing proposition, as only women of the worst character could be refugees in ancient times. — *demum*, only; a common use of *demum* and *denique*.

**6. pubes**: a rather poetical word for all men of military age. — *ad vim*, etc.: *i.e.* as though the men would resort to violence to avenge the insult and secure wives. — *Neptuno Equestri*: *i.e.* as creator of the horse; cf. Virg. *Georg.* I. 12, and Ποσειδῶν τὸν ἵππον, Arist. *Clouds*, 83.

*Consualia*: the origin and meaning of the cult is lost in antiquity, but it continued to be celebrated in later times, and was closely connected with the games of the Circus.

**7. concélebrant**: (*sc.* the people who were to take part) just as is the

case in modern fêtes, and for the same object (*ut rem*, etc.).

#### RAPE OF THE SABINES.

**8. mortales**: the favorite word in historians for human beings. — *etiam*: *i.e.* as well as the games. — *quique*: the plural to express communities rather than individuals. — *Caeninenses*, etc.: ancient towns, apparently Latin, long since destroyed.

**9. iam, then again**. — *situm*: the situation of Rome has always been famous; cf. V. 54. 4; Cic. *Rep.* II. 3. 5.

**10. spectaculi**: *i.e.* the races. — *deditae*: as an adjective; cf. Gr. 291. *b.* — *eo*: equivalent to *ei*, as often (Gr. 207. *a.*).

**11. forte, just as it happened**. — *in quem*: *sc. ab eo (raptae)*.



lentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe homines,  
 12 quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Vnam  
 longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo  
 Talassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitan-  
 tibus cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret,  
 Talassio ferri clamitatum. Inde nuptialem hanc vocem  
 13 factam. Turbato per metum ludicro maesti parentes  
 virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus  
 deumque invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per fas  
 14 ac fidem decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se  
 melior aut indignatio est minor.

Sed ipse Romulus circumibat docebatque patrum id  
 superbia factum, qui conubium finitimis negassent; illas  
 tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium  
 civitatisque et, quo nihil carius humano generi sit, libe-  
 15 rum fore; mollirent modo iras et quibus fors corpora  
 dedisset, darent animos; saepe ex iniuria postmodum  
 gratiam ortam eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod adni-  
 surus pro se quisque sit, ut, cum suam vicem functus  
 officio sit, parentium etiam patriaeque expleat deside-

12. *Talassii*: of course an invention to explain the cry *Talassio* used at weddings, the meaning of which was as unknown to the ancients as it is to us.

13. *turbato*, broken up in confusion.

*foedus*, their hosts; properly, the implied agreement made by their hosts in inviting them. — *deum*: Neptune. — *per fas ac fidem*, by a pretence of piety and good faith. — *venissent*: an indirect quotation of their appeal (*venimus*).

14. *melior*: i.e. than their parents had for them.

RECONCILIATION OF THE WOMEN.

*sed*, etc.: as if it were, 'but when R. went about as he pro-

ceeded to do, and showed them, etc., they began to abate their wrath (*iam admodum*). — *tamen*: i.e. notwithstanding that the act of carrying off the women was one of retaliation, as had just been said. — in *societate*, etc.: i.e. not as slaves, but as free-born citizens whose offspring would be entitled to all legal rights.

15. *melioribus viris*: a predicate ablative, a common Latin idiom with *utor*. — *adnisurus pro se*, will do his utmost. — *vicem*: adverbial accusative; Gr. 240. b. — *officio*: i.e. simply as a husband (*suam*). — *expleat*, etc.: i.e. by greater kindness to supply the want of other objects of affection.

rium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum, factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant. At rapta-<sup>10</sup> rum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeninenses Crustumini et Antemnates erant<sup>2</sup> ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tati<sup>3</sup> Sabinique visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Nec Crustumini quidem<sup>3</sup> atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastan-<sup>4</sup> tibus fit obvi<sup>4</sup>us cum exercitu Romulus levique certamine

16. *accedebant*: *i.e.* besides these arguments of Romulus, there was also the influence of their husbands' wooing. — *factum*: the word wavers between a noun (*excusing their action*) and an infinitive (*saying that it was done*). Probably Livy was not conscious which he meant. It is to be remembered that two constructions which seem very different to us might be undistinguishable by the Romans. — *quae . . . preces*, a kind of prayer which; Gr. 201. d.

#### WAR WITH THE CAENINENSES.

**10** *raptarum* parentes: one would expect *parentes raptarum*, but the two words are artificially made into one expression, repeating with emphasis *raptis*, which has not been emphasized before. — *tum maxime*, at that

*very moment*; *i.e.* after the brides themselves were reconciled. — *sordida veste*: the usual sign of mourning with the ancients, assumed whenever it was desired to excite compassion. — *continebant*, etc.: the imperfects describe the state of things, as if 'nor were the expressions of indignation confined to their own cities; there was a flocking,' etc. — *regem*: apparently ruling only in Cures, but exercising a general control over the Sabine stock. — *legationes*: *i.e.* officially from these states.

<sup>2</sup> *lente agere*, not to act with sufficient vigor.

<sup>3</sup> *nomen Caeninum*: an almost regular expression for different peoples of one stock. Cf. *nomen Latium*.

<sup>4</sup> *vastantibus*: the usual way of making reprisals in those times. —

docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur, regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliat, duce hostium occiso urbem primo impetu capit.

- 5 Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit, ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo 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 opimis spoliis, quae regibus

exercitum, etc.: notice the three moments in the narrative, *the army, the king, and the city*. — *regem*: named Acron, according to Prop. V. 10. 7.

#### THE SPOLIA OPIMA.

5. *victore, in triumph*: not merely 'victorious army,' but like 'flushed with victory,' as a predicate. — *factis*, etc.: *i.e.* no less fond of displaying his exploits than great in performing them. — *ferculo*: such hand-barrows were used later in the triumphal procession, to which this has a certain resemblance, though Livy ascribes the first triumph to Tarquinius (38. 3). — *Capitolium*: the Capitoline Hill, then unoccupied; cf. *pastoribus*, in next line. — *pastoribus*: *i.e.* held sacred by them to Jupiter. — *deposuisset*: *i.e.* deposited as an offering, doubtless hanging the arms on the tree. — *simul*, etc.: *i.e.* he offered the gift, and at the same time conceived the idea of a temple, for which, in the manner of augurs, he marked out by some visible objects the

sacred limits. Only such an augurally consecrated place could be a *templum*.

*cognomen*: like the saints in more modern times, the ancient divinities were worshipped in many places and under many relations, and in these several circumstances they were considered in a manner as separate divinities, receiving names accordingly.

6. *Feretri*: the story seems to have been invented, or at least explained, to account for this name, which, however, is not very well accounted for thereby. It is true that *feretrum*, from which *Feretrius* might come, does mean *barrow*; but the instrument in this use is too insignificant to suggest the name for the divinity. The same instrument was used for carrying images in procession, and in that use might very well give the name. — *rex regia*: these two circumstances were the necessary requisites for the *spolia opima*.

*animo*: later the augur marked out the space in the sky with the

ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posterius ferent.'

Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae 7 sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum nec inritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine compotum eius doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella optima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.

Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatum exercitus 11 per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit; raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palantes in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo a impetu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum, duplicique victoria ovantem Romulum Hersilia coniunx, precibus raptarum fatigata, orat ut parentibus earum det veniam

*lituus*, or augur's staff. — *me auctorem*, my example.

7. *templi*: i.e. of Jupiter Capitolinus. — *primum*: perhaps not inconsistent with chap. 7. 3, because this might be the first *templum* proper; but no reliance can be placed on these stories. — *ita*: referring to what follows. — *nec*, not on the one hand. — *nuncupavit*, solemnly declared: a religious word implying solemn forms. — *nec*: cf. *nec* above, by which the two statements are opposed to each other. — *compotum*, partakers, but with the idea of a privilege enjoyed. — *bina*: on account of the plural, *spolia*; Gr. 95. b. These were won by A. Cornelius Cossus (IV. 20. 2) and M. Claudius Marcellus (B.C. 222).

WAR WITH THE ANTEMNATES AND CRUSTUMINI.

11. *per*: cf. note to 3. 11. — *occasione ac solitudine*: a hendi-

adys; i.e. the army going home gave the enemy an opportunity for an inroad.

et ad hos: i.e. as well as the Caeninenses before. These proceedings give a very good idea of war in early times. — *legio*: in its original meaning of levy or army. Afterwards, when a larger number was levied, the name remained for the unit of organization, the legion, as it had formerly been levied.

2. *clamore*: the war-cry in ancient times had a much more potent function than now. The armies often did not meet at all, but, as in a modern charge, one party broke and fled before the collision. — *duplici*: i.e. over the army in the field and in capturing the town. — *ovantem*, returning in triumph, flushed, etc. — *Hersilia*: afterwards made a divinity along with her husband (cf. Ov. Met. XIV. 851), under the name of Hora or Horta.

et in civitatem accipiat; ita rem coalescere concordia posse. Facile impetratum.

- 3 Inde contra Crustumino profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi,
- 4 certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniae missae; plures inventi qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustumino nomina darent; et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.
- 5 Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Spurius Tarpeius Romanae praeerat arci; huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tati, ut armatos in arcem accipiat, — aquam
- 7 forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat; accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum

ita, on those terms (only). — rem coalescere, the strife be settled; properly, the (divided) interests grow together.

4. utroque, to both cities; cf. Gr. 207. a. — coloniae: to these were assigned land taken from the conquered city, as was the regular way in later times. — nomina darent, enlisted; the regular term for colonists, who went as an army of occupation. — et Romam: i.e. many of the citizens of Crustumino also came to Rome, besides those colonies of Rome that went in the other direction.

#### WAR WITH THE SABINES.

5. per iram, etc.: as was the case with the others (see 10. 2 seq.).

6. consilio: i.e. the open plans of warfare. — arci: the whole Capitoline Hill.

#### THE MAID TARPEIA.

aquam: for such purposes water was always taken from a living spring, and often from some particular one. The Vestals brought water daily from the spring of the Camenae, outside the Porta Capena (Serv. Aen. VII. 50; Plut. Numa, 13). Probably Livy had this custom in mind; but that spring was quite on the other side of the city. The order of the words is very artificial, emphasizing first the purpose of the maiden's going outside the walls; then bringing in the introductory words, forte, ea (on account of the parenthesis), and tum (at the time the enemy arrived): then emphasizing the fact of her being outside the walls, — sacris: Gr. 233. b.

7. potius: sc. quam dolo. — ne quid, etc.: the purpose (object)

proditori esset. ✓ Additur fabulae, quod vulgo Sabini 8  
aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo gemmatos-  
que magna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam quod  
in sinistris manibus haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis  
donis congesta. Sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi quod 9  
in sinistris manibus haberent directo arma petisse dicant  
et fraude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.]

Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini atque inde postero die, 12  
cum Romanus exercitus instructus quod inter Palatinum  
Capitolinumque collem campi est complisset, non prius  
descenderunt in aequum quam ira et cupiditate recipe-  
randae arcis stimulante animos in adversum Romani  
subiere. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant, ab Sabinis 2  
Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic  
rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque  
audacia sustinebat. Vt Hostius cecidit, confestim Ro- 3

clause gives the idea of their wishing to lay down a law, not merely showing a fact; *i.e.* to teach future ages not to expect any faith if they themselves were faithless.

8. *additur*, etc.: Livy's naïve selection among the stories is somewhat amusing. — *pepigisse*, *made a bargain for*, *demanded in return*. — *eo*: *i.e.* on account of the bargain. — *illi*: not merely 'upon her,' which would be *in*, but as it were, 'for her,' to crush her. Cf. Gr. 225. b. 2.

9. *tradendi*, *of surrender*; in such cases the original impersonal meaning of the gerund shows through; cf. Gr. 296. note. — *directo*, *outright*; not the bracelets, as in the other story, so that the act would have a patriotic aspect. — *sua ipsam*: the Latin regularly doubles the intensive idea by using the reflexive in an emphatic position, followed by the intensive.

#### THE SABINES IN THE CAPITOL.

12. *tamen*, *in any case*; whichever story is true; *i.e.* notwithstanding the doubt about the story, yet this fact is true in any case. — *quod inter*, etc.: the northwesterly part of the Forum and the low ground running towards the river. — *in adversum*, *up the hill*, *in face of the enemy*; properly, 'in their front.' — *subiere*: the indicative is regular with *priusquam* where the main clause is negative.

2. *principes* (subject), *great warriors*. — *utrimque*, *on the two sides*. — *pugnam ciebant*, *led the fight*. — *ab*, *on the side of*. — *hic*: joined chastically. — *iniquo loco*: as the enemy were above. — *ad prima signa*, *in the front rank*; with reference to the later order of battle; cf. VIII. 8. 3 seq. — *animo*, etc.: thus making up for the disadvantage of position. — *sustinebat*: the imperfect stops

- mana inclinatur acies fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus, arma  
 4 ad caelum tollens, 'Iuppiter, tuis' inquit 'iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci. Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent, inde huc armati superata  
 5 media valle tendunt. At tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem Romanis fugam-  
 6 que foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua praesenti ope serva-  
 7 tam urbem esse, voveo.' Haec precatus, velut si sensisset auditas preces, 'Hinc,' inquit 'Romani, Iuppiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iubet.' Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce iussi, ipse ad primores Romulus provolat.
- 8 Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decurrerat et effusus egerat Romanos toto quantum foro

the narrative to describe the state of affairs; but it is somewhat unnatural to imitate the effect in English.

3. ad veterem, etc.: the Porta Mugionis, in the Clivus Palatinus on the northeastern slope of the Palatine.

#### TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR.

Romulus: conceived as present at the fight, but in the rear.

4. avibus: see 7. 1.

5. siste: in its causative sense; hence *Stator*, the *Slayer*.

6. templum: the substructions are now visible on the excavated Palatine. — Statori: emphatic, with direct reference to siste. — praesenti, direct, of a divinity coming in person, as opposed to indirect means. — servatam esse: cf. *ne quid*, etc., II. 7 n. Here the lesson taught is one of fact. The whole matter looks like an attempt to ex-

plain *Stator*, which is more likely to mean 'the one who sets upright'; cf. *Στήριος*, *Ὀρθώσιος*. This view seems to shimmer through *servatam*. Not much reliance is to be placed on these etymological myths, as it is their very nature to be false; at least, no one about which the truth was known was ever found to be sound.

7. sensisset, had an intimation; the emphasis gives the suggestion of a divine monition. — hinc: not merely *here*, but *from this point*, as the action of *resistere* would be in the opposite direction. — restitere, did make a stand (emphatic). — ad primores: taking the place of his fallen general.

8. princeps, in the front. — effusus, in confusion (a kind of predicate). — quantum: the antecedent *tantum* would be accusative of extent of space. — foro: without in on account of *toto*; Gr.

spatium est ; nec procul iam a porta Palatii erat, clamitans 'Vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes ; iam sciunt longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris.' In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissimorum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius pugnabat, eo pelli facilius fuit ; pulsum Romani persequuntur et alia Romana acies audacia regis accensa fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese strepitu sequentium trepidante equo coniecit, averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem adniventibus ac vocantibus suis favore multorum addito animo evadit ; Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium, sed res Romana erat superior.

Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex

258. *f. 2.* — *hospites . . . hostes* : with a play upon the words.

9. *ex equo*, on horseback, according to the Latin idiom. — *eo* : *i.e.* because the horse was more easily frightened. — *PELLI* (*sc. eum*). — *pulsum*, etc., being put to flight he is pursued, etc. This repetition of a preceding word is a common rhetorical device ; cf. 10. 4. — *alia* : like *reliqua*, as often in Livy ; cf. *diis aliis*, 7. 3.

10. in *paludem* : where afterwards was the Forum. — *strepitu* : the cause of *trepidante* (*frightened*). — *avertat*, etc., the attention of the Sabines, also (as well as the Roman pursuers) was diverted, etc. The pluperfect gives, like the imperfect, the state of things, as if it were, 'there was a lull in the fight because,' etc. Then the new facts are given in the historical presents, followed by a new description in *erat*.

The effect cannot be seen except by noticing this interplay of description and narrative. — *quidem* : opposed to *sed*. 'He, to be sure, escaped, but in the battle which was then renewed, the Romans were gaining the advantage,' etc. — in *media*, etc. : *i.e.* farther to the west. — *res Romana*, the side, etc.

#### THE BATTLE STAYED BY THE SABINE WOMEN.

13. *iniuria* : notice the double meaning of the word, *wrongs*, or *injustice*. Most Latin nouns have a tendency to express either phase of a complex idea.

*crinibus*, etc. : cf. *sordida veste*, 10. 1 n. — *victo*, etc. : *i.e.* their natural instincts were overborne by the distressing situation. — *ex transverso*, from the flank ; *i.e.* a movement across the direction in which the lines faced.



- transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere  
 2 iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefanlo soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum progeniem. 'Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos  
 3 vertite iras; nos causa belli, nos vulnere ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus.'
- 4 Movet res tum multitudinem tum duces; silentium et repentina fit quies, inde ad foedus faciendum duces prod-eunt, nec pacem modo sed civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt, regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt  
 5 Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equum Curtius in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

impetu, a *wild rush*, so violent that it was like a hostile charge. — dirimere, *separate*; use the present to express the historical infinitive. — iras, *the angry strife*; as they were engaged, their wrath could be said to be separated.

2. suos: *i.e.* those of the suppliants, who would bear the stain of blood, if either their fathers the Romans, or their grandfathers the Sabines, should kill the other. — nepotum: genitive of 'material'; Gr. 214 *e*.

3. si, etc.: abrupt change to direct discourse. — adfinitatis: referring to the Sabines, who became by the marriage *adfinēs*; conubii: referring to the Romans. — melius peribimus: a common idiom corresponding to our 'it is better that,' etc. — sine alteris, etc., *without one of you (husbands) as widows, or without the other (fathers) as orphans*.

a. movet (emphatic), *they were touched*. — silentium: of voice;

quies: of arms. — ad foedus, etc.: the emphasis gives the sense, 'then it occurred to them to make a treaty, and the leaders advanced for that purpose.' — regnum, *the regal power*, by making both Romulus and Tatius kings together (*consociant*), referring to the persons; imperium, *the seat of empire*, referring to the government abstractly.

#### UNION OF THE TWO PEOPLES.

5. tamen, *still*; inasmuch as the nationality of the Sabines was thus merged, that some compensation might be given them. — Quirites: according to Livy both peoples were called so. It is more probable that the two words were independent and had nothing to do with Cures, though the name of that town might also be derived from *quiris*, *lance*. — monumentum, *as a memorial*; for case see Gr. 240. *g*. — Curtium lacum: cf. VII. 6.

Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas 6  
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 7  
aliquanto numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an  
dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint quae  
nomina curiis darent.

Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae 8  
sunt: Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses  
appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta  
est. Inde non modo commune, sed concors etiam reg-  
num duobus regibus fuit.

Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos Lau- 14  
rentium pulsant, cumque Laurentes iure gentium agerent,  
apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant.  
Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit: nam Lavini, cum ad 2  
sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto inter-

*Ex bello, following a war, as often with ex. — repente: modifying the verbal idea implied in ex. — curias: this word, of which the etymology is doubtful, is undoubtedly used of a territorial division of the patricians, with separate sacrifices for each division. Seven of the names have come down to us, some of which, as Fautia, Titia, might seem to Livy to be derived from names of women.*

7. hoc: *i.e.* the thirty.

8. centuriae: a hundred men from each tribe; ten (a *decuria*) from each *curia*. — Lucerum: the whole origin of this branch is involved in mystery. They were, doubtless, a third stock incorporated with the Romans, but from what quarter is not known. They were probably the last of the three, and were not, like the others, represented in the sacred rites.

#### DEATH OF TATIUS, AND WAR WITH FIDENAE.

14. iure, etc.: *i.e.* they demanded satisfaction according to the unwritten but generally recognized law observed between nations (*gentium*) as opposed to the laws of any state (*ius civile*). This law, of course, protected ambassadors. — apud Tatium: the demand was made to him as akin to the guilty parties. — gratia, *influence*. The word is the abstract of *gratus* in both senses, *grateful* to one as for favors and *agreeable* to one as by means of favors. Here the favor in which Tattius held his kinsmen we may express by their *influence* with him. — plus: *i.e.* than the justice of the Laurentian cause.

2. illorum: *i.e.* the kinsmen, of course. — Lavini: see i. 11. — sollemne, *stated*; there were close religious ties between the two cities

- 3 *ficitur*. Eam rem minus aegre quam dignum erat tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni seu quia haud iniuria caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum iniuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.
- 4 Et cum his quidem insperata pax 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.
- 5 Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum

on account of their supposed relationship. Cf. V. 52. 8; VIII. 11. 15. — *concurso facto*: *i.e.* assailed by a mob, or in a riot.

3. *minus aegre*, etc.: *i.e.* Romulus was not so indignant as he should have been, being moved either by distrust of his colleague or by his sense of justice. — *seu* . . . *seu*, *either* . . . *or*, the usual meaning in later Latin. — *infidam*: his distrust is transferred and expressed as a quality of the association, *untrustworthy*. — *bello*: *i.e.* to avenge the murder; for the case, see Gr. 243. *b.* — *quidem*: showing that bello is afterwards to be treated as a concession. Latin is full of such formal pointers, which English omits or transfers to another clause. — *tamen*, *but still*; opposed to *quidem*; see note, above.

*expiarentur*: the guilt on both sides in its religious aspect is cleansed by the religious act of renewing the treaty (see citations under *sollemne*, 2). There is underlying the whole a reminiscence of an old religious connection of all the peoples of the Latin race,

obscured later by the pre-eminence of Rome.

4. *quidem*: indicating a connection like: 'With them, to be sure, they had no war, though they had expected one, but from another quarter they did have one.' — *Fidenates*: theirs was an Etruscan city only five and a half miles from Rome, on the same side of the Tiber. — *esset*: the subjunctive means, before there *should* be, not before there *was*; Gr. 341. — *occupant, make haste* . . . *first*; *i.e.* before the Romans should make war on them. — *immissa*: two participles with a noun are not regular in Latin, but they occur where one is attached to the noun so as to make with it a single idea.

5. *laevam* . . . *dextra*: from the point of view of the army as it marched somewhat southward devastating the country along the Tiber. They would thus find the Tiber on their right hand, and they turned easterly up the Anio towards their left. — *cum magna trepidatione*, *with a great panic*. The word indicates not necessarily fear, but a hurry-scurry, whether from

magna trepidatione agrestium populantur, tumultusque  
 repens ex agris in urbem inlatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus 6  
 Romulus, neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bel-  
 lum poterat, exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille  
 passuum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto egressus 7  
 omnibus copiis partem militum locis circa densa inter  
 virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis iussit; cum parte  
 maiore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaere-  
 bat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae adequitando  
 ipsis prope portis hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae  
 simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus  
 mirabilem dedit. Et cum velut inter pugnae fugaeque 8  
 consilium trepidante equitatu pedes quoque referret

alarm or any other cause. — *agrestium*: *i.e.* outside the towns. — *tumultus*, *disorderly flight*. — *pro nuntio*: *i.e.* brought the first news, as there had been no declaration of war.

6. *excitus*: *i.e.* called out to action. The cities in those times were practically impregnable. The usual course of warfare was as in this case. — *neque enim*, *for naturally . . . not*. This expression regularly introduces a statement which itself needs no argument, like our 'for you see,' 'for you know.'

7. *egressus*: from the camp, which was always strongly fortified. — *omnibus copiis*: as opposed to a mere detachment. Cf. the emphatic *modico*, which indicates that only a small guard was left behind. — *locis*, etc.: the reading given here (Weissenborn's) is doubtful, but perhaps the best conjecture that can be made. The Mss. have *densa obsita virgulta*. — *circa*: to be taken as an adverb. Cf. Gr. 188. *c.* — *id quod*, etc.: *i.e.* he succeeded in doing what he aimed at, namely, *excivit*. Cf. *excitus*, 6. —

*tumultuoso*: *i.e.* the irregular action of skirmishing. — *fugae*: genitive. — *simulanda*, etc.: *i.e.* was necessary to draw the enemy into the ambushade. — *mirabilem*: the flight would have seemed suspicious, but that sudden dashes and retreats were the regular cavalry tactics.

8. *velut*: apparently only belonging with *inter . . . consilium*, though grammatically it might go with the *abl. abs.* This sentence is a good example of Livy's compression of many details into one complex sentence. Our logical analysis into main clause and successively subordinate ones is almost sure to miss the manner of presentation chosen by the author. The only way to read the sentence is as it is written, something like *And as, while the cavalry were wavering between the two courses of battle and flight, the foot also began to draw back, the gates were suddenly seen crowded with men, and from them poured a host of the enemy; so, as the Roman line gave way, the zeal of the enemy to press on and pursue hurried them on to the place of the ambushade.*

gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes impulsa Romana acie studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad  
 9 locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem. Addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum qui in praesidio relictis fuerant. Ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates prius paene quam Romulus quique cum eo equites erant circumagerent  
 10 frenis equos, terga vertunt multoque effusius, quippe vera fuga, qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuerunt se hosti: haerens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum obicerentur, velut agmine uno inrumpit.

15 Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate — nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt — et quod ipsa propinquitatis loci, si Romana

The ultimate result takes the place of main clause; but the vivid details succeed each other in the order of time or natural presentation, and make a picture by a succession of strokes. This is Livy's special art or artless charm. He is always making pictures, and they must be observed as he draws them, stroke after stroke.

9. transversam, on the flank. The quality properly belongs adverbially to the Roman attack, but it is transferred in Latin to the enemy, for, of course, each was *transversa* to the other. — addunt pavorem, a new alarm is added by, etc. — mota, etc.: i.e. the guard of the camp marches out in battle array, as if to re-enforce the Romans. — multiplici, from many quarters. — quique, etc., and the horsemen who were with him. These are mentioned because the movement of the horse would be quicker, and hence there is no need to speak of the foot. — circumagerent, could wheel; cf. *asset*, 4 n, and see Gr. 327.

10. effusius: i.e. than the Romans had before. — vera: as opposed to the pretended flight of the Romans. — simulantes (acc.), the pretended fugitives.

11. non: the emphasis may be rendered by *even so . . . not*. — haerens, etc.: the picture is such as would be given by hanging close on their rear came the Romans, and, etc. — fores: i.e. the gates themselves as barriers; portarum: the whole aperture. — obicerentur: see Gr. 327.

#### WAR WITH VEII.

15. belli: the emphasis gives an effect like *the war with Fidenae excited the Veientes also to war*. — et consanguinitate: parallel with et quod, which gives another reason for the excited minds of the Veientes. — propinquitatis: about a dozen miles off. — si, etc.: a protasis to an apodosis implied in propinquitatis, like, (which would be very near) in case, etc.

arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat. In fines Romanos excucurrerunt populabundi magis quam iusti more belli. Itaque non castris positis, non exspectato 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 vastat ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio. Eaque clade haud minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem petitus 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 recipiendo, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam

excucurrerunt: *sc. Veientes*, implied in *Veientium animi*.—*iusti*, *regular*, as opposed to predatory (*populabundi*).

2. *raptam*, etc., *they stole booty*, and. See note to 14. 8.—*hostem*: *i.e.* they went out, but found nobody to fight with.—*ultimae*: *i.e.* decisive.—*instructus*: physically ready; *intentus*: morally prepared.

3. *ponere*, *accessurum*: notice the difference in tense.—*de*, *for*, in defence of; properly, about.

4. *arte*, *stratagem*; such as he

had used against Fidenæ.—*ulciscendi*: the gerund in Latin is practically a noun, and is therefore used in the same construction with one.

6. *haec ferme*, etc., *this is about what*, etc.—*absonum*, *inconsistent with*.—*fidei*: see Gr. 234. *a.*—*animus*: *i.e.* the lofty ambition he displayed.—*consilium*, etc.: which also indicated a great soul.

7. *ab illo*: *i.e.* for it was he who gave the city its strength,—a strength that, etc.—*tutam*, *undisturbed*.

- 8 *pacem haberet.* Multitudini tamen gravior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos *Celeres* appellavit, non in bello solum, sed etiam in pace habuit.
- 16 His immortalibus editis operibus cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae Paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris
- 2 *Romulus fuit.* Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuum sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebatur patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde, a paucis initio facto, deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent, pacem precibus expo-

8. *tamen* : *i.e.* though he showed this divine genius, yet he was not so acceptable to the higher classes. — *trecentosque* : *i.e.* in fact on these he especially relied as a guard. — *Celeres* : this was the old name of the equites, and Livy probably conceives the guard as cavalry.

#### DEATH OF ROMULUS; HIS CHARACTER.

16. *immortalibus* : in reference to the allusions above to his divine origin and the divine character of his actions. — *contionem* : an assembly of the people in their character as warriors, — a character which the assemblies of the people ever maintained more or less. — *campo* : the Campus Martius, as in later times. Livy's traditions, as well as the facts themselves, mingle

the usages of different periods in the development of the city. — *Caprae Paludem* : traditionally located in the *prata Flaminia*, where afterward was the Flaminian Circus, just west of the Capitol, between that and the river. — *fragore* : the noise of the thunder only; *tonitribus* : including also the lightning. — *nimbo* : Cicero seems to treat this as an eclipse (*Rep.* I. 16). — *nec, and . . . not*; the usual meaning.

2. *pubes* : the regular term for the able-bodied men in military service. — *pavore* : the sudden alarm of the occasion (cf. *metu* below, the continuing fear that they should be like orphans deprived of their parent); cf. *pavor praesens*. 4. — *postquam*, etc. : cf. 14. 8 n.

3. *salvere* : *i.e.* they cried *salve, deus deo nate*, etc. — *universi, they*

scunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos qui disceptum 4 regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent: manavit enim haec quoque, sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit.

Et consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur 5 fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor in contionem prodit. 'Romulus,' 6 inquit 'Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstissem, petens precibus ut contra intueri fas esset, "Abi, nuntia" inquit 7 "Romanis, caelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant sciantque et ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse." Haec' inquit 'locutus sublimis

*all with one accord.*—iubent: the regular word for such salutations, like our *bid.*—uti, etc.: the clause is an explanatory apposition to *pacem*.—volens propitius: strict religious expressions in prayers.

suam: the emphasis represents an emphatic *tuam* in the prayer, continuing the emphasis of *tu*, which is regularly emphatic in such cases. Notice the alliteration which is characteristic of religious and other formulas.

4. fuisse, etc., *I have no doubt there WERE some even then.*—manavit: indicating a slender stream of tradition.—enim: explaining his mention of the suspicion.—perobscura, *very little known.*—illam: see Gr. 102. b.—pavor: the alarming nature of the phenomena.—nobilitavit: opposed to *perobscura*.

5. consilio, *by the set purpose;*

*i.e.* by an intentional device, as opposed to the causes just mentioned.—addita...fides, *additional credit was gained.*—sollicita: cf. *orbitatis metu*, 2.—infensa: from the suspicion above referred to.—gravis, *weighty*; *i.e.* his authority carries weight.—quamvis magnae: *i.e.* however serious the matter he had to tell might be.

6. delapsus: the regular word for such a descent.—adstissem, *I stood before him.* Cf. Gr. 279. e. R.—contra, etc.: from a notion that looking at the gods face to face was presumptuous, and so impious.

7. ut...sit: this is an object clause proceeding from purpose (Gr. 331); the use of *ita* only shows that the *ut* clause is coming, without indicating whether it is result or purpose.—proinde: the usual illative word when an exhortation follows.—posse: of course,



8 abiit.' Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.

- 17 Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat. Necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat : factionibus inter  
 2 ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post  
 3 Tatii mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequa possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum  
 4 regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum ex-  
 5 perta. Timor deinde patres incessit ne civitatem sine

the indirect discourse construction, as a statement to be made (tradant posteris); but it is preceded by ita (not *id*), just as the wish above is preceded by ita with velle.

8. mirum: *sc. est*, with the indirect question for its subject. — desiderium, *grief for the loss of*; the regular meaning of the word; see *Harvard Studies*, Vol. I. p. 96. — facta fide, *by the confirmation of the belief*.

INTERREGNUM; CHOICE OF DECEM-  
 - VIRI AS CHIEF MAGISTRATES.

17. patrum: as opposed to the plebs, whose state of mind has just been described. Keep the emphasis and the perspective of the sentence by a change of voice. — certamen: the immediate struggle for the throne; cupido: more general, something like *ambition*. — pervenerat: *sc. certamen* (but the reading is uncertain). — factionibus, *by factions*; the means used by the two great race-parties (ordines) to secure the power through their dependents and connections.

2. sua: we should expect *eorum*; but the thought is partially put into the minds of the Sabines, yet not sufficiently to change the mood of the verb. — in societate aequa: *i.e. though* in a partnership that should be equal. The Latin abounds, especially in later writers, with such indefinite expressions that are to be interpreted by the context.

3. in variis, etc.: *i.e. though* their views *varied*, yet all were unanimous for a *king* (cf. last note); the effect here is produced, however, by the emphatic position of *variis* and *regnari*. — tamen: *i.e. notwithstanding* the want of agreement.

4. timor: as opposed to the desire before mentioned. — civitatem, etc.: notice the Livian painting by successive strokes: *lest, the state being without a ruler, the army without a leader, the feelings of, etc., irritated, they* (the country) *should be attacked*, etc. The items of the description are put in without regard to clear syntax. Whatever can be governed by the verb goes into the accusative, and all the other

imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatum iniritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat.

Ita rem inter se centum patres, decem decuriis factis 5 singulisque in singulas decurias creatis qui summae rerum praeessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat, quinque 6 dierum spatio finiebatur imperium ac per omnes in orbem ibat, annumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum appellatum.

parts are thrown in as modifying circumstances, though they all stand in the same relation to the main thought. If the sentence will *parse*, that is enough, and even that is sometimes overlooked. — *circa*: cf. note to 14. 7. — *vis*: not merely *power* in our sense, which the singular never means, but *violence* as unjust, or at least aggressive. — *et, at the same time*, the two branches being opposed, although co-ordinate; cf. the frequent use of *ut . . . ita, although . . . yet*. — *esse*: notice the emphasis, *that there should BE*, etc. — *alteri*: cf. Gr. 203. c. N.

5. *ita, so, under these circumstances*. — *rem, the government*, as constantly. — *centum*: what became of the other hundred senators (see 13. 5) Livy does not say. Probably in the multitude of varying traditions he didn't know very well himself. — *decem, etc.*: the statement, as near as can be made out of Livy's words, is that the senators shared the regal power, acting ten at a time as a college (cf. the later *decemviri*). One senator was chosen from and for each decury (*singulis in singulas decurias*) as a president of the college and formal sov-

ereign (*qui summae, etc.*). There were *ten* who had the magisterial power (*imperitabant*), but one only who had the *insignia*. Livy does not distinctly say, and only blindly implies, that the *college* changed at all. But as Dionysius' account indicates that it did, we may presume that Livy conceived the matter the same way. Neither the hundred senators of Livy nor the two hundred of Dionysius (II. 57) divided into decuries holding five days apiece (*quinque dierum spatio*) would make an even year. If, however, there were three hundred, as is most likely, a hundred of each great stock, then two turns would make out a year of three hundred days. But the subject is a much mooted one. — *creatis*: this word must be used of the *election* of the one man who held the *insignia*. — *consociant*: the *patres* divided the power among them, holding it, however, only ten at a time, but all holding it successively (*per omnes in orbem*).

6. *imperium*: *i.e.* of each decury in turn. — *ab re, from the fact* that it was an interval between two *reges*. — *nunc, etc.*: the *interrex* continued to be the

- 7 Fremere deinde plebs, multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem, et ab  
 8 ipsis creatum videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum ultro rati quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt summa potestate populo permissa,  
 9 ut non plus darent iuris quam detinerent. Decreverunt enim ut, cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem ius vi adempta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt.
- 10 Tum interrex contione advocata 'Quod bonum faustum felixque sit,' inquit 'Quirites, regem create: ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab

regular means of passing on the *imperium* if a consular election for any reason failed, even to the end of the republic.

7. *fremere*: notice the emphasis: then there were murmurs among the commons. — *ultra*, any longer; in this sense it seems to be a popular word coming to the surface in later times. — *nisi*, anything but. — *ab ipsis*: instead of the *patres*. — *passuri*: see Gr. 293. a.

8. *ea moveri*: i.e. the revolution implied in *nec . . . passuri*. — *ita*: belonging to the whole clause, but, of course, only a limitation of *permissa*. — *populo*: loosely used for *plebs*, with which in later times it became identified for the most part, though often distinguished, as in the phrase *populus plebesque Romanus*. — *iuris*, rights.

9. *iussisset*: the technical term for a vote of the people. — *sic . . . si*, only . . . in case, with its very common force of a limitation. — *ratum*, valid. — *patres*: here mean-  
 the senate, whether the word is

strictly used or not. — *auctores fierent*, should ratify; *auctor* is a voucher or responsible party to an action, and so one who ratifies or makes valid. — *rogandis*: the technical term for the action of the magistrate who put the question to the people, as *iubeo* is for their action; see above. — *ius*, form, properly the right which is still formally recognized. — *adempta*: because the act of the senate was required to be performed beforehand by the *lex Publilia* in 339 B.C., and about fifty years later by the *lex Maenia*. — *ineat*: the subjunctive as a part of the intention of the law; cf. 14. 4 n.

10. *tum*: as opposed to the modern practice (cf. *hodie*, 9), — resuming the narrative. — *interrex*: the presiding officer of the board of ten. — *contione*: a mass-meeting for communication (see 8. 1 n.); not as yet a *comitia* or town-meeting. — *quod*, etc.: the regular formula, having some variations of words, with which official acts were begun, something like "God save the Common-

Romulo numeretur crearitis, auctores fient.' Adeo id gratum plebi fuit ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modo sciscerent iuberentque, ut senatus decerneret qui Romae regnaret.

Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pompili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris. Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia non exstat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae centum amplius post annos in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum Heraclaeamque et Crotonam iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem

wealth of Massachusetts," at the end of a proclamation.

11. *victi beneficio, surpassed in courtesy.* — *sciscerent*: another technical term for deliberative action where there is full power. — *qui*: often found instead of the regular *quis*.

#### ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF NUMA.

18. *inclita*, etc.: notice the order, which gives a rhetorical effect like *famous for justice and piety*... *was the name of Numa*; (he did not live at Rome, but) *Cures of the Sabines was his dwelling-place*, etc. — *Numae*: probably a later invented surname, connected with *νῦμος, numerus*, etc. — *Pompili*: a form in the Sabine dialect, equivalent to *Quinctilius* (cf. *πέντε, πέμπτε*). The whole name may be invented; but one part is a natural Sabine name, the other a nickname. — *Sabinis*: the Sabines were famous in later times for their conservative, religious and moral character, whence the mention of the nation here. — *ut, so far as*; a common

use of *ut*, though the opposite meaning, *as is natural*, is also common; cf. note to *in societate*, 17. 2. — *quisquam*: the underlying negative idea, 'nobody could be,' etc., occasions the use of this pronoun; cf. Gr. 202. *b* and *c*. — *aetate*: for the order see Gr. 344. *e*. The construction with *in* hardly differs from the ablative, but is allowed on account of the time being conceived as space and circumstances rather than mere date. — *divini*: everything relating to religious practice and observance (*religio*); *humani*: everything relating to social and international relations (*iustitia*).

2. *auctorem, teacher*; cf. *auctores*, 17. 9 n. — *Pythagoram*: as he introduced Greek culture into Magna Græcia, and was the most famous sage of those early times, it was natural to give him credit for all the wisdom that appeared in Italy. Livy does not generally commit himself about traditions, but this one he expressly combats.

3. *ex quibus*, etc.: the four points are: 1. That he lived more than a hundred years after; 2. That

- aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset, quoque praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone  
 4 moribusque pervenisset? Suapte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina taetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit.
- 5 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 publi-

there was no chance to hear about him at Cures, even if he had lived at the same time; 3. The difference of language; 4. The impossibility of a journey to those cities through barbarous tribes, without community of language or customs with the Sabines. — fama: *sc. adlata esset*, which is naturally implied in the context. — excivisset: *sc. fama*. It would need some knowledge of Greek to arouse a barbarian to desire to hear a Greek philosopher.

4. ingenio, *native powers*. — temperatum, *developed*; properly, *compounded*, so as by its different ingredients to make a fine and noble nature. — opinor magis, *I fancy, rather*. — instructum, *trained*; properly, *furnished*. — artibus, *learning*; properly, *courses of instruction*, particularly philosophy, as theoretical. — disciplina, *mode of life*; the practical training according to the strict puritanic rules of

the ascetic Sabines. — genere, *race*.

5. audito: the beginning of the chapter implies that his name was mentioned in connection with the throne as a man eminent in the necessary qualifications. — patres: Livy thinks of them as only Romans. — inclinari: almost equal to a future; but the meaning of the verb allows the present to be used with rege sumpto as a future protasis. See Gr. 292. — inde: *i.e. from the Sabines*; see Gr. 207 a. — patrum aut civium: here opposed as nobles and commons. — illi viro, *this great man*. — ad unum, *unanimously*. — decernunt: Livy represents the senate as choosing the king; other writers make the people elect him. Cf. Cic. *Rep.* II. 13, 25.

6. sicut, *just as*. — augurato: see Gr. 255 c. — urbe condenda, *at the building of the city*; a loose use of the ablative of manner. See Gr. 301 and examples. — cui de-

cum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur, ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dexteris ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem 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 Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines quos feci.' Tum peregit verbis auspicia quae mitti vellet; quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

inde, etc.: Livy thinks of the public institution of augury as only then established, and the earlier practice of it as a private proceeding, which, of course, could hardly have been true. — *honoris ergo*: i.e. to give dignity to the function. — *perpetuum*, *permanent*; opposed to the occasional exercise of the functions. — *arcem*: apparently the Capitoline Hill.

7. *ad laevam*: at his left, and probably so as to look towards the south. — *in urbem agrumque*: if the augur faced south, as is likely, though not entirely clear from Livy's account, the city lay before him, a little to the left, and his view extended over it and the adjoining country (*ager Romanus*) beyond the hills. — *determinavit*: i.e. drawing a line through the heavens from east to west, he arbitrarily determined what sights should be *dextra* and what *laeva*.

8. *signum*, etc.: i.e. he had a field of view between himself and the horizon, divided by a circle passing through the zenith. Whatever flight of birds or other phenomenon appeared within this field was significant, and to be interpreted according to the side in which it appeared. Livy doesn't mention the meridian line distinctly, but he does not necessarily exclude it.

9. *Romae*: locative. — *certa*: i.e. about which there may be no doubt. — *adclarassis*: an old form and a technical word. The construction is an old one of wishing (Gr. 267 *b*). For the tense see Gr. 267 *a*. — *peregit*, etc.: i.e. he stated what phenomena, according to the established ritual, would be a sign of approval. — *templo*: Livy probably has in his mind a permanent *auguraculum* or *auguratorium* built later on the Capitoline; but the word equally applies to any spot

- 19 Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse, quippe efferrari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellicae fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.
- 4 Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus iunxisset animos, positus externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaeque militaris continuerat, omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea

without buildings consecrated by the augural proceedings.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF NUMA.

19. ita: *i.e.* thus chosen and inaugurated. — conditam vi, etc.: *i.e.* established in material power as a warlike nation. — iure, etc.: *i.e.* its civil institutions.

2. adsuescere: *sc.* populum below. — efferrari: indirect discourse; Gr. 336. c. N. 1. — Ianum: this is represented on coins as merely an arch or gate. Its connection with Numa, as well as the reason given for building it, must be an invention. Such customs always grow. — Argiletum (*clay-pits*): a locality northeast of the forum.

3. T. Manlio, etc.: *i.e.* B.C. 235. — post bellum Actiacum, etc.: *i.e.* B.C. 29.

4. iunxisset animos, *had secured the good will.* — luxuriarent: *i.e.* grow wanton and lawlessly self-indulgent. — illis saeculis rudem: *i.e.* uncultivated as it was in those times, as opposed to the present cultivation and consequent freedom from superstition. — iniciendum: *i.e.* he must inspire them with another controlling force to take the place of the constraining effect of war.

5. commento, *invention*, implying that it was only an artifice of Numa's. Livy generally writes in a religious spirit, but occasionally his

*Egeria congressus nocturnos esse, eius se monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere.*

Atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim 6 menses describit annum, quem, quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit ut vicesimo anno ad metam eandem solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum spatiis dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque 7 fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quam-20

disbelief in the legends is expressly put forward or accidentally shows through; cf. 18. 2 n. — *Egeria*: a nymph, one of the *Camēnæ*.

6. *omnium primum*: the importance of this as a religious matter comes from the fact that the festivals depended on it. — *ad cursus lunae*: i.e. the months were regulated by the moon, but the solar year is arranged by some other means. — *tricenos*: the mean lunar period is eleven hours fifty-six minutes short of thirty days, and a year of twelve such months lacks about eleven days of the solar year. Even thirty days to a month does not give quite a full year. — *solstitiali*, etc.: i.e. the year as it brings the sun back to the solstice. — *intercalariis mensibus*: the Romans inserted months instead of days to regulate the calendar. — *vicesimo*: Livy probably has in his mind the cycle of Meton of nineteen years, in which the sun came back to the same sign of the zodiac from which it started at the beginning. The whole story is no doubt one manufactured in later times. — *metam*, etc.: i.e. the

solstice would come at the same date. — *plenis spatiis*: i.e. the time of the nineteen (or twenty) solar years would be exactly filled out by the months.

7. *nefastos*: i.e. properly days when it is *nefas* to hold courts. Livy here refers to days when it was not permitted to hold meetings. These were really different from the unlawful court days, but perhaps not made so until later than this time. — *utile, convenient*, i.e. for the king and the nobles. The Roman religion was in later times a very convenient political weapon.

#### RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONARIES.

20. *sacerdotibus*: there were two classes of religious functionaries at Rome, — special priests of particular divinities (*flamines*) and general supervisors of religious matters (*pontifices*). There was also a *rex sacrificulus* established after the overthrow of the kings. All religious observances of great antiquity were ascribed to Numa, but some of them evidently



- quam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quae nunc  
 2 ad Dilem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate  
 bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges  
 putabat fore iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae  
 vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem  
 creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit.  
 Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum, alterum  
 3 Quirino; virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduæ templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit, virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit.
- 4 Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit tunicæque pictæ insignē dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen caelestiaque arma, quæ ancilia appellantur,

belonged to the earliest customs of the Latin race. — ipse: no doubt, as in all kingdoms of patriarchal origin, the king, as head of the clan, could perform sacrifices. Cf. the *rex sacrificulus*. — ea maxime, etc.: these are assigned to the king as being the most venerable rites in the state. — Dilem flaminem: the official title of the special priest of Jupiter. He was the most venerable and privileged of all the functionaries except the *rex sacrificulus*, who was substituted for the king himself, and formally represented him. The name *flamen* doubtless refers to building fires on the altar (cf. *conflare aes*).

2. regiae vicis, belonging to the office of the king. — adsiduum, in constant attendance; so much so that he could not leave the city to be gone over night. — veste: he wore the  *toga praeexta*, and a peculiar felt cap with a little cone (*apex*) and a fillet of wool on the top. His life was also surrounded

by a great number of religious restrictions. See Gell. X. 15.

3. virgines: these nuns, originally probably the custodians of fire in a community where it could not easily be obtained, became later an important body in the Roman religion. Their convent has lately been excavated at Rome. — Alba: though Numa is called the founder of the institution, yet, as Romulus was said to be a son of one of the virgins, it was necessary to account for this seeming discrepancy. They no doubt go back to the age of savagery. — virginitate, chastity. — caerimoniis, observances. — venerabiles, reverend. — sanctas, inviolable, as under the protection of religion.

4. Gradivo: the gods were worshipped in various phases and at various places in such a way that one deity was often multiplied into several, like the later saints. — ancilia: shields of peculiar shape, one of which was supposed to have

ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit.

Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex 5 patribus legit eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra 6 pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur, nec caelestes 7 modo caerimonias, sed iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

fallen from heaven.—*carmina*, etc.: this usage was retained long after the words of the songs had become unintelligible.—*tripudiis*, etc.: apparently a kind of Indian war-dance, in which the priests dramatically represented the divinity (cf. *Gradivus*).—*iussit*: the starting of such a ceremony all of a sudden by order of the king seems as absurd as would be the establishment of All Hallow E'en by act of Congress.

5. *sacra*, etc.: there seem to have been several sets of records in regard to religious matters, gradually accumulated like modern law decisions in the hands of the pontifices; cf. 31. 8, 32. 2, and XL. 29. 7.—*exscripta exsignataque*: apparently copied (informally) and duly authenticated (in a formal manner).—*attribuit*, assigned; i.e. put into his hands to be interpreted and made known on occasion.—*quibus diebus*: it was this knowledge

of the calendar that gave the patricians later such a control over the whole government and administration.—*eos sumptus*: i.e. of the sacrifices.

7. *caelestes*: i.e. of the gods above as opposed to the spirits of the dead in the world below.—*iusta*, due, with the proper solemnities which were necessary to 'lay the spirits' (*placandos manes*), which in all early civilizations are regarded as more or less inclined to take offence and do mischief.—*quo*: indefinite.—*susciperentur*, taken up, noticed as significant, in contrast to others which would be unimportant and neglected.—*curarentur*: here equal to *procurare*, the technical term for doing the things which would avert evils threatened by an omen.—*ea*: sc. *prodigia*; a short expression for the knowledge of *suscipienda prodigia*, in contrast with others,

- 21 Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant et deorum assidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat ut fides ac iusiurandum proximo legum ac poenarum metu civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violare ducerent nefas.
- 3 Lucus erat quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua; quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum

(cf. quae suscipienda essent below), and of the means of averting them. — Elicio: cf. note to *Gratidivo*, 4. — essent: indirect question.

#### OTHER RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

21. haec: i.e. the religious institutions mentioned. — procuranda: here not in its technical sense, but in the general one of *arranging*. — et animi, etc.: the two results of the policy pursued are co-ordinated by the two conjunctions. The first result accords with *ne luxuriarent*, etc., 19. 4, and is opposed in a manner to a vi et armis conversa, a condition of which the effect was feared by Numa. There is a double relation between this result and the preceding condition which expresses at once in a condensed form both the difficulty and its remedy. The second result has reference to 19. 1 and 2. — occupati: regularly as an

adjective; see Gr. 291. b. — deorum: notice the formal opposition between animi (implying the people) and deorum (the divinities), where the real contrast is between the two results, one affecting their *minds*, the other their *hearts* (pectora). — insidens cura: combined into a single idea, which is then modified by assidua. — interesse, have a hand (in). — fides, etc.: religious qualities, opposed to the human institutions (legum, etc.). — proximo: i.e. being second in importance as factors.

2. ipsi: opposed to finitimi. — formarent: for mood see Gr. 326. b. — civitatem: the emphasis expresses something like *when a city was like THAT, entirely devoted, etc., they considered it sacrilege to injure it*.

3. lucus: the grove was just outside the Porta Capena. — quia . . . inferebat: the reason assigned by Livy, — to ensure privacy. — deae:

sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum coniuge sua Egeria essent. Et soli Fidei sollemne instituit. Ad id sacra-  
 rium flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit man-  
 uque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, signifi-  
 cantes fidem tutandam sedemque eius etiam in dextris  
 sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris facien-  
 dis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium  
 tamen maximum eius operum fuit tutela per omne regni  
 tempus haud minor pacis quam regni.

Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic  
 pace, civitatem auxerunt; Romulus septem et triginta  
 regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida  
 tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum  
 Hostilium, nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima arce clara  
 pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus iussit;

Egeria. — quod . . . essent: the ground of Numa's action assigned by himself, and given in a slightly different tone; cf. *velut* in the preceding line.

4. soli: *i.e.* apparently the only one of that sort of divinities, abstract qualities, such as became very common in Rome later; cf. 27. 7. — *sacrarium*: the shrine, which was in the Capitol. — *flamines*: those mentioned in 20. 2; see note. — *bigis*, etc.: *i.e.* a two-horse covered carriage. — *tutandam*: this reason is no doubt the attempted explanation of an old custom. — *etiam*: *i.e.* not only in shrine and altar, but also on the person, whereby, when a promise was made by clasping hands, as was usual, it would be as sacred as if made in a temple or the like.

5. *faciendis*: see Gr. 299. *b*; an old construction mostly antiquated. — *quae*: contrary to the

usual rule, *hoc opus, hic labor est*; see Gr. 195. *d.* — *Argeos*: these were six chapels for local worship in each of the four regions of the city. There is good reason to believe that Greeks had been buried alive under them. In later times after their origin was forgotten their place seems to have been taken by the shrines of the Lares Compitales. Local arrangements for public worship somewhat like parish churches were regular with the Romans. — *pontifices*, etc.: as these matters had long gone out of use, they were a matter of antiquity known only to the *pontifices*. — *tutela*, *maintenance*.

6. *temperata*, *well organised*; properly, regulated by a suitable mixture; cf. 18. 4.

ACCESSION OF TULLUS.

22. *interregnum*: cf. 17. 5. — *pugna*: see 12. 2. — *iussit*: in its technical meaning of *elected*.

- \* patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum aetas viresque tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat.
- 3 Forte evenit ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro,
- 4 Albani ex Romano praedas invicem agerent. Imperitabat tum Gaius Cluilus Albae. Vtrimque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis ne quid prius quam mandata agerent; satis sciebat negaturum Albanum: ita pie bellum indici posse.
- 5 Ab Albanis socordius res acta; excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne comi fronte regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores et neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec renuntiant Tullo.
- 6 Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, fecit. Illi omnium ignari primum purgandoterunt tempus: se invitos quicquam quod minus placeat Tullo dicturos, sed imperio subigi: res repetitum se
- 7 venisse, ni reddantur, bellum indicere iussos. Ad haec Tullus 'Nuntiate' inquit 'regi vestro, regem Romanum deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes

2. senescere, lose its vigor; cf. senium. — materiam, occasions; properly, something to make war out of.

4. imperitabat, the supreme commander... was; probably a dictator, but cf. regi, 7, below. — ne quid: sc. aliud. — ita: i.e. by the demand and refusal. — pie, justly, but with reference to their duty to the gods.

5. comi fronte: with celebrant.

6. omnium: the facts in 4. — purgando, in apologies; i.e. as became guests hospitably received when on a disagreeable mission. — quicquam: this pronoun is used on account of the negative in invitos. — placeat: characteristic subjunctive (Gr. 320). — reddantur: for tense see Gr. 336 B. a.

7. uter, etc.: i.e. the gods were to bear witness which of the two was the aggressor, so that they might inflict, etc.

legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant huiusce clades belli.'

Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque <sup>22</sup> summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Troianam utramque prolem, cum Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus <sup>2</sup> tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quod nec acie certatum est et tectis modo dirutis alterius urbis duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores <sup>3</sup> ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia passum locant, fossa circumdant—fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quoque vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius, Albanus <sup>4</sup> rex, moritur, dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium creant.

Interim Tullus ferox praecipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen, ab ipso capite orsum, in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum poenas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit <sup>5</sup>

dimiserit: indirect question. — in eum expetant: a mixture of two constructions, *in eum vertant clades* and *ab eo expetant poenas*; cf. *expetiturum poenas*, 23. 4. — huiusce: for form see Gr. p. 67, footnote.

#### WAR WITH ALBA.

22. civili: *i.e.* between fellow-citizens; inter parentes, etc.: still more than fellow-citizens.

2. acie: because only three fought on each side. — tectis modo, etc.: without any loss of life.

3. milia: see Gr. 247. c. — pas-

sum: shorter form instead of *passuum*. — re, etc.: *i.e.* the ditch disappeared, and the name of the place was forgotten also.

4. rex: here Livy thinks of him as a king, contrary to *imperilabat*, 22. 4. — ferox: not at all like *ferocious*, but *confident, emboldened*. — magnum . . . numen: equivalent to *overruling power*. — capite: *i.e.* Cluilius, upon whom it had already taken vengeance. — in . . . nomen: cf. *in eum*, 22. 7 n.

5. stativis, *camp*; so called as being a permanent one, and not

Mettium. Ducit quam proxime ad hostem potest. Inde legatum praemissum nuntiare Tullo iubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio; si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum quae nihilo minus ad rem  
 6 Romanam quam ad Albanam pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana adferri rebatur, in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani.

Postquam structi utrimque stabant, cum paucis pro-  
 7 cerum in medium duces prodeunt. Ibi inquit Albanus: 'Iniurias et non redditas res, ex foedere quae repetitae sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluilius causam huiusce esse belli audisse videor nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre. Sed si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos  
 8 ad arma stimulat. Neque recte an perperam interpretor; fuerit ista eius deliberatio qui bellum suscepit. Me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim: Etrusca res quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Tuscis, hoc magis scis. Mul-

merely the usual night encampment. — *quam proxime*: *i.e.* by the shortest route. — *dimicent*: see Gr. 327. *a.* In this case the subjunctive is necessary on account of the indirect discourse. — *opus esse*, *it was desirable to have*; a shade of meaning which *opus est* often has.

6. *vana adferri*: *i.e.* that the proposition to be made was a useless one. — *in aciem educit*: this is not inconsistent with the preceding, because the presence of the two armies would be a natural accompaniment of such a meeting. Cf. I. 7: — *stabant*: the imperfect with *postquam*, referring to the beginning of a state of things, is common in Livy; see Gr. 324. *a.*

7. *ex foedere*: doubtless some

old treaty not mentioned by Livy. — *et*: correlative to *nec*. — *ego*: although there is an opposition between this and *te*, yet it is only a formal one. The real opposition is *regem* and *te*, Tulle. — *regem*: *sc. dicentem* or *dicere*. — *ferre*: the later writers begin to use the accusative and infinitive after *non dubito* as with other *verba sentiendi*.

8. *recte an perperam*: *i.e. recte an stimulet an*, etc. — *fuerit*: *i.e.* that it is his concern, etc. See Gr. 266 and N. 1. — *eius*: *i.e.* King Cluilius. — *me*, etc.: *i.e.* I have only been chosen to carry on a war already in progress. — *illud*: cognate accusative; see Gr. 238. *b.* — *monitum*: for the construction see Gr. 288. *d.* and N. — *maxime*: *empha-*

tum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent. Memor esto, iam 9 cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque simul victorem ac victum adgrediantur. Itaque si nos di amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitii que aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam qua utri utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit.' Haud displicet res Tullo, quam- 10 quam cum indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit materiam.

Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fra- 24 tres nec aetate nec viribus dispares: Horatios Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt: plures tamen invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar inclinat animus.

Cum trigeminis agunt reges ut pro sua quisque patria 2 dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur, tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam 3 dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut, cuius[que] populi cives eo certa-

sizing te; *i.e.* you more than anybody.—terra, mari: as in the regular *terra marique*; see Gr. 258. d.

9. memor esto: not merely remember, but you must bear in mind; hence the future imperative.—iam cum, just as soon as.—spectaculo, etc.: the real thought is, they will be on the watch to, etc.—imperent: not only an indirect question, but a deliberative one; see Gr. 334. b.—magna: *i.e.* without the great loss that will be incurred if we fight.

10. fortuna: cf. forte below.

#### THE HORATII AND CURIATII.

24. duobus: *i.e.* in each of the two,—a sense which is given by the emphasis.—dispares: *i.e.* the two sets.—nobilior: *i.e.* better known.—re: notice the antithesis to *nominum*.—error, uncertainty.

2. cum . . . agunt: in its common sense of 'deal with,' urge upon.—unde: like *a dextro cornu* and the like.

3. dimicarent: for mood see Gr. 327.—cuius[que]: if *que* is retained, the use of *quisque* for *qui-*



mine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace impetaret.

- 4 Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit: 'Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus ferire?' Iubente rege, 'Sagmina' inquit 'te, rex, posco.'
- 5 Rex ait 'Puram tollito.' Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit, postea regem ita rogavit: 'Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, vasa comitesque meos?' Rex respondit: 'Quod sine fraude

*cunque* must be considered colloquial, like its use in Plautus, etc. — *cives*: i.e. the three champions. — *cum bona pace*, without demur; i.e. on the part of the subject nation. — *alia aliis*: i.e. whatever the conditions of the compact, the manner of making it is the same.

4. *ita, as follows*. — *ullius*, etc.: i.e. this is the earliest of which we have any record. — *fetialis*: a priest, or one of a college of priests, who, under the protection of religion, like the Greek *ἱερεὺς*, acted as the means of communication between hostile nations. It is doubtless from books of ritual of such a college that Livy or his authority gets the formulæ here given. The institution is evidently an old Latin one, said to have come from the *Æquuli* (32. 5). — *patre patrato*: by the account given here this functionary would seem to have been the spokesman and active celebrant of the rites on behalf of the embassy. There is nothing to indicate that he was other than a *fetialis*. The function seems to have belonged to the whole college, and to have been performed by a temporary chairman. The origin of the participle is uncertain; perhaps it was originally used of one not really the

father of the clan, but made so. — *iubente rege*: i.e. saying *iubeo* in answer to the question preceding. — *sagmina*: evidently connected with *sancio* (*sac-men*), as the means of making sacred the proceedings, like the olive branch (*ἱερνπλα*) of the Greeks. It seems to have been used of a particular plant, but what one is uncertain. A special virtue was no doubt assigned to it, as often to many other plants; but with this sacred character is evidently confounded a representative character symbolic of the place of its growth, the Capitoline Hill. — *puram*, free from (irreligious) taint.

5. *graminis herbam*, a growing plant of the sacred herb. — *regium*, etc.: as much as of the king of the Roman people, indicating with ritual verbosity the official character of the proceeding. — *vasa* (co-ordinate with me), *ulensils*; a word derived from common use, like 'traps' or 'baggage,' referring here to the *silex*, *verberna*, etc. — *comites*: there seem to have been three in all, the *pater patratus*, the *verbenarius*, and the original *fetialis*. — *fraude*, etc., harm to, etc.; an earlier meaning of the word. — *quod . . . fiat, so far as may be*; a

mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio.' Fetialis 6  
 erat M. Valerius. Is patrem patratum Spurium Fusium  
 fecit, verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus  
 ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est sanciendum fit foedus,  
 multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae  
 est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis, 'Audi,' 7  
 inquit 'Iuppiter, audi, pater patratus populi Albani, audi  
 tu, populus Albanus: ut illa palam prima postrema ex  
 illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo utique ea  
 hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus  
 Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico 8  
 consilio dolo malo, tum tu, ille Diespiter, populum Roma-  
 num sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam,  
 tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque.'  
 Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item 9  
 carmina Albani suumque ius iurandum per suum dicta-  
 torem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

common proviso, apparently of a religious character, as if it were *quoad fas est*. For mood see Gr. 320. d.

6. *ad ius*, etc.: an attempted etymology, possibly the right one; but see above. — *patrandum*: from *pater*, perhaps originally in a literal sense; cf. *pario* and 'get.' — *carmine*: the regular word for *formula* as originally in metre. — *non operae est*, *I haven't time*; a colloquial expression, as in Plautus; cf. Gell. VI. (VII.) 17. 11.

7. *populus Albanus*: in apposition with *tu*, hence nominative instead of the expected vocative. — *prima postrema*: from first to last. The apposition and asyndeton are both formalistic. — *tabulis cerave*, etc.: notice the verbiage of legal and religious style. — *sine dolo malo*, *in good faith*. — *utique*: *i.e. et uti*.

8. *defexit*: old form in antique

documents; cf. *adclarassis*, 18. 9. — *publico*: to exclude the case of unauthorized individual action which in lawless times often took place. — *Diespiter*: another name for Jove: cf. *Zēds warh̥p*, and *Dyauspita*; so *dies* is from the same root. — *porcum*: the regular antique sacrifice both for expiatory and oath sacrifices.

9. *silice*: a survival of the stone age in religion, as the bronze age survived long after the general use of steel. There may be a symbolism in the stone referring to Jupiter himself, from the same confounding of meteoric stones with lightning, from which comes the idea of the thunderbolt. Cf. *Iovem lapidem iurare*. — *sua*: Livy conceives the Albans also as having their own peculiar ritual, though probably the usages he recounts were general Italic ones.

25 Foedere icto trigemini sicut convenerat arma capiunt.

Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quidquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suoapte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus in medium  
 2 inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur.

3 Datur signum infestisque armis, velut acies, terni iuvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea  
 4 deinde patriae fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Vt primo

THE COMBAT.

25. sui: see Gr. 196. c. — deos patrios, etc.: the words used by the encouraging partisans. Translate, *Each accompanied by the exhortations of their countrymen, who said that*, etc. — illorum: representing the emphatic *vestra* in the direct. — et . . . et: the two ideas are the natural spirit of the young men and the enthusiasm superinduced by the adjurations of their friends. — pleni, etc., *filled with enthusiasm from*, etc.

2. consederant, *were stationed*; see Gr. 279. e. R. — curae, *anxiety* (for the future), as opposed to the present immediate danger. — imperium, *supremacy*. — agebatur, etc., *was staked upon*. — erecti suspensique: cf. Cic. *Brutus*, 200.

3. infestis armis, *in hostile array*. The words had originally a definite literal meaning which was merged in the more general one. — velut acies: *i.e.* their attitude and

bearing was like that of two trained hosts in battle array, in which the tactics are uniform, as, for instance, in a line of bayonets at charge or of levelled lances. — terni: *i.e.* three on each side. — animos: expressing their courageous spirit as the preceding expresses their outward appearance. — publicum, *of their nation*; opposed to suum, and by the antithesis supplying the want of a connective. — obversatur, etc.: it was such moral effects as this that especially interested Livy in his history, and, indeed, the Romans of all times. — futura, etc., *and the thought that such would be*, etc. This compression of an idea into a noun with a participle is characteristic of the Latin; see Gr. 292. a, and p. 314, footnote. The fondness for such expressions increases much in imperial times. — fecissent: subjunctive of indirect discourse standing for future perfect. See Gr. 341. c.

statim concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit, et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. ] Consertis deinde 5 manibus, cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitationeque anceps telorum armorumque sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus 6 exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut uni- 7 versis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco ubi pugna- 8 tum est aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In 9 eum magno impetu rediit, et dum Albanus exercitus

4. *increpuere*: Livy probably fancies them as first hurling their javelins, which rang on the shields (*increpuere*), and then drawing their swords for a hand-to-hand (*consertis manibus*) individual conflict. — *neutro*, etc.: *i.e.* the suspense on account of the evenly matched contest was such that they were breathless, and neither party could cheer.

5. *anceps*: *i.e.* on each side. — *telorum*: the swords in attack; *armorum*: the shields in parrying. — *vulnera*, etc.: *i.e.* they could see the strokes take effect. — *duo Romani*, etc.: the real main clause is given in 6; but Livy stops in his account of the situation to tell the event of the duels, and resumes the account with a *cum* clause (*ad quorum casum*), and

gives the climax in *exanimes*, etc.

6. *spes* ... *cura*: *i.e.* they no longer had any hope of the result, but still had an anxious interest in the fate of their surviving champion. — *vice unius*: *i.e.* in imagination they took his place, and had the feelings which he might have. — *circumsteterant*: cf. *considerant*, 2, above.

7. *universis*, all at once. — *ut* ... *sic*: in the very common meaning, *although (while)* ... *yet*. — *ferox*, confident of victory. — *ita*, with such speed; explained by the following *ut*. — *corpus*, strength. — *sineret*: the subjunctive, on account of the indirect discourse.

8. *videt*: the indicative with *cum inversum*; see Gr. 325, b. — *intervallis*: *i.e.* each from the others. — *sequentes* ... *abesse*: a com-

inclamat Curiatiis uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius, caeso hoste victor, secundam pugnam petebat.

Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adjuvant militem suum et ille defungi proelio  
 10 festinat. Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul aberat,  
 11 consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Iamque aequato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat; alter, fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus victusque  
 12 fratrum ante se strage, victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exsultans 'Duos' inquit 'fratrum manibus dedi; tertium causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.' Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit, iacentem spoliat.

mon and natural change of construction.

9. *ex insperato*: a very common form of adverbial phrase; cf. *ex consullo*, *ex aequo*, *ex improviso*. — *faventium*: the regular word for partisan spectators, as at a race or play of any kind. — *defungi*, to finish; properly, to have it over and be done with it. Cf. *defunctus* (*sc. vita*).

10. *nec procul*: an old expression, like *necopinatus*, *neglego*; cf. the English, 'was not very far away either.' — *alterum*, the second, as often.

11. *singuli*, one on each side. — *alterum*: accusative, as is seen by the emphasis of position, opposed to alter below. — *intactum ferro corpus*: this phrase (cf. *futura ea*, etc., 3) is seen to express one idea by the fact that it must be the subject of the sentence, inasmuch as *alterum* is necessarily the object. Attention to such little indications

will always give a ready clue to Livy's meaning, and save the beginner from being confused by the picturesque order of Livy's words. — *dabat*, made. The imperfect is used to describe the situation as it appeared to the eyes of the spectators, and agrees with the literal meaning of the word, 'was presenting.' — *cursu*, running, in pursuit of the flying Roman. — *victus*, demoralized, already conquered in anticipation; opposed to victori. — *obicitur*, is pitted against.

12. *fratrum manibus*: i.e. as a sacrifice; a very common idea in ancient times, from which came the early human sacrifices and the whole system of gladiatorial shows. — *causae . . . dabo*, I will slay for the object of. The expression is an echo of the preceding *manibus dedi*. — *male*, hardly, with difficulty. — *iugulo*: poetic use of the ablative without *in*. — *iacentem*, his body as he lay.

Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt 13  
eo maiore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad  
sepulcrum inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis ver-  
tuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae  
facti. Sepulcra exstant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo 14  
Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam  
versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettius, ex 26  
foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus uti iuventu-  
tem in armis habeat; usum se eorum opera, si bellum  
cum Veientibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti.  
Princeps Horatius ibat trigemina spolia prae se gerens. 2  
Cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat,  
obvia ante portam Capenam fuit, cognitoque super umeros  
fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat,  
solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum ap-  
pellat. Movet feroci iuveni animum comploratio sororis 3  
in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque  
gladio simul verbis increpans transfigit puellam. 'Abi 4  
hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum,' inquit 'oblita

13. *eo . . . quo*: both abl. of degree of difference. A comparative in both branches is the usual form, but in post-Ciceronian Latin this exactness is more and more neglected. — *imperio aucti*, having gained the supremacy; cf. *filio auctus*. — *dicionis*: predicate genitive; see Gr. 214. c.

14. *exstant*: i.e. the supposed graves were still shown in Livy's time on the Appian Way, a short distance from the city in the *campus sacer Horatiorum*. — *versus*: i.e. nearer than the others to Rome, toward which the Roman is supposed to have fled. — *distantia*, etc.: i.e. each was buried on the spot where he fell.

#### THE KILLING OF HORATIA, AND THE TRIAL OF HORATIUS.

26. *ita, thereupon*, with that command.

2. *princeps, in advance*; i.e. of the Roman army, the Alban being passed over in silence. — *soror virgo, maiden sister*. — *paludamento*: usually of the general's mantle, but doubtless here used on account of the theatrical conception of the scene. — *solvit crines*: as a sign of mourning.

3. *movet, etc.*: the order is rhetorical to enforce the important facts: first, the sudden anger (*movet*); second, the explanation of the violence from his natural disposition and youth (*feroci iuveni*);

fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem.'

5 Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstat. Tamen raptus in ius ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratusque ad vulgus iudicii ac secundum iudicium supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato, 'Duumviros,' inquit 'qui Horatio perduellionem iudicent secundum legem, facio.'

6 Lex horrendi carminis erat: 'Duumviri perduellionem iudicent. Si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione cernitur. Si vincent, caput obnubito, infelici arbori reste suspendito, verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium.' 7 Hac lege duumviri creati, qui se absolvere

then the exciting cause (*comploratio*); then the circumstances that made such mourning unseemly. The details are still more brought out by antithesis of the various members.

4. sic eat, etc.: cf. 7. 2.

5. patribus plebique: *i.e.* all of every rank and station; a standing expression in later times. — obstat, *palliated*; stood in the way of its having its full effect. — tamen: *i.e.* notwithstanding the palliation. — ad regem: naturally, as the supreme judge. — ne ipse, etc.: *i.e.* to avoid the unpopular action which would be necessary. — auctor, *responsible for*. — concilio: to announce his decision. — duumviros, *a council of two*; the regular way of expressing all boards and commissions in Latin. — Horatio (*dativus commodi*): as appears by the formula with *tibi* in 7, the officers were to establish formally the obvious guilt of the accused. — perduellionem, *treason* against the state, apparently because it was a usurpation of judicial powers to take the law

into one's own hands. — secundum legem: *i.e.* the law which follows (*duumviri*, etc.). The officers seem not to have been in the nature of a jury before whom the case might be pleaded, but rather of an inquisition to inquire into the case as *manifestum*, and put in action the avenging machinery of the law.

6. carminis, *purport*; cf. *carmine*, 24. 7 n. — iudicent: cf. last two notes. — provocarit: it is assumed that he is guilty, and not until the appeal to the people is there properly any trial in our sense; in fact, even on the appeal, the officers are the parties opposed to him (cf. vincent). — obnubito: *i.e.* the magistrate through the lictor. Such changes of subject are characteristic of old laws, etc. — infelici: as sacred to the gods below. — arbori: an old locative form, as in names of towns. — suspendito: not 'hang' in our sense, but attach to the cross, after which the scourging took place. — vel intra, etc.: *i.e.* not on the *pomerium*, which was sacred ground,

non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex his 'Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico' inquit. 'Lictor, conliga manus.' Accesserat lictor iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius 8 auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, 'Provoco' inquit. Ita de provocatione certatum ad populum est.

Moti homines sunt in eo iudicio, maxime Publio 9 Horatio patre proclamante se filiam iure caesam iudicare; ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent. Inter haec senex iuvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatorum 10 fixa eo loco qui nunc pila Horatia appellatur ostentans, 'Huncine' aiebat, 'quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis, quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre

7. non rebantur: cf. note to Horatio above.

8. iniciebat, began to, etc.; see Gr. 277. c. — auctore, by the advice of. — clemente, etc.: this remark seems to be added merely as an explanation of the advice or approval, inasmuch as the law expressly provided for the appeal. The accused might, however, be supposed to be ignorant of the privilege, or afraid to take advantage of it. — de provocatione: i.e. whether it was justifiable or not; in other words, whether the condemned was really guilty or not (cf. note to Horatio above). The magistrate acts summarily *ex parte*, and only in case of appeal is the case tried. — ad populum = *apud populum*, the more usual form.

9. moti, etc.: the emphasis may be rendered by a great effect was produced, etc., more than anything else

by, etc. — ni ita esset, if that were not the case. For tense see Gr. 308. a. — patrio iure: the *pater familias* had the right of life and death over all who were in *potestate sua*. — orabat deinde: as if it were, then (changing his tone) he began to entreat.

10. eo loco: a spot in the Forum. — pila: apparently a trophy. — huncine: see Gr. 100 footn. — decoratum: explaining his pointing to the *spolia*, which Horatius had just now worn. — eum: a repetition of *huncine*. — sub furca: used inexactly for rhetorical effect, and referring to the usual punishment of slaves. The instrument consisted of two sticks coming to a sharp angle, bound over the neck of the culprit, to which his arms were bound. — videre: i.e. bear to see. — quod . . . spectaculum: see Gr. 201. d.



- 11 possent? I, lictor, conliga manus quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt; i, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius, arbori infelici suspende, verbera vel intra pomerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiaiorum. Quo enim ducere hunc iuvenem potestis ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent?’
- 12 Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum, absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis quam iure causae. Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet; Sororium tigillum
- 14 vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

11. *armatae*: to enhance the contrast with the hands bound to the stake. — *modo, only*; *i.e.* you may do it if you only do it amid these symbols of his prowess. — *pila*: the place referred to in 10, above.

12. *non tulit, could not bear*. — *nec . . . nec*: for this use of two negatives subordinate to a preceding general negation, see Gr. 209. a. 2. — *parem*: *i.e.* the same in this peril from his own citizens as it had been in the fight. — *animum*: *i.e.* the spirit he displayed in his bearing, etc. — *iure, the justice*; in Latin less abstract, — the rights or claims which his cause possessed. — *tamen, still*; *i.e.* notwithstanding the failure of just vengeance in his case. —

*lueretur*: there was a stain of guilt upon the state which had not been cleansed by any punishment of the murder. This was to be removed by an expiatory sacrifice, performed by the father, but at the public expense.

13. *genti*: such private rites were not uncommon at Rome, obligatory upon a family or clan. — *capite, etc.*: this was a symbolical sacrifice of the young man to the gods below; cf. the usage with conquered armies. — *hodie, etc.*: some beam across a short street near the *vicus Cyprius*, in the IVth Region of the city, was pointed out in Livy's time, either rightly or wrongly, as the venerable relic.

14. *loco*: without *in*, as is very common in Livy.

Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod 27  
 tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum  
 ingenium dictatoris corrumpit et, quoniam recta consilia  
 haud bene evererant, pravis reconciliare popularium  
 animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in  
 pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus  
 quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex  
 edicto gerendum alios concitat populos, suis per speciem  
 societatis prodicionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Ro- 3  
 mana, Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis, pacto transi-  
 tionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur.

Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus, Mettius exer- 4  
 cituque eius ab Alba accito, contra hostes ducit. Vbi  
 Anienem transiit, ad confluentis collocat castra. Inter  
 eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim  
 transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenere dextrum 5  
 cornu, in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt.  
 Tullus adversus Veientem hostem derigit suos, Albanos

#### WAR WITH ALBA AND FIDENAE.

27. *nec, yet... not*, as often. — *invidia vulgi*, the odium among, etc., changing the point of view, as is often necessary in translating. — *publica*, of the whole state, opposed to *tribus militibus*. — *fuerit*: see Gr. 291. *b. R.* — *vanum*, ambitious; properly, foolish and fickle, having no solid principles. — *corrumpit, perverted*; i.e. having no principles, he was swerved from the right by the odium which was occasioned by his action. — *recta*: rather naively viewed from a Roman standpoint, as his patriotic attempts to retrieve himself are spoken of as *prava*. — *popularium*, of his countrymen; those belonging to the same *populus*; but the idea of *vulgus* also seems to be present to Livy's mind.

2. *suae*: emphatic, as opposed to the allies that he sought. — *animorum*, hate, or will; i.e. their feeling would be strong enough for treacherous action, but their strength insufficient for open war. — *ad bellum*, etc.: i.e. a regular war, formally proclaimed (*edicto*). — *per speciem*, under the pretence; as often, *per* is used to make an adverbial phrase.

4. *cum . . . ubi*: one would expect these particles with their moods to change places; but in Livy's time the Romans had become careless in the use of the two constructions. — *confluentis*: i.e. of the Tiber and the Anio.

5. *et in acie*: i.e. as they had come from that quarter, so also they took their places on that wing. — *derigit*: more approved form in-

contra legionem Fidenatium conlocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium erat, qua fortuna rem daret, ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques citato equo nuntiat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida duodecim vocat Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equitem clara increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire in proelium iubet; nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo iussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant. Idem imperat ut hastas equites erigerent. Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaeptis; qui viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant.

stead of *dirigit*. — *transire*, go over, to the enemy. — *succedit*, retires; properly, draws up as the ground rises.

6. *subisse*: i.e. had gone up far enough towards the mountains at the head of his troops as they were in marching order. — *erigit*: i.e. brings up to his level, and sets in battle array in that position. — *fluctuans*: i.e. as yet undecided, but waiting for developments; cf. next sentence. — *qua*, on whichever side. — *rem daret*: i.e. should give the victory.

7. *miraculo* . . . *esse*: historical infinitive. — *in re trepida*, in this critical situation; i.e. on account of it. — *Salios*, Salian priests; a second college (see 20. 4) called *Quirinales*. They are apparently dedicated to the two abstract divin-

ities, but these are closely connected with Mars, as well as with Picus and Faunus (Pan, Silvanus). The early cults had become extremely obscure, even to the Romans themselves, by Livy's time. The two were worshipped as causing the corresponding effects among the enemy.

8. *equitem*: the horseman in 7. — *increpans*: as if for having given a false alarm. — *suo iussu*: i.e. pretending that the whole was a manoeuvre of his own. — *idem*, at the same time, as often. — *hastas*, etc.: to conceal the action as much as possible.

9. *qui viderant*: i.e. those who were not prevented from seeing by Tullus' stratagem. — *ab rege*: i.e. said by him. — *id quod* . . . *rati*, thinking it was as, etc.

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

Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur, contra Tullus Mettium benigne adloquitur; quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet, sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Vbi inluxit, paratis omnibus, ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum iubet. Praecones, ab extremo orsi, primos excivere Albanos. Ii novitate etiam rei moti, ut

*transit*: i.e. the alarm at first created by the defection passed over to the enemy. — *audiverant*: cf. *exaudirent* in 8. — *additi*: i.e. they had been made a Roman colony, and so, of course, had Romans established among them. — *sciebant*: see Gr. 205, c. 1.

10. *decursu*: in accordance with Tullus' pretended manoeuvre. — *instat*: i.e. he changes his point of attack, and goes first against the left wing instead of the right, as he had arranged; cf. *redit*. — *alieno*: i.e. of the Fidenates. — *illi*: the Veientes. — *ab effusa fuga*: i.e. they could not flee far and wide so as to escape, on account of the river.

11. *quo*: i.e. to the river.

#### THE PUNISHMENT OF METTIUS.

28. *spectator*: i.e. they had stood by only as spectators on the hillside. — *quod bene vertat*: i.e. with the usual prayer which accompanied any official act. Cf. 17. 10. — *lustrale*: to purify the assembled armies.

2. *contionem*: the usual gathering for hearing an address of the chief magistrate or commander. — *ab extremo*: i.e. of the camp, farthest from headquarters, where the Albans when united with the Romans (cf. 1) were conceived as placed. — *novitate*: i.e. they were unaccustomed to Roman usages, and hence the *contio* was a novelty to

regem Romanum contionantem audirent, proximi con-  
 3 stitere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana  
 legio; centurionibus datum negotium erat ut sine mora  
 imperia exsequerentur.

4 Tum ita Tullus infit: 'Romani, si umquam ante alias  
 ullo in bello fuit quod primum dis immortalibus gratias  
 ageretur, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id  
 proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum  
 hostibus quam, quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior  
 5 est, cum proditione ac p̄fidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos  
 falsa opinio teneat, iniussu meo Albani subiere ad montes,  
 nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et imperii simu-  
 latio fuit, ut nec vobis ignorantibus deseri vos avertere-  
 tur a certamine animus, et hostibus circumveniri se ab  
 6 tergo ratis terror ac fuga iniceretur. Nec ea culpa,  
 quam arguo, omnium Albanorum est: ducem secuti  
 sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluis-  
 sem, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris huius,  
 Mettius idem huius machinator belli, Mettius foederis

them. — *proximi*: *i.e.* towards the centre of the circle, so that the manoeuvre next described was easy.

3. *centurionibus*, etc.: explanatory of the suddenness of the proceeding.

4. *fuit quod*, you had reason to; literally, there was anything for which; *quod* was originally a cognate accusative; cf. *est quod gaudeas*, and Gr. 238. *b.* — *ipsorum*: see Gr. 197 *c.* — *id proelium fuit*, it was in that battle; literally, it (referring to quod above) was that battle. — *dimicatio*: the full construction would be, *dimicatum est dimicatione*, etc., *quae dimicatio*, etc.; cf. Gr. 201. *d.*

5. *ne . . . teneat*: depending on the idea of saying not expressed; see Gr. 317. *c.* — *consilium*, etc.:

*i.e.* a pretence purposely made.

— *nec . . . et*: the usual correlatives where one branch is negative; the connective part in *nec* may be represented by *at the same time* in the second branch. — *ignorantibus*: the force of *nec* does not, of course, extend to this part of the clause.

6. *nec, and yet . . . not*, as often. — *ea culpa quam*, etc.: *i.e.* the fault in the charge which I make. — *et, too*, as often. — *inde*: *i.e.* from the place where you were. — *agmen declinare, to turn your line of march*. — *ille*: *i.e.* the one indefinitely referred to in *ducem*. — *ruptor*: do not mistake the position of this word as emphatic. The thought is, they have not acted without a leader; that leader is Mettius, the same Mettius who was this war's

Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam documentum mortalibus dederō.'

Centuriones armati Mettium circumsistunt. Rex 7  
cetera, ut orsus erat, peragit: 'Quod bonum faustum  
felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani,  
populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo  
est, civitatem dare plebi, primores in patres legere, unam  
urbem, unam rem publicam facere. Vt ex uno quondam  
in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in unum  
redeat.' Ad haec Albana pubes inermis ab armatis 8  
saepta, in variis voluntatibus communi tamen metu co-  
gente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus 'Metti Fufeti,' 9  
inquit 'si ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare,  
vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset; nunc, quo-  
niam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio  
doce humanum genus ea sancta credere, quae a te vio-

contriver (to whom we owe this war), Mettius the breaker of the solemn treaty between Rome and Alba. — *audeat*: not merely *will dare*, but, *let some other dare*; *i.e.* 'if I do not take the proper measures to maintain discipline, I have no reason to object in case some one disobeys'; but at the same time the remark is almost an imprecation. — *iam, soon*; cf. note on *audeat*. — *insigne documentum*: *i.e.* a signal example, a conspicuous warning. There is a confusion of thought here. By inflicting a punishment (which is not said) upon Mettius (in hunc), a warning will be given (which is what is said).

7. *circumsistunt*: *i.e.* at this point they come forward and take him prisoner. — *quod bonum, etc.*: cf. 1. — *urbem*: local; *rem publicam*: political. — *ex uno*: in allusion to the colonization of Rome from Alba.

8. *inermis*: notice the usual stroke-by-stroke picture, all the strokes being mutually explanatory. — *variis, etc.*: *i.e.* some approved and some did not, but all were alike afraid.

9. *posses*: for tense, see Gr. 308. *a.* — *vivo*: emphatic; *i.e.* instead of killing, I should have kept you alive and taught you. — *ea disciplina*: *i.e.* a course of instruction in that branch; if he could learn, Tullus would have tried to teach him. — *nunc, but now*, as the case is. — *tuum*: emphatic, as opposed to the humanum genus. — *insanabile, past all cure*; referring to *discere*, above. — *at*: the antithesis is, *though* you can't be cured yourself, *yet* you can be of use as an example to the rest of the world. — *tu, tuo*: continuing the emphasis on *tuum*, above. — *ea*: *i.e.* the rights of treaties and the like. — *sancta*: and therefore in-

lata sunt. Vt igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim distrahendum dabis.'

- 10 Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis, in currus earum distentum inligat Mettium, deinde in diversum iter equi concitati lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate spectacula oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.
- 29 Inter haec iam praemissi Albani erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet,
- 3 sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos ut prae metu obliti quid relinquerent, quid

violable. — ancipitem, *divided*. — passim, *in different directions*; corresponding to *ancipitem*.

10. quadrigis, *four-horse teams*, including chariot and horses.

11. foeditate: the Latin likes to concentrate the quality, which might be expressed by an adjective, into an abstract, thus making it the main thing, as here. — exempli, *of a kind*, or *character*. — parum memoris, *regardless*. — humanarum, *of humanity*; here as opposed to *ferus* or *immanis* (*savage* or *brutal*). — in aliis, *in other cases*. — nulli, etc.: as regards their own citizens, this was undoubtedly true, though at bottom their humanity was not superior to their neighbors'.

#### THE DEPORTATION OF THE ALBANS.

29. legiones, etc.: no long time is conceived as elapsing between the departure of the two divisions, as the legions found the citizens still in the city. Cf. 4.

2. quidem: notice the concessive particle opposed to *sed* in 3, below. The usual horrors of a sack were wanting, but a scene was presented not less pathetic.

3. defixit, *paralyzed*; literally, *fastened* as to one spot. — prae metu, *for fear*; properly only of hindrance, and here used on account of the negative idea in obliti (*prevented from remembering*). — relinquerent: deliberative ques-

secum ferrent, deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud visuri, pervagarentur.

Vt vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat, 4 iam fragor tectorum quae diruebantur ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque, in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias. Et conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione inte- 5 grabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur, mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent ac velut captos relinquerent deos. Egressis urbem Albanis Romanus passim publica priva- 6 taque omnia tecta adaequat solo unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit; templis tamen deum — ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat — temperatum est.

Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis: duplicatur civium 30 numerus, Caelius additur urbi mons et quo frequentius

tion as indirect; see Gr. 334. *b.* — deficiente, etc., at a loss what to do; their own sense failed them, and so they wildly inquired of each other. — ultimum illud, this the last time (take this last look). This construction illustrates the origin of the adverbial accusative, as a kind of cognate object of the verb of the clause. Cf. Gr. 238. *a, b*; 240. *a, g*.

4. *vero*: marking, as often, a decisive moment in the narrative. — *iam*: indicating, as usual, the progress of events.

ultimis (with *diruebantur*): *i.e.* the operations of the legions beginning at one end of the city were heard by the inhabitants at

the other end. The warning of the cavalry precedes by a short time only the operations of the legions, which follow in the same direction, and their advance produces the climax described. — quibus: *i.e.* *eis quae*; see Gr. 199. *a.* — larem, etc.: with the same feeling with which we speak of *hearth and home*.

5. *et*, and *now*. — vocesque: *i.e.* and not only was there weeping, but they uttered cries also, as they passed the sacred temples.

6. *urbem*: see Gr. 237. *d.* — templis: see Gr. 229.

WAR WITH THE SABINES.

30. ruinis: abl. of means. —



- habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit ibique deinde  
 2 habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea quoque  
 pars rei publicae cresceret, legit: Tullios, Servilios,  
 Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios, templumque  
 3 ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad  
 patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est. Et ut omnium  
 ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adiceretur, equi-  
 tum decem turmas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres  
 eodem supplemento explevit et novas scripsit.  
 4 Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit,  
 genti ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissi-  
 mae viris armisque. Vtrimque iniuriae factae ac res  
 5 nequiquam erant repetitae: Tullus ad Feroniae fanum  
 mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos  
 querebatur; Sabini suos prius in lucum confugisse ac  
 Romae retentos. Hae causae belli ferebantur.

*habitaretur*: see Gr. 317. *b.* — *eam*: see Gr. 195. *d.* He went there to make it a fashionable region.

2. *Tullios*, etc.: *i.e.* these are families that were supposed later to be of Alban descent and of patrician rank. — *templum*: properly, a spot consecrated by augury. Here equivalent to an adjective, *a consecrated*. — *ordini*: *i.e.* the senate. — *Hostilia*: the Curia Hostilia was burned in 52 B.C., and again rebuilt, destroyed again by Caesar, and restored by Augustus under the name Curia Julia.

3. *omnium*, etc.: *i.e.* the senate, already provided for, the equites (real knights, not merely a political body), and the plebs, as represented in the legions. — *turmas*: each of thirty men. — *supplemento*: the means of explevit; *i.e.* the reinforcements were taken from the newly added citizens, and new legions were enrolled from the same source.

4. *hac fiducia*: *i.e.* with the confidence produced by this (addition); a common use of pronouns. — *virium*: Gr. 217.

5. *Tullus*, etc.: the details of the *iniuriae*. — *Feroniae*: a local goddess, possessing several groves and springs. This one, which was in the *Ager Capenas*, near the foot of Mt. Soracte, was a meeting-place for several nations for purposes of traffic. Another, three miles from Tarracina, is mentioned by Horace (*Sat.* I. 5. 24). — *mercato*: abl. of time. — *frequenti*: a greater outrage, because on an occasion of peaceful commerce. — *Sabini*, etc.: *i.e.* the Sabines claimed that it was only a reprisal for previous (*prius*) acts on the Roman side. — *lucum*: at Rome. The slaves had fled to a sacred place from their masters, and the Romans had not surrendered them. — *ferebantur*, *were put forward as*.

Sabini, haud parum memores et suarum virium par- 6  
tem Romae ab Tatio locatam et Romanam rem nuper  
etiam adiectione populi Albani auctam, circumspicere  
et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi 7  
Etruscorum Veientes. Inde ob residuas bellorum iras  
maxime sollicitatis ad defectionem animis voluntarios  
traxere, et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam  
merces valuit; publico auxilio nullo adiuti sunt, valuitque  
apud Veientes — nam de ceteris minus mirum est —  
pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides.

Cum bellum utrimque summa ope pararent vertique 8  
in eo res videretur, utri prius arma inferrent, occupat  
Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad 9  
Silvam Malitiosam fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore,  
ceterum equitatu aucto nuper plurimum Romana acies  
valuit. Ab equitibus repente investitis turbati ordines 10  
sunt Sabinorum, nec pugna deinde illis constare nec  
fuga explicari sine magna caede potuit.

6. *suarum*, etc.: *i.e.* that their strength was diminished, and that of the Romans increased. — *locatam*: cf. 13. 4. — *et ipsi*: as well as the Romans.

7. *bellorum*: *i.e.* previous wars. The whole phrase belongs with *sollicitatis*. — *defectionem*: there was only a truce, but Livy speaks as if they were subjects. — *voluntarios*: their state of feeling was such that persons were willing to volunteer. — *vagos*, *roving persons*, without landed property. — *merces*: *i.e.* these were gained by promise of pay. — *publico*, *given by any state* as such, as opposed to private filibustering. — *valuit*, *was effectual*. — *valuit, held*; *i.e.* it restrained the people of Veii, in spite of their hostile disposition. — *nam*: *i.e.* 'I speak of the Veientes, for

the other Etruscans had no special reason for hatred, and so it is not surprising that they kept quiet.' — *cum Romulo*, etc.: cf. 15. 5.

8. *verti in eo*, *turn on this point*. — *occupat . . . transire*, *hastens to get the start in passing over*.

9. *et peditum*, etc.: *i.e.* even in this branch he was superior, but it was especially with the cavalry that he gained the advantage. — *quidem*: opposed, as a concessive particle, to *plurimum*. — *valuit*: cf. 7. Such repetition of a word in different phases of meaning is characteristic of Livy's careless style.

10. *pugna . . . constare*, *the battle-line be maintained*. — *fuga* (nom.) *explicari, be opened out in flight* (changing the construction in English).

- 81 Devictis Sabinis, cum in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluvisse. Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium in conspectu haud aliter quam cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere caelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae, velut diis quoque simul cum patria relictis, oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant aut fortunae, ut fit, obirati cultum reliquerant deum.
- 4 Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publice susceptum est, seu voce caelesti ex Albano monte missa — nam id quoque traditur — seu haruspicum monitu; mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque

ILL OMENS, AND SUCCEEDING  
DEATH OF TULLUS.

81. devictis Sabinis, etc.: the prosperity is purposely enlarged upon, to contrast it with the evil omens.

2. cum credi, etc.: explaining the sending of observers. — missis: dat. of reference; *i.e.* before the eyes of the observers. — grandinem: the rain of stones is compared to the hail driven by the wind and heaped up in large quantities; drifted, as it were, on the ground.

3. luco: the grove of Jupiter Latiaris. — ut . . . facerent: see Gr. 332. *h.* — patrio: *i.e.* that of the Albans as opposed to the Romans. — velut diis, etc.: abl. abs. with velut; a construction rare in Cicero, but more and more common later. The account is an illustration of the importance attached to keeping up local worship in ancient times. Worship of the same divinity under other forms was not the

same thing at all. — ut fit, *as is often the case.* Another curious glimpse into ancient religion. If the gods did not protect their worshippers, the worshippers in anger neglected them.

4. Romanis: this matter seemed to affect the whole state, and the Romans also endeavored to appease the offended divinities by rites performed officially in behalf of the state (publice). — ab, *on account of*; the development of this meaning is seen in *ab simili clade*, I. 4. — novendiale sacrum: *i.e.* a cessation of business for nine (eight) days, such as was afterwards called *feriae*. — publice: by the state, as not merely affecting individuals. — seu . . . seu: the two possibilities are, immediately from the voice, which properly affected only the Albans, and later from the advice of Etruscan soothsayers, who were consulted as a higher authority than the local seers. — mansit, etc.: *i.e.* whatever the

idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.

Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Vnde 5 cum pigritia militandi oreretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae quam domi iuvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquo morbo est implicatus. Tunc adeo 6 fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Vulgo iam homines, eum statum rerum 7 qui sub Numa rege fuerat requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam si pax veniaque ab diis impetrata esset credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem 8 commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam occulta sollem-

reason was, the holiday was established and continued. — quandoque: as in early Latin for *quandocumque*.

5. laboratum est, *they suffered*; literally, 'there was trouble.' This is the point to which the account thus far has been leading up, for this was the calamity to which the prodigies pointed. — pigritia: the condition of their health made them little disposed for the hardships of war. — longinquo, *lingering*; here of time.

6. tunc adeo, *then at last*; used like *tum vero* (29. 4 n.), as is seen by the emphasis on fracti. — illi: nom. — feroces, *proud*, as despising, from overweening confidence in himself, the warnings of the gods. — qui ratus esset, *the man who*, etc.; characteristic subj. — obnoxius, *subject to*. — degeret: *sc. vitam*. — religionibus: including the practical worship as well as the state of mind.

7. requirentes, *missing*. — unam, *one only*; i.e. on one condition only. They compared the religious devotion of Numa's reign, and its prosperity, with the present godlessness. — si . . . esset: a free rendering in indirect discourse of the thought of the people, i.e. *salus redibit, si pax . . . impetrata erit*. The apodosis implied in opem (see above) is future (cf. Gr. 307. d.), and the protasis has the plup. subj. to represent the future perfect of the direct discourse.

8. ipsum: the rest of the people were in superstitious awe, but the king himself went to work to find a remedy. — volventem, *studying*, as of course they were conceived like other books, as a roll (*volumen*). — commentarios: see 20. 5, and cf. 32. 2. — occulta: evidently of a different character from the public services, and intended by a kind of magic to draw

nia sacrificia Iovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum iis sacris se abdidisse, sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam caelestium speciem, sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasse. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

- 82 Mortuo Tullo, res, ut institutum iam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant; quo comitia habente Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres fuere auctores.

Numae Pompili regis nepos filia ortus Ancus Marcius erat. Qui ut regnare coepit, et avitae gloriae memor et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat aut neglectis religionibus aut prave cultis, longeque antiquissimum ratus sacra publica ut a Numa instituta erant facere, omnia ea ex

from the gods the secrets of their worship, making them show what sacrifices would appease them; cf. 20. 7. — *sacrificia*: the word may be retained, though doubted by some, as forming one idea with *sollemnia*. — *operatum*, engaged; a technical word for religious proceedings; see Gr. 291. b. — *sacris*: dative; cf. *dare operam*. — *initum aut curatum*: i.e. some error occurred at the beginning or in the progress of the rite, which consequently did not have the desired effect, and no vision was vouchsafed him. — *speciem*, etc.: this shows that the rite was a sort of incantation to force the gods (like ghosts) to appear, — a curious phase of religion. — *ira*, on account of the wrath; cf. fulmine, below. — *sollicitati*: referring to the endeavor to call out the apparition. — *prava*: i.e. the rite being wrongly performed only irritated the god, without having

power to force him. — *fulmine*, by means of, etc. Notice the two ablatives in different relations with the same verb.

#### CHOICE OF ANCUS MARCIUS AND DECLARATION OF WAR WITH LATINS.

82. ut institutum, etc.: cf. 17. 1 and 5, and 22. 1. — *auctores*: cf. 17. 9.

2. memor et quia: notice the two different constructions with the same general meaning, a common usage in later Latin; cf. 15. 1 n. — *cetera*: adverbial acc.; Gr. 240. b. — *ab una parte*: cf. *a parte dextra*, *a sinistro cornu*. — *religionibus*, *rites of religion*. — *prave*, *wrongly*, in reference to forms; cf. *prava religione*, 31. 8. — *antiquissimum*, *most important*, better than anything else. — *commentariis*: see 31. 8 n. — *pontificem*: see 20. 5. — *album*: a whitewashed board, one of the earliest materials for

commentariis regis pontificem in album relata proponere in publico iubet.

Inde et civibus otii cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum foedus 3 erat, sustulerant animos et, cum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati.

Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli 4 memor; et praeterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam quod illi contigisset otium, sine iniuria id se haud facile habiturum: temptari patientiam et temptatam contemni, temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam

inscriptions. — *relata*, set forth. — *proponere*, publish, by hanging them up so that all could read them (in publico), whereas before they had been the secret learning of the Pontifex. — *inde*: i.e. from this act of Ancus. — *otii cupidis*: explaining why they should be pleased with the hope. — *mores*, character; *instituta*, methods of government.

3. *foedus*: not mentioned by Livy. — *sustulerant*: the pluperfect only represents that they had come to this state of mind before the time of *reddunt*. This use of the tense is very common, to avoid the monotony of a catalogue of events in the perfect, with imperfections for description. A new point of departure is taken, and the intervening time is suggested by the pluperfect; cf. *consalutaverat*, 7. 1 n. — *superbe*: i.e. arrogantly refusing satisfaction. — *desidem*: not a mere attributive, but a pred-

icative adj., taking the place of an adverbial phrase.

4. *medium*: i.e. but the Roman king was not what the Latins thought him: though not a Romulus, he was by no means a Numa. — *memor*, reminding one of. — *novo*: i.e. unused to the restraints of law as yet. — *etiam*: sc. *credebat*; the two reasons given are, first, the undesirableness of peace in his time compared with the reign of Numa; and second, the impossibility of having it in his own case without suffering outrage from without. — *quod*: relative. — *temptari patientiam*: i.e. that the neighboring peoples had been trying the Romans' patience, seeing how much they would stand, and finding they would bear much, they regarded this long-suffering with contempt; an explanation of *haud . . . habiturum*. — *temporaque*, and any way, etc.; a generalizing of the particulars preceding. — *Tullo*, a *Tullus*.

- 5 Numae. Vt tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae caerimoniae proderentur, nec gererentur solum, sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, ius ab antiqua gente Aequiculis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur.
- 6 Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo — lanae velamen est — ‘Audi, Iuppiter’ inquit, ‘audite, fines’ — cuiuscumque gentis sunt, nominat — ‘audiat fas! Ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani, iuste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis
- 7 fides sit.’ Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Iovem testem facit: ‘Si ego iniuste impieque illos homines illasque

5. tamen: *i.e.* notwithstanding the warlike tendency of the age, yet not to be entirely neglectful of religion, he instituted a ritual of war. — religiones, *rites*. — nec . . . solum: *i.e.* war should not be merely fought, but have a definite form of beginning. — Aequiculis: a branch of the Aequi. — fetiales: these they had had before (see 24. 4), but Ancus perfects the ceremonies. Like all ancient institutions, these are variously attributed by different writers.

6. legatus: properly a person appointed for the business, here for the *fetialis*, as a representative of the *populus Romanus*. — fines: as the home of the adverse people. — unde: see Gr. 201. f. 2. — res repetuntur, *satisfaction is demanded*. — filo: apparently a band only on the cap. — lanae: the use of wool as well as that of the olive branch (doubtless Greek and Latin) symbolizes peaceful pursuits, pastoral, or later agricultural. — velamen: not different from filo. — Iuppiter: the gods are called upon (cf. 10) to witness to the justice of the demand, and thus the war is placed under their guidance. —

cuiuscumque, etc.: *i.e.* he adds *Latini* or *Latinorum*, for instance, to fill out the blank here left. — fas: divine justice personified. — iuste: in accordance with recognized precedent; pie: with due reverence to the gods. The whole expression indicates that all the proceedings are regular. — legatus: in its proper original sense. — fides: *i.e.* that he rightly represents his nation, who sent him, and is not an unauthorized person.

7. peragit, etc.: this has already been done in the *rerum repetitio*, but is now formally done again, as it were, to give a last chance to the enemy to comply, and formally to record the cause of war. The whole proceeding is called *clarigatio*, apparently the making plain the cause, so that there should be no room for question afterwards. — iniuste impieque: apparently referring to his authority, as *iuste pieque*, above. — homines: the individuals charged with wrong-doing. According to ancient notions, if these were given up, the state was not responsible; otherwise the state made their action its own. — res: usually the cause of war was some predatory in-

res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me numquam siris esse.' Haec cum fines suprascandit, haec quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis peragit. Si non deduntur quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta — tot enim sollemnes sunt — peractis bellum ita indicit: 'Audi, Iuppiter, et tu, Iuno, Quirine, diique omnes caelestes, vosque terrestres vosque inferni audite! Ego vos testor populum' — illum quicumque est nominat — 'iniustum esse neque ius persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria maiores natu consulemus quo pacto ius nostrum adipiscamur.' Cum iis nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex his ferme verbis patres consulebat: 'Quarum rerum litium causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Lati-

cursion. Later, any form of satisfaction was expressed by *res*. — *dedier*: archaic use of the infinitive after verbs of asking. — *compotem*: a false swearer would be excommunicated, as it were, and cease to be a citizen. — *siris*: archaic shorter form for *siveris*. The perfect subj. is very common in such phrases, especially with negatives.

8. *quicumque*: *sc. apud eum*. — *carminis*: cf. 26. 6 n. — *concupiendi*: an antique use of the gerundive, apparently retaining something of its simple present passive participle sense, as in *iurandi* following. It refers to the *set* form of oath, as in *conceptis verbis*.

9. *sollemnes*, *regular*, *i.e.* prescribed by the ritual. — *indicit*: this is the religious declaration of war, in accordance with a previous vote of the people; the real one is made by the senate, as in 12.

10. *ius persolvere*: *i.e.* perform its just obligations in making reparation. — *sed*: but I will not decide, I will consult at home. — *maiores natu*: *i.e.* the senate; originally a counsel of elders. — *pacto*, *manner*, as regularly in colloquial language. — *adipiscamur*: see Gr. 334. b. — *cum iis*, *with these words*.

11. *quarum*: *sc. de eis* with *causes*. Cf. Gr. 200. — *rerum*, etc.: genitive after *condixit*, in an antiquated, uncertain construction, apparently analogous to the genitive of crime and penalty. — *rerum*: *i.e. quae repeluntur*; *litium*, *matters in dispute*; *causarum*: used, as in later times, of the subject of dispute more abstractly, just as we say 'the cause of the poor.' — *condixit*, *conferred*, but with the idea of a formal demand, as in the civil law the same word is used of the plaintiff. — *pater patratus*: cf.



norum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari solvi fieri oportuit, dic,' inquit ei quem primum sententiam  
 12 rogabat 'quid censes?' Tum ille 'Puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo itaque consentio consciscoque.' Inde ordine alii rogabantur quandoque pars maior eorum qui aderant in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum, ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret et, non minus  
 13 tribus puberibus praesentibus, diceret 'Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit esse senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit consensit conscivit ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque.' Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines

24. 4 n. — *dederunt*: *i.e.* the *res*; *solverunt*: the *lites*; *fecerunt*: the *causae*; though the words may possibly be used loosely in legal verbiage, as we hardly know the original meaning of *causa*. — *ei*: the leading man in the senate. — *sententiam*: see Gr. 239. 2. c.

12. *puro pioque*: the two requirements of 'clean hands and a pure heart'; *i.e.* a war whose cause is just and whose methods are honest. — *duello*: old form of *bello*; cf. *bis*, from *duo*. — *quaerendas*: *sc.* the *res*, etc. — *consentio consciscoque*: probably with the previous vote of the people; cf. 13. The expression probably goes far back into antiquity, when the vote of the warriors was necessary at the outset. This Livy does not mention, perhaps because it would be too democratic

for his conception of a kingdom. — in . . . *ibat*: alluding to an actual *division* of the house, such as was practised in ancient times. — *ferratam*: an iron-headed spear would be a natural symbol of war. — *sanguineam*: with a *hasta pura*, the point would be hardened in the fire, as was often customary for warlike weapons, and stained with blood to complete the symbolism. — *puberibus*: as witnesses. The whole must be done in form, and capable of proof.

13. *quod*: the regular Latin *whereas*, but it is properly the object of the verbs. — *eam rem*: the antecedent of *quod*. — *populusque*: *i.e.* and through me the *populus Romanus*. — *facio*: by the hurling of the spear. — *dixisset*: subjunctive of repeated action; see Gr. 309. b.

eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitae res 14  
ac bellum indictum, moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

Ancus, demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacerdo- 33  
tibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto, profectus Poli-  
torium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit secutusque morem  
regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in  
civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam tra-  
duxit. Et cum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Roma- 2  
norum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem  
Albani implescent, Aventinum novae multitudini datum.  
Additi eodem haud ita multo post Tellenis Ficanaque  
captis novi cives.

Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum 3  
occupaverant Prisci Latini; eaque causa diruendae urbis  
eius fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum  
esset. Postremo omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, 4  
aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto varia victoria pugnatum  
est; nam et urbs tuta munitionibus praesidioque fir-  
mata valido erat et castris in aperto positis aliquotiens  
exercitus Latinus comminus cum Romanis signa contu-  
lerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copiis conisus Ancus acie 5  
primum vincit, inde ingenti praeda potens Romam redit,  
tum quoque multis milibus Latinorum in civitatem ac-  
ceptis, quibus, ut iungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Mur-  
ciae datae sedes.

#### CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

33. demandata: cf. 20. 1. —  
Politorium, etc.: all these Latin  
towns disappeared very early.

2. circa: properly 'on both sides  
of,' but here as much as *besides*, be-  
cause the Palatium is excluded by  
the description from the later enu-  
meration.

4. Medulliam: cf. 38. 4. —  
Marte incerto varia victoria:

two phases of a single idea, change-  
able fortune of war showing itself  
in varying success. — tuta, *pro-*  
*protected*. — firmata, *manned*.

5. acie vincit: opposed to *urbem*  
*capit*, implied in *praeda*, etc. —  
*potens*, *enriched*; a poetic term.  
— tum quoque: as well as in the  
last campaign. — iungeretur: *i.e.*  
that the valley between might be  
settled continuously. — Murciae:

- 6 Ianiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum pri-  
 7 mum in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus  
 8 aditu locis, Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciae media urbe imminens foro aedificatur.
- 9 Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque: silva Mesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae, egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretrii amplificata.
- 34 Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni

see Gr. 214. *b*. The region is that of the later Circus Maximus.

6. *Ianiculum*: being a considerable height directly opposite, it would be a natural stronghold of the Etruscans in case of war. — *ea*: see Gr. 195. *d*. — *ponte sublicio*: a wooden bridge over the Tiber, probably in the place afterwards occupied by the *Pons Aemilius*. Some remains of it are still shown.

7. *fossa*: a ditch and rampart along the ground between the Caelian and Aventine. It is possible that Livy confounds it with the defence of the same name at Ostia.

8. *discrimine*, etc.: *i.e.* the distinction between right and wrong. — *recte an perperam*, etc.: a curious mixture of noun and verb, brought about by compression of a proleptic construction, *discrimen facti, utrum recte an perperam factum esset*. —

*carcer*: the building, the *Tullianum*, still standing over the forum, originally apparently built over a spring, but afterwards used as a prison. — *audaciae*, *lawlessness*, reckless breaking of laws.

9. *hoc rege*: may be regarded as either abl. of time or abl. absolute, both being locative in their origin, and so really the same thing. — *ager finesque*: only one idea, *limits of the territory*. — *silva Mesia*: on the opposite side of the river, and commanding the lower part of it, being higher than the Roman side. — *circa*: *i.e.* in the neighborhood of Ostia. — *Iovis Feretrii*: see 10. 6.

THE COMING OF THE TARQUINS.

34. *cupidine*, *ambition*: the word belongs, as well as *spe*, with *honoris*.

honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis — nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat — facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo 2 profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium heres; Arruns prior quam pater moritur, uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; 3 qui cum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero, post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato, ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra omnium heredi bonorum cum 4 divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata et quae haud facile iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea quo innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem, exsule advena ortum, 5 ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis dummodo virum honoratum videret,

2. ob seditiones : at every change of government accomplished or attempted in the Greek cities, there were always more or less persons exiled. — heres : in predicative apposition. — relicta : the ablative absolute becomes so purely an adverbial expression, that the idea of past time in the perfect participle often entirely disappears.

3. Egerio : as if from *egeo*.

4. iam : *i.e.* without the additional stimulus of a high-born wife. — animos, *pride* ; a common meaning for the plural. — auxit, *had this increased by*, etc., changing the construction. — ducta . . . Tanaquil : Introd. 9. *e.* — Tanaquil : apparently not a proper name in Etruscan, but a title like Lucumo ; a fact which agrees with the legendary character of the whole story. —

et quae : *i.e.* not only did the fact of the marriage act upon the mind of Lucumo, but the ambition of the woman herself was calculated to excite him. — sineret : characteristic subjunctive, not in its fully developed use, but nearer to the origin of the construction in apodosis ; cf. Gr. 319, headnote. — quo, *into which* ; see Gr. 201. *f.* — innupsisset : partaking of the character of sineret, and hence agreeing with it in mood (Gr. 342) ; cf. *nata erat*, which does not partake of this character.

5. spernentibus : *i.e.* refusing social recognition as one of the ruling caste. — exsule advena : see Gr. 188 *d*, and cf. *pastor accola*, 7. 5. — potuit : *i.e.* Tanaquil ; we should expect an *illa* or *haec*, but it is carelessly omitted. — videret :

- 6 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
- 7 ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset.
- 8 Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam. Ad Ianiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leniter alis pilleum aufert, superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans rursus, velut ministerio divinitus missa, capiti apte reponit,

see Gr. 314. — ab Tarquiniis: see Gr. 258. a. N. 1.

6. *potissimum*, the best place; cf. Gr. 189. c. — *repentina*, new; i.e. suddenly arisen. — *ex virtute*, dependent on worth. — *futurum*: inf. depending on the word of saying (thinking) implied in *visa est*: see Gr. 336. 2, N. 2. — *regnasse*: emphasized as referring back to *locum*, showing what chances there were for foreigners. — *Ancum*: i.e. even he was almost a foreigner, and hardly more than a 'new man' in the sense of later times. — *matre*: the unnamed daughter of Numa; cf. 32. 1. — *nobilem*: here used in the later sense, of a person whose ancestors had held a curule office. Such a person had the *ius imaginum*, the right to put up the likeness of the ancestor in his *atrium*. — *una*: the number of such likenesses was an important factor in determining social and political prestige. — *Numae*, that of Numa.

7. *cupido . . . cui esset*: notice the parallelism of the phrase and the clause, a good illustration of the

adjective nature of the characteristic subjunctive clause. — *materna*: i.e. and therefore he had no special love for that city. — *esset*: attracted by the predicate *patria*; see Gr. 204. b.

8. *Ianiculum*: coming from the Etruscan side to cross by the *pons sublicius* (see 33. 6). — *carpento*: a covered travelling wagon. Probably this is mentioned in the story to give greater probability to the supposed divine interposition. The ablative without *in*, as in poetry. — *suspensis*, etc.: i.e. not by a sudden swoop, as of a predatory bird, but deliberately as a divine messenger. The order is artificial. — *pilleum*: the felt cap often worn by travellers. It is sometimes confounded with the *petasus*, or felt hat, and may possibly be so here, as the latter was more commonly used by travellers. — *clangore*: probably of the noise of his wings, but possibly of screaming also. — *ministerio*: dative of purpose, belonging rather to the earlier language and poetry. Cf. Gr. 233. — *sublimis*: see Gr. 191.

inde sublimis abit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur 9  
Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, caelestium prodigio-  
rum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum  
iubet: eam alitem, ea regione caeli, et eius dei nuntiam  
venisse, circa summum culmen hominis auspicium fe-  
cisse, levasse humano superpositum capiti decus ut  
divinitus eidem redderet.

Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem in- 10  
gressi sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinius  
Priscum edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum 11  
novitas divitiaeque faciebant et ipse fortunam benigno  
adloquio, comitate invitandi, beneficiisque quos poterat  
sibi conciliando adiuwabatur, donec in regiam quoque de  
eo fama perlata est. Notitiamque eam brevi apud re- 12

9. *accepisse*: the acceptance of an omen was, in ancient times, an important part of the process. Cf. 7. 11. — *augurium*: in its general sense of *omen*. — *Etrusci*: this nation was much given to divination, and all the Roman forms of the art were supposed to have come from them. In cases of doubt they were consulted as experts. — *excelsa*, etc.: the emphatic position of these words represents a direct form like '*excelsa*' inquit '*spera*,' *complexa virum*. — *complexa*: see note on *relicta*, 2.

*ea regione*: *i.e.* the favorable side. — *eius dei*: *i.e.* of Jupiter. — *venisse*: the clauses in the infinitive contain the grounds of hope. The preceding main clause would properly be a result, *ut sperare possis*, correlative to the demonstratives *eam*, *ea*, *eius*, but the account represents the colloquial form used by the woman herself. Of course the whole proceeding meant that he would gain a crown for his head, instead of the cap.

10. *has, such*. — *domicilio*, etc.: *i.e.* establishing themselves there, not merely taking a house. — *L. Tarquinius*: probably called *Lucius* because of the name (or, rather, title) *Lucumo*. It is possible that the word may have originally been formed from *Lucumo*. The derivation of Roman proper names is very obscure. The gentile name is doubtless formed from *Tarquinius*. — *Priscum*: this part of the name is certainly Latin, but its application is uncertain.

11. *ipse*: opposed to the accidental advantages just mentioned. — *fortunam*: *i.e.* his rise in social position. — *adloquio*, *comitate*, *beneficiis*: the means of conciliating, which is itself the means of *adiuvabat*. — *comitate*, etc.: *i.e.* by hospitably entertaining his new acquaintances. — *adiuvabat*, *continued to improve*. — *regiam*: *i.e.* he made himself so conspicuous socially, that the king heard of him and made his acquaintance (*notitiam*).

gem liberaliter dextreque obeundo officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

- 85 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 venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam: cum se non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum adfectet; et Tatium non ex peregrino solum, sed etiam ex hoste regem factum, et Numam ignarum urbis non petentem in

12. officia: *i.e.* loyal services as a courtier. — in ... iura: *i.e.* he raised the mere acquaintance to an intimate friendship. — expertus: passive; cf. Gr. 135. *b*.

#### ELECTION AND REIGN OF TARQUIN.

85. iam, by this time. — eo magis: because one of them might claim the right to be elected, if they were of age. — regi: see Gr. 299. *b*. — fierent: of course through an *interrex*.

2. tempus: set for the *comitia*. — petisse ambitiose: to have canvassed (electioneered), as candidates in later times. The whole story, as it lies in Livy's mind, is derived from the later republic, when the commons were all-powerful. — orationem: in a *contio*, when candidates used to present their claims. — conciliandos: cf. *Aen.* VI. 816.

3. cum: *sc. memoraret*, which is forgotten in the long account of the discourse, and picked up again in another form in 6. The whole passage is put in to explain *compositam*. — rem novam: *i.e.* election to the throne as a stranger. — quisquam: the force of non continued through the whole occasions the use of *quisquam* rather than *aliquis*. The same idea excuses -ve also. — posset: potential present thrown back into past time. The rest of the discourse retains its time (see Gr. 336. B, *a*), but this one verb, on account of its being contrary to fact, goes into the imperfect. The close connection of the potential subjunctive and the characteristic construction is seen in this clause (cf. Gr. 319, head note). The meaning is almost, 'So that anybody could feel indignant at it' (cf. *quisquam* and -ve). — igna-

regnum ultro accitum; se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, 4  
 Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse,  
 maiorem partem aetatis eius, qua civilibus officiis fun-  
 gantur homines, Romae se quam in vetere patria vixisse;  
 domi militiaeque sub haud paenitendo magistro, ipso 5  
 Anco rege, Romana se iura, Romanos ritus didicisse;  
 obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benigni-  
 tate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse. Haec eum haud 6  
 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 ap-  
 pellati, factio haud dubia regis, cuius beneficio in curiam  
 venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit et oppi- 7  
 dum ibi Apiolas vi cepit, praedaeque inde maiore quam

rum, a stranger to, etc. — peten-  
 tem: *sc. regnum*. — ultro acci-  
 tum, had been actually called in.  
 As Numa had not sought the throne,  
 it was more than could be expected  
 that he should have it.

4. ex quo: *sc. tempore*. — sui  
 potens, his own master, freed from  
 a guardian.

5. paenitendo: the somewhat  
 rare personal use of *paenitet*. —  
 iura: referring to politics; ritus:  
 referring to religion. — didicisse:  
 whereby he was qualified to be king;  
 obsequio, etc.: wherefore he was a  
 worthy citizen. The whole is con-  
 ceived in the style of a later elec-  
 tioneering address.

6. haec: with a change of the  
 form of the sentence, as if *memo-  
 raret* had already been used. —  
 populus: with a confusion of ideas  
 between the *plebs* (2) and the proper  
*populus Romanus*, the official body

of burghers. — iussit: the techni-  
 cal term for a vote (cf. 22. 1). —  
 ergo, accordingly, as he had been  
 elected by the lower orders. —  
 cetera: see Gr. 240. b. — ambitio:  
 alluding to his popular measures in  
 favor of the lower orders. — nec  
 minus, etc.: *i.e.* he had two mo-  
 tives, one to strengthen his party,  
 and the other to strengthen the  
 government by adding to its great  
 council. — minorum, etc.: this dis-  
 tinction between senators remained,  
 but it was only a nominal one, with  
 no difference of privileges. The most  
 various accounts are given of the  
 precise change made by Tarquin,  
 and apparently all authentic infor-  
 mation on the early constitution  
 had been lost long before Livy's  
 time. — factio, a party, in opposi-  
 tion to the older families in the  
 senate. — haud dubia, sure to  
 be.



quanta belli fama fuerat resecta ludos opulenter in-  
 structiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tunc primum  
 circo, qui nunc Maximus dicitur, designatus locus est.  
 Loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi  
 quisque facerent, fori appellati. Spectavere furcis duo-  
 denos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Lu-  
 dicrum fuit equi pugilesque, ex Etruria maxime acciti.  
 Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique  
 varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis  
 aedificanda divisa sunt loca, porticus tabernaeque factae.  
 Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, cum  
 Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita  
 res fuit ut prius Anienem transirent hostes quam ob-  
 viam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque  
 trepidatum Romae est. Et primo dubia victoria magna  
 utrimque caede pugnatum est; reductis deinde in castra  
 hostium copiis datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum  
 de integro bellum, Tarquinius, equitem maxime suis

7. quanta, *what*. — fama, *expectation*; i.e. the booty was greater than the supposed extent of the war had led men to expect. — opulentius: of the magnificence in expense; instructius: of the variety and extent of the performances.

8. designatus: i.e. then first the valley beyond the Palatine was appointed for the games, which afterwards became the regular place. — spectacula: here *seats*, or *grandstands*, each order erecting its own. — facerent: see Gr. 205. c. 2. — fori: the name refers to the passages between, rather than the localities themselves. — appellati: see Gr. 204. b.

9. spectavere, *the spectators sat*. — furcis, etc., *with props*, etc. — ludicrum, *the exhibition*. — sollemnes, *regular, stated*.

10. et: i.e. as well as the arrangements of the *Circus Maximus*. — aedificanda: see Gr. 294. d. — porticus: these were arcades, in which the business and outdoor intercourse of the Romans regularly took place. They were always a favorite form of decoration for cities. — tabernae: simple booths or shops for retail wares, such as are still found in many cities of Europe. As the remains appear in Pompeii, they are little stalls not larger than a market-stall, with the front entirely open, having a counter flush with the street, accessible to persons on the sidewalks.

36. coeptis: a substantive, as often in poetry and late Latin; cf. *orsis*, Pref. 13. — intervenit: indic. with '*cum inversum*'; see Gr. 325. b. — posset: see Gr. 327.

deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes Titienses Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit suoque insignes relinquere nomine.

Id quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat, negare Attus 3 Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, 'Age- 4 dum' inquit, 'divine tu, inaugura fierine possit quod nunc ego mente concipio.' Cum ille in augurio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, 'Atqui hoc animo agitavi' inquit, 'te novacula cotem discissurum; cape haec et perage quod aves tuae fieri posse portendunt.' Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt. Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in 5 comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit; cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros miraculi eius monumentum.

2. quas centurias: see 13. 8. — suo: as the others had been named from Romulus and Tatius.

3. inaugurato: see Gr. 255. c. — neque . . . neque: these words after a negative do not contradict the negative; see Gr. 209. a. 2; cf. 26. 12 n. — mutari, etc.: i.e. things could be changed only by as high an authority as that by which they had been established. — aves: i.e. the gods speaking through them.

4. eludens,  *scoffing at*, by means of the problem which he sets. — artem: i.e. of augury. — divine, *seer*. The emphasis gives a force something like, 'Come, you are such a great soothsayer, determine,' etc. — inaugura, *determine by augury*. — in, *in the process of*, and so *by means of*. — atqui, *now*, with an adversative shade, inasmuch as Tarquin conceives the thing as impos-

sible. — animo: not different from mente, except that there is a slight idea of intention in agitavi, while the other expression only refers to the thing imagined, as a present idea. — novacula: the first barbers are said by Varro (Plin. *N. H.* VII. 59) to have come to Rome from Sicily in 300 B.C., and this is the only mention of razors prior to that time; but they have been found in graves, and were no doubt known, though not generally used. — haec: the razor and whetstone, which he hands him. — aves tuae: scornfully. — haud cunctanter: i.e. without making any question or excuse, indicating his faith in his art.

5. velato: the style of the augur. — gradibus: the steps up from that part of the Forum to the senate house. — sitam fuisse, *was (once) deposited*; see Gr. 291. b.

- 6 Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur, concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum,  
 7 ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero alterum tantum adiecit, ut mille octingenti equites  
 8 in tribus centuriis essent. Posteriores modo sub isdem nominibus qui additi erant appellati sunt, quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias.  
 87 Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa iacentem, ardentem in flumen conicerent; ventoque iuvante accensa ligna, et pleraque impacta in ratibus publicis cum hae-

6. certe: *i.e.* whether the old tradition is true or not. — nihil, etc.: *i.e.* whereas augury had only been used for the most important matters, now nothing of any account was done without it. — concilia populi: probably the *comitia tributa*. — exercitus: the *comitia centuriata*, which was assembled as a military muster; cf. 44. 1. — summa rerum, *acts of the highest moment*, in apposition with the preceding. — admisissent: cf. *ubi dixisset*, 32. 13 n. — dirimerentur: *i.e.* the bodies called together for the highest functions of the state are dissolved again, if the omens are unfavorable. This power of interrupting proceedings by real or pretended auspices (*obnuntiatio*) became a potent factor in politics, and continued through the republic.

7. neque tum: *i.e.* Tarquin was prevented from doing what he intended on that occasion; an example under the general rule just given. — mutavit: *i.e.* he did not add a

new division, he only increased the number, which was not an innovation. — alterum tantum, *as many more*; cf. 'as much again.' Livy probably wrote the words in this order, though the MSS. have *tantum alterum*, here and X. 46. — mille octingenti: this number does not agree with Livy's other accounts (cf. 13. 8, 30. 3), but it is to be remembered that Livy does not claim exactness; and as accounts differed, he takes sometimes one and sometimes another. The whole subject is in utter confusion.

8. modo: *i.e.* only they did have a distinctive name, *posteriores*. — geminatae: from three to six. — sex centurias: regularly *sex suffragia*, as having, under the Servian constitution, six votes as centuries. The number of persons is uncertain.

#### WAR WITH THE SABINES.

87. ex occulto: opposed to the increased Roman strength, which was an open advantage. — arden-

rerent, pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna a terrorem attulit Sabinis, effusis 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 victoriam fecere.

Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit. Vtrisque 3 ab cornibus positos, cum iam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso 4 cursu Sabini petebant. Et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tar- 5 quinius 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 6 erant nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario milite iterumque ibi fusi, perditis iam prope rebus, pacem petiere.

tem: a predicate participle, '*which they had first set on fire.*' — *impacta*: against the piles. — *in rati-bus*: *i.e. in masses.* — *pontem*: the bridge over the Anio, over which the Sabines must cross to get home again.

2. *quoque*: as well as the increased strength of the Romans. — *effusis*: opposed to in pugna. — *eadem* (*sc. res*): the same cause. — *arma*: so far as they were not of metal. — *cognita*, *recognized.* — *insignem*, etc.: gave sure signs of the victory.

3. *suorum*: the use of the reflexive gives the situation as it presented itself to the minds of the

cavalry. — *sisterent*: in its causative sense, *stayed*; cf. 12. 5. — *cedentibus*, *on the yielding Romans.*

4. *et, and in fact.* — *pauci*, *a few* (though but few).

5. *praeda*: what was valuable; *spoliis*: arms and the like. — *id*: *i.e. the burning of the spoils.* — *votum*: perhaps on the occasion of burning the bridge.

6. *gesturos*: *sc. se*; for the emphatic position, see Gr. 344. d. 3. — *quia consulendi*, etc.: *i.e. if they had had time, they might have determined to make peace without fighting farther.* — *tumultuario milite*: with an unorganized militia, such as was called together upon a sudden

88 Collatia et quicquid citra Collatiam agri erat Sabinis ademptum, Egerius — fratris hic filius erat regis — Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita  
 • accipio eamque deditiois formulam esse: Rex interrogavit 'Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Conlatino, ut vos populumque Conlatinum dederetis?' 'Sumus.' 'Estne populus Conlatinus in sua potestate?' 'Est.' 'Deditisne vos populumque Conlatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populique Romani dicionem?' 'Dedimus.' 'At ego recipio.'

3 Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam  
 4 redit. Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit, ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem ventum est: ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta.

alarm, as opposed to regular troops in a prepared war. — *petiere*: that it was granted appears from the conditions given in the next chapter.

FORMULA OF SURRENDER; WAR AGAINST THE LATINS.

88. *citra*: between Collatia and Rome, which is about ten miles distant. — in *praesidio*: either as a temporary garrison or a permanent colony.

2. *estisne*: for order, see Gr. 344. d. 2. The first question is as to the credentials of the representatives; the second, as to the right of the people itself as an independent state; the third, as to the will of the parties. The form of surrender embraces everything over which

the state has ownership or authority, including all religious property, so that the Romans held everything that belonged to the commonwealth, and the surrendered became a mass of individuals with only individual rights. — *at, then*; the antithesis is found in the opposed relations of the two parties.

3. *triumphans*: not merely in *triumph*, but in formal procession, as it were, in the style of the later technical triumph; cf. 10. 5 n.

4. *ad universae, etc.*, to a general decisive combat, wherein the war could be fought out between the two peoples; in fact the Latins were subdued in detail. — *Corniculum*: cf. 39. 5. — *Crustumerium*: cf. 10. 3. — *Medullia*: cf. 33. 4.

Maiore inde animo pacis opera incohata quam quanta 5  
mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset  
quam militiae fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cuius exor- 6  
dium 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 fasti-  
gio in Tiberim ductis siccant, et aream ad aedem in Capi- 7  
tolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente  
animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat funda-  
mentis.

X Eo tempore in regia prodigium visum eventumque mira- 89  
bile fuit. Puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen,  
caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Plurimo 2  
igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos  
reges et, cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguen-

5. animo . . . mole: *i.e.* the spirit with which he improved the city in peace was greater than the effort he had made in war. — quietior: as the labor was enforced like military service, the imposition was as great in peace as it had been in war.

6. exordium: see 36. 1. — infima: including the Forum, and the valleys running into it, the region between that and the Tiber, and the Circus Maximus. — ex planis, etc.: the reason why the water did not run off, because there was no pitch. — fastigio, *with a grade*. The level did not carry off the water, and so the sewer was built sloping down to the Tiber, necessarily under ground.

7. aream: the regular Latin word for a lot in a city; here of the place on which the great temple was afterwards to be built. — futuram: *i.e.* *quae futura erat*; see

Gr. 293. *b.* — fundamentis: the substructure to enlarge and level the rough hill. The temple was not built till afterwards; see 55. 2.

#### BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF SERVIVS TULLIVS.

89. eo tempore: *i.e.* in the part of the reign of Tarquin just described. — visum: *sc. est*; the second part (with fuit) is from a different point of view, yet undoubtedly it is the thought of fuit that makes Livy omit the copula. — eventu, *its fulfillment*. — puero: it is not necessarily but naturally implied that he was a slave. — Tullio: cf. *Troiano*, 1. 3 n. — arsisse: a common omen among the ancients; cf. Virg. *Aen.* II. 681 *seq.*

2. clamore: the means of excitos. — ad: cf. *ad desiderium*, 7. 7 n. — reges, *the royal family*. — familiarium, *servants*, in accordance with its derivation from *familia*, *famulus*.

- dum ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum donec sua sponte exporrectus  
 3 esset. Mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil 'Viden tu puerum hunc' inquit, 'quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae adflictae. Proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus.'
- 4 Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi erudiri que artibus quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum excitantur. Evenit facile quod diis cordi esset: iuvenis evasis vere indolis regiae nec, cum quaereretur gener

*lus*. — *retentum*: because the queen recognized the supernatural character of the occurrence. — *sedato*: *i.e.* at her command. The position of *eam* gives the ablative absolute the force of a perfect active participle in agreement with the pronoun. — *moveri*, *to be disturbed*. — *exporrectus esset*: see Gr. 328.

3. in *secretum*, *in private*; the regular word for a private interview. — *viden*: the regular colloquial form of *videsne*; cf. *do not* and *don't* in English. — *inquit*: this sudden change from indirect to direct discourse is common in all periods of the language, either with or without the verb of saying. — *humili*: in reference to his position as a slave. — *scire licet*, *it is clear*; cf. *scilicet*, which is often, though not regularly, used in the same sense. — *lumen*: in allusion to the phenomenon; cf. for the figure, *lucem adferre rei publicae*, Cic. *Manil.* 12. 33. — *hunc* (regularly *hoc*, Gr. 195. *d*): here equivalent to *hunc puerum*. — *quondam*, *at*

*some time*; cf. *Aen.* VI. 876, and the common use of *olim*. — *regiae*, *the royal house*. — *proinde*: cf. 9. 4 n. — *publice*: see Gr. 207. *d*. This use becomes more and more frequent in later writers.

4. *liberum, of a son*. The word, denoting collectively the children of the house as opposed to the slaves, is frequently used of one person. — *coeptum*: resuming the indirect discourse. — *artibus*: *sc. liberalibus*, as a liberal education is still called. — *magnae fortunae, of a lofty position*. — *cultum*: opposed to *cultu* in 3, but with a different shade of meaning; there the *process*, and here the *result*, as in the much-abused *culture*. It means everything that belongs to life and its ideals. — *excitantur, are elevated*. — *esset*: characteristic subjunctive, as often happens, giving at the same time the reason why it turned out so. See Gr. 320. — *indolis*: predicate after *evasis*; cf. *incedo regina*, and see Gr. 214. *c*. — *arte*: cf. *artibus* above, but best translated *quality*

Tarquinius, quisquam Romanae iuventutis ulla arte con-  
ferri potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit.

Hic quacumque de causa tantus illi honos habitus 5  
credere prohibet serva natum eum parvumque ipsum  
servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum qui, Corniculo  
capto, Servi Tulli, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gra-  
vidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas  
cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana  
prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romae edidisse Prisci  
Tarquini domo. Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres 6  
familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo  
eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam ma-  
tris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut  
serva natus crederetur fecisse.

Duodequādragesimo ferme anno ex quo regnare coe- 40  
perat Tarquinius non apud regem modo, sed apud patres  
plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat.

or respect. — filiamque, and accord-  
ingly, etc.

5. hic: i.e. the honor of being  
married to the king's daughter. —  
quacumque de causa: implying  
that Livy has a doubt about the  
preceding story accounting for the  
superiority of Servius to the other  
youth; cf. 3. 3. — honos habitus,  
the fact that, etc.; see Gr. 292. a. —  
credere: see Gr. 331. e. 2. — serva  
natum: according to one tradi-  
tion, he had, like other heroes, a  
supernatural origin, being the son  
of the *Lar familiaris* of the house.  
— Corniculo: an old Latin town  
near Tivoli; cf. 38. 4. — princeps:  
the tradition satisfies the necessary  
requirements by making him of royal  
blood. — occiso . . . captivas: ac-  
cording to the laws of war, the  
males capable of bearing arms were  
killed, and the women and chil-

dren made slaves. — prohibitam:  
the noble commander's wife was  
reserved by womanly compassion  
from the usual fate. — domo: in-  
stead of *domi*; cf. *bello*, 34. 12.

6. beneficio: the rescue of the  
mother. — fortunam, the fate; here,  
as often, of bad fortune. — patria,  
native city, as usual. In ancient  
times the city was the unit of po-  
litical life; cf. *cremata patria*, 1. 8.  
— serva: as she was legally but for  
the rescue.

#### MURDER OF TARQUIN.

40. duodequādragesimo: the  
importance of the date comes from  
its being that of the king's death,  
although that occurrence is not im-  
mediately mentioned. The effect  
is, 'In the year, etc., occurred the  
king's death in the following man-  
ner.'



- Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romæ advenam non modo vicinæ, sed ne Italicæ quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas crescere, si ne  
 3 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 prognatus deus ipse, tenuerit regnum donec in terris fuerit, id Servius 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 Romæ pateret.
- 4 Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et iniuriæ 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 hæc ipsi regi

2. Anci filii: see 35. 1. — *antea*: opposed to *tum* below. — *non modo*: in such expressions, where there is only one verb, *ne* is sufficient to negative the whole, though we say 'not only *not* . . . but not even.' See Gr. 149. *c.* — *vicinæ*: which Numa had been. — *indignitas crescere*: instead of a verb to go with *filii*, which in the long parenthesis has been forgotten. — *si . . . rediret*: the apodosis is merged in *indignitas*; properly, 'it would be *indignum*, they felt, if he should not,' etc. See Gr. 341. *c.*

3. *porro*: Tarquin, though a foreigner, had not been a slave, so that the present prospect was a still further step downward. — *servitia*: the generalizing plural, though only *servum* is meant. — *tenuerit*, etc.:

see Gr. 336. B. *a*, and N. — *Servius*: with a sarcastic allusion to its derivation from *servus*. — *advenis*: like Tarquinius.

4. *sed*: opposed to the inference that Servius would be the object of their attack. — *et . . . et*: there were three reasons for the attack upon Tarquin, one introduced by the first *et*, and the other two grouped together by *quia . . . tum*, and introduced by the second *et*. — *iniuriæ*: their wrongs had been occasioned originally by the acts of Tarquin. — *superesset*: standing for *supersit* in their thought. — *delegisset*: standing for fut. perf. *delegerit* in their thought. — *eundem*, etc.: if he survived, they could not prevent him from choosing a son-in-law, and it was likely

insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti 5  
ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus  
ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuo-  
sissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios con-  
vertunt. Inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque  
eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem  
pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter 6  
alteri obstrepere. Coerciti ab lictore et iussi invicem  
dicere tandem obloqui desistunt, unus rem ex composito  
orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, 7  
alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vul-  
nere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.

Tarquinius moribundum cum qui circa erant exce- 41  
pissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor  
inde concursusque populi mirantium quid rei esset.  
Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros  
eiecit; simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam  
spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul, si destituat spes,  
alia praesidia molitur.

this son-in-law would be made king, whoever he should be.

5. *ferocissimi*, most desperate. — quibus: *sc. eis*; see Gr. 200. *b*. — *ferramentis*, implements, pikes, axes, or the like, for defense against wolves, and for chopping; cf. *securim*, below. — *vestibulo*: conceived as a yard in front of the house, no doubt the original sense of the word. — *rixae*: the pretended quarrel was between themselves, and their violent action draws the attention of the servitors to keep the peace. — *appellarent*: each one appealed to the king for justice. — *vocati*: the king heard them and called them in.

6. *vociferari*, began to cry out at once. — *certatim*, etc., *obstreper-*

*ously endeavor to*, etc. — *obloqui*, to interrupt each other. — *rem* (to state) his case.

7. *totus*: see Gr. 191. — *avertet*: see Gr. 328. *a. n.*

41. *excepissent*, had caught, as he fell. — *illos fugientes*, the flying assassins. — *mirantium*: see Gr. 187. *d.* — *quid rei esset*, what the matter was; see Gr. 216. *a. 3.* — *arbitros*: in its earlier sense of witnesses. — *simul . . . simul*: cor-relatives not found in Cicero, but frequent in Livy. — *curando*: cf. Gr. 299. *a.* — *subesset*, there were still; for tense, see Gr. 312. — *destituat*: present sequence, to avoid the implication of the contrary-to-fact idea. The apodosis is merged in *alia praesidia*.

- 2 Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat ne inultam mortem  
 3 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 quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excitet flamma, nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea  
 4 consilia sequere.' Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Novam viam versas — habitabat enim rex ad  
 5 Iovis Statoris — populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo esse : sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu, ferum haud alte in corpus descendisse, iam ad se redisse ; inspectum vulnus absterso cruore ; omnia salubria esse.

2. *virum, her husband.* — *inultam*, etc.: the arrangement is chistic. — *ludibrio*: according to ancient ideas, an unavenged outrage makes the sufferer a subject of ridicule, a laughing-stock.

3. *vir, a man*, really and truly such; cf. 'all are not men who wear the human form.' — *alienis*: implying that the *pastores* were only the agents of the sons of Ancus. — *facinus fecere*: a favorite form of alliteration in Latin, like 'do a deed' in English. — *vere*: as opposed to his former awaking from sleep. Now he is to awake from his unambitious sloth. — *et nos*, etc.: *i.e.* we, too, were foreigners as well as you, and yet we gained the royal power. — *qui sis*: *i.e.* your great genius, as opposed to your humble origin. — *tua*: notice the emphasis, opposed to *mea*. — *consilia, counsels*; *i.e.* the knowl-

edge what to do. — *torpent, are paralyzed*.

4. *clamor impetusque*, etc., *the clamorous, rushing crowd*; *i.e.* the throng trying to break into the palace. — *ex superiore*, etc.: the Roman houses were built with hardly any windows in the lower story on the street, as is seen in the ruins of Pompeii, but with openings closed by shutters in the upper stories. — *Novam viam*: this street descended from the ancient Porta Mugionis, on the Palatine, along the Forum. The temple of Jupiter Stator was on it. The ruins of these places are still traceable on the newly excavated Palatine Hill. — *habitabat*, etc., *for the king's house was*, etc.

5. *sopitum, rendered unconscious*. — *fuisse*: after the word of saying implied in *iubet*. — *confidere*: *sc. se*, omitted on account of the rapidity of the narrative. —

Confidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura redditurum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius 6 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 ex comploratione in regia orta. Servius, praesidio firmo munitus, primus iniussu populi voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci 7 liberi iam tum, comprehensis sceleris ministris, ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam privatis 42 munire opes et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini liberum

iubere: *sc. regem*; cf. last note. — Tullio: see Gr. 227. N. 2. — eum . . . esse: the words of the king. — iura redditurum, *would dispense justice*; one of the chief functions of a king; cf. the legal fiction of English courts, 'Court of King's Bench,' etc.

6. trabea: a robe, worn by the early kings, and preserved in the garb of the augurs and Salii, and of the equites and consuls on special occasions. It was certainly variegated in color, probably by purple and white stripes (*trabes*). — lictoribus: cf. 8. 2. — sede regia: Livy has in his mind the *sella curulis*, which was certainly later one of the insignia of supreme power, but perhaps not in early times. — alia . . . aliis: *i.e.* different questions that were brought before him. — simulat: thus keeping up the pretence that he was acting as a substitute for the king. — ce-

lata: accompanying (not preceding) the main action (*firmavit*); a use of the perfect participle that grows more and more common, but is on the whole rare except in some deponents (Gr. 290. *b*). — alienae: see Gr. 214. *a*. 2. — vicis: cf. *regiae vicis*, 20. 2. — suas: opposed to *alienae*. — tum demum: *i.e.* not till after he had secured his power, as set forth. — praesidio, *body-guard*. — iniussu, *not elected*; cf. 17. 10. — voluntate, *the acquiescence*, as opposed to their formal approval (*auctoritate*).

7. iam tum: *i.e.* before Servius acted independently as king.

#### WARS AND INSTITUTIONS OF SERVIVS.

42. publicis, etc.: *i.e.* his official acts; privatis: *i.e.* his proceedings in his domestic affairs, mentioned in the following sentence. — Anci liberum: cf. 40. 2.

esset, duas filias iuvenibus regiis Lucio atque Arrunti  
 2 Tarquiniis iungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem  
 humanis consiliis, <sup>virtutis</sup> quā invidia regni etiam inter domes-  
 ticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peroportune  
 ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus —  
 iam enim indutiae exierant — aliisque Etruscis sump-  
 3 tum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tulli,  
 fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu haud dubius rex, seu  
 patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit.  
 4 Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut,  
 quemadmodum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisset, ita  
 Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordi-  
 numque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaequae  
 5 aliquid interlucet, posterī fama ferrent. Censum enim  
 instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo  
 belli pacisque munia non viritim ut ante, sed pro habitu

2. nec rupit, etc. : a short-hand way of saying, 'and yet he did not succeed (for it is impossible to change the course of destiny by human counsels) in preventing,' etc. — invidia regni, *the envious desire for the regal power*. — domesticos, *his own family*, but with the same general reference that is seen in the preceding sentence. — praesentis: referring to the hint of discord above, 'though trouble was brewing, yet for the moment,' etc. — indutiae: cf. 30. 7. — exierant: the sacred character of ancient compacts caused peoples to set a definite limit to treaties, in order to provide for contingencies. In modern times nations are rarely so particular.

3. enituit, *were conspicuous* (see Gr. 205. d') — haud dubius rex: i.e. *haud dubie futurus rex*; see Gr. 293. b. 3, and 304. c. — periclitaretur, *if he had made a trial*

(by offering himself for election). See Gr. 308. a. R. and footnote.

4. ut: with ferrent. — divini: opposed to the general idea of *civil* law contained in the following. — ita: correlative with quem ad modum. — Servium: instead of *se*, as representing the language of future fame. — discriminis, *distinctions* (properly abstract); ordinum: the same idea concretely. — quibus, *whereby*. — interlucet: indicative, as representing a kind of explanatory remark of Livy's. The word gives the idea of conspicuous differences. — ferrent: a purpose clause, in apposition with opus (to have posterity celebrate the fame of).

5. censum: the word implies the whole institution, though properly meaning only the rating itself. — tanto, etc., *for a power destined to be so great*. — ex quo, *in accordance with which*. — belli pacisque

pecuniarum fierent. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu discripsit vel paci decorum vel bello.

Ex iis qui centum milium aeris aut maiorem censum 48 haberent octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas seniorum ac iuniorum — prima classis omnes appellati — seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere, — haec ut tegumenta corporis essent; tela in hostem hastaque et gladius.

**munia**: *i.e.* service and taxes. — **virritim**, *individually*. — **pro habitu**, *according to the state* (of their fortunes). — **fierent**, *should be performed*; subjunctive of purpose. — **tum**: *i.e.* after having caused the assessment to be made. — **classes**: this word, akin to *calare*, but probably borrowed from Greek κλάσις (*klāsis*), must have originally referred to the *calling out* of troops, as the militia is called to arms (cf. *legio*), whence its constant use for army and fleet. But at the time of the Servian Constitution, its meaning must have changed, so that it came to express the different divisions according to property. — **centurias**: this word also doubtless changed its meaning at this time, and came to be used of divisions irrespective of numbers. — **hunc**: *i.e.* the one given in the following. — **ordinem**, *scale*; the order in which rights and duties were given, according to the assessment already made. — **paci**: as giving dignity to political and social relations. — **bello**: one would expect *utile* or the like, but that idea is merged in the splendor of the organization.

#### THE SERVIAN ARMY.

48. **centum milium**: these numbers can hardly be the origi-

nal ratings; for, first, these depended upon holdings of land, and second, they are not based on the full pound of copper, the original *as*, but upon the later reduced value. — **aeris**: equal to *assum*; here probably reckoned of the value of one-tenth of a *denarius* (15 to 20 cts.). The fortune of the first class would therefore be about two thousand dollars of our money. — **censum**, *fortune*; an almost technical use of the word; properly, *rating*. — **confecit**, *he made up*. — **centurias**: here not a definite number, but a division of the class, whatever number it happened to be. — **seniorum**: from forty-five to sixty. — **iuniorum**: from seventeen to forty-five.

2. **omnes**: *i.e.* both seniors and juniors. — **ad urbis**, etc.: the whole was especially a military institution, although used also for other purposes. — **essent**: depending on *confecit*. — **imperata**: they were obliged to provide their own equipment; this sense of *requisition* is undoubtedly the original one of *impero*. — **galea**: a leather cap with metal mountings. — **clipeum** (here neuter): the round shield like that carried by Greek warriors. — **tegumenta corporis**: *i.e.* defensive armor, opposed to *tela*. — **que et**: for *et . . . et*, as often in Livy; cf. II. 59. 7.

- 3 Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus ut machinas in bello ferrent. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta milium censum instituta, et ex iis, senioribus iunioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae. Arma imperata scutum pro clipeo et praeter lorica
- 5 omnia eadem. Tertiae classis in quinquaginta milium censum esse voluit. Totidem centuriae et hae, eodemque discrimine aetatium factae; nec de armis quicquam
- 6 mutatum, ocreae tantum ademptae. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium, totidem centuriae factae; arma mutata, nihil praeter hastam et verutum da-
- 7 tum. Quinta classis aucta, centuriae triginta factae; fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant; in his

3. *additae*, etc.: the form of this statement indicates that these were not selected according to the census. — *fabrum*, *engineers*, but acting as a sort of artillery. — *machinas*: the engines for throwing stones and darts, corresponding to modern ordnance.

4. *scutum*: the oblong, curved shield of the later soldiers. — *loricam*: *i.e.* they had no bronze breastplate, which was made unnecessary by the size and shape of the shield.

6. *mutata*, etc.: with the fourth class begin the distinctively light-armed. They had no defensive armor. — *verutum*: a light dart, not used as a lance, like the *hasta*, but only for a missile. With the *hasta*, however, they could form a part of the solid phalanx as well, but only in the rear of the heavy-armed.

7. *in his accensi*, etc.: no very satisfactory meaning can be made out of these words, because any view seems to be inconsistent with the known facts. The whole num-

ber of centuries is agreed upon as 193:—

1st class . . .	80
Fabri . . .	2
2d class . . .	20
3d class . . .	20
4th class . . .	20
5th class . . .	30
Remainder . .	1 (?)
New Equites .	12
Old Equites .	6
Cornicines, etc.	2 (3 ?)

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It is possible, however, to suppose that Livy is dealing with the original army only, and that in this the *una centuria immunis militia* is not counted. Instead of the whole century, certain persons from that part of the population were doubtless added (*accensi*) as orderlies and other attendants, and may have, with the musicians, made up the three mentioned by Livy, being counted in the fifth class. This explanation makes sense of the first passage, but contradicts 8. The

accensi, cornicines, tubicinesque, in tres centurias distributi. Vndecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoc 8 minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit; inde una centuria facta est, immunis militia.

Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex 9 item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub isdem quibus inauguratae erant nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena milia aeris ex publico data, et quibus equos alerent, viduae attributae, quae bina milia

confusion is probably Livy's own, who, writing so long after, may easily have counted the unclassed citizens as one century, which in respect to the army they were not. — *accensi*: originally *enrolled in addition*, but later used as a name for attendants on magistrates. Here, if the theory given above is adopted, it must be taken in its original sense, but as a noun. — *cornicines*: 'players on the *horn*'; originally literally so; later a bronze instrument of a crooked shape was used, the proper trumpet of the cavalry. — *tubicines*: players on the (straight) trumpet, the proper instrument of the foot. — *tres*: to make this number correct, we must suppose some such mistake as above suggested, making three extra centuries of *ordies* and musicians.

8. *milibus*: ablative of price. — *hoc*: *i.e.* than the eleven thousand. — *census*: a short-hand form for the roll of those having such an amount of property. — *inde*: *i.e. ex eis*. — *immunis*: only those who had a stake in the country were supposed to make good soldiers or to be fit to vote. — *militia*: ablative of separation. The more regular construction would be genitive. — *ornato*: loosely used, not

of actual but of regulated equipment. — *primoribus*, *leading men*; apparently chosen arbitrarily, though they would naturally be from the first class. — *duodecim*: apparently Servius, wishing to increase the cavalry as well as the votes of the better class, with true Roman conservatism, did not disturb the old equites, as they had been originally instituted from noble families, but merely doubled their number, and enrolled twelve other centuries not necessarily from the nobles.

9. *sex alias*, etc.: these were, no doubt, the original equites, which Servius did not venture to disturb. They were always distinguished afterwards as the *sex suffragia*. — *tribus*, etc.: ablative absolute. — *isdem*: the names had a religious character and could not be disturbed. The centuries were called *priores*, *posteriores*, with the original designation; cf. 36. 8. — *nominibus*: see 13. 8. — *dena milia*: the *aes equestre*, whence the knights were called *equites equo publico*. — *ex publico*: *i.e.* from the treasury. — *quibus*: loosely construed with *bina milia*. — *viduae*: unmarried women of fortune, who thus paid their share of the common burdens. — *bina milia*: the *aes hor-*



aeris in annos singulos penderent. Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera.

- 10 Deinde est honos additus: non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim 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.
- 11 Equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae primum peditum vocabantur; ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut secundae classis vocarentur, nec fere umquam infra ita descenderent ut ad
- 12 infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero centuriis iuniorum seniorumque,

*dearium*. — haec omnia: all the arrangements of the constitution in regard to military service, which bore harder on the rich, from the expense of arms and horses, etc.

10. honos: *i.e.* a compensating privilege. — viritim: *i.e.* each man having a separate vote. — gradus facti: this was done by giving each century one vote, though the numbers of the centuries differed enormously. — vis omnis, etc.: eighteen centuries of equites and eighty of the first class at once made a majority if they agreed.

11. primum: genitive plural with peditum, consisting of the best class of the foot, *i.e.* the richest. — ibi: *i.e.* in eis; cf. ubi, 38. 4. — variaret: see Gr. 309. b. — ut vocarentur: the construction is distorted by incidebat, as if the whole depended on a verb of *happening* instead of being independent, as in vocabantur. — descenderent: *sc.* the people in voting.

12. nec mirari, etc.: Livy here evidently refers to the different state

of things in his time in regard to the relative power of the classes of people. At some time in the third century B.C., the constitution was so changed that the first class lost its power of voting first, and at the same time the number of centuries was so altered (probably by increase) that the higher classes no longer constituted a majority, as they had under the Servian constitution. The precise nature of the change is unknown, but the organization of the centuries was approximated to that of the local tribes, whereas under the Servian constitution the centuries were independent of the tribes. — mirari: *sc.* quemquam. — ordinem, organization, but referring particularly to the number (cf. *summam* below) and the consequent change in the tendency of the constitution. — expletas: the number of tribes was gradually increased from four to thirty-five. — duplicato: just how this is to be taken is uncertain. If we look at the text alone, it



sendo <sup>... as well</sup> finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium <sup>... as well</sup> censa dicuntur. Adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum qui arma ferre possent eum numerum fuisse.

- 3 Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. <sup>an continuation</sup> Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias, ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat
- 4 urbem; ita pomerium profert. Pomerium verbi vim

hence later *closed*, when the final act was used for the intervening period.—*censendo*, the *enrollment*, referring to the whole process by which every five years the censors 'numbered the people,' and assigned the rank of individuals according to property.—*lustro*: this word, meaning only the final act of purification, was used of the whole process of numbering.—*adicit*: of course a different account from that just given, but as Fabius' view exaggerates the number, Livy may properly say *adds*. This view would make the number about five times as great.

3. *ad*, in accordance with; a characteristic loose use of the preposition.—*urbs quoque*: as the population had been.—*adit*: *sc.* Servius.—*duos colles*, etc.: increasing the city towards the north, on the other side of the Forum. The two hills are two projecting ridges of the high plateau of the Esquiline.—*Quirinalem*: this can hardly be true, for on this hill are some of the very oldest monuments of the city, and it is said by other authorities to have been the abode of the Sabines from the time of Romulus.—*inde*, then, of time; *deinceps*, next, of succession.—*auget Esquilias*: by increasing the population, as it was no doubt inhabited before. The

derivation of the word (*ex-colo*) seems to imply that the hill was a suburb which Servius now adds to the city proper.—*habitat*: cf. 41. 4.—*aggere*, etc.: these fortifications have been traced for almost their entire length. The most prominent part of them is the great embankment, some portions of which still exist, on the east side, where the city is most exposed. It was a bank 21 feet high, faced with stone, originally surrounded by a ditch, as was probably the rest of the fortification. The wall of Tarquinius Priscus (36. 1, 38. 6) was either not finished or not large enough.—*ita*: in reference to the increase of the interior implied in *circumdat urbem*.—*pomerium*: originally a space left vacant *inside* (and so behind) the walls to facilitate defensive operations. After cities began to develop suburbs, the same usage would continue in regard to the *outside*, and this part of the space came, from religious considerations, to be the most important part. Hence the necessity of Livy's explanation. Cf. Gellius XIII. 14, *pomerium est locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certis determinatus, qui facit finem urbani auspicii*. In later times the limit of this space was held sacred, and only such

solam intuentes postmoerium interpretantur esse; est autem magis circamoerium, locus quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, 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 <sup>cultu</sup> neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellarunt, et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur. X

Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus <sup>45</sup> domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum. Id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter proceres

rulers as had increased the bounds of the empire could enlarge it.

4. *vim solam*, merely the literal meaning. — *postmoerium*: i.e. *post moeros*, old form of *muros*. — *locus quem*: instead of the regular *quem locum* (Gr. 201. d), because *locus* expresses not a mere reference, but an explanatory appositive idea: 'that is to say, a space,' etc. — *moenibus*: dative; a poetic construction; cf. Gr. 229. c. — *continuarentur*, should be extended to, border upon; *coniungunt*, attach to; a closer contact than the other, hence etiam. — *puri*: not merely free from, but uncontaminated by. — *ab*: an archaic construction instead of the simple ablative.

#### UNION OF ROME AND LATIUM.

45. *civitate*, the state, as a commonwealth; *urbis*, the city proper as a dwelling-place. — *omnibus*: ablative of *omnia*, contrary to the general usage, which avoids such ambiguities. — *domi*: opposed to *augere imperium*. — *armis*: opposed to *consilio*. — *urbi*: opposed to *imperium*.

2. *communiter*: such common sanctuaries were at once the monument, the pledge, and the bond of ancient political unions, as in this case of the twelve Ionic cities of Asia Minor. The example Servius astutely turns to the aggrandizement of Rome. — *consensum*: the agreement and harmony of the cities. — *deos consociatos*: what we

Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria iunxerat. Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem ut Romae fanum Dianae populi  
 3 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 Latino-  
 rum ob rem totiens infelicitur temptatam armis videba-  
 tur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio  
 4 imperii recipiendi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri  
 familiae dicitur miranda magnitudine ac specie. Fixa  
 per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae  
 5 monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res  
 prodigii loco est, et cecinere vates, cuius civitatis eam

should express by 'religious union' or 'united worship.'—publice, etc.: in the absence of organized international relations in ancient times, their place was supplied by special treaties of *hospitium*, i.e. a relation under which citizens of a state (publice), or individuals with their families (privatim), were guaranteed friendly reception, protection, and comity generally within the territories or at the houses of foreigners. This relation differed from *amicitia*, in that it did not imply any personal friendship. The words may be translated by *official and personal friendships*. — Romae: opposed to Ephesus.

3. ea (see Gr. 195. d): i.e. the building of the sanctuary at Rome. — de quo: i.e. the question answered in caput rerum, etc. — fuerat: see Gr. 291. b. R. — id: the same question referred to by de quo. — omnium Latinorum: opposed to uni ex Sabinis. — cura, etc.: 'dismissed from the minds of all the Latins,' a short-hand expression, in-

stead of 'dismissed from their minds by,' etc. — se: the emphasis anticipates the emphasis of privato. The artificial (perhaps rather artistic) order of the Latin enables it to express such shades of emphasis with extreme delicacy, and in this art Livy is a master. — imperii recipiendi: the same thing, under a varied aspect, as de quo and id.

4. patri familiae, *householder*; (avoid the ridiculous 'father of a family,' which in this passage is a stock school-jest). — fixa, etc.: a parenthetical remark illustrating the character of the creature. — vestibulo: this word, of most uncertain use and meaning, can here only refer to the prostyle, or portico, in front of the temple proper. — templi: of course at Rome. — miraculo: i.e. the marvellous size of the creature, which, as in all cases of extraordinary occurrences, was regarded as a *prodigium*, or direct indication of divine interposition; whence comes our use of *prodigy*.

5. res: i.e. the birth of the heifer.

civis Dianae immolasset, ibi fore imperium, idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianae; Sabinusque, 6 ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi, Sabinum ita adloquitur: 'Quidnam tu hospes paras?' inquit; 'inceste sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? Infima valle praeffluit Tiberis.' Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio respon- 7 deret eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim; interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

X Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum pos- 46 sederat, tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene

—cecineret: cf. 7. 10, and Virgil *passim*. — cuius: its antecedent is concealed in *ibi*. — immolasset: for future perfect of the direct discourse (school-boy lore, but very hard to learn). — *ibi*: i.e. in ea (civitate); cf. 24. 2.

6. Sabinusque: by means of the *-que*, Livy jumps over the last digression, and attaches the rest of the story to 4. — *ibi, thereupon*. — *memor, reminded of*. — *responsi*: the same as *carmen* above. — *quidnam, why! what?* — *paras, are you going to do?* — *inceste, without purification*; the sacrifice would be ceremonially impure if he proceeded immediately from his secular occupations without ablution. — *tu*: not properly emphatic, but expressed from the fondness of the Latin for emphasized pronouns, especially in colloquial language. — *perfunderis, bathe*; a very common middle use of verbs of this sort. — *praeffluit*: Livy often uses *prae* in composition instead of *prae*ter.

7. *religione, religious scruple*; a doubt whether he might not invalidate the sacrifice by something unpleasing to the goddess. — *prodigio*: the birth of the heifer, and the sacrifice, if duly performed together, constituted, according to ancient religions, a kind of determination of fate, and all this taken together is meant by *prodigium*. The event was, according to our ideas, to conform to the prophecy, but as the prophecy is only an interpretation of the fate, Livy's words express exactly the ancient notion. — *cuperet*: see Gr. 320. e. — *facta*: see Gr. 292. d. n.

#### FALL OF SERVIUS.

46. *usu . . . possederat, had gained by prescription*, in allusion to the acquirement of rights in law by long use, whatever the original character of the possession. The idea is, 'although he had held the throne long enough to be secure in his right to it, yet he sought a for-

- Tarquinio audiebat, se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iuberentne se regnare, tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem adfectandi regni minuit; immo eo impensius, quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servii apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante.
- 3 Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset quod scelere partum foret.
- 4 Hic L. Tarquinius — Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim — fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tarquinium, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae Tulliae, regis filiae, nupserant, et ipsae

mal vote of the people.' — conciliata, etc.: Livy doubtless has in his mind the later politics of the *leges agrariae*, for without this there was no doubt of the popular approval; cf. 42. 3. — vellent iuberentne: the regular form of beginning a *rogatio*; cf. XXII. 10. 2.

2. neque, and yet . . . not. — impensius: used as if *conatus* or *egit* were to follow. But in the course of the sentence the thought changes, as so often in Livy and indeed in Latin generally, and concludes in a different turn in *ratus est*. It must be remembered that the ancient style of writing was much nearer to the course of speech than our own conventionally restrained language. — *crescendi*: i.e. gaining influence and power. — *et ipse*, etc., *being at the same time himself*, etc.; et

. . . uxore, etc., and having in his house his wife Tullia to stimulate, etc.

3. tulit, there was produced in, etc., to give the proper emphasis. — et: i.e. as well as at Thebes, Mycenae, etc. — tragici: not merely as an epithet, *tragic*, but of the *tragic stage*. — ut, etc.: introduced as a kind of purpose of fate. — ultimum: i.e. the reign of Tarquin. Avoid in translation *the last which*, etc., for that has an entirely different meaning.

4. pluribus, etc., in accordance with; ablative absolute. — ediderim: see Gr. 311. b. — habuerat: before the events of 9.

5. ante: see 42. 1. — et ipsae, who were likewise. — ne . . . iungerentur: the proper result clause after *inciderat* is changed into a

longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna credo populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset constituique 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 7 malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum, et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere quam cum impari iungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum quo digna esset dii dedissent virum, domi 8 se prope diem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adulescentem suae temeritatis implet. Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis 9

purpose of the divine will; so also we have a purpose clause in quo . . . esset.

6. *ferox Tullia*: not 'the fierce Tullia,' which is not a Latin form of expression, but '*being a violent woman*.' — *materiae*: used exactly as we use *stuff*. — *cupiditatem*, *ambition*, to conceive ambitious desires; *audaciam*, *daring*, to use the means to gratify such desires. — *mirari*: not merely 'admired,' but 'expressed her admiration for.' — *virum*: cf. 41. 3; so again in next line. — *muliebri*: opposed to *virum*, the feminine *daring* to correspond to her husband's.

7. *ut fere fit*, etc.: this clause, properly parenthetical, absorbs the main clause, *malum (est)*, etc., on account of the similar meanings of

*est* and *fit*. — *initium ortum*: cf. *Pref.* 12 n. — *viri*: after *sermonibus*, the usual construction in Latin between two nouns, whatever the relation in English. — *alieni*, *another's*. — *de viro ad fratrem*, *about (her) husband to (his) brother*. — *de sorore ad virum*, *about her sister to her (that sister's) husband*. In Latin the unnecessary words are left out. — *viduam*, *unmarried*; cf. 43. 9. — *futurum fuisse*: Gr. 337. *b. 2*. — *elanguescendum esset*, *to be obliged to*, etc.

8. *visuram fuisse*: see Gr. 337. *b. 2*. — *celeriter*: notice the emphasis, 'it does not take long,' or the like. — *temeritatis*: see Gr. 248. 8. 2. *a*.

9. *Lucius*: a necessary correction of the MSS., which have *Arruns*.



funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quam approbante.

- 47 Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Iam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere 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 Corintho 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? Facesse hinc Tarquinius aut Corinthum, devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior

47. tum vero: the important moment of the narrative, as usual. — ne gratuita: not merely her own purpose, but the thought she urges upon her husband.

2. diceretur: *i.e.* so called without really being such; she had had that before. — serviret: not to her husband, but to the ruling monarch.

3. istic, *in you*, whom I have now married.

4. quin accingeris: cf. *quin perfunderis*, 45. 6. — tibi: opposed to patri. — penates patriique: not different divinities, but the same in two relations as protecting the household and inherited from his

ancestors. — imago: as one of the insignia of nobility; cf. 34. 6. — regia: he is thought of as still living in the house of his ancestors, who were once kings.

5. ad haec: *i.e.* the endeavor to regain the regal power. — frustraris: *i.e.* by remaining here you excite the hopes of those who wish to be freed from the rule of Servius, but these hopes you disappoint. — regium, *princely*. — facesse, *take yourself off*; a colloquial word, used like *proficiscor*. — devolvere (a middle use; cf. *perfunderis*, 45. 6), *sink back*; strictly of rolling down a declivity.

quam patris.' His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat, 6  
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, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque  
regno faceret.

His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire 7  
et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres, admonere  
paterni beneficii ac pro ea gratiam repetere, adlicere  
donis iuvenes, cum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis  
criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremo, ut iam 8  
agendae rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armato-  
rum in forum inrupit. Inde omnibus percussis pavore,  
in regia sede pro curia sedens, patres in curiam per  
praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Conve- 9  
nere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeeparati, alii metu,  
ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo atto-  
niti et iam de Servio actum rati.

6. his aliisque: cf. *omnibus*, 45. 1 n. — *increpando*: see Gr. 301 footn. — *ipsa*: opposing her ambition in reference to her own position and influence to her ambition on behalf of her husband. — *si . . . potuisset*: i.e. if this is to be the situation, as she conceives it in her mind, it gives her no peace. The subjunctives are used on account of the indirect discourse. — *peregrina*: opposed to *regio*, etc. — *momentum faceret*, *should have weight*.

7. muliebribus: merely because it is his wife's ambition and not his own; a little more vivid than *uxoris* would be. — *furiis*, *blind, mad passions*, as unreflecting and crazy, like the madness inspired by the Furies. — *circumire et prensare*, *go about and interview*, in the manner of the canvassing of later times.

In fact, the whole is probably drawn from Livy's own observation of Roman politics; cf. 35. 2. — *iuvenes*: sons of senators, not yet in the senate. — *regis*, *against the king*; cf. *viri*, 46. 7 n. — *crescere*: cf. *crescendi*, 46. 2 n.

8. stipatus, escorted; the regular word. — in forum: i.e. to the *comitium* and *curia*. — inrupit: implying haste and turbulence. — *regia sede*: cf. 41. 6. — *pro curia*, *in the front of the senate-house*; not outside, but so as to be visible from the outside (cf. 48. 1), like *pro muro*, *pro rostris*. — *regem*: he thus styles himself in the citation.

9. praeeparati: i.e. some were in the plot. — *metu*: i.e. *metu impulsii*. — *non venisse*: i.e. that afterwards they might suffer for not having done so. — *novitate ac miraculo*,

- 10 Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus, servum servaque natum, post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus,
- 11 muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, <sup>ab. f. laud.</sup> fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus
- 12 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.
48. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce 'Quid hoc' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est? Qua tu audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede considerare mea?' Cum ille ferociter ad haec, se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiolem filium regis regni heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis, clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque reg-

*the strange and marvellous occurrence.*

10. *stirpe*: i.e. the origin. — *mortem indignam, shameful murder*, unworthy of his position and his acts. — *non interregno*, etc.: see 41. — *occupasse, had usurped*.

11. *ereptum*: in so far as it should have been assigned only to the patricians; here again Livy is undoubtedly thinking of later politics.

12. *onera*: see 42. 5 and 43. 9. — *insignis, a mark*, made conspicuous by being publicly recorded.

48. *huic orationi*: the position gives the force, 'while he was thus haranguing.' — *cum interve-*

*nisset*: in translation make this clause independent and break up the sentence. — *extemplo*: i.e. without waiting to get in. — *vestibulo*: cf. 45. 4 n. — *vocare* . . . *considerare*: both regal acts, a usurpation of regal power.

2. *ad haec*: sc. *diceret*. — *se*: the regular Latin emphasis on pronouns. — *servum*: see Gr. 336. c. N. 2. — *potiolem*: with *heredem*. — *filium*: in apposition with *se*, taking the place of a new statement in the indirect discourse. — *per licentiam*: cf. *per speciem*, 3. 11 n. — *eludentem*: properly, making sport of something (cf.

naturum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate iam 3  
 etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et  
 viribus validior, medium arripit Servium elatumque e  
 curia in inferiorem partem per gradus deiecit; inde ad  
 cogendum senatum in curiam rediit. Fit fuga regis ap- 4  
 paritorum atque comitum; ipse prope exsanguis, cum  
 semianimis regio comitatu domum se reciperet pervenis-  
 setque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ab iis qui missi ab  
 Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant interficitur. Cre- 5  
 ditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tul-  
 liae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat,  
 in forum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum, evocavit  
 virum e curia regemque prima appellavit. A quo faces- 6  
 sere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum reciperet,  
 pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium  
 nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Vrbium clivum,  
 ut in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur, restitit pavidus  
 atque inhibuit frenos is qui iumenta agebat, iacentem-  
 que dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum 7

36. 4); here used absolutely, as we should colloquially, 'with his pranks.' — *apparebat*, etc., *it began to look as if*, etc.; *i.e.* became a question of force between the partisans of the two.

3. *aetate et viribus validior*, younger and stronger. — *medium*, around the body. — *cogendum*: the senators may be supposed to have left their seats.

4. *apparitorum*: the official attendants; *comitum*: the partisans attending. — *Cyprium vicum*: cf. 26. 13 n.

5. *carpento*: cf. 34. 8. — *certe*: introducing the story in 6, of which *carpento* is really the beginning. — *satis constat*: opposed to *creditur*. — *reverita*: (see Gr. 290. b)

ordinarily it was not good form for a woman to appear in assemblies of men.

6. *domum*: she apparently lived on the Esquiline. — *Dianium*: a shrine of Diana, of which there were several in the city. — *flectenti*: *sc. Tulliae*. — *Vrbium*: probably the same as *Virbium*, from *Virbius*, a genius associated with Diana. — *Esquiliarum*: the same as *Esquilinum*. The word is formed like *angustiae, reliquiae*, apparently from some derivative of *ex* and *colo*; cf. *inquilinus*. — *restitit*: the order is forced, but intended to emphasize the sudden effect upon the driver. — *iacentem*: the order shows again the same straining after effect as in the case just noticed.

inhumanumque inde traditur scelus monumentoque locus est : Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo contaminata ipsa respersaque tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes prope diem exitus sequerentur.

8. Servius Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta ita ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna  
9. occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitantibus intervenisset.

7. inde, *thereupon*, as often. The word really belongs to *factum esse* or the like implied in *traditur scelus*. — *agitantibus*, etc.: explaining *amens*, in accordance with the ancient idea of the Furies driving to madness the guilty criminal, an idea embodied in the actual pursuit by these goddesses so often represented on the stage and in art. Naturally such madness leads to new crimes. — *sororis ac viri*: see 46. 7 n. The genitive is the regular way of expressing the relation between the avenging deities and the person avenged. — *egisse*: as in all languages, *qui facit per alium facit per se*; cf. *flectenti* above. — *sanguinis ac caedis paternae*, *the blood of her murdered father*. The Latin can say, 'the blood and (by consequence) the murder of her father,' a mixture of concrete and abstract which would be harsh in English. — *contaminata*, etc.: a chiastic reference to *sanguinis* and *caedis*. — *tulisse*: here the order is

effective without being forced; the sanctity of the household hearth is still more violated by the actual contact of the crime. — *quibus iratis*, *from whose wrath*. — *malo*, *that ill-starred*. — *sequerentur*: it is unnecessary to go farther for the subjunctive than the indirect discourse.

8. bono, etc.: the order makes an argument *a fortiori*, — 'much less to the king who did succeed,' — *iusta ac legitima*: rather an exaggeration, but the reign as approved by the people is regarded as legitimate. From now on the rule became a tyranny.

9. id ipsum, *and even that*. — *tamen*: opposed to the 'although' implied in the preceding adjectives. — *unius*: as opposed to the commonwealth. — *ni . . . intervenisset*: protasis to *deposuisset* implied in *in animo habuisse*, etc., a construction quite admissible in English as well. — *intestinum*: *i.e.* in his own family, opposed to *patriae*.

+ Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit, cui Superbo co 49  
gnomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura  
prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans,  
primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisce credebat, a  
interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi regni ab se  
ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus  
circumsaepsit; neque enim ad ius regni quicquam prae- 3  
ter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi iussu neque aucto-  
ribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat ut in caritate 4  
civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum es-  
set. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium  
rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat, perque eam 5  
causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat  
non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud  
quam praedam sperare posset.

Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos 6

#### REIGN OF LUCIUS TARQUIN.

49. regnare: an extension of the complementary infinitive; cf. 7. 6 n. — Superbo (see Gr. 231. b): the order gives a force like, 'who received the name, etc., a name given him on account of his acts.' The word indicates an arrogant disregard of others' rights. — quia, *in that*. — socerum gener: the Latin likes to bring out ideas sharply by such antitheses, where we should omit the appositive. — sepultura: see Gr. 243. a.

2. rebus, *the interests*. — male, *by foul means*. — exemplum, *a precedent*.

3. ad, *in respect to*; properly, in the direction of. — vim: *i.e.* the violent usurpation of power, which, though having no element of right, properly speaking, yet made him a king *de facto*, and so ostensibly entitled to rule. — ut qui: see Gr. 320. c. N. I.

4. nihil spei reponenti, *having no confidence based*. — ut . . . esset: the more common construction with *accedere* is *quod*, but here the state of things is conceived as a result. — spei: his own hope; metu: his subjects' fear; such close juxtaposition of two ideas from different points of view is allowed by the ancients, though we are a little more squeamish. — cognitiones, *trials*, not strictly in the English sense, but, in accordance with European law, more like an inquisition. — capitalium: not strictly *capital*, but affecting the *caput*, the civil as well as physical life of the citizen. — consiliis, *judges*, boards of councillors from the senate to advise the king, which our own courts were once in theory.

5. per eam causam, *under this pretext*. — unde: *i.e.* a quibus.

6. praecipue ita, *by this means more than any other*.

in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo  
 7 esset minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim  
 regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus  
 senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem pub-  
 licam administravit, bellum pacem foedera societates  
 per se ipse cum quibus voluit iniussu populi ac senatus  
 fecit diremitque.

8 Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut pere-  
 grinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset, neque hos-  
 pitia modo cum primoribus eorum, sed adfinitates quoque  
 9 iungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano — is longe prin-  
 cepti Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Vluxe  
 deaque Circa oriundus —, ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat  
 perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque eius  
 conciliat.

50 Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum pro-  
 cures erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae  
 conveniant indicit; esse quae agere de rebus communi-  
 2 bus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce. Ipse  
 Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam  
 sol occideret venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis  
 3 iactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia

7. domesticis: of his own house-  
 hold, as opposed to the prominent  
 men of the state. — ipse: see Gr.  
 195. *l.* — iniussu . . . senatus: an  
 inexact shorthand expression, for  
 the senate had only an *auctoritas*.

#### MURMURINGS AGAINST THE TYRANNY.

50. cum . . . indicit: see Gr.  
 325. *b.* — in diem: a common for-  
 mula for such proclamations, oftener  
 with a noun expressing the kind of  
 meeting, for which the *ut* clause is  
 here substituted. — lucum Feren-  
 tinae: a grove and spring north of

the Alban Lake, a meeting-place  
 of the Latin confederation; cf. the  
 similar place mentioned in 30. 5. —  
 communibus: *i.e.* affecting the  
 Romans and Latins.

2. frequentes: *i.e.* the Latins.  
 — servavit: *i.e.* did not entirely  
 neglect it, to be sure, but came  
 late, — an insulting act of arro-  
 gance. — sol occideret: the regu-  
 lar limit of time for business. —  
 sermonibus: conversation before  
 the meeting could come to order.

3. ab Aricia: a construction less  
 common than the adjective, but  
 not unknown to Caesar and Cicero.

ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: haud mirum esse Superbo ei inditum cognomen — iam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, vulgo tamen, eum appellabant — ; an quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum, principibus longe a domo excitis 4 ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non adesse? Temptari profecto patientiam, ut, si iugum acceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere, adfectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene crediderint cives 5 aut si creditum illud et non raptum parricidio sit, credere et Latinos, quamquam ne sic quidem alienigenae, debere; sin suos eius paeniteat, quippe qui alii super 6 alios trucidentur, exsulatum eant, amittant bona, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros neque magis observaturos diem concilii quam ipse qui indixerit observet.

Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinorosusque homo iisque artibus opes domi nactus cum

— ita: *i.e.* by this name. — clam, etc.: *i.e.* though not openly, yet commonly. — an, etc.: (was he not right in saying what he had) or, etc. — ludificari, *be mocked*, as they were by Tarquin's setting a day and not coming.

4. adesse: depending again on the main verb of saying (implied). — temptari: the emphasis gives a force like 'what he was aiming at was to try their patience, to see if they would bear this insult'; cf. 32. 4. — obnoxios: *i.e.* if he found them submissive and in his power. — apparere: see Gr. 338.

5. quod: *sc. imperium*. — sui: see Gr. 196. c; here referring to the omitted *ei*. — bene: *i.e.* had done well in entrusting. — aut: introducing a kind of correction or amplification of the foregoing. — cre-

ditum, *trusted (at all)*. — et non, and not, rather. — Latinos: opposed to cives sui. — quamquam: *correctivum*. — sic, in that case. — alienigenae: *i.e.* as Tarquin was. — debere: the protases of this apodosis, though put as simple conditions (changed to subjunctive in indirect discourse), are really ironical, and leave their contraries to be implied.

6. sin, etc.: the real state of the case. — se: see Gr. 196. a. 2. — audiant: representing a colloquial present for future time; Gr. 276. c. — quemque . . . abituros: see Gr. 205. c. 2.

7. seditiosus: as if the Latins were subject to Rome, as they were in later times. — facinorosus: hardly more than, *daring*; properly, 'ready for violent and



- 8 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 sumptum inter patrem et filium cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse et, quia ea res emisisset illum diem, postero die acturum quae constituisset. Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim nullam breviorum esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.
- 51 Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam videbatur aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis iniceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrupti, ut in deversorium eius vim magnam gladi-

lawless action.' — cum maxime, *just when*; for mood, see Gr. 323. The whole sentence, with Latin compression, contains two statements, 'Thus,' etc., 'did the man harangue, being (to account for his action) a man who,' etc., 'and just as,' etc., 'Tarquin came in.'

8. is, *that* (his coming); see Gr. 195. d. — silentio: *i.e.* by proclamation. — proximis: who had been present. — id temporis: see Gr. 240. b. — disceptatorem, *an arbitrator*, in a private capacity.

9. id, *with that*; obj. of tulisse. — tulisse, etc., *he (i.e. Tarquin) got off without reproach*; a colloquial use of *ferre*, as in the comedy. — dixisse: *i.e.* Turnus, with the Livian careless change of subject. —

cognitionem: cf. 49. 4. — quam inter, etc., *than that between*, etc., in accordance with the English idiom. — verbis: *i.e.* the following, which would be the judgment. — pareat: cf. *audiant* in 6. — habiturum infortunium: a pregnant expression like the English 'come to grief'; cf. *malum habere*. The *patria potestas* was unlimited.

#### RUIN AND DEATH OF TURNUS.

51. quam videbatur, *than he showed*.

2. pro imperio, *by virtue of his authority*, as a Roman could have been. — per: see Gr. 246. b. — deversorium: *i.e.* the place where he lodged while attending the council.

orum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta 3  
essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia inlatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno 4  
dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse quod auctor concilii afuerit, quem maxime peteret. Inde illam absentis insectationem 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 7  
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.

Vbi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumcumsistunt custodes, comprehensisque servis, qui cari-

3. una: the promptness and success of Tarquin's plans make it impossible for Turnus to protect himself. — principibus: not the entire concilium in formal assembly; cf. concilium in 8.

4. dici, he had heard. — adgressurum fuisse (Gr. 337. b): the condition is left to be inferred from the following ('if he had been there,' or the like). — auctor, the summoner, the person under whose authority the council was convened.

5. inde: referring forward to quod. — si vera deferantur: i.e.

if the information laid before him was true.

6. dici, that it was said; emphasized to waive all knowledge of the facts on his own part. — vanum, false, an empty rumor. — rogare: still in indirect discourse. — ad Turnum: to his house, as often.

7. suspectam, etc., the matter seemed suspicious; i.e. the charge likely to be true. — videbatur, it seemed likely that, etc. — inclinatis, etc.: i.e. they were disposed to believe, to be sure, but ready to reject the story if the facts should fail to confirm it.

- tate domini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enim vero manifesta res visa iniectaeque Turno catenae, et confestim Latinorum  
 9 concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa novo genere leti deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.
- 52 Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius con-  
 . laudatisque qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto  
 2 parricidio merita poena adfecissent, ita verba fecit : posse quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, in eo foedere teneantur quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum coloniis suis in Romanum  
 3 cesserit imperium ; ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas

8. *abditi*: by the agents of Tarquin. — *ex omnibus locis*, *from every corner*. — *deverticuli*: cf. *deversorium* in 2. — *enim vero*, *really*, expressing the thought as it occurred to the minds of the council. — *manifesta*, *caught in the act*. In such cases a more summary form of procedure was practised in ancient times than in other cases. — *tumultu*, *excitement*.

9. *in medio positis*: *i.e.* brought into the assembly and displayed. — *indicta causa*: *i.e.* without allowing him to plead his cause, without trial; see 52. 5 n. — *novo*: this was not in use among the Romans, but was not unknown to other nations; cf. Tac. *Ger.* 12.

#### FURTHER SUBJECTION OF THE LATINS.

52. *revocatis*: *i.e.* from the summary punishment of Turnus.

The order here gives a force precisely equivalent to the English participle in agreement, 'Having,' etc. — *parricidio*: inasmuch as the attempt with which he was charged included the murder of the king and others. — *adfecissent*: see Gr. 341. *d.*

2. *posse quidem*, etc.: notice the emphasis, *I MIGHT (said he)* . . . *but*. — *agere*: *i.e.* proceed as if Rome had the *imperium* over all the Latins. — *oriundi*: and hence as colonies subject to the treaties of the mother country Alba. — *ab Tullo*, *from the time of*, etc.

3. *utilitatis*: depending on *causa*. — *id*: referring to the *ut* clause; see Gr. 238. *b.* and 331. — *censere*: in its technical sense of giving an opinion, as in the senate. — *renovetur*: emphatic, as opposed to *vetusto iure*. — *secunda*: opposed to *excidia*, etc.

Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante perpassi sint, semper aut expectent aut patiantur.

Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo 4  
foedere superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita  
nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant et  
Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens  
erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indictumque 5  
iunioribus Latinorum ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum  
Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad 6  
edictum Romani 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 gemi-  
natis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

Nec, ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; 53  
quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum

4. *quamquam*, etc.: *i.e.* though they saw it would be an unequal alliance, yet the reasons given determined them. — *adversatus esset*: in a kind of indirect discourse (following the idea of warning in *documentum*) for a future perfect of the direct. For the apodosis, see Gr. 341. c.

5. *indictum*: the beginner must carefully distinguish between the participle compounded with *in* negative, and the verb with its participle compounded with *in*.

6. *secretum, separate*, its proper meaning. Ordinarily such troops would act as allies independently under their own commanders; cf. 27. — *manipulos*: there is much confusion about the earlier organization of the Roman army. The maniples are said (VIII. 8. 3) to have been made much later, and are not mentioned in II. 64: 10, though they may possibly be supposed; but Livy

had no distinct idea of details, nor care for them, except as they are picturesque, and so conceives the army as it was in later times, which, after all, is just as well, for the *maniple*, in some form or other, must have belonged to the earliest organization. — *ex binis*, etc.: 'making two out of one and one out of two' could only be done by taking half of each and putting them together, in which sense they could be said to be doubled (*geminatis*). — *centuriones*: two, as the maniple was composed of two centuries.

#### WAR WITH THE VOLSCI AND WITH GABII.

53. *nec, and yet . . . not*. — *ut . . . ita, though . . . still*, as often. — *arte*: cf. *artibus*, 39. 4; it does not mean the art of war, but the qualities which made him a good commander. — *degeneratum*: see Gr.

- 2 in aliis huic quoque decori <sup>merito delinquit</sup> officisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos
- 3 movit Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Vbi cum divendita praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi, quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.
- 4 Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios propinquam urbem nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo,
- 5 adgressus est. Nam cum, velut posito bello, fundamentis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum

292. a. The noun which would agree with the participle disappears, because the verb is used impersonally in the passive: 'the fact that he was degenerate,' etc. The construction is founded deep in the genius of the language, but does not come to the surface generally till after Cicero. — aliis: cf. *omnibus*, 45. 1 n. — huic quoque, etc.: other fine points were not strictly cast into the shade (*officisset*), because he did not have them, but loosely it may be said that they did not appear, and the same is true (for another reason) of this one.

2. in ducentos: *i.e.* he began the war which was to last, etc. — ex his: not exactly 'from them,' but 'of their territory.'

3. talenta: as he is copying from Greek sources, Livy uses Greek sums. — refecisset: *i.e.* taken in, made out; a common force of *re-*; cf. *redigo*. — concepit animo, conceived the design of; emphatic, because it was not built till long afterwards. — esset: expressing his purpose; *which should be*.

4. excepit, engaged his attention; a common and not unnatural use of *excipio* for anything that comes on or happens next after something else. — lentius, more prolonged; the war dragged, and was not so soon decided as he had hoped. — spe: see Gr. 247. b. — propinquam: about a dozen miles off. — vi: *i.e.* first he tried assault, which failed. — obsidendi quoque: the next process, of siege, was also hopeless, inasmuch as his forces were driven from their position around the city (a *moenibus*). — minime . . . Romana: a patriotic sentiment not at all uncommon in all times; cf. 'British fair play,' with about as much truth. In general, however, the Roman vices were those of the strong rather than of the weak. — fraude ac dolo: *i.e.* a stratagem founded on deceit.

5. posito, having abandoned, from the idea of laying down a thing. — templi: the temple of Jove; see 3. — iaciendis: the regular word for 'laying' foundations, doubtless on account of the use of

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 6 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 7 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 8 locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium, Volcosque se inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad 9 bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum.

Cum, si nihil morarentur, infensus ira porro inde abi- 10

rubble for the lowest base.—*operibus*: public buildings and the like.

6. *iam*: *i.e.* he had got to that point; a common use of the word.—*vertisse*: *sc.* his father.—*liberorum quoque*: as he had before of the senate, etc.—*ut, ne, ne*: depending on the general idea of killing implied in the preceding.

7. *se*: opposed to the others.—*elapsum*: *i.e.* had succeeded in escaping, to be sure, but had no confidence anywhere but with his father's enemies.—*nam*: explaining *hostes*; they were still such, although the war seemed abandoned.—*ne errarent*: the purpose of his following statement; see Gr. 317. c.

8. *inde*: *i.e.* going from one to the other till he found a refuge.—*impiis*: the word *pius* applies to

the relation of parents to children, as well as the converse.—*tegere*: see Gr. 271.

9. *ardoris*, etc.: *i.e.* besides the mere willingness to succor the helpless, he might find some zeal for war as well,—intimating that he could be of advantage to them by the spirit which he would bring and the skill in fighting.—*superbissimum*, etc.: these words serve to hint at the need of some assistance against the kind of foes they had to deal with.

10. *morarentur*: properly with *eum* for its object, but with the figurative sense of *moror* partially present, 'if they didn't care,' or 'choose to take up the case.' The mood stands for the future indicative of the direct.—*porro inde*, *further on his way*, according to his

- turus videretur, benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari, si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset; in se ipsum postremo saevitum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse futurumque credere brevi, ut, illo adiuvante, a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.
- 54 Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Vbi 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 potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana accresceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum, inscia multitudine quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarqui-

statement before. — *vetant*: simply representing the imperative of their address. 'Do not be surprised,' they said. — *si . . . esset*: see Gr. 333. *δ. R.* The mood is occasioned by the indirect discourse. — *in cives*: see 49. 5; *socios*: see 51.

11. *sibi*: see Gr. 344. *l.*

#### PLOT OF SEXTUS AND CAPTURE OF GABII.

54. *in consilia publica*: used particularly of the senate, which is often called the *publicum consilium*. — *adhiberi*: historical infinitive. — *aliis*: other than the relations with Rome. — *adsentire*: older form instead of *adsentiri*. — *veteribus*: as opposed to himself, a new-comer. —

*identidem*: *i.e.* as occasion offered. — *esse*: hist. inf. — *nosset, sciret*: notice the difference in meaning and use. — *regiam, of the king*.

2. *rebellandum*: in its proper sense of renewing the war. — *praedatum*: in consequence of its original nature as an accusative, the supine is constantly co-ordinated with a noun and preposition, as here. — *vana, false and idle*.

3. *multitudine*: the civilians, through whose influence his fame at home increased (*certatim credere*). — *quid ageretur*: *i.e.* what Sextus was about. — *proelia, etc.*: *i.e.* their success made the Gabini think Sextus a leader sent from heaven.

nium dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud 4  
milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam  
munifice largiendo, tanta caritate esse ut non pater Tar-  
quinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset.

Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes co- 5  
natus videbat, tum ex suis unum <sup>sciscitatum</sup> Romam ad  
patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quandoquidem  
ut omnia unus Gabiis posset ei dii dedissent. Huic 6  
nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce  
responsum est. Rex velut deliberabundus in hortum  
aedium transit sequenti nuntio filii; ibi inambulans  
tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decus-  
sisse. Interrogando exspectandoque responsum nuntius 7  
fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse  
quaeque viderit refert: seu ira seu odio seu superbia  
insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi 8  
quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus  
patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud populum,  
alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit. Multi pa-  
lam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat  
futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus 9

4. milites: the soldiers in the field, as opposed to the civilians. — pariter, *alike*; the two show different kinds of qualities. — praedam: it rested with the general how the booty should be disposed of, whether given to the soldiers or sold for the state.

5. videbat: for mood, see Gr. 324. a. — unum: hardly differing here from *quendam*. — sciscitatum, etc.: see Gr. 259. h. — ei: one would expect *sibi* representing a *mihī* in the words of Sextus. It is probably put into this form to avoid the apparent arrogance of *mihī*. Too much boasting was an-

ciently supposed to draw down the anger of the gods.

6. voce, *in words*.

7. ut re imperfecta: cf. *ut re confecta*, Cæs. B. C. II. 13. 2.

8. ambagibus, *intimations*, roundabout hints instead of a direct answer. — criminando: *i.e.* by false charges of treason. — invidia: the odium which they had previously incurred. Both these things are means of putting them to death, though in a somewhat different sense.

9. patuit: *i.e.* they were allowed to fly. — volentibus: cf. Gr. 235. c; translate with *fuga*, *voluntary*



fuga aut in exilium acti sunt, absentiumque bona iuxta  
 10 atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largitiones inde  
 praedaeque et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malo-  
 rum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque  
 Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum  
 traditur.

55 Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum  
 gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit, inde ad nego-  
 tia urbana animum convertit. Quorum erat primum, ut  
 Iovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui  
 nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinius reges ambos, patrem  
 20 vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religio-  
 nibus area esset tota Iovis templique eius quod inaedifi-  
 caretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot  
 ibi a T. Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus  
 Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea  
 3 fuerant. Inter principia condendi huius operis movisse

*fight.* — *iuxta atque, equally with, or and . . . alike.* — *divisui: i.e. a fund for distribution, but the Latin is more abstract.*

10. *largitiones: i.e. what he distributed; praedae: i.e. what he and his minions secured for themselves.* — *privati: in the case of those who were enriched.* — *in manum: i.e. in dicionem, which is more common.*

#### IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CITY.

55. *receptis: cf. refecisset, 53. 3 and note.* — *ut: depending on negotium (supplied with primum).* Livy has in his mind the effort and plan (cf. *animum convertit*); hence an object clause is natural. — *Iovis: there were chapels (as it were) also to Juno and Minerva, but only as associated with Jupiter.* — *Tarquinius, etc.: the facts of which the*

temple would be a memorial. — *reges: put in, like a later Roman's titles, as a distinction.*

2. *religionibus, religious claims, of other gods who might have shrines there (fana, sacella).* — *exaugurare, unconsecrate, by ceremonies similar to those by which they had first been consecrated, for the pleasure of the gods must be asked by augurs.* — *fana, sacella: not distinctly different, but apparently a sacellum had an altar; a fanum not necessarily.* — *quae aliquot, several of which; see Gr. 216. e.* — *discrimine: see 13, where, however, the vow is not mentioned; it is probably inferred from the existence of the shrines; cf. Varro, L. L. V. 74.*

3. *movisse numen: this odd expression gives the idea that the gods took the trouble, set them-*

numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos; nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere. Idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetui tatis 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 cecinere vates quique in urbe erant quosque ad eam rem consulendam ex Etruria acciverant. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pometinae manubiae, quae perducendo ad cūlmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppedītāvere. Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim, quadraginta ea sola lenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadraginta milia pondo

selves to work. Ordinarily their divine powers would lie dormant unless called forth by some special occasion, but here they made an extraordinary effort. — omnium: *i.e.* all the others. — admitterent: *i.e.* by the signs given in the auspices. — Termini: the god of boundaries, worshipped in the form of a stone.

4. non motam, etc.: cf. *degeneratum*, 53. 1 n. — sibi: the reflexive is used because the god himself is the real subject; Terminus does not leave the place fixed for *him*, and indicates thereby, etc. — cuncta: *i.e.* the whole realm, as symbolized by its boundaries.

5. integra facie, with its features perfect, not impaired by decay.

6. haud per ambages, with no uncertain sign. — eam: agreeing

with the predicate, as usual (Gr. 195. d); best translated *here*. — caput rerum, the capital of the world. — ita: *i.e.* in this sense, in explaining the prodigies. — quique: *i.e.* et qui.

7. augebatur: *i.e.* by the favorable omens. — Pometinae: see 53. 2. — suppedītāvere: *i.e.* because, on the strength of the omens, the king had made the foundations more elaborate.

8. Fabio: Fabius Pictor, the great early Roman historian; see 44. 2. — praeterquam quod: *i.e.* from the reason of the thing, beside the fact that Fabius is the earlier authority. — ea: *i.e.* the manubiae of Pometia.

9. Pisoni: see Intr. 6. — quadraginta milia pondo: as the talent was about 80 Roman pounds, the

argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda sperandam et nullius ne horum quidem magnificentiae operum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

Intentus perficiendo 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 templa deum exaedificare manibus suis quam postquam et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto maioris, traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam, quibus duobus 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.

first sum would be 3200 pounds, as against 40,000. The discrepancy has been explained by supposing Fabius to have counted only the king's tenth (40) of the 400 talents, and that these talents were reckoned by Piso as 100 pounds each. This seems less likely than that it is a natural later exaggeration made at a time when the small sum had come to seem insignificant. — *summam*: in apposition with *milia*. — *exsuperaturam*: Gr. 293. *b*.

#### FURTHER BUILDING. VISIT TO DELPHI.

56. *ex Etruria*: the temple was built in the Etruscan style. — *operis*. *workmen*; *i.e.* in enforced labor. — *et ipse*, of itself, no less than

the military service which they had beside.

2. *ut... sic*: cf. *ut... ita*, 53. 1. — *foros... faciendos*: in apposition with *opera*; see Gr. 301. R.; for *foros* see 35. 8 n. — *cloacam*: the great sewer still in existence.

3. *exercita*: *i.e.* after they had been used in this way, and as a kind of reward for their services, inasmuch as such colonists received land. — *et urbi*, etc.: the two reasons of the king, — it was good for the city at home, and they needed colonies abroad. — *usus non esset*: *i.e.* there was no use for them, nothing for them to do any more, and so the poorer were a burden to maintain. — *terra*: by *Signia*; *mari*: by *Circeii*.

Haec agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis ex 4  
columna lignea elapsus cum terrorem fugamque in regia  
fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit  
pectus quam anxii implevit curis. Itaque cum ad 5  
publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc  
velut domestico exterritus visu Delphos ad maxime in-  
clitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit. Neque re- 6  
sponsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per  
ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria, in Grae-  
ciam misit. Titus et Arruns profecti. Comes iis addi- 7  
tus L. Iunius Brutus, Tarquinia, sorore regis, natus,  
iuvenis longe alius ingenio quam cuius simulationem  
induerat. Is cum primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem  
suum ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo  
suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna con-  
cupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus 8  
esse ubi in iure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex in-  
dustria factus ad imitationem stultitiae cum se sua-  
que praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnu-  
it cognomen, ut sub eius obtentu cognominis liberator ille

4. *non tam*, etc.: not so much alarmed, like the others, by the mere appearance of the creature, as troubled by the doubt as to what the omen portended.

5. *Delphos*: as a higher authority.

6. *responsa*: of course after they should be given. — *sortium*: the word, from meaning the billets of wood on which Italian oracles were written, comes to mean the oracle itself. — *ausus*: it was important to keep such a matter secret. — *ignotas*: though the Romans had long been familiar with Greeks, yet they themselves had little to do with the actual course of commerce itself, so that to them Livy may say, with-

out much exaggeration, *utterly unknown*.

7. *ingenio*: ablative of specification. — *cuius*: *i.e. is iuvenis cuius*. — *induerat*: the figure is derived from a mask or costume, but is a little forced. — *in quibus*, and *among them*. — *animo*: not merely his wits, which he allowed to be considered dull, but his spirit or ambition, in which he seemed to have no aspirations, allowing himself to be treated as a fool. — *fortuna*, *his possessions*.

8. *factus*, *forming himself*. — *se*: referring to *animo*, as explained above. — *sua*: referring to *fortuna*. — *Bruti*, *the Dullard*. For the case, see Gr. 214. *f.* — *ille* . . .

populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua.

9 Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages effigiem ingenii sui.

10 Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis, cupido incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi ad quem eorum regnum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt: 'Imperium summum Romae habebit qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit.'

11 Tarquinius Sextus, qui Romae relictus fuerat, ut ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri iubent, ipsi inter se, uter prior, cum Romam redisset, 12 matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater 13 omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur.

57 Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque in ea aetate, divitiis praepollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum praeda delenire popularium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbiam regno

*animus, that great soul.* in Latin the soul is not identified with the man so much as in English, but nearly the same effect is produced.

9. *ludibrium, a butt.* — per ambages: cf. 54. 8 and 55. 6. — *effigiem, a symbol, or emblem,* as we should call it; the Latin is more simple and direct.

10. *quem:* instead of the more regular *utrum;* cf. 6. 4. Brutus is not really included in the question, though his presence may have

occasioned the use of *quem;* but he is in the answer.

11. *Sextus:* the other brother. — *expers, without a chance;* properly, without a share.

12. *alio . . . spectare, looked in another direction;* i.e. meant something entirely different. — *scilicet, doubtless, naturally.*

THE YOUNG PRINCES IN CAMP  
BEFORE ARDEA.

57. *Ardeam:* cf. Virg. *Aen.* VII. 409. — *ut in, for;* cf. 18. 1 n.

infestos etiam quod se in fabrorum ministerio ac servili tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Vbi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes. In stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium conviviis comissionibusque inter se terebant.

Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinius, ubi et Collatinus cenabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis. Inde certamine accenso Collatinus negat verbis opus esse; paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua. 'Quin, si vigor iuventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluerant vino. 'Age sane!' omnes.

Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus,

2. *praeter, to say nothing of.* — *habitos, etc.*: this was also an act of *superbia*.

3. *si*: see Gr. 334. *f.* — *obsidione*: cf. 53. 4.

4. *stativis*: *i.e.* the encampment made necessary by the siege. — *ut fit, as is usual.* — *commeatus, furloughs*; properly, going to and fro.

5. *regii*: *i.e.* in their case discipline was even so much relaxed, etc.; an exaggerated example of the case of the *primores*. — *conviviis*: the banquet proper; *comissionibus*: the after-revels, in which the young men roamed about from one place to another, carousing.

6. *potantibus*: may be either dative or ablative.

7. *id quidem*: with a force like 'why, *that* you can see for yourselves.' — *cuique*: usually in the relative clause, but here introduced sooner for emphasis; cf. Gr. 202. *e.* — *spectatissimum, the surest proof*; properly, the thing proved.

8. *incaluerant*: and hence were ready to adopt the wild suggestion. — *age sane, well, come on.* The singular imperative is used colloquially as an interjection. The short sentences vividly portray the swift execution of the plan: cf. Ovid's description, *Fast.* II. 733.

- quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantēs ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt.
- 10 Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Advēniens vir Tarquinique excepti benigne, victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinius mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum
- 11 forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt.
- 58 Paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius inscio Collatino cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Vbi exceptus benigne ab ignaris consilii cum post cenam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitque omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso, 'Tace, Lucretia' inquit; 'Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem.'
- 3 Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes
- 4 muliebrem animum. Vbi obstinatam videbat et ne

9. convivio: *i.e.* they were still indulging themselves at dinner. — nocte sera: indicating a greater diligence. — lanae: spinning and weaving, the regular occupations of the thrifty housewife. Cf. the epitaph of a Roman lady: *domum servavit, lanam fecit*. — lucubrantēs: working by lamplight; a continuation of the same idea as in nocte sera. — in medio aedium: in the atrium, the great hall, not the splendid and luxurious dining-rooms like the others.

10. muliebris (Gr. 214. a. 2): one would expect certaminis to be first, but the present order is occa-

sioned by the contrast with the men (cf. Gr. 344. l). — victor: the emphasis serves to explain comiter invitat.

11. tum quidem: as opposed to the later visit of Sextus.

#### THE RAPE OF LUCRETIA.

58. 2. circa: equivalent to a noun; Livy inelegantly uses 'around' for 'the things which are around,' — a use for which the way is prepared by the use of adverbs for adjectives; cf. *omnia circa*, and see Gr. 188 c.

3. versare, etc., *ply her with every appeal to the feminine mind*;

mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus : cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore cum 5 vicisset obstinatum pudicitiam velut victrix libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant ; ita facto maturatoque opus esse, rem atrocem incidisse.

Spurius Lucretius cum P. Valerio, Volesi filio, Colla- 6 tinus cum L. Iunio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam rediens ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suo- 7 rum lacrimae obortae, quaerentique viro 'Satin salve?' 'Minime' inquit ; 'quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus in- sons : mors testis erit. Sed date dextras fidemque, haud impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius qui, hostis 8 pro hospite, priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium.' Dant or- 9 dine omnes fidem, consolantur aegram animi avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti : mentem peccare, non corpus, et, unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse.

properly, turn her mind in all directions to look at arguments from all sides.

4. sordido : as being committed with a man of low estate.

5. quo terrore : cf. *hac fiducia*, 30. 4 n. — velut : because the victory was not a real one. — ferox, *exultant*, as often. — nuntium, *message*. — facto : see Gr. 292. b.

6. nuntio, *messenger*.

7. satin : colloquial form for *satisne* (Gr. 10. c and 11. b. 3). The

word implies a slight doubt natural under the circumstances. — salve : *sc. agis or res se habent*. The omission of the verb is regular in this colloquial expression, equivalent to *Does all go well?* — testis : *i.e.* that I speak the truth. — impune : adverb, as in the phrases *bene esse, male esse*, and the like.

8. sibique : conditioned by the following clause.

9. ordine, *in turn*. — aegram animi : cf. *incertus animi*, 7. 6.



- 10 'Vos' inquit 'videritis quid illi debeatur; ego me etsi peccato absolvere, supplicio non libero nec ulla deinde im-
- 11 pudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.' Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit prolapsaque
- 12 in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque.
- 59 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. Tarquinius Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro, igni, quacumque dehinc vi possim, exsecuturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum.' Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Vt praeceptum erat iurant, totique ab luctu versi in iram Brutum, iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem, sequuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines.
- 4 Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet

10. vos videritis: her gentle answer to their consolation. She says it is for them to determine his guilt and its punishment; for her own case she decides herself, and refuses their excuses.

11. cultrum: the emphasis gives the force, 'she takes a knife which,' etc., 'and plunges it,' etc.

12. conclamat, etc.: according to the regular custom; cf. 41. 6 and the death of Dido, Virg. *Aen.* IV. 665 seq.

THE AVENGING OF LUCRETIA.

59. exsecuturum: not elsewhere used in this sense with a personal object.

2. tradit: thus calling upon them

to take the same oath. — unde: the idea of questioning is implied in *stupentibus*; 'they could not make out.' — novum: as it contradicted his whole previous character; see note on *animo*, 56.

7. It was not so much a change of intellect as of spirit. — ingenium: sc. *esset*, but see Gr. 206. c. 2, 3d example. — toti: see Gr. 191. — iam inde, *from that moment*.

3. elatum: the technical word for the carrying out of the body. — miraculo: cf. 47. 9 and also 7. 8. — indignitate, *the shameful nature*. — pro se: not merely joining in the cry, but themselves moved, each independently.

4. movet (emph.): 'what affected

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 5 adest, sequitur et cetera iuventus. Inde parte praesidio relicta Collatiae ad portas custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati, duce Bruto, Romam profecti. Vbi eo ventum est, quacumque in- 6 cedit armata multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum ani- 7 morum Romae tam atrox res facit quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum Celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingenii- 8 que, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquini, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa mor-

them was not only,' etc. — patris, etc.: the two aspects of the case are contrasted, — the passive grief of the father, and the energy (now first apparent) of Brutus. — castigator: i.e. the fact that he was so; cf. Gr. 292. a. — quod: as if there were an *eius*, with capiendi in apposition with it. The omission of this makes quod refer loosely to the idea in capiendi; as we might say 'adviser of what, etc., taking up arms.' It is to be remembered that this order of clauses is the original and perhaps more common one.

5. adest: an almost technical word; *stands ready, joins them*. — custodibus datis: apparently only a detail of the general parte relicta.

6. rursus, but on the other hand. — haud temere, *not without reason*; not a mere chance occurrence without significance. — quidquid sit: i.e. though they do not understand it.

7. nec minorem, etc.: i.e. after the story is told. — tribunum Celerum: commander of the body-guard (see 15. 8). He could hardly be a magistrate in the strict sense, or have any right to call the people together, but he is made so in the story, doubtless in conformity with later prejudices.

8. pectoris: here referring to intellect, *as ingenii* to spirit. — orbitate, *the bereavement*. — Tricipitini: i.e. Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

- 9 *tis indignior ac miserabilior esset.* Addita superbia ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae: Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Servi Tulli regis memorata caedes et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia, invocatique ultores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque credo aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret exsulesque esse iuberet L. Tarquinius cum coniuge ac liberis. Ipse iunioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit exsecrantibus quacumque incedebat invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.
- 60 Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, cum re nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus,

9. *fossas*: the smaller drains. — *exhauriendas*: not merely digging dry earth, but clearing out mud and filth; hence also *demersae*, to intensify the picture. — *omnium circa*: cf. *circa*, 58. 2 n. — *opifices*, etc.: these artisans were of the lowest classes, and so it was a degradation to be placed among them as compared with soldiers.

10. *dii*: not any particular gods, but such as might take it on themselves; cf., however, 13, where there is a slightly different conception.

11. *indignitas*: in the same sense as in 59. 3; but the Latin, it must be remembered, does not distinguish between *indignity* and

*indignation*; here the subjective phase predominates.

12. *ipse*: as opposed to the newly enrolled army which he leaves behind. — *ultro*: *i.e.* as volunteers; without waiting to be summoned. — *praefecto*: it is almost amusing to see the care which Livy takes in that age of formality to make the proceedings entirely regular. The *praefectus urbi (urbis)* was the chief magistrate of the city in the absence of all magistrates with the *imperium*.

13. *furias*: cf. 48. 7 n.

THE FALL OF TARQUIN AND INSTITUTION OF CONSULS.

60. *pergeret Romam*: the fortunate absence of the king from the

flexit viam Brutus — senserat enim adventum —, ne ob-  
 vius fieret; eodemque fere tempore diversis itineribus  
 Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio <sup>2</sup>  
 clausae portae exsiliumque indictum; liberatorem urbis  
 laeta castra acceperere, exactique inde liberi regis; duo pa-  
 trem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt;  
 Sextus Tarquinius Gabios, tamquam in suum regnum,  
 profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simultatium, quas sibi  
 ipse caedibus rapinisque concierat, est interfectus.

L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et <sup>3</sup>  
 viginti. Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad libera-  
 tam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules <sup>4</sup>  
 inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commenta-  
 riis Servi Tulli creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tar-  
 quinius Collatinus.

camp reads like a novel, as the whole doubtless is.

3. *ab condita*, etc.: cf. *degeneratum*, 53. 1. This construction is more deeply rooted in Latin than at first appears; cf. *castigator*, 59. 4 n, and the gerundive construction.

4. *a praefecto urbis*, etc.: again an effort to give a show of regularity to the proceedings; the auspices and *imperium* are thus continued. — *ex commentariis*: i.e. according to forms of election prescribed by him in his constitution.

# TITI LIVI

## AB VRBE CONDITA

### LIBER II.

- 1 Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora  
2 quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnarunt ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae  
3 multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id factururus fuerit, si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum  
4 extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tribu-

#### BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. *liberi*: the emphasis marks the division of the new era from the old. — *iam hinc*: with *peragam* in grammatical construction, but its position adds to the emphasis of *liberi*, and connects the adverbial idea more closely with the new state of things.

2. *nam*: introducing the suggestion of the tyranny of the last king, who alone of all did nothing which could be counted as an addition to the city. The whole is intended

to show that the republic came in just at the right time; hence *neque*, etc.

3. *pessimo publico*: here *pessimo* as substantive is modified by *publico*; cf. *bono publico*, 44. 3. — *facturus fuerit*: representing *fecisset* in the direct statement without *quin*; see Gr. 308. *d. N.*, and cf. 337. *b.*

4. *futurum fuit*: see Gr. 308. *d.* — *regio*: see Gr. 217. *a.* — *tribunicis*: here Livy is thinking of the later republic, when the tri-

niciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignora coniugum ac liberorum 5 caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum 6 adultae discordia forent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent.

Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annum 7 imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres: omnia iura, 8 omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est, ne si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior concedente collega fasces habuit, qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis popu- 9 lum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam 10 ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit. Traditumque inde fertur, ut in se- 11 natum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent:

bunes were the agents of all popular disturbance.

6. *res*: i.e. the power of the state. — *moderatio*, the restraint, put upon the strong democracy. — *frugem*: the figure all along is one of vegetable and animal growth.

7. *libertatis*: its emphasis refers back to *liberi*, at the beginning: 'but of this freedom, however,' etc. — *quod deminutum sit*: see Gr. 321. R. — *numeres*: see Gr. 311. A.

8. *iura*: the consuls had all the power of the king. — *insignia*: chiefly the *fasces*, but also including

the robes and the *sella curulis*. — *fasces*: only one at a time had these symbols of the power of life and death. — *vindex*: properly of the formal claimant of a slave in his suit for freedom; hence here *champion*.

9. *avidum*, while jealous; i.e. in their first enthusiasm.

10. *etiam*: i.e. by mere numbers as well as prominence in the state. — *caedibus*: cf. I. 54. 8. — *trecentorum*: cf. I. 35. 6.

11. *ut*: because *traditum* contains the idea of a custom or law.

conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

- 2 Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi  
 3 regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebus  
 4 niendo modum excesserint. Consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit: nimium Tarquinius regno adsuesse. Initium a Prisco factum; regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum tanquam alieni regni Superbum Tarquinium velut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso  
 5 Superbo penes Collatinum imperium esse. Nescire Tarquinius privatos vivere. Non placere nomen, periculolum libertati esse. Hinc primo sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat neminem

— *profuit*, etc.: this is again conceived in the spirit of Livy's time. For the mood, see Gr. 334. *c*.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND EXPULSION OF THE TARQUINS.

2. *necubi*, *that nowhere*; literally, 'lest somewhere.'

2. *ac*: in allusion to the last fear expressed; 'and in fact in this direction,' etc.

3. *aliud*: see Gr. 238. *b*. — *nommen*: L. Tarquinius Collatinus. — *nimium*, etc.: the characteristic indirect discourse of a thought added in a narrative. — *intervallo*: here

of time, the reign of Tullius, which broke the continuity of the Tarquin dynasty. — *tanquam alieni*, *as belonging not to him*, but to the people.

4. *temptantium*: of the first cautious suggestions of the malcontents to try the temper of the people. — *sollicitam*: *i.e.* their minds were disturbed by the talk as it spread, so that it became necessary to do something.

5. *foret*: characteristic subjunctive. — *id*: *i.e.* the oath and the principle it contained. — *dicturum fuisse*: see Gr. 337. *b*. 2. — *vinceret*: overcome, and so *force him*.

regnare passuros nec esse Romae, unde periculum libertati foret. Id summa ope tuendum esse, neque ullam rem quae eo pertineat contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas rei publicae vinceret. Non credere populum Romanum 6 solidam libertatem reciperatam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen non solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id officere, id obstare libertati. 'Hunc tu' 7 inquit 'tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, eiecisti reges; absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui auctore me, sed si quid deest, munifice augebunt. Amicus abi, exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum.' Consuli primo 8 tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat vocem; dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumstunt, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem 9 movebant minus: postquam Spurius Lucretius, maior aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis suadendoque coepit, ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul, ne postmodum privato 10 sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes 11 Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent. Collegam sibi comi-

7. *absolve, complete.* — cum gente, etc.: *i.e.* so and only so.

9. *movebant minus, etc., did not affect him much, but, etc.* — *dignitate, position*, in respect to services and exploits. — *agere, to ply him.*

10. *privato*: after the expiration

of his office. — *alia . . . ignominia*: in being forced to go, for instance. — *Lavinium*: to a friendly foreign state, rather than to the hostile Etruscans, his own people.

11. *ad populum*: we may suppose the *comitia centuriata*, in spite



tiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

- 8 Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab Tarquinii imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac prodicionem  
 2 prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana iuventute adulescentes aliquot, nec hi tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adulescentium Tarquiniorum, adsueti more regio vivere. Eam  
 3 tum aequato iure omnium licentiam quaerentes libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conque-  
 4 rebantur: regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius, ubi iniuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse, inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nosse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti, nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris; peri-

of the separate mention of it in the next line. Such carelessness is not strange in our author.

#### PLOTS OF THE TARQUINS.

8. cum, etc.: opposed to the clause id . . . fuit. — quidem: correlative with ceterum, opposing the delay of the war with the Tarquins to the earlier intestine troubles. — non timebant: opposed to haud . . . in dubio esset.

2. nec, and not . . . either. — in regno: *i.e.* under the rule of a king. — regio: *i.e.* without control.

3. eam: referring to regio, etc. — quaerentes, *missing*: a very common meaning of the word; cf. the exactly opposite course of *desidero*, 'find missing,' and so 'feel the want of'; see *Harvard Studies*, I. p. 96. — suam, *for them*, on account of the emphasis. — regem, etc.: *i.e.* a

king was a human being, and so to be influenced by human motives for right or wrong. — opus sit: see Gr. 243. 2. R. — gratiae, *favor*; properly, the agreeableness of the favored to the favorer; but in Latin such words are viewed from either direction; cf. note to *iniuria*, I. 13. 1. — beneficio: *i.e.* doing a good turn; more concrete than the preceding, and expressing nearly the same thing viewed from the opposite end. — posse: *i.e.* *regem*.

4. rem surdam: opposed to hominem. — inexorabilem: opposed to a quo impetres. — salubriorem, etc.: a parenthetical remark outside the antithesis. — nihil, etc.: opposed to gratiae, etc. — excesseris: see Gr. 309. a. — innocentia: a free use of the ablative of means. It is dangerous to try to live by this

culosum esse in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita iam sua sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt sine mentione reditus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit, ne non reddita belli causa, reddita belli materia et adiumentum essent. Interim legati alia moliri, aperte bona repetentes clam recipiendi regni consilia struere; et tamquam ad id quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adulescentium animos pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt, et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus conloquuntur.

Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, iamque ex eo matrimonio adulescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque in societatem consilii avunculi adsumunt. Praeterea aliquot nobiles adulescentes conscii adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit. Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absumunt, evincunt-

means alone; one needs some indulgence for frailties besides.

5. *sua sponte*: *i.e.* without the additional stimulus of the arrival of the envoys. — *animis*: ablative. — *ne*: *i.e.* 'on account of the fear that'; the purpose, properly, of the debate.

6. *alia*: opposed to the ostensible aim of their visit. — *tanquam ad id*, etc.: *i.e.* this was their excuse for visiting the young nobles, to gain their influence.

7. *placide, favorably*; properly, without objection or offence.

THE YOUNG NOBLES SIDE WITH THE TARQUINS.

4. *adulescentes, grown up*.

3. *eam ipsam*: cf. Gr. 195, *d.* — *causam, excuse*; hence the subjunctive *sumpsissent*, putting the words into the mouths of the envoys. — *evincunt, finally succeed in having*. — *ut . . . darentur*: object clause, as with words of persuading

que instando, ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinius darentur:  
 4 nam aliter qui credituros eos non vana ab legatis super  
 rebus tantis adferri? Datae litterae, ut pignus fidei  
 5 essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie  
 quam legati ad Tarquinius proficiscerentur cenatum forte  
 apud Vitellios esset, coniuratique ibi remotis arbitris  
 multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermo-  
 nem eorum ex servis unus excepit; qui iam antea id  
 6 senserat agi; sed eam occasionem, ut litterae legatis  
 darentur, quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, ex-  
 spectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detu-  
 7 lit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos coniuratosque  
 profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere, litte-  
 rarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. Prodito-  
 ribus extemplo in vincla coniectis de legatis paululum  
 addubitatum est, et quamquam visi sunt commisisse ut  
 hostium loco essent, ius tamen gentium valuit.

and the like. — *litterae*: *i.e.* from the conspirators, in order to compromise, and so bind them.

4. *qui, how*. — *credituros*: see Gr. 338.

5. *proficiscerentur*: see Gr. 327. — *arbitris, witnesses*; the earlier meaning: — *ut fit, as was natural*; this idea is immediately connected with *novo*, as it was because their heads were full of the new plans that they talked about them. — *qui, etc.*: translate with a new sentence, '*he*,' etc.

6. *eam occasionem*: *i.e.* the opportunity afforded by the giving of the letter; hence the dependent clause takes the form of a purpose clause: he was waiting for the letter to be delivered, to take advantage of that opportunity. — *detulit*: the technical word for laying definite information before the authorities.

7. *profecti, etc.*: as magistrates they had the power of proceeding immediately, without our machinery of warrants, etc. — *sine tumultu*: *i.e.* without creating any alarm or stir outside of their own official circle. — *oppressere, crushed*; the word properly means more than this. They anticipated the outbreak by putting their hand on it in its inception, caught it in the act and nipped it in the bud, as it were; or, they seized it by the throat; hence *litterarum in primis, etc.*, in accordance with the rest of the figure. — *ne interciderent*: a common form of explanatory purpose clause, where an object has already been expressed; cf. 9. 5 and see Gr. 334. c. for a similar usage in the indirect question. — *ut hostium, etc.*: *i.e.* had forfeited the rights of ambassadors (cf. *ius gentium*).

De bonis regis, quae reddi ante censuerant, res integra 5  
refertur ad patres. Ibi victi ira vetuere reddi, vetuere  
in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut con-  
tacta regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis  
amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Ti-  
berim fuit, consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit.  
Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. 3  
Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere,  
desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum  
simul immissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem  
aqua, ut mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis haesitantis 4  
frumenti acervos sedisse inlitos limo. Insulam inde pau-  
latim et aliis, quae fert temere flumen, eodem invectis  
factam. Postea credo additas moles manuque adiutum,  
ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac portici-  
bus sustinendis esset.

Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptum- 5

#### CONFISCATION OF THE ROYAL PROPERTY.

5. reddi: see Gr. 331. *d.* and cf. *reddenda*, 4. 3. — *integra*, *afresh*; *i.e.* as if the matter had not been considered; the technical meaning of the word. — *refertur*: by the consul, for whom *referre* is the technical term. — *in publicum*, etc., *to be confiscated*; *i.e.* sold and 'covered into the treasury.'

2. diripienda: as the property of armed enemies. — *ager*: comprising the whole level ground on which most of modern Rome stands.

3. seges: the standing grain. — *religiosum*: because consecrated with the land to the god. — *cum stramento*: the usual way was to cut the heads and leave the straw, but here the whole, for religious reasons, was cut off, as with us. — *caloribus*: this does not agree with

the time of the *refugium*, kept later (Feb. 24), but that is a small matter in a story of this sort.

4. *sedisse*, *settled*, or *got caught*. — *inde*; *i.e. ex eis*; connected by et with *alii* . . . *invectis*. — *eodem*: *i.e. ad eundem locum*. — *credo*: the author, seeing the solid character of the *insula Tiberina*, the seat of the great temple of Æsculapius, naturally presumes that the formation must have been assisted by art. — *area*: see I. 38. 7 n. — *sustinendis*: after *firma*, in the sense of 'strong enough to'; see Gr. 299.

#### EXECUTION OF THE SONS OF BRUTUS.

5. *regum*, *of the royal family*. — *de liberis*: this phrase is postponed in order to bring it in sharp contrast with *patri*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* VI. 820.

que supplicium, conspectius eo quod poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi  
 6 iuvenes. Sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines quam sceleris, quo poenam  
 7 meriti essent: illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Iunia, patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo  
 8 quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium. Nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater vultusque et os eius spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publi-  
 9 cae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas  
 10 et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus.

— consulatus, *his office of consul*.  
 — erat amovendus: see Gr. 311.  
 c. — exactorem: cf. *sumptum, capiendae de*.

6. ignotis: *i.e.* obscure persons of little account, instead of young nobles. — averterant: see Gr. 279. c. — miserebat homines, *men felt compassion*. — poenae, *on account of*, etc. Inasmuch as the punishment was deserved, men's feelings were excited by the crime which made it necessary.

7. illos, etc., *to think that they*, etc.; cf. *nimium Tarquinius*, etc., 2. 3 n., and see Gr. 274. — potissimum, *of all (years)*. — quidquid, etc.: a common way of making a

very general statement; cf. *nilil* used instead of *nemo*, *quid* instead of *quis*, etc.

8. sedem: the raised platform or tribunal. — eminente, *showing itself*.

9. utramque: *i.e.* both in punishment of offenders and reward of informers, each of which would tend to prevent (arcendis) crime.

10. primum: one would expect *primus* according to the Latin idiom, but Livy is perhaps thinking of 'the first time,' the occasion rather than the person. — dicitur: naturally this could not be true, and even Livy does not believe it. — vindicta: the rod with which a formal

Quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant ; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum ut qui ita liberati essent in civitatem accepti viderentur.

His sicut acta erant nuntiatis incensus Tarquinius 6 non dolore solum tantae ad inritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obsaeptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriae urbes, orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne se ortum, eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos ; se regem, augmentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata coniuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, 3 quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse, bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem,

claimant of a person alleged to be free, but claimed by some one as a slave, asserted his (formal) right in the process for freedom.—Vindicio: this etymology is, of course, impossible, though the whole family of words is a puzzle to etymologists. The word *vindicium* comes from *vindex*, the name for a claimant in such a case, whence also comes *vindico* (-are), the word for the action; *vindicta* may be a noun of agency like *nauta*. The words all point to *vim dicere*; but as the first part is a case, and not a stem, the combination could not regularly yield *vindex* nor its derivative *vindico*. The only way of explaining the anomaly is to suppose a form *vindex* irregularly made in imitation of *iudex*, *index*; for as *iudex* is to *ius dicere*, so is *vindex* to *vim dicere*. —ita: i.e. by the process of *vindi-*

*catio*, as distinguished from other forms of manumission.

#### WAR WITH THE TARQUINS.

6. sicut, etc.: i.e. with all their details.—ad inritum (*in-ratum*), to naught.—dolo: dative.

2. se ortum: referring to Tarquinienses (cf. I. 34. 1); eiusdem sanguinis: apparently referring to Veientes, in the common chiasmic order.—extorrem, an exile; for derivation, cf. *concors*, and see Gr. 168. d.—ex . . . regno: cf. *ex bello tam tristi*, I. 13. 6.—adolescentibus: i.e. not mere children, but young men of promise.—alios: used of Numa by a rhetorical exaggeration familiar even in colloquial language.—augmentem: it heightens the picture that he was driven out just at that moment.

3. eos: sc. *proximos*.—expers: cf. *extorrem* above.—ferrent: see

adiuvarent; suas quoque veteres iniurias ultum irent,  
 4 totiens caesas legiones, agrum ademptum. Haec move-  
 runt Veientes, ac pro se quisque Romano saltem duce  
 ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda minaci-  
 ter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet:  
 5 pulchrum videbatur suos Romae regnare. Ita duo dua-  
 rum civitatum exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque  
 persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam  
 in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti consules  
 6 eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit; Brutus  
 ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo  
 primus eques hostium agminis fuit, praecerat Arruns Tar-  
 quinius, filius regis; rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur.  
 7 Arruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde  
 iam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognovit,  
 inflammatus ira 'Ille est vir' inquit, 'qui nos extorres  
 expulit patria. Ipse en ille nostris decoratus insignibus  
 8 magnifice incedit. Di regum ultores adeste.' Concitat  
 calcaribus equum atque in ipsum infestus consulem deri-  
 git. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum erat tum ipsis

Gr. 339. — *suas*: see Gr. 196. a. 1. — *caesas*, etc.: in apposition with *iniurias*; cf. Gr. 292. a., so often cited already.

4. *haec*: *i.e.* what is said about their *iniuriae*. Notice the emphasis: 'It was this last that influenced the Veientes . . .; the people of Tarquinius, on the other hand,' etc. — *pro se quisque*: this common expression makes a statement more vivid by referring the act to individuals; 'each one was moved to cry out.' — *Romano saltem duce*: *i.e.* the opportunity should not be lost, however they might keep quiet at other times, for fear of failure. — *nomen*, etc.: *i.e.* the people of

Tarquinius, on the other hand, were moved by sympathy with the royal family. — *suos*: see Gr. 196. c.

5. *ita*: *i.e.* from these two motives.

6. *quadrato agmine*: *i.e.* not in ordinary marching-order, but so as to have the troops in battle array on every side, something like a hollow square; see A. & G.'s *Cæsar*, B. G., Notes, pp. 99, 100.

7. *consulem*: *i.e.* he recognized the office at a distance. — *facie quoque*: *i.e.* now he recognized the person. — *ipse*: the emphasis makes prominent the idea that Brutus' motives were personal, and not patriotic.

capessere pugnam ducibus, avide itaque se certamini offert: adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, 9 dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendi corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et 10 cetera equestris pugna coepit, neque ita multo post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et velut aequo Marte pugnatum est: dextera utrimque cornua vicere, laeva superata. Veientes, vinci ab Romano milite adsueti, 11 fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis, novus hostis, non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit.

Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium 7 atque Etruscos incessit ut omissa inrita re nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio pro- ximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro 9 victis. Nam postquam inluxit nec quisquam hostium in

8. tum: as opposed to later times, when personal combat between leaders was unknown.

9. vulneraret: see Gr. 314.—protegendi, etc.: *i.e.* they used no defensive tactics, though of course each had a shield for defence.—contrario, *of his adversary*.

10. cetera: *i.e.* of the rest of the force.—ita multo post, *so very long after*.—varia, *alternate*; *i.e.* partial on each side; first one party conquering, and then the other, on the different wings.—aequo Marte: in reference to the general result, which was undecided, though not in the ordinary sense where both parties maintain the contest; hence velut.

11. novus: as opposed to adsueti. — ab sua parte: see Gr. 260. *b*.

#### MOURNING FOR BRUTUS.

7. ita: *i.e.* with this result.—inrita, *unsuccessful*; *i.e.* considering it such.—quisque: instead of the proper *uterque*.

2. adiciunt: *i.e.* common report.—Silvani: another name for Faunus, identified with Pan, the author of *panic* terrors.—vincere: *i.e.* *victorem esse*; apparently an imitation of the Greek, which is fond of this use.

3. ita: *i.e.* as the voice announced.—certe: *i.e.* however it may be with the miracle.—ut, pro: neither



- conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit, triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus quantum potuit apparatu fecit; sed multo maius morti decus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.
- Consuli deinde qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles vulgi animi, ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum adfectare fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti et aedificabat in summa Velia: ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore. Haec dicta vulgo creditaque cum indignitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo summissis fascibus in contionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessionemque factam populi quam consulis maiestatem vimque maiorem esse. Ibi audire iussis consul laudare fortunam collegae, quod liberata patria in summo honore pro re publica dimicans matura gloria necdum se vertente in invidiam mortem occubisset. Se superstitem gloriae suae ad crimen atque invidiam superesse, ex liberatore patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidissee. 'Num-

of the expressions was strictly correct. — erat: see Gr. 324. a.

4. collegae: emphatic as opposed to Valerius, who returned. — luxerunt: see 16. 7 n.

5. ex favore: cf. *ex tanto*, etc., 6. 2.

VALERIUS YIELDS TO THE JEALOUSY OF THE PEOPLE.

6. aedificabat: used absolutely, as often in English. — Velia: the ridge across from the Palatine to the Esquiline. — arcem: like a for-

ress in the Middle Ages, to hold control over the city. — fore: see note on *nimum*, 2. 3.

7. indignitate, *the outrage*; properly, the 'undeservedness' of the accusation. — in contionem escendit: a shorthand expression for ascending to some place, not specified, to address the citizens.

8. audire iussis: *i.e.* the herald 'called them to order.' — necdum, and (*yet*) not yet, as had his own; 'fully complete, but yet not yet turned the other way.' — Aquilios,

quamne ergo' inquit 'ulla adeo vobis spectata virtus erit ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen subitum timerem? Ego, si in ipsa arce Capitolioque <sup>10</sup> habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis? tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone est fundata leviter fides ut ubi sim quam qui sim magis referat? Non obstabunt Publi Valeri aedes libertati <sup>11</sup> vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modo aedes, sed colli etiam subiciam, ut vos supra suspectum me civem habitetis. In Velia aedificent quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas.' Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam, et, ubi <sup>12</sup> nunc Vicae Potae est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.

Latae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione <sup>8</sup> consulem absolverent, sed quae adeo in contrarium verterent ut popularem etiam facerent. Inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocatione ad-

etc.: see 4. 1. — recidissee ad, *fallen to the level of*, etc.

9. vobis: the MSS. have *a vobis*, but *spectatus* is so regularly used with the dative that the preposition is probably an interpolation. — subitum: a rare (ungrammatical) confusion of a verb of fearing with verbs of saying, occasionally found in late or careless writers; nobody but the critic is always grammatical. — timerem: see Gr. 268. R.

10. arce Capitolioque: the same place under different aspects; feared as the real citadel or commanding stronghold, which the Velia was in a very small degree indeed. — levi momento pendet, *have so little weight*. *Momentum* probably refers originally to the movement of the weight on the steelyard, and hence

comes to mean weight itself. — fundata levitur: the figure is of a thing placed on a base not of sufficient weight to keep it from tipping over easily. — fides, *your confidence in me*. — qui sim: cf. *qui sis, non unde natus sis*, I. 41. 3. — referat: from *refert*.

11. non in planum, etc.: i.e. 'not only on a level, but even under a hill.'

12. Vicae Potae (*sc. aedes*): the words look as though they were irregularly manufactured from *vinco* and *potior*, in imitation of regular ones. — clivo: the broad road up the Velia; cf. *clivus Capitolinus*.

#### LAWS OF VALERIUS.

8. latae: in his character of consul. — absolverent (*sc. eum*): see Gr. 319. 2. — verterent: intransitive, as often. — Publicolae: for

versus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratae  
 3 in vulgus leges fuere. Quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia colle-  
 4 gae subrogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu non sufficientibus iam viribus ad consu-  
 5 laria munera obeunda intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucreti locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem, Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoriam intercidisse.

- 6 Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iovis aedes; Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit; Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus.  
 7 Aegrius quam dignum erat tulere Valerii necessarii dedicationem tam incliti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem iam tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem deum nuntium incutiunt, mortuum eius filium esse, funestaque familia dedicare eum templum non posse.  
 8 Non crediderit factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit,

*populi-cola* (cf. *agricola*, *caelicola*, etc.), with the same meaning as *popularis*.

2. *omnes: sc. leges.* — *provocatione*: as the action of magistrates was summary, this amounted to securing a trial of the accused by his peers; cf. I. 26. 8 n. These laws made the appeal an inviolable right instead of a precarious privilege, as under the kings. — *sacrando*: this devotion to the gods deprived the person devoted of all rights whatever; he could be killed, and his property was confiscated irrevocably.

3. *unius*: see Gr. 197. c. — *subrogando*: see Gr. 299. b.

4. *iam, any longer*; on account of his age.

6. *sortiti*: the regular method of decision between colleagues of equal privileges.

7. *postem, etc.*: a regular part of the ritual; cf. VII. 3. 8. — *incutiunt*: from the analogy of such expressions as *terrorem incutere* and the like. — *funesta: i.e. ceremonially impure.* — *familia, his house*; the whole establishment in and among which the death had taken place.

nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a proposito aversus quam ut cada-ver efferri iuberet, tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum. Haec post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno. Inde P. Valerius iterum T. Lucretius consules facti.

Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur; nunc monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis; nisi quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis, nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Porsinna, cum regem esse Romae tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non umquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit: adeo valida res tum Clusina erat magnumque Porsinnae nomen. Nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs metu percussa receptis in urbem regibus

8. certum, *for certain*; cf. *pro certo*. — nihil aliud: see Gr. 238. b. Cf. Val. Max. V. 10. 1. — efferri: the body was brought out for the funeral. — precationem, *the ritual*, dictated by the priest and repeated by the magistrate.

9. inde: *i.e.* for the next year, as the consular election must be held by a consul.

#### WAR WITH PORSENA.

9. Lartem: properly a title, *Lord*. — Porsinnam: the name varies between *e* and *i* and between one *n* and two; it seems

to be the same form as *Spurinna*, *Vibenna*. — consilium precesque: cf. the two motives in 6. 3.

2. morem, etc.: the democratic example which might extend to their peoples. — ipsam: *i.e.* without an example to encourage it.

3. tanta: *sc. vi.* — aequari: equivalent to a future; cf. fore below.

4. regem esse: see Gr. 270. 3. N. 1. — gentis: see Gr. 215.

5. alias: cf. I. 28. 4. — adeo: *i.e.* to such a degree as is indicated by the preceding. — ne . . . acciperet: cf. 36. 3.

- 6 vel cum servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos alii Cumas. Salis quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni sumptu, ademptum privatis, portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educerent.
- 7 Itaque haec indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.
- 10 Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. Alia muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset Horatius Cocles: id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit.
- 3 Qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque

6. blandimenta, *favors*; conciliatory measures. — annonae, etc.; *i.e.* to relieve the distress occasioned by the high price of grain. — salis, etc.: cf. I. 33. 9. The traffic was now taken from individuals and carried on by the state to relieve prices. — in publicum omni sumptu, *the public assuming the whole expense*. — portoriis: customs duties and the like. — tributo: assessments apportioned to the people for extraordinary needs. — ferendo: see Gr. 299. a. — pauperes, etc.: the explanation of the law-makers. — liberos: *i.e.* as material for soldiers.

8. unus: *i.e.* any single demagogue of later times. — malis artibus, *demagogic arts*, opposed to bene imperando.

#### HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE.

10. pro se quisque, *all with one accord*; cf. 6. 4. — praesidiis: *i.e.* the different points of defence are strengthened by reinforcements.

2. dedit, ni fuisset: see Gr. 308. b. — id: the regular attraction into agreement with the predicate; see Gr. 195. d. — munimentum: as if the man were of the same kind as

relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens obtestans-  
 que deum et hominum fidem testabatur nequiquam de- 4  
 serto praesidio eos fugerè; si transitum pontem a tergo  
 reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque  
 quam in Ianiculo fore. Itaque monere praedicere, ut  
 pontem ferro igni, quacumque vi possint, interrumpant;  
 se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti,  
 excepturum. Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insig- 5  
 nisquē inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obversis  
 comminus ad ineundum proelium armis ipso miraculo au-  
 daciae obstupescit hostis. Duos tamen cum eo pudor 6  
 tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros  
 genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam 7  
 et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper susti-  
 nuit. Deinde eos quoque ipsos exigua parte pontis relictā,  
 revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coegit.  
 Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad procures 8  
 Etruscorum nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare  
 omnes, servitia regum superbiorum, suae libertatis imme-  
 mores alienam oppugnatum venire. Cunctati aliquamdiu 9  
 sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipiant, circumspec-  
 tant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato  
 undique in unum hostem tela coniciunt. Quae cum in 10  
 obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obsti-  
 natus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu cona-

muris and Tiberi; a common figure in all languages.

3. in statione pontis: *i.e.* in command of the guard at the bridge. — reprehensans: trying by main force to hold them back; obsistens: blocking their path.

4. fidem, etc.: *i.e.* swearing *per deum hominumque fidem*, 'by everything in heaven and on earth.' — nequiquam, etc.: *i.e.* that it was

useless for them, etc. — transitum: predicate appositive with pontem; 'the bridge, as a passage.' — monere: for *monere* of the direct.

5. conspecta cedentium, *visibly retiring*. — pugnae: a stronger expression than the usual ablative. — obversis: opposed to cedentium, etc.

10. gradu: referring to the firm position which he takes to resist the shock. — iam impetu: *i.e.* they

- bantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti operis sub-
- 11 latus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles 'Tiberine pater' inquit, 'te, sancte, precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias!' Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit: statua in comitio posita, agri quantum uno
- 12 die circumaravit datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia eminebant: nam in magna inopia pro domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid fraudans se ipse victu suo contulit.
- 13
- 11 Porsinna primo conatu repulsus consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Ianiculo locato
- 2 ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, navibus undique accitis, et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi ineret, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen
- 3 per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis traicerent; brevique adeo infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit ut non cetera solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere

had come to the point of trying to overwhelm him by mere force of numbers. — *pavore*: the shout and the crash alarmed them, and stopped their course for the moment.

11. *Tiberine pater*: all rivers were more or less divine, and represented in the form of old men. With this prayer cf. that of Æneas, *Virg. Aen.* VIII. 72, and the probable source of both in Ennius' *Teque, pater Tiberine, tuo cum flumine sancto*. — *ita*: *i.e.* thus having prayed. — *sic, as he was*. — *trana-vit*: the story is variously told; in some versions he is drowned; but

one is as good as another. — *habitu-rum*: see *Gr.* 293. *b.* 1.

13. *privata, of individuals.*

#### THE SIEGE OF ROME.

11. *repulsus, etc.*: notice Livy's fondness for participial constructions. — *ipse, etc.*: to explain the supposed cutting-off of provisions. If Latium were open, there could be no scarcity of provisions.

2. *ad custodiam*: co-ordinated with the purpose clause, *ut praedatum, etc.*

3. *cetera*: *i.e.* other property, which was *carried in* (to be supplied

auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis 4  
 quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul, in-  
 tentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improvise  
 adoriundi, in parvis rebus negligens ultor gravem se ad  
 maiora vindicem servabat. Itaque, ut eliceret praedato- 5  
 res, edicit suis, postero die frequentes porta Esquilina,  
 quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus, scitu-  
 ros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia  
 infida transfugerent. Et sciere perfugae indicio, multo- 6  
 que plures, ut in spem universae praedae, flumen trai-  
 ciunt. P. Valerius T. Herminium cum modicis copiis 7  
 ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considerare iu-  
 bet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita iuventute ad portam Col-  
 linam stare, donec hostis praetereat; inde se obicere, ne  
 sit ad flumen reditus. Consul alter T. Lucretius porta 8  
 Naevia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus; ipse Va-  
 lerius Caelio monte cohortes delectas educit. Hique 9  
 primi apparuere hosti. Herminius, ubi tumultum sensit,  
 concurrit ex insidiis versisque in Valerium Etruscis  
 terga caedit; dextra laevaue hinc a porta Collina illinc  
 ab Naevia redditus clamor; ita caesi in medio praedato- 10  
 res, neque ad pugnam viribus pares et ad fugam saeptis

from compelleretur). — propellere: *sc. pecus*.

4. consilio: in pursuance of the design presently carried out.

6. et sciere, and in fact they did learn it. — universae: *i.e.* of taking it all at once, instead of the little booty that they ordinarily secured.

7. Valerius: he was evidently in command on that day. — Gabina via: the first part of the *via Praenestina*. — portam Collinam: at the northeast corner of the city; the enemy were evidently crossing above.

8. porta Naevia: on the south end of the city. — Caelio monte: also looking towards the east.

9. hique primi: *i.e.* Valerius first made the attack. — Herminius, etc.: the ambushed troops now attack the Etruscans in the rear, and the other two divisions attack them on the left and right. — Valerium: a necessary correction of the MSS. *Lucretium*.

10. caesi, etc., being hemmed in and cut down. — neque . . . et, not . . . and; an irregular form of connection, occasionally found in all styles; so in Greek, *ὅτε . . . ἔτι*.



omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effuse evagandi Etruscis fuit.

- 12 Obsidio erat nihilo minus et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem  
 a spem Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius, adulescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur populum Romanum servientem, cum sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab isdem  
 3 Etruscis obsideri quorum saepe exercitus fuderit, — itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium  
 4 castra constituit; dein metuens ne, si consulum iniussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum  
 5 urbis crimen adfirmante, senatum adit. 'Transire Tiberim' inquit, 'patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor: maius, si di iuvant, in animo est facinus.' Adprobant patres.

— finis, etc.: *i.e.* they learned a lesson, and were afterward on their guard.

#### THE SIEGE CONTINUED.

12. *obsidio*: the siege was not raised at all by this success, though the activity of the Etruscans was crippled. — *sedendo*: *i.e.* without active operations, by starving them out.

2. *cum*: this word should go with *constituit* (Gr. 325. *b.*); but the connection of the clauses is forgotten, and a new sentence begins with *itaque*. — *servientem*: *i.e.* under a monarchy, opposed to *liberum*; cf. *liberi*, I. 1. — *obsessum esse*, etc.: it is the fashion of the Latin to co-ordinate such clauses as these directly with the main

clause; in English we subordinate them by means of a *while*, or the like.

3. *itaque*: going back to the main statement (C. Mucius, etc.). — *sua sponte*: *i.e.* without the consent of his superiors; as we say in slang, 'on his own hook.'

4. *fortuna*, etc., *a charge to which*, etc., *would give color*; an attendant circumstance of *retraheretur*, etc.

5. *transire*, etc.: the abruptness of his statement is particularly dramatic, and well put in keeping with his supposed character. — *praedo*: *i.e.* to get booty himself. — *populationum*, etc.: *i.e.* to make reprisals for the enemy's depredations. — *iuvant*: the constant use of present for future.

Abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Vbi eo venit, in 6  
 confertissima turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi 7  
 cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum  
 rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret, eum milites  
 vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari uter Porsinna esset, ne  
 ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo te-  
 mere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obruncat.  
 Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mu- 8  
 crone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum concursu ad clamorem  
 facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tri-  
 bunal regis destitutus tum quoque inter tantas fortunae  
 minas metuendus magis quam metuens, 'Romanus sum' 9  
 inquit 'civis, C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occi-  
 dere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad  
 caedem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec 10  
 unus in te ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo  
 est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si

7. stipendium: Livy has in his mind the payment of Roman troops by the quaestor; hence *pari ornatu*, as the quaestor was also a magistrate as well as the consul. — *sciscitari*: an extension of the principle stated, Gr. 271 (example. 3). — *semet... quis esset*: see Gr. 334. c. — *temere*: *i.e.* he struck at a venture, one being as likely to be the king as the other.

8. *qua per trepidam*, etc.: *i.e.* by the natural shrinking of the crowd from an apparently desperate man who had just committed a murder. — *concursu*, etc.: *i.e.* the rush of outsiders in greater numbers who had not been paralyzed by the occurrence. — *destitutus, set down*, but with an idea of being left alone without any prospect of help. — *tum quoque*: *i.e.* even under these circumstances. —

*inter tantas*, etc.: an explanation of *tum*. — *metuendus*, an object of fear.

9. *Romanus*: by his very name declaring himself an enemy without any prevarication. — *fortia*: to be taken in two different senses with the two verbs, but the subjective and objective distinction was very dim to the Romans.

10. *nec unus*, etc., and *I am not the only one*, etc.; an effect produced by the emphasis. — *animos*: not merely 'purpose' or 'design,' but with an idea of boldness or daring; cf. I. 56. 7. — *proinde*: the regular illative particle when its clause is hortatory. — *in hoc discrimen*: not merely 'prepare for this struggle,' but 'this is the struggle you must prepare for,' as is indicated by the emphasis as well as by the explanatory *ut* clause; cf. also

- iuuat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo,  
 11 ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi  
 iuventus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nul-  
 lum proelium timueris; uni tibi et cum singulis res erit.'  
 12 Cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque conterritus cir-  
 cumdari ignes minitabundus iuberet, nisi expromeret  
 propere quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages iaceret,  
 13 'En tibi' inquit, 'ut sentias quam vile corpus sit iis qui  
 magnam gloriam vident,' dextramque accenso ad sacri-  
 ficium foculo inicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu  
 torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab sede  
 14 sua prosilisset amoverique ab altaribus iuvenem iussis-  
 set, 'Tu vero abi' inquit, 'in te magis quam in me hosti-  
 lia ausus. Iuberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria  
 ista virtus staret; nunc iure belli liberum te intactum  
 15 inviolatumque hinc dimitto.' Tunc Mucius quasi remu-  
 nerans meritum 'Quando quidem' inquit 'est apud te  
 virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me quod minis ne-  
 quisti, trecenti coniuravimus principes iuventutis Roma-

hoc in 11. — iuvat: cf. si . . . iuvant, 5. — capite: an ablative of price. — habeas: co-ordinate with dimices.

11. nullam: notice that the emphasis is on the negative, 'you are not to,' etc. — timueris: see Gr. 269. a. 1, and 3. N. — uni: opposed to the idea of numbers implied in aciem, etc.

12. circumdari ignes, *him to be thrown into the flames*. — expromeret: for *expromet* (or *-at*) of the command, see Gr. 307. f. — sibi: see Gr. 227. d. — iaceret: used like our *throw out*.

13. tibi: see Gr. 235. e. — que, *and at the same time*. — alienato, etc., *unconscious*; properly, 'disconnected,' etc. — sensu: his bodily

sensations; animo: his perceiving mind. — altaribus: the same as foculo above.

14. tu vero: the colloquial emphasized pronoun; see Gr. 194. a, and 344. l. — iuberem: the word is used with any kind of expression which would have an imperative in the direct form, as *macte virtute esto*. — macte: here (as probably always) an adverb; cf. *impune*, I. 58. 7, and *bene, male esse*. — nunc, *as it is*. — iure: ablative of separation.

15. ut . . . tuleris: see Gr. 317. c; the perfect is allowed because the *beneficium* has already been bestowed and had its effect, though what Porsena gains by it is still to be made known, almost like 'that you may know that you have,' etc.,

nae ut in te hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit ; 16  
ceteri, utcumque ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum  
fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt.'

Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae a clade dex- 18  
trae manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsinna Romam  
secuti sunt : adeo moverat eum et primi periculi casus, 2  
quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et sub-  
eunda dimicatio totiens quot coniurati superessent, ut  
pacis condiciones ultro ferret Romanis. Iactatum in con- 3  
dicionibus nequiquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituen-  
dis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis quam  
quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro 4  
Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque neces-  
sitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Ianiculo praesidium de-  
duci vellent. His condicionibus composita pace exerci-  
tum ab Ianiculo deduxit Porsinna et agro Romano exces-  
sit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum 5  
dono dedere, quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata.

Ergo ita honorata virtute feminae quoque ad publica 6

'I will say,' etc. — trecenti, etc.,  
*there are three hundred of us*, etc.  
— grassaremur: the word gives  
the idea of secret assassination; cf.  
*grassator, cut-throat*.

16. utcumque, etc., *however the  
first may fare*; i.e. 'whether I am  
killed or not.'

#### OFFERS OF PEACE. FEAT AND HONORS OF CLOELIA.

18. Scaevolae: diminutive from  
*scaeva* (sc. *manus*). — legati: here,  
though used as a noun, this word  
has the construction of a participle,  
hence a Porsinna; cf. Gr. 291. a.

2. moverat eum, *was he affected*,  
to preserve the emphasis; for tense,  
see Gr. 279. c. — casus, *the result*;  
i.e. the narrow chance by which he

had escaped. — subeunda: cf. *ab  
condita*, I. 60. 3 n, and *castigator*, I.  
59. 4 n. — superessent: for *super-  
sunt* in his thought.

3. nequiquam, *without effect*. —  
ignoraret: see Gr. 321. R.

4. de agro, etc.: this subject  
has not been mentioned before, but  
the reference is doubtless to the  
lands described in I. 15. 5 and 33.  
9. — impetratum: opposed to *ne-  
quiquam* above. — Romanis: after  
*expressa*, all ambiguity being re-  
moved by the context. — vellent:  
representing a *vultus* of direct dis-  
course, the protasis of *obsides dandi  
sunt* in the words of Porsenna. —  
his condicionibus, etc.: a much  
more serious subjection of Rome to  
the king is here glossed over; cf.

- decora excitatae. Et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit, sospitesque omnes
- 7 Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem deposcendam; alias haud magni facere:
- 8 deinde in admirationem versus supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre, quem ad modum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam *intactam* inviolatamque ad suos remissurum.
- 9 Vtrimque constitit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa quos vellet
- 10 legeret. Productis omnibus elegeris impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab
- 11 hoste, quae maxime opportuna iniuriae esset. Pace reintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo

Tac. *Hist.* III. 72, Dion. V. 35 and 65, Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 139.

6. Romam ad propinquos: see Gr. 259. *h.* and 225. *b.*

7. *facere*: see Gr. 336. I. N. 2.

8. *supra Coclites*: cf. 'hair fairer than the Graces,' a form of speech common in all languages. — *dicere*: historical infinitive. — *dedatur*: for *dedetur* (or *deditur* used as equivalent to it) of the direct. — *habiturum*: see Gr. 336. *c. N.* 1. — *deditam*: a shorthand way of expressing the opposite condition; cf. Gr. 292.

9. *constitit, was kept*.

10. *decorum*: it would be less modest in her to select young men. — *consensu*, etc.: the forced an-

tithesis is noticeable; on the one hand, the girl herself, implied in virginitati, and on the other her companions in misfortune, each of whom would like to be chosen. The antithesis is made formal by opposing the *feelings* of the girl to the *approval* of the others. — *probabile, approved*; as the passive participle is often equivalent to the verbal in *-bilis*, so also sometimes the verbal is not unlike the participle in meaning, but with the suggestion of the action being natural or expected.

11. in (femina), in the case of, as often with *in*. — *summa*, etc.: near *veterem portam Palatii* (I. 12. 3). — *fuit posita*: this form

genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere: in summa Sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci ab-<sup>14</sup> horrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet, bona Porsinnae regis vendendi. Cuius originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore crevisse principio quam hic prae se ferat titulus bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis quae tra-<sup>3</sup> duntur, Porsinnam discedentem ab Ianiculo castra opulenta convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commeatu Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinqua obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo immisso diri-<sup>4</sup> perentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsinnae appellata, gratiam muneris magis significante titulo quam auctionem fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestatem quidem populi Romani esset.

Omisso Romano bello Porsinna, ne frustra in ea loca :

ought to mean 'was there once,' but not in Livy's time; Seneca, however, speaks of it (*ad Marc.* 16. 2) as still existing.

14. *profectioni*: the dative with *abhorreo* is peculiar to this place, and the ablative without a preposition is not common. It may be a kind of construction according to the sense. — *cetera sollemnia*: i.e. those used at public sales of booty. — *bona*, etc.: a part of the booty was apparently so described at the sale.

2. *omissam*: attracted to agreement with *originem*, though it, as well as *crevisse*, belongs with *moris*. — *titulus*: the notice of sale in which the property to be sold was enumerated. — *hostiliter*: i.e. as the property of an enemy, opposed to the peaceable character

of the settlement of affairs as described; cf. the same word in 4. Of course the whole story has been entirely made over, and the custom may have originated in a grim joke like 'catching a Tartar.' But in Livy's time they doubtless believed in the varnished account of the Etruscan wars.

4. *ea*: i.e. the *castra*, meaning the property left therein. — *fortunae*: curiously like our own use of 'fortune' for large possessions. — in *potestatem*: a construction with *esse* peculiar to this phrase; see Gell. I. 7. 16. — *esset*: indirect discourse after *significante*; see Gr. 341. c.

5. *ne frustra*, etc., the power of Etruria, no doubt, spread over the whole of Latium after the conquest of Rome, and this occupation is

- exercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum filium  
 6 Arruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primo Aricinos  
 res necopinata perculerat. Arcessita deinde auxilia et a  
 Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut acie  
 decernere auderent. Proelio inito adeo concitato impetu  
 se intulerant Etrusci ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos.  
 7 Cumanae cohortes, arte adversus vim usae, declinavere  
 paululum effuseque praelatos hostes conversis signis ab  
 tergo adortae sunt; ita in medio prope iam victores caesi  
 8 Etrusci. Pars perexigua duce amisso, quia nullum pro-  
 pius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortuna et specie  
 supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benigne excepti divisique in  
 9 hospitia. Curatis vulneribus alii profecti domos nuntii  
 hospitalium beneficiorum, multos Romae hospitum urbis-  
 que caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem  
 deinde Tuscum vicum appellarunt.

hinted at in the metamorphosed narrative. Aricia (cf. I. 50. 3), with the help of the Greek colony of Cumæ, seems to have stayed their advance.

6. *perculerat*: cf. *consalutaverat*, I. 7. 1 n, and *intulerant*, below. — *arcessita*, etc.: the emphasis gives the force, 'but having received upon application assistance from their neighbors, they ventured,' etc. — *funderent*, etc.: notice the chiasmic antithesis. This is the more necessary because to us at first sight Aricinos seems the emphatic word. But a careful examination shows that *funderent* is the main word, of which the antithetic idea is postponed in chiasmic fashion to the end.

7. *declinavere*: *i.e.* withdrew to one side, and let the enemy go by them in their onward rush (*praelatos*). — *conversis signis*: *i.e.* after the enemy had gone by, they wheeled and attacked them.

8. *fortuna et specie* (loose ablatives of manner): *i.e.* their condition and their attitude were those of suppliants. — *delati sunt*: the regular word for reaching a haven, and probably used here with a consciousness of that meaning; not merely 'came to,' but 'brought up at' Rome, as the end of their flight; for number of the verb, see Gr. 205. c. 1. — *divisi*, etc.: *i.e.* distributed round to be entertained as guests.

9. *alii*: opposed to *multos* below. — *hospitalium*: *i.e.* referring to their entertainment just spoken of. — *caritas*, *affection for*; but in Latin the idea is looked at (as often) from the other end as the 'dearness' to them of the objects of affection; cf. Gr. 213 and note. — *Tuscum vicum*: a narrow street just under the Palatine, between that and the Capitoline, leading from the Forum down towards the river. It was the place of busi-

Spurius Larcius inde et P. Valerius Publicola consules facti. Eo anno postremum legati a Porsinna de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus cum responsum esset missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi confestim honoratissimus quisque e patribus: non quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, non recipi reges, ideo potius delectos patrum ad eum missos quam legatis eius Romae daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum mentio eius rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis in vicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille peteret quod contra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in perniciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent cui nihil

ness for those who dealt in materials for luxury and dissipation. The reason for the name here given is probably not the true one. It was more likely the place of Tuscan merchandise.

#### THIRD YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC. PEACE WITH PORSENA.

15. Sp. Larcius, etc.: the text is here so confused in the manuscripts that the names of the consuls cannot be made out with certainty. That Publicola was one of them is inferred from 16. 2. — *honoratissimus quisque*: indicating a large and imposing embassy, not two or three envoys.

2. *breviter*: i.e. without sending the embassy to say what they had already determined on. — *potuerit*: representing a *potuit* (independent of the *quin* construction); see Gr. 308. c.; it is not necessary to suppose a protasis in all these cases, but the construction is the same as if there were one. For connection of tenses, see Gr. 287. c. N.; the proper *posset* would not represent the perfect, which is required in this construction. For the *quin*

construction, see Gr. 321. Rem. — *recipi*: the tense represents in effect a present indicative (*non recipimus*), a regular colloquial form of refusal; cf. *non emo, I'm not buying = I won't buy*, and see Gr. 276. c. — *ideo*: referring back to *quin*, and best omitted in translation. — *missos*: an indirect quotation from the supposed argument in favor of the course pursued. It sounds like a far away echo of the senatorial or diplomatic debate on the subject. — *daretur*: the regular construction after such comparisons as this is a result clause with *ut*, but the *ut* is omitted in all periods, particularly in early Latin; see Gr. 332. b. — *ut*, etc.: the purpose of their action opposed to the reason just negated. — *in vicem*: belonging with *sollicitarentur*, opposed to *mutuis*, and anticipating the *cum* clauses *ille peteret, Romani negarent*. — *vellent*: if this part of the answer were independent both of the purpose and of the *cum* construction, it would be '*Romani nisi... velint* (potential subj.), *negant cui nihil... velint*.' — *negatum*: see Gr. 292. d. N.



- 3 negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse; ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius portas quam regibus patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit; proinde, si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse orare. Rex verecundia victus 'Quando id certum atque obstinatum est' inquit, 'neque ego obtundam saepius eadem nequiquam agendo, nec Tarquinius spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu quiete, exsilio quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat.' Dictis facta amiora adiecit. Obsidum quod reliquum erat reddidit, agrum Veientem foedere ad Ianiculum icto ademptum restituit. Tarquinius spe omni reditus incisa exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsinna fuit.

3. non in regno, etc.: a part of what the embassy was to say.—potius . . . quam . . . patefacere: here only the two nouns are compared, while the predicate remains the same, hence there is no need of a subjunctive.—erit: see Gr. 336. *b*.

4. proinde: the clause following is really an imperative one, though orare, representing a parenthetical *oramus*, governs the construction; hence the use of this particle.

5. verecundia: i.e. respect for the noble sentiments of the Romans.—neque ego, etc.: the real opposition is between the Romans and the Tarquins, but this is disturbed by the earlier one between the Romans and Porsenna, which would be brought out if Livy had stopped at agendo. The result is a careless confusion of antithesis. The same confusion appears in obtundam . . . frustrabor.—quod nullum:

as Livy would say *nullum auxilium*, he also says *quod nullum*, though we use a partitive construction; cf. Gr. 216. *c*.—exsilio: see Gr. 226. *b*.—meam: opposed to the Tarquins.

6. agrum, etc.: cf. 13. 4.—ad Ianiculum: not necessarily inconsistent with 13. 2, because the negotiations themselves may have taken place there, though the initiative may have been taken by Porsenna; but the whole is probably garbled.

7. Mamilium: see I. 49. 9.—Romanis pax fida: these words, as opposed to the action in reference to the Tarquins, by their emphasis crowd ita out of its place.

WAR WITH THE SABINES. ATTIVS CLAUSUS.

16. triumpharunt, were honored with a triumph.

2. et: connecting the idea of fight-

Consules M. Valerius P. Postumius. Eo anno bene 16  
 pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules triumpharunt. Maiore 2  
 inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos et ne  
 quid simul ab Tusculo, unde, etsi non apertum, suspectum  
 tamen bellum erat, repentini periculi oriretur, P. Valerius  
 quartum T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. Seditio 3  
 inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum  
 inde virium transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attius 4  
 Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen,  
 cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur  
 nec par factioni esset, ab Inregillo magna clientium comi-  
 tatus manu Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque 5  
 trans Anienem; vetus Claudia tribus, additis postea  
 novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro appellata. Ap-  
 pius inter patres lectus haud ita multo post in principum  
 dignationem pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in 6  
 agrum Sabinum profecti cum ita vastatione, dein proelio

ing against them, implied though not expressed, and the definitely expressed purpose of *ne quid*. These together explain the reason why veterans and not new men were chosen to command. — P. Valerius quartum: his three previous consulates are mentioned 2. 11, 8. 9, and 15. 1; see, however, note on 15. 1. — Lucretius: cf. 8. 9.

3. inde: *i.e. a Sabinis*.

4. Attius Clausus: though this name might be the same as its supposed derivative, it can hardly be the origin of it. The whole looks like the working over of various disconnected facts into one story. — belli: used as objective genitive with *turbatoribus*, just as one might say *turbare bellum* in the cognate accusative construction. — Inregillo: the name is uncertain, and the situation of the place is unknown.

5. vetus Claudia tribus: opposed to the new members who were added to the tribe, not to a new tribe. — qui: the antecedent of this relative is the subject of *appellata (est)*; see Gr. 199. — eo: the land assigned to these Sabines. — venirent: the subjunctive is occasioned by the idea of indirect discourse in *appellata*. — lectus: by the senate itself. — dignationem: differing from *dignitas* as a verbal abstract; 'the being held in esteem' from an abstract quality, 'the worthiness' of the man himself. The Latin does not often make such distinctions, and these two words afterwards were much confused in meaning.

6. vastatione: sapping their resources by predatory excursions; proelio: destroying their fighting power by killing, wounding, or cap-

adfixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam redierunt.

- 7 P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset : de publico est datus.
- 8 Luxere matronae ut Brutum. Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum ; fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat,
- 9 omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsum est. Nec magis post proelium quam in proelio caedibus temperatum est : et caesi aliquanto plures erant quam capti et captos passim trucidaverunt ; ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romae triumphatum.

- 17 Secuti consules Opiter Verginius Sp. Cassius Pometiam primo vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus oppugna-

turing their soldiers in actual combat. Both of these are included in *opes*, which embraces all their means of making war. — *inde, from that quarter.* — *triumphantes* : cf. 16. 1.

#### DEATH OF VALERIUS. WAR WITH THE AURUNCI.

7. Agrippa, etc. : a mere date, for which purpose the names of consuls were used, so that the words are in a kind of apposition with *anno*. — *Menenio* : Livy constantly varies the old established order of names, the praenomen first, then the gentile name, and finally the family name, and in time the order was generally neglected. — *gloria* : the construction wavers between an ablative of quality and one of manner, a confusion which suggests a possible origin for the ablative of quality. — *de publico* :

*i.e.* from the treasury. It may be that Livy is trying to explain a public funeral (*funus censorium*), which was really a mark of honor. — *luxere* : see 16. 7 n.

8. *Auruncos* : a derivation of *Aurones* (*Auron* + *cus* ; cf. *homo*, *homun-cu-lus*), perhaps originally a diminutive like *Sabelli* ; a people of lower Italy just outside the bounds of Latium. — *Pometiam* : cf. I. 53. 2. — *compulsus* : there was no army outside the walls, and only the town held out in which the allied Aurunci had taken refuge.

9. *caedibus* : dative. — *qui trecenti* : cf. *quod nullum*, 15. 5 n. — *ira abstinuit* : cf. I. 1. 1. The expression is poetical. — *et hoc* : as well as the preceding.

#### CAPTURE OF POMETIA.

17. *secuti consules* : *equiva-*

runt. In quos Aurunci magis iam inexpiabili odio quam  
 spe aliqua aut occasione coorti cum plures igni quam  
 ferro armati excucurrissent, caede incendioque cuncta  
 complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis  
 et occisis, consulum quoque alterum — ceterum nomen  
 auctores non adiciunt — gravi vulnere ex equo deiectum  
 prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male gesta re redi-  
 tum. Inter multos saucios consul spe incerta vitae  
 relatus. Interiecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod  
 vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset,  
 cum ira maiore bellum tum viribus etiam auctis Pome-  
 tiae arma inlata. Et cum vineis reffectis aliaque mole  
 belli iam in eo esset ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio  
 est facta. Ceterum nihilo minus foeda dedita urbe  
 quam si capta foret Aurunci passi: principes securi  
 percussi, sub corona venierunt coloni alii; oppidum

lent to 'the consuls of the next year.' — vi, etc.: cf. I. 57. 3.

2. in quos: referring to consules, but including, of course, the whole force. — iam: i.e. the time had gone by for any hope of successful resistance, and nothing remained but to satisfy their hatred. — aliqua: one would expect *ulla*, the negative pronoun, on account of the negative force of *magis quam*, but *aliquis* is often thus used; cf. 2. 2, *aliquid*; see Gr. 202. b and c. — cuncta complent, *spread everywhere*.

3. hostium: speaking from the point of view of the Aurunci. — alterum, *one of the two*, as often. — ceterum, *however*.

4. vulneribus, etc.: see Gr. 299. — bellum: the word is doubtful; if retained it covers nearly the same ground as *arma*, but is more abstract as connected with *ira*, the spirit of the war, while *arma* refers

to viribus, the actual means of fighting.

5. in eo esset, etc., *the soldiers were on the point*, etc.; an impersonal construction with the result clause, which may be looked upon as its subject, though *ut* has *eo* for its antecedent. — evaderet: i.e. from the *agger*, or the towers, raised as high as the top of the walls.

6. foeda, *a horrible fate*. — dedita, etc., *though they had surrendered*, etc. — Aurunci: this must refer chiefly to the people of Pometia and Cora. — principes, etc.: this may be merely a repetition of the story in 16. 9, but Livy evidently takes it as a different one. — sub corona: cf. Aul. Gell. VI. 4, *antiquitus mancipia iure belli capta coronis induta veniebant et idcirco dicebantur 'sub corona' venire*. — coloni alii: Livy apparently treats all the inhabitants as if they were colonists.

- 7 dirutum, ager veniit. Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt.
- 18 Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Larcium consules habuit. Eo anno Romae cum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit, parvaque ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur supra
- 3 belli Latini metum. Id quoque accesserat, quod triginta iam coniurasse populos concitante Octavio Mamilio satis constabat. In hac tantarum expectatione rerum sollicita civitate dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. Sed nec quo anno nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniana essent — id quoque enim traditur —, parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator
- 5 creatus sit, satis constat. Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Larcium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos invenio. Consulares legere:

7. consules magis, etc.: *i.e.* the war was not really important enough for a triumph, but the joy over the avenging of the former defeat caused a triumph to be allowed.

#### THE FIRST DICTATOR.

18. 2. per ludos . . . per lasciviam: the loosely used *per* expresses in the first case the occasion, in the second the manner of the outbreak. — cf. *per luxum*, *Pref.* 12, and *per occasiones*, *II.* 2. — raperentur: cf. the Rape of the Sabines, *I.* 9. 10. — *supra*, *more serious than*; the phrase is an attribute of rebellionem; cf. *Gr.* 217 c. — metum: *i.e.* the alarm caused by the Latin war.

3. id quoque, etc.: cf. *ab Tusculo*, etc., *16.* 2. — triginta, etc.: *i.e.* not merely Tusculum, but the

whole Latin league was aroused. — Mamilio: cf. *I.* 49. 9.

4. sed nec, etc.: *i.e.* the occasion is clear, but the year is not recorded. — quibus consulibus: although different in case, this expression would ordinarily be equivalent to *quo anno*, but here the personal character of the consuls, as insufficient to cope with the difficulties of the situation, or not trustworthy on account of their political tendencies, makes it necessary to use both expressions; and the narrative is made lively by putting the words in the dative. — constat: *i.e.* various persons are named by different authorities; see the argument below.

5. veterrimos: these are Fabius Pictor and Piso. — Sp. Cassium: cf. *17.* 1. — consulares: object. — legere: the subject seems to be in

ita lex iubebat de dictatore creando lata. Eo magis 6  
adducor ut credam Larcium, qui consularis erat, potius  
quam M'. Valerium M. filium Volesi nepotem, qui non-  
dum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consuli-  
bus appositum; quin, si maxime ex ea familia legi dic- 7  
torem vellent, patrem multo potius M. Valerium  
spectatae virtutis et consularem virum legissent.

Creato dictatore primum Romae postquam praeferri 8  
securus viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut in-  
tentiores essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim ut  
in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium,  
neque provocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in cura  
parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dicta- 9  
tor eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant,  
metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt. Qui- 10  
bus orantibus dictatorem senatumque ut veniam erro-  
ris hominibus adolescentibus darent, responsum ignosci  
adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex  
bellis sererent. Actum tamen est de pace; impetrata- 11  
que foret, si quod impensae factum in bellum erat, prae-  
stare Sabini—id enim postulatum erat—in animum

Livy's mind the senate.—*ita*: *i.e.* that only ex-consuls should be chosen.—*creando*: used commonly of a popular election; the regular word for the dictator is *dicere*, said of the consul.

6. *moderatorem*, etc.: by giving the description instead of the mere name, the improbability of a young man's being chosen is brought out.

7. *si maxime*: like our 'if ever so much'; *i.e.* if, as the historian (probably Valerius Antias; see Intr. 6) says, they must have one of that family, the one named cannot be the one.—*vellent*: for its subject, cf. *legere*, 5; for mood and

tense, see Gr. 308. *a*; *voluissent* would not make the time so exactly concomitant with *legissent*.

8. *praeferri*: a dignity which the consuls did not enjoy in the city, by one of the laws referred to in 8. 2.—*essent*: characteristic subjunctive, explaining why one had a veto over the other.

9. *crediderant*, *had come to believe*; cf. Gr. 279. *e*.

10. *sererent*: from *sero*, *join*; cf. *serere* (*certamina*), I. 4, from *sero*, *sow*.

11. *actum est*: *i.e.* they did not refuse to discuss terms, and in fact would have made peace, if, etc.—

induxissent. Bellum indictum; tacitae indutiae quietum annum tenuere.

- 19 Consules Servius Sulpicius Manius Tullius; nihil dignum memoria actum; T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta, Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descendit. Nec ultra bellum Latinum gliscens iam per aliquot annos dilatatum. Aulus Postumius dictator Titus Aebutius magister equitum magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt; et quia Tarquinius esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit quin extemplo confligerent. Ergo etiam proelium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem adfuere, sed suismet ipsi corporibus dimicantes miscuere certamina. Nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa ex acie sine vulnere praeter dictatorem Romanum excessit.
- 6 In Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruendumque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam iam aetate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit, ictusque

bellum: emphatic as opposed to de pace just considered. — tacitae: i.e. without any agreement on the subject, both parties refrained from beginning the war that year.

#### THE LATIN WAR. BATTLE OF LAKE REGILLUS.

19. nihil, etc.: as the work takes the form of annals, like all ancient history, every year must be accounted for. — Vetusius: by the change of *s* between two vowels to *r*, this name became afterwards *Veturius*; see Gr. II a. 1.

2. gliscens: cf. 18. 3. — dilatatum: i.e. the Romans saw that the

Latins, whose discontent had been brewing ever since the weakening of the Romans after the expulsion of the Tarquins, must be met and conquered.

3. lacum Regillum: this locality, famous in song and story, must have been near Tusculum, perhaps a dozen miles from Rome, but can no longer be recognized, the lake having in course of time dried up.

4. Tarquinius esse: cf. 21. 5.

5. etiam: i.e. not only were they impatient to engage, but the battle itself was fiercer. — non enim, etc.: the famous battle had been worked over by poets and historians, till it

ab latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et 7  
 ad alterum cornu Aebutius magister equitum in Octa-  
 vium Mamilium impetum dederat, nec fefellit veniens  
 Tusculanum ducem, contra quem et ille concitat equum :  
 tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit ut brachium 8  
 Aebutio traiectionem sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc 9  
 quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere ; Aebutius  
 cum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugna ex-  
 cessit. Latinus dux nihil deterritus vulnere proelium 10  
 ciet et, quia suos percussos videbat, arcessit cohortem  
 exsulum Romanorum, cui Luci Tarquini filius praeerat.  
 Ea, quo maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona patriamque  
 ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis M. Va- 20  
 lerius, Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem iuvenem  
 Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exsulum acie, do-  
 mestica etiam gloria accensus, ut, cuius familiae decus 2  
 eiecti reges erant, eiusdem interfecti forent, subdit cal-  
 caria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tar- 3  
 quinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti.  
 Valerium temere invectum in exsulum aciem ex trans-  
 verso quidam adortus transfigit ; nec quicquam equitis  
 vulnere equo retardato moribundus Romanus labentibus  
 super corpus armis ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postu- 4  
 mius postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter  
 citato agmine invehit, suos percussos cedere animadver-

became a Homeric battlepiece with its heroic incidents.

7. et, *no less*. — fefellit, *escaped the notice of*, like the Greek λανθάνω.

10. quo: properly correlative with *eo* and another comparative, but here the omission of the second part gives it the meaning of *inasmuch*

*as*, an expression which has the same sort of origin.

20. ab, *on*, as so often. — M. Valerius: cf. 30. 5 n. — Publicolae: *i.e.* Publius; see 8. 1. — domestica: *i.e.* of his own family.

2. eiecti, interfecti: the familiar *ab urbe condita* construction. — erant: see Gr. 336. b.



5 tit, cohorti suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causa  
circa se habebat, dat signum ut quem suorum fugien-  
tem viderint pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi  
6 a fuga Romani in hostem et restituta acies. Cohors  
dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit. Integris corpori-  
7 bus animisque fessos adorti exsules caedunt. Ibi alia  
inter proceres coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi  
cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumven-  
tam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam  
8 aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Her-  
minius legatus conspicatus interque eos insignem veste  
armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto vi maiore quam  
paulo ante magister equitum cum hostium duce proe-  
9 lium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit  
Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis ve-  
ruto percussus, cum victor in castra esset relatus, inter  
10 primam curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dicta-  
tor advolat obtestans, ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex  
equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto parvare; desiliunt  
ex equis, provolant in primum, et pro antesignanis par-  
11 mas obiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies  
postquam iuventutis proceres aequato genere pugnae  
secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum

5. cohorti suae: a body-guard, perhaps borrowed in the description from later times. — ancipiti: i.e. of the enemy in front, and their own troops behind.

7. alia: cf. 19. 6 and 7, and 20. 1. — imperator: Octavius Mamilius already *pectus percussus*; cf. 19. 8. — subsidiariis: the third line, according to later usage, and perhaps earlier also. It is impossible to tell what is true and what anachronistic.

8. legatus: here an officer with a special command; perhaps this also is anachronistic. — magister: cf. 19. 7.

9. inter spoliandum: see Gr. 300.

10. pro antesignanis: see note to *subsidiariis*, 7. At any rate, the dismounted cavalry now formed the first line.

11. iuventutis: they were young men, sons of the first families (*proceres*). — tum demum: i.e. then

impulsi Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies. Equiti ad-  
 moti equi ut persequi hostem posset; secuta et pedes-  
 tris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dic-  
 tator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur, ac  
 pronuntiasset militi praemia, qui primus, qui secundus  
 castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardor fuit ut eodem  
 impetu quo fuderant hostem Romani castra caperent.  
 Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dic-  
 tator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem red-  
 iere.

Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. Con-  
 sules Quintus Cloelius et T. Larcus, inde A. Sempro-  
 nius et M. Minucius. His consulibus aedis Saturno  
 dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies. Aulus de-  
 inde Postumius et T. Verginius consules facti. Hoc  
 demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quos-  
 dam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiae fidei  
 fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse; dictatorem inde factum.  
 Tanti errores implicant temporum, aliter apud alios ordi-  
 natis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules secundum quos

it was (and not till then) that . . . first, etc.; cf. 21. 3 n.

12. *admoti*: i.e. their horses were brought to them by the attendants.

13. *eodem impetu*: i.e. no way formation and attack was necessary.

DEATH OF TARQUIN. OPPRESSION OF THE PLEBS.

21. 2. *Saturnalia*: in apposition with *dies*. — *festus dies*: the number of days was increased to three under Augustus, and later to five, beginning December 17. The festival was probably much older than this, but at this time some new rites may have been added.

3. *hoc demum anno*, not until

this year, the regular meaning of *demum* with a demonstrative word; cf. *tum demum*, 20, 11 n. — *dubiae fidei*: cf. *consulibus parum creditum sit*, 18. 4. — *se consulatu abdicasse*: this seems not to have been necessary (cf. 18. 5), but it might have happened in special cases, or the act may have been independent of the subsequent appointment.

4. *errores*: see Introduction, 7. — *implicant*: sc. the historian. — *aliter*, etc.: the succession of consuls was, no doubt, originally kept with the greatest care, but had been exposed to many causes of disturbance in the preserved accounts. — *qui consules*, etc., which followed

nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum, digerere possis.

- 5 Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuntio erecti patres, erecta plebes. Sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit laetitia: plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope inservitum
- 7 erat, iniuriae a primoribus fieri coepere. Eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum deducta est. Romae tribus una et viginti factae. Aedes Mercuri dedicata est idibus Maiis.
- 22 Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax neque bellum fuerat; nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Ro-

*which.* — auctorum: ordinarily the antiquity of the authorities would be an assurance of correctness, but there had been so many causes of disturbance that Livy takes the view of the date of the battle given in chapter 19.

5. Claudius: cf. 16. 4. — Servilius: cf. I. 30. 2. — hic annus: B.C. 496. — post fractas, etc.: it is not necessary to suppose that the war was waged to restore the Tarquins, though this is stated by some of the ancient authorities. They might have fought on that side in the hope of being restored, and afterwards naturally fled to the next uninjured neighbor.

6. luxuriosa, *excessive*, properly, of a free and luxuriant growth. — inservitum: doubtless to secure their continued devotion to the republic, which was after all only an oligarchy. Of the three estates, king, lords, and commons, the com-

mons usually hold the balance of power, and are regularly used by one of the first two to crush the other.

7. Signia: cf. I. 56. 3. We must suppose the remnant of the colony driven out and again sent back with completed numbers. — una et viginti: *i.e.* four in the city (cf. I. 43. 13), sixteen outside (*rusticae*), and the *tribus Crustumina* besides. — aedes Mercuri: cf. 27. 5, where the same thing seems to be repeated.

#### WAR WITH THE VOLSCI. UNION WITH LATIUM.

22. bello: an ablative of time, the regular construction with such words. — fuerat: the author takes a new standpoint at the end of the Latin war, beginning with B.C. 495. — comparaverant: the reason why there was not peace. — maturatum esset: the apodosis is sufficiently suggested in mitterent,

mano esset, et maturavit Romanus, ne proelio uno cum Latino Volscoque contenderet. Hac ira consules in a Volscum agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consilii poenam non metuentes necopinata res perculit. Armorum immemores obsides dant trecentos principum a Cora atque Pometia liberos: ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. Nec ita multo post Volscis levatis 3 metu suum rediit ingenium: rursus occultum parant bellum Hernicis in societatem armorum adsumptis; legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimit- 4 tunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos ira odioque eius, quicumque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit. Comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere. Ibi traditi consulibus, indicatumque est Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Roma-

'they had got together forces to send (and would have sent), had not,' etc. — *maturavit*, etc.: the reason why there was not war, — the Romans were too quick for them.

2. *hac ira*: cf. I. 30. 4 n. Livy's account (cf. 21. 1) makes a four years' interval from the battle of Lake Regillus to these events. But he is evidently now following the other account to which he alludes (21. 3), and so connects the events immediately with the Latin war. — *consilii*, of their course; namely, in aiding the Latins. — *necopinata res*: i.e. as they had no fear of punishment, the sudden appearance of the Romans overwhelmed them. — *armorum immemores*, without thinking of resistance. — *Pometia*: this had been already destroyed, according to Livy's account (17. 6), but now reappears as a city of the Volsci; cf. 25. 6. — a Cora: cf. *ab Aricia*, I. 50. 3 n.

3. *nec*, and yet not. — *levatis*: as fear casts down, so freedom from it lifts up; cf. *perculit*, 2. — *suum ... ingenium*: i.e. their native warlike and hostile disposition, which had been held in check for the moment by their fear. — *occultum*: emphatic, as opposed to their open warfare before. — *Hernicis*: a mountain people counted as belonging to Latium, but not politically included with them.

4. *legatos*: emphatic, as opposed to their actual arrangement with the Hernici. — *quoque*: belonging to the whole sentence, but, as usual, placed after the emphatic word: 'they took in the Hernici, and sent also to Latium, but without success.' — *recens*, etc.: a somewhat confused way of saying that the Latins, from anger, etc., caused by the memory of the late disaster, did not refrain, etc.; the disaster itself being put for the Latins who were thinking of it.

- 5 nis. Relata re ad senatum adeo fuit gratum patribus  
ut et captivorum sex milia Latinis remitterent, et de  
foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem.  
6 ad novos magistratus reicerent. Enimvero tum Latini  
gaudere facto; pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse.  
Coronam auream Iovi donum in Capitolium mittunt.  
Cum legatis donoque qui captivorum remissi ad suos  
7 fuerant magna circumfusa multitudo venit. Pergunt do-  
mos eorum apud quem quisque servierant, gratias agunt  
liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate sua; inde hospitia  
iungunt. Numquam alias ante publice privatimque La-  
tinum nomen Romano imperio coniunctius fuit.
- 23 Sed et bellum Volscum imminabat et civitas secum  
ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat  
a odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Freme-

5. *relata*: the technical term for the act of the consuls consulting the senate as to the proper course of action; here *deferre* might be used, but it would mean only *report*, and not *consult*. — *fuit*: *sc.* the act of the Latins. — *captivorum*: the taking of these captives has not been mentioned, but whatever account Livy is following, the events occurred just after the Latin war, when the Romans might be supposed to have had prisoners. — *de foedere*: this has not been mentioned, and Livy is evidently following another, but not necessarily inconsistent account, as is seen by *servierant*, 7. — *fuerat*: see Gr. 291. *b. R.*; the auxiliary is here used with the classical force. — *reicerent*: at first sight not a concession, but it was something to allow the possibility of action on that point.

6. *enimvero*, *really*, *you may be sure*, or the like, the usual force of the word, introducing an important change in the situation. — *pacis*:

indicating that there was another party which favored war. — *qui*: the antecedent is in apposition with *multitudo*.

7. *servierant*: they had already been sold as slaves, which would agree with Livy's story; perhaps this is a part of his attempt to join the two accounts, a function that he often has to perform. — *habiti*, etc.: these words contain, in the form of a predicate participle, the cause of their gratitude. — *hospitia*: the peculiar ancient relation of semi-official friendship; cf. I. 45. 2 n.

#### DISCONTENT OF THE PLEBS.

23. *sed*: in opposition to the good fortune of the Latin alliance. — *bellum*: not as opposed to the Latin peace, which would be *Volscum bellum*, but as opposed to the domestic disturbances. — *flagrabat*, *was ablaze*, keeping the forcible figure. — *nexos*: the cause was really the state of things under which the oppression took place, but it is po-

bant se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam in pace, et inter hostis quam inter cives libertatem plebis esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu 3 quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior 4 corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti. Ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiae decora vulgo miserantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum 5 circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore im-

etically put as the cases of oppression which moved the people. The obligation was one in which the debtor mortgaged his own person for the payment of a debt. The pound of flesh of Shylock and the practice of imprisonment for debt are distant echoes of the process.

2. *dimicantes*: it was while the people were absent in military service that the debts had opportunity to run up beyond their ability to pay. While they were away their lands were not cultivated, and did not yield the profits that were relied on to pay the debt; cf. 5, below. — *invidiam*: the general odium against the creditor class.

3. *magno*, etc.: the description of the manner in which the special calamitas referred to became known. — *insignibus*: referring to the ap-

pearance of the man as given in the next line.

4. *noscitabatur*: *i.e.* though thus disfigured, he was generally recognized. — *in, amid*, *i.e. in spite of*. — *ordines*, etc.: *i.e.* he had held the post of centurion, the highest 'non-commissioned' officer. — *alia decora*: *i.e.* military distinctions besides the promotion, which was a reward of prowess. — *ipse*: *i.e.* others told his history, and he himself showed scars of honorable wounds.

5. *habitus, condition*. — *deformitas, hideous appearance*. — *in contionis modum*: *i.e.* like a public meeting called together by authority. — *Sabino*: cf. ch. 16. — *tributum*: *i.e.* the war tax. — *suo*: the emphasis is only the favorite one upon pronouns; cf. the use of *ego* in

- 6 peratum, aes alienum fecisse. Id cumulatam usuris primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis, postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus: ductum se ab creditore non in servitium sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi vincti solutique se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes. Multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo qui forte patrum in foro erant in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. Haec se meritos dicere exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi

colloquial language where we should not consider it emphatic.

6. *tabem*: *i.e.* like a spreading disease, as we should say 'a cancer.' — *pervenisse*: literally, the debt. — *ad corpus*: *i.e.* he had been obliged to borrow money on the *nexus* obligation, as above described. — *ductum*, etc.: *i.e.* upon non-payment the creditor had taken him, according to the contract, as a slave.

7. *verberum*: inflicted on him as a slave. — *foro*: where it began.

8. *vincti solutique*: both those who had already been taken and those who were only under the obligation. — *Quiritium fidem*: the usual cry of a Roman citizen to his countrymen for help, like 'Citizens to the rescue.' Cf. *di vestram fidem*. — *voluntarius*: *i.e.* volunteers to join the uprising, implying those

who had no similar cause of complaint.

10. *nec, nor*, which in English is often used like the Latin word *for and in fact . . . not*. 'Any senator who happened there was in peril of his life, and they would have suffered, had not,' etc. — *manibus, acts of violence* (ablative). — *at in eos*, etc.: *i.e.* in spite of the reverence for authority which kept the mob from violence towards them, the rioters addressed them with reproaches and threats rather than supplications. — *aliam*: *i.e.* such as the emaciation and pallor, marks of blows, and the like.

11. *haec se meritos, that this was their reward*, for their services in such and such a battle (*alius alibi*). — *dicere*: historical infinitive. — *exprobrantes, telling, with*

militiam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter ut senatum vocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti 12 ab consulibus; ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat. Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multo 13 tundo putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari, nec dubie ludibrio esse miserias suas. Iam prope erat ut ne consulum quidem maiestas co- 14 erceret iras hominum, cum incerti morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo inter patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consu- 15 lari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

*angry reproach, of.* The word is used like our colloquial 'fling in one's face.' — *multo*, etc.: notice how the emphasis is distributed by the artificial interlocking of the words; cf. Gr. 344. *e.* — *curiam*, etc.: *i.e.* ready for the meeting, in order to influence the deliberations.

12. *pauci*, only a few, with the regular negative meaning of the word. — *quos casus*, etc.: *i.e.* only those who were caught, as it were, by the authorities, could be got together. — *infrequentiam*, the want of a quorum; a later usage transferred by Livy to these early times.

13. *tum vero*: in its regular force to denote a decisive point in

the narrative. — *eludi*: the proper meaning of the word to *dodge*, in fencing, is here felt through the figurative one of to *mock*. — *extrahi*, put off. — *tergiversari*, were playing a double part, turning the back first one way and then another.

14. *iam*: compare the progressive force of this word with that of the instantaneous *tum*. — *coerceret*, could restrain, a force given by the imperfect; see Gr. 277. *g.* — *incerti*: *sc.* the absent senators. — *non modo*, etc.: see Gr. 149. *e.* — *satis conveniebat*, was there any harmony.

15. *vehementis*: opposed to *lenibus*. — *imperio*: *i.e.* by the energetic exercise of authority.



24 Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita — adeo duas ex una civitate discordia fecerat — longe aliter patres ac plebem adfecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes, ultores superbiae patrum adesse dicere deos. Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent; cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros; patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli penes quos praemia essent. At vero curia maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis popolare erat, orare ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rem publicam. Tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi; ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis, metum pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeverti sese quicquam; nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta, arma pro patria non cepisse, neque patribus satis decorum

#### ALARM OF A VOLSCIAN WAR.

24. *alius, from another quarter.* — *adeo*: with its customary reference to the context. — *longe aliter, with far different feelings.*

2. *ultores*: cf. *di regum ultores*, 6. 7. — *confirmare, exhorted*; properly, confirmed each other in their purpose. — *perituros*: an indicative clause in the direct, 'they would.' — *militarent*: a hortatory clause, 'they should.'

4. in *contionem*: to address the people. — *curae esse*: *i.e.* that they had it on their minds, and were engaged in finding measures of relief. — *maxima quidem illa*:

the usual order *illa quidem* is reversed because the real emphasis is on *maxima*. — *parte*: only a part.

5. *posse*: emphatic, 'it was impossible.' — *praeverti*: active deponent, 'take up . . . before.' — *si sit, etc.*: *i.e.* in case they should first find measures of relief, it would not be honorable for the plebs to refuse to take arms without first receiving the relief as a bounty. — *cepisse*: looking forward to the completion of the transaction, and thinking how it would seem then. — *neque*: really a double negative, but Livy has forgotten the aut,

per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate adflictis civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni deinde 6 edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet, liberos nepotesve eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto 7 et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum retinendi ius creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit, neque 8 aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit, parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

Proxima inde nocte Volsci discordia Romana freti, 25 si qua nocturna transitio proditiove fieri posset, temptant castra. Sensere vigiles, excitatus exercitus, signo dato concursus est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum 2 Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrimque quieti datum.

and proceeds as if the word were opposed to *nec*. — *voluntate*: opposed to *per metum*, but standing in a slightly different relation.

6. *contioni*: here his address, as often. — *edicto*: really a stay of proceedings in cases of debt while the men were in service. — *nominis edendi*: another form of the technical phrase for enlistment; cf. *nomina darent*, 2. — *possideret*: the technical phrase for taking possession under process of law. — *liberos nepotesve*: these also were the property of the *paterfamilias*, and followed his property and person.

7. *qui aderant*: those who had escaped. — *profiteri*: cf. *dare* and *edere* above, in the same sense. —

*undique*: others who now followed the example of the first. — *sacramento*: the oath of enlistment, which was dictated (*rogare*), and according to which the soldier spoke his obligatory promise.

8. in *Volsco bello*: cf. *Latino bello*, 22. 1, where the idea of time predominates, while here the circumstances are the main thing.

#### ENGAGEMENT WITH THE VOLSCI.

25. *transitio*: i.e. desertion of some part of the disaffected forces. — *posset*: see Gr. 334 f. — *sensere*: sc. the attempt. — *concursum est*: i.e. on the part of the Romans.

2. *ita*: i.e. as the whole army was aroused, there was no oppor-

Postero die prima luce Volsci fossis repletis vallum invadunt. Iamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur, cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique ut signum daret clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa; eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra legionibus circumdatis, cum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quo confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur, captum praedae datum. Inde paulum recreatus egens miles. Consul cum maxima gloria sua victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex senatus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

tunity for the expected treachery of a part.

3. *munimenta*: *i.e.* the palisades of which the Roman camp was regularly made. — *vellebantur*: see Gr. 277. *c.* — *cum . . . emittit*: see Gr. 325. *b.* This sentence is a good example of the so-called artificial period, in which, however, the emphasis of position is so preserved that the artificiality is only one of grammar and not of idea. It may be analyzed thus: 'The Volsci were in the act of gaining the wall, then (at which time) the consul (began) — to be sure everybody, and especially the supposed disaffected, were clamorous — but he wanted to see how they felt, and so for awhile he stopped — but then it became clear that their spirit was intense — and then he gave the sig-

nal, and the soldiers, eager for the contest, were let loose.' — *apparerebat*: see Gr. 324. *a.* The continuance of the action which occasions the imperfect lies in the gradual perception of the state of things on the part of the consul; it can be rendered in English by *began to* or *the like*.

4. *pedes . . . eques*: the order of antithesis is chiasmic. — *pavidos, in their panic*. — *etiam*: emphasizing inde.

5. *ad Suessam*: see Gr. 258. *b.* N. 2. — *Pometiam*: cf. 16. 8 and 22. 2 n. — *inde recreatus*: *i.e.* the booty relieved the poverty of the soldiers.

6. *decedentem*: later the technical expression for a magistrate leaving his province. — *Ecetranorum*: a branch of the Volsci; their

**Confestim et Sabini Rōmanos territavere, — tumultus 26**  
 enim fuit verius quam bellum. Nocte in urbem nuntia-  
 tum est exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem  
 amnem pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi vil-  
 las. Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum 2  
 A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat; secutus  
 consul Servilius cum delecta peditum manu. Plerosque 3  
 palantes eques circumvenit; nec advenienti peditum  
 agmini restitit Sabina legio: fessi cum itinere tum po-  
 pulatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti cibo  
 vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere.

Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero 4  
 die in magna iam spe undique partae pacis legati Au-  
 runci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum  
 indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum 5  
 domo profectus erat. Cuius fama haud procul iam ab  
 Aricia visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec con-  
 suli ordine patres, nec pacatum responsum arma infe-  
 rentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam 6

place of abode is uncertain. — **ex senatus consulto**: the senate was the body that decided questions of 'foreign affairs.'

#### SABINE AND AURUNCAN WARS.

**26. enim**: introducing the reason for saying **territavere**. — **tumultus**: an almost technical word for a sudden alarm of war without regular preparation therefor, whether it becomes serious later or not. — **in urbem**: see Gr. 225. *b. 1.*

**2. Postumius**: apparently as a *legatus*; one consul may have remained in the city on account of the threatening aspect of domestic affairs. — **dictator**: see 21. 3.

**3. palantes**: in their predatory excursions. — **legio**: opposed chi-

astically to **plerosque**, the main body to the outlying parties. — **magna pars**: limiting apposition with **fessi**; **repleti**, though really referring only to **pars**, resumes the original number and gender.

**4. partae pacis**: the often cited participial construction, Gr. 292. *a*; *i.e.* they hoped 'that peace had been secured.' — **ni decedatur**: see Gr. 341. *c*; 'they said there would be war unless,' etc.

**5. Aricia**: only a few miles from Rome, on the Appian Way, and thus well within the bounds of Latium. — **consuli ordine**, etc.: *i.e.* to have a regular meeting of the senate in reference to the embassy. — **pacatum responsum**: *i.e.* if the senate had been consulted, could they,

infesto agmine itur, nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa conlata proelioque uno debellatum est.

- 27 Fusis Auruncis victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus exspectabat, cum Appius, et insita superbia animo et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat ius de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nexi fuerant  
 2 creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat. Concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant ut aut referret ad senatum aut ut auxilium  
 3 esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec; sed tergiversari res cogebat: adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps erat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita medium se gerendo nec ple-  
 4 bis vitavit odium, nec apud patres gratiam iniit: patres

under the circumstances, treat of peace?

6. *debellatum est, the war was finished.*

#### RENEWED UNEASINESS OF THE PLEBS.

27. Romanus: *i.e.* the plebs. — *exspectabat, were waiting the fulfilment of.* — *cum . . . dicere:* cf. 25. 3. The historical infinitive with *cum* is justified by the nature of the clause, which, though grammatically dependent, is really the main clause (*cum inversum*): but we have here the first step towards the somewhat freer (but never common) use of the historical infinitive in dependent clauses, found in later writers, especially Tacitus. — *et . . . et:* giving the two causes, — one his native arrogance, the other jealousy of his colleague. — *ius . . . dicere:* *i.e.* in his decisions of cases brought be-

fore him, which served as precedents for others (*deinceps*). — *tradebantur:* *i.e.* those who had enjoyed temporary freedom by the suspension of legal process. — *nectebantur:* *i.e.* those who had not been proceeded against before.

2. *appellabat:* according to the Roman polity, each colleague had a veto on the acts of the others. This is the first mention of the appeal to this right, though it is alluded to in 18. 8. — *conkursus:* *i.e.* of the partisans of the arrested men. — *illius:* representing the emphasis upon *tu* used in their appeal. — *exprobrabant:* cf. 23. 11. — *belli:* *i.e.* the last war. — *referret ad senatum:* *i.e.* for general relief. — *auxilio, etc.:* *i.e.* at least interfere in these special cases.

3. *tergiversari:* cf. 23. 13 n. — *adeo:* *i.e.* that he was compelled, etc. — *medium:* see Gr. 191. —

mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem ;  
 brevique apparuit adaequasse eum Appii odium. Cer- 5  
 tamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercuri  
 aedem. Senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit : utri  
 eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum praeesse  
 annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollemnia pro  
 pontifice iussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis 6  
 dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni ; quod facile ap-  
 pareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior  
 fastigio suo data esset, factum quam ad consulum igno-  
 miniam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter patresque, 7  
 sed plebi creverant animi, et longe alia quam primo in-  
 stituerant via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum 8  
 senatusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem vidissent,  
 undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consu-  
 lis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, cum decres-  
 set, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque 9

nec plebis, etc. : notice the combination of chiasmic and parallel order.

4. *mollem*, *weak*, what we call 'lacking backbone.' — *ambitiosum* : *i.e.* seeking to curry favor with the *plebs*, the prevalent meaning of the word ; cf. *ambitiose*, I. 35. 2. — *adaequasse*, etc. : cf. *navium cursum adaequarunt*, Cæs. B. G. V. 8. 4.

5. *Mercuri*, etc. : see 21. 7, where the temple has already been mentioned. — *senatus a se*, etc. : probably not wishing to decide between two such powerful claimants. — *praeesse*, etc. : *i.e.* to perform the functions later performed by the aediles or by a *praefectus annonae* (cf. IV. 12. 8), — by the latter regularly from the time of Augustus. — *mercatorum*, etc. : the first mention of the great religious guilds. To this one, probably consisting chiefly

of grain merchants, was assigned the charge of the cult of Mercury. — *pro pontifice* : this ought to mean *on behalf of*, etc., but in accordance with the ritual (see 8. 7), the magistrate could hardly be said to act in that capacity ; the meaning is doubtful.

6. *appareret* : for mood, see Gr. 311. a. — *curatio*, a *function*, a matter to take care of.

7. *utique* : *i.e.* whatever their state of mind had been before. — *sed*, etc. : *i.e.* but it was of no use ; the *plebs* had become emboldened and were not to be put down, but openly resorted to violence.

8. *vidissent* : the subjunctive of repeated action ; see Gr. 309. b ; so also *decretum*. — *exaudiri* : implying that he tried to make himself heard.

9. *metus*, etc. : *i.e.* the danger was to the creditors (of being seized

- omnis et periculum libertatis, cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectoque decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adicere, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet; non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam, neque proiectum consulare imperium: se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, provocavit. Nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore: adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertis sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque conloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

and maltreated) rather than the debtors. — in conspectu: *i.e.* it showed the danger when the highest magistrate had no power to restrain the mob, and the single patrician creditor was attacked by many at once. — verterant: intransitive; cf. 8. 1 n.

10. super haec, on the top of all this. — nomen dedit: cf. 24. 2, 6. — populari: the same as *ambitiosus*; cf. 4, above. — silentio, inactivity, in that he refused to judge debtors, or join with his colleague in ordering the levy. — dixisset: informal indirect discourse; see Gr. 341. d.

11. non esse: emphatic, it was not (as they supposed).

12. cotidiana, the usual, those who came every day. — licentia, lawlessness. — seditionum: the plural, because each case of refusal was a mutiny. — provocavit: *i.e.* from the consul to his peers, the people; cf. 8. 2 n. — nec, and yet . . . not, though the appeal was a sacred right. — populi: *i.e.* the plebs would have a majority in the assembly. — auctoritate, influence. — adeo: *i.e.* to such a degree as to disregard the sacred right. — ad sustinendam: *i.e.* he was not abashed by the popular odium.

13. secessione: *i.e.* secret conclave; cf. 28. 1, below. — Servilius neutris: cf. 3, above.

A. Verginius inde et T. Vetustus consulatum ineunt. 28 Tum vero plebs, incerta quales habitura consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis pars in Aventino, facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et omnia temere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam ad patres deferunt, sed delatam consulere ordine non licuit: adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exsequendum esset, invidiam eius consules ad senatum reicerent. Profecto, si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romae nisi publicum concilium: nunc in mille curias contionesque, cum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino fiant concilia, dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. Vnum hercule virum — id enim plus esse quam consulem —, qualis Appius Claudius fuerit, momento tempo-

#### INCREASED ACTIVITY OF THE PLEBS.

28. Vetustus: cf. 19. 1 n. — tum vero: cf. 23. 13 n. — quales: *i.e.* in their political tendencies. — coetus: cf. *secessione*, 27. 13. — Esquiliis: construed like the name of a town, doubtless because it is a plural and represents a quarter (see 1. 44. 3 n.). Livy's practice, however, is not consistent; cf. *in Esquiliis* in 4, below. — ne in foro, etc.: *i.e.* they organize and consult upon a plan of action, so as not to be taken unawares, just as in modern times measures are discussed in caucus.

2. deferunt: here hardly different from *referre*; cf. *relata*, 22. 5 n. — ordine: *i.e.* in the regular manner, whereby the senators were asked their opinion on a definite proposition; cf. 26. 5. — tumultuose: *i.e.* when the facts were announced there was a general outcry, and the body did not wait to

follow its regular course of proceedings. — indignatione, *expressions of indignation*. — si, etc.: depending on an *indignum esse* implied in indignatione: cf. 1. 47. 6, and Gr. 341. c. — imperio: cf. 23. 15. — esset: representing *erat* of the direct discourse; cf. Gr. 311. c. — invidiam: to suppress the unauthorized assemblies would be an unpopular measure, the odium of which (they said) ought to have been borne by the consuls. — reicerent: cf. 27. 5.

3. essent: condition contrary to fact; see Gr. 308. a. For the order, see Gr. 344. d (2). — futurum fuisse: see Gr. 337. b. N. 1. — publicum: *i.e.* the recognized official assemblies.

4. nunc, *but now (as it was)*. — rem publicam: *i.e.* the government of the state. — id: referring loosely to virum, to be a *real man*.



- 5 ris discussurum illos coetus fuisse. Correpti consules, cum, quid ergo se facere vellent, nihil enim segnius molliusve quam patribus placeat acturos, percunctarentur, decernunt ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant; 6 otio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; citant nominatim iuniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in con- 7 tionis modum negare ultra decipi plebem posse; numquam unum militem habituros, ni praestaretur fides publica; libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro 8 dominis pugnent. Consules quid mandatum esset a senatu videbant, sed eorum qui intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur neminem adesse invidiae suae participem; et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. 9 Prius itaque quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum prope

5. *correpti*: *i.e.* feeling rebuked. — *vellent* . . . *placeat*: see Gr. 336. B. a. N. 1. — *decernunt*: *sc.* the senate. — *acerrimum*: a word often applied to a levy without the allowance of excuses, and rigidly enforced.

6. *tribunal*: a raised platform in the Forum, where magistrates exercised their functions. — *citant*: as opposed to the general order, to which ordinarily the people would respond by giving in their names (*nomina dare*). Here they are individually summoned. — *contionis*: *i.e.* the crowd was like a general meeting of the people summoned by a magistrate. — *negare*: this word, in its emphatic position, represents an emphatic negative; cf. *non*, 23. 7, and *nunquam* below.

7. *unum*: emphatic, a single. — *praestaretur*: for *praestetur* of the direct.

8. *quid*, etc.: a good example of the variable order (and emphasis) of the Latin. If *videbant* had come first, as it well might, the sense would be 'they were well aware, but did not act in accordance with the knowledge.' Here it is, 'they knew the orders of the senate as a body, but they also saw that no one of the senators themselves came personally to bear the brunt of the fight.' — *suae*: *i.e.* of the consuls. Politics were much the same in ancient as in modern times, and our newspapers are as good a comment on Livy's account as could be desired. — *et apparebat*: the connection of thought is, 'and there was good reason why they did not show themselves, for in fact it was evident that there would be a violent contest with the lower orders.'

9. *itaque*: in Livy often in the second place. — *ultima*, *extreme*

convolvere minimus quisque natu patrum abdicare consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

Utraque re satis experta tum demum consules: 'Ne 29 praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus ut ii qui maxime ignaviam increpant adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus.' Redeunt 2 in tribunal, citari nominatim unum ex his qui in conspectu erant dedita opera iubent. Cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo 3 repulso tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes qui patrum consulibus aderant devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam 4

*measures*, which were likely to lead to armed collision. — *sellas*: *i.e.* in the senate. — *prope*: *i.e.* there was not quite a turbulent mob round the chairs of the consuls, but it was not far from that. Some editions have *propere*, which certainly makes good sense. — *convolvere*: cf. 27. 8. — *minimus*: *i.e.* the younger, and so at the same time less cautious and more arrogant.

#### CONTINUED RESISTANCE OF THE PLEBS.

29. *utraque*: *i.e.* both to hold a levy by force, and to appeal to the senate. — *tum demum*: it was only then, after having tried both courses, that the consuls stood upon their own defence and demanded the help of the 'sidewalk committee.' — *ne . . . negetis*: see Gr. 317. c. — *adsint*: with its usual meaning of being present to assist; cf. the English 'stand by.' — *cuiusque*: *i.e.* we will take as active measures as the most violent de-

sires, since that is your pleasure, if you will stand by us.

2. *citari*, etc.: *i.e.* they purposely (*dedita opera*) take some one at hand, in order to make a test case. — *tacitus*: cf. *nemo responderet*, 28. 6. — *lictorem*: the regular instrument of the magistrate, like a constable, sheriff, or marshal.

3. *quo repulso*: this was an overt act of rebellion. — *qui*, etc.: *i.e.* those who had responded to the call of the consuls to stand by them.

4. *lictore*, etc.: *i.e.* the officer of the law received no violence, being only prevented from arresting his man, but towards the assisting party the people were not so moderate, and proceeded to attack them. This encounter was stopped by the consuls, though after all (*tamen*) the moderation of the people showed itself by the fact that no real violence was used, not a stone, nor a deadly weapon, only angry abuse and fisticuffs, which Livy implies in

prendere prohibito, cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercurso rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam  
 5 iniuriæ fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consulitur, quaestionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis  
 6 magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum iræ resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit.  
 7 Tres fuere sententiæ. P. Verginius rem non vulgabat: de iis tantum, qui fidem secuti Publi Servili consulis Vulso, Aurunco, Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum  
 8 censebat. Titus Larcus non id tempus esse ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse nisi omnibus consulatur;

plus, etc. — nihil aliud: see Gr. 238. b.

5. tumultuose: a kind of play on the word. The first time it means hastily, without the usual formalities, as in a *tumultus*; the second time it refers to the disorder in the meeting, which was a *tumultus* (cf. 28. 2 n). — quaestionem: i.e. an investigation and consequent punishment of the rioters. The latter had maltreated senators and resisted officials in the discharge of their duties. — decernente, etc.: i.e. the violent members voted not so much by the orderly expression of their *sententiæ* as by a disorderly clamor, impliedly in favor of the investigation.

6. exprobrantibus, etc.: indicating what brought the angry senators to their senses, the taunting accusation that they were as mad as the populace. — coepit (see Gr. 143. a): Weissenborn acutely remarks that *coeptum est* would refer to the action proceeding from the consuls,

whereas this means that the senate itself came to order. Perhaps all Livy's violations of the rule of *coepit* and *coeptum est* can be explained in like manner.

7. sententiæ: the senators gave their opinions in order as called upon, either proposing some new course or agreeing with some one who had already spoken. In this case there were three different views, with which the others agreed according to their character and disposition. — rem non vulgabat: i.e. he proposed that the relief should not be made *general*, but only apply strictly to those who had acted on the promise given, evidently a middle course. The imperfect (generally 'conative') with a negative usually has a force expressed in English by 'would' or 'could'; here it means 'was not disposed to,' and so 'advised not to'; cf. *decernente*, 5.

8. merita, etc.: i.e. that it wasn't merely a matter of rewarding ser-

quin, si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura immitis et 9 efferatus hinc plebis odio illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis ait sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lascivire magis plebem quam saevire. Id adeo malum 10 ex provocatione natum: quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos qui una peccaverint, provocare liceat. 'Agedum' inquit 'dictatorem, a quo pro- 11 vocatio non est, creemus! Iam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticescet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem, 12 qui sciet ius de tergo vitaeque sua penes unum illum esse cuius maiestatem violarit.'

Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appi sententia; rursus Vergini Larciique exemplo haud salubres, utique Larcii putabant sententiam, quae totam fidem tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium Verginii habebatur; sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit ut dicta-

vices, but a deep-seated evil was to be removed.—*demersam, swamped*, 'over head and ears in.'—*sisti*: *i.e.* there could be no solid ground to stand on, no stable equilibrium.—*quin, in fact*.—*alia, etc.*: the distinction made would only breed discontent.

9. *efferatus, maddened*; used of the momentary state of his mind as opposed to his native disposition.—*plebis*: subjective genitive.—*lascivire*: the effect of *licentia*; *saevire*: the effect of *miseriis*.

10. *id adeo, etc.*: *i.e.* that was just the effect of the appeal allowed, just what was to be expected.—*minas, etc.*: *i.e.* it was only an empty threat if it did not take immediate effect without appeal, inasmuch as the people would clear the offender.

12. *pulset*: *i.e.* if he dares, a sarcastic exhortation.—*de tergo vitaeque*: *i.e.* to dispose of by flogging and beheading.

#### APPOINTMENT OF A DICTATOR. OUTBREAK OF WAR.

30. *ut erat*: cf. 28. 2.—*rursus, on the other hand*.—*exemplo* (ablative of specification): *i.e.* it would encourage such uprisings in future.—*utique*: *i.e.* however it might be with the other one.—*quae, one which*.—*fidem, etc.*: *i.e.* destroyed credit by removing the security for loans.—*utroque, in both respects*, as a precedent and as a conciliatory measure.

2. *factione*: *i.e.* the influence of his partisans; cf. 27. 3.—*rerum*: *i.e.* those of the creditors.—*ac, and ever*

- 3 tor ille idem crearetur, quae res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aeque et  
 4 Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperium suo vehemens, mansueto permetteretur ingenio. M. Valerium dictatorem, Volesi filium, creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, cum provocacionem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec  
 6 superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos Servili fere consulis edicto conveniens. Sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi  
 7 omisso certamine nomina dedere. Quantus numquam ante exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quattuor dictator usus.  
 8 Nec iam poterat bellum differri. Aequi Latinum agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant ut aut mitterent subsidium aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causa capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma. Vetustus consul missus est. Is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Aequi campis, locoque magis quam armis freti  
 10 summis se iugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in

3. utique: *i.e.* and that the election of Appius, at any rate, etc., however the other course might turn out. — periculosissimo: the position and connection give the force, 'and it would have been a most dangerous time too.'

4. sed: referring back to *prope fuit*, etc. — ut, etc.: *i.e.* that the office naturally tending to forcible measures should be entrusted to a man of the opposite character.

5. M. Valerium: see chapters 16 and 20. There is an inconsistency in the account, because this man was said to be killed at the battle of

Lake Regillus. — fratris: P. Valerius Publicola. — triste, *harsh*.

6. deinde: first they were reassured by the character of the man's family, and then by his proclamation. — melius: than to contend with violence.

7. quantus: its antecedent, *tantus exercitus*, would be in apposition with legiones. — inde: see Gr. 207. a.

8. capere arma: the Latins are here represented as denied the power of making war.

9. is: the regular agreement (attraction) with the predicate; it re-

Volscos profectus, ne et ipse tereret tempus, vastandis maxime agris hostem ad conferenda propius castra dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio inter castra campo ante suum quisque vallum infestis signis constitere. Multitudine aliquantum Volsci superabant. Itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus defixis pilis stare suos iussit; ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coortos tota vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci cursu et clamore fessi cum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex adverso factam et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus quam si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia cursu in proelium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnae quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus facile adepti fessos et castra impetu ceperunt, et castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem inrupere. Plusque ibi sanguinis promiscua omnium generum caede quam in ipsa dimicatione factum. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt.

Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi

fers to the fact of the sending of the consul.

10. *et ipse*: as the other was forced to do by the tactics of the Aequi.

11. *effusi*: i.e. in detachments, not in a solid body. Having the force of an adverb, it is correlated with *contemptim*.

12. *defixis*: i.e. like stacked arms in modern times. — *ad manum, to close quarters*. — *gladiis*: instead of hurling their javelins as soon as the enemy came within shot; see 46. 3 n.

13. *impressionem, resistance*, a force meeting their onslaught. — *cursu, on the run*, and so became too fatigued to run away even.

14. *Velitras*: the Volsci fled to their walled city, but the enemy entered with them and captured the city.

15. *plus sanguinis factum*: as if it were *caedes*, for which *sanguinis* is a poetic variation. — *omnium generum*: armed and unarmed, old and young, men and women.

- longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque, exuit castis. Equitatu immisso mediam turbaverat hostium aciem, qua, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte introrsum ordinibus aciem firmaverant; turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra capta debellatumque est.
- Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus, sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus, Velitras coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta. Cum Aequis post aliquanto pugnatum est invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites extrahi rem criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret inritaue, sicut ante consulis, promissa eius caderent, perpulere ut forte temere in adversos montis agmen erigeret. Id male commissum ignavia hostium in bonum vertit, qui, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audacia

WAR WITH THE VOLSCI. RE-  
NEWAL OF CIVIL STRIFE.

81. fuerat: in reference to the time of fundit.

2. turbaverat: in reference to invasit; cf. preceding note. — pandunt: see Gr. 276. *c.* — parum, etc.: the centre had a thinner formation, because the rear lines of troops had been used to extend the wings. — turbatos, *being thus in disorder.* — eodem impetu: cf. 30. 14. — debellatum: cf. 26. 6.

3. urbem: see Gr. 237. *d.* — invehitur: *i.e.* in the triumphal chariot; a detail thrown in to give liveliness. — solitos: these were the recording of his name in the *Annales*, and the right to the *toga picta* and *tunica palmata*. — locus:

a permanent seat secured at the games, according to Greek custom. No other example of this is mentioned in Roman history.

4. et colonia deducta: these words, perhaps a gloss, would be in themselves sufficient, but the preceding clause no doubt has reference to the relief afforded to the colonists by being sent, and also to the fact that they were *cives Romani*, who had special privileges. — Aequis: cf. 30. 9. — quidem: corresponding to sed.

5. promissa, etc.: see 24. 6 and 30. 6. — forte temere: a double expression for the same thing, the inconsiderate attack.

6. male commissum, *unwise measure*; cf. *bene factum* and the

Romanorum relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenuerant locis, in aversas valles desiluere; ubi satis praedae et victoria incruenta fuit.

Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta de domesticarum rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat: tanta cum gratia tum arte praeparaverant faeneratores quae non modo plebem sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius post Vetusi consulis reditum omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, rettulitque, quid de nexis fieri placeret. Quae cum reiecta relatio esset, 'Non placeo' inquit 'concordiae auctor. Optabitis, me dius fidius, prope diem ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos, neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum externum fecere ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica; pax foris parta est, domi impeditur: privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero.' Ita curia egressus dictatura se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi,

like. — *aversas*: cf. *adversos montes* in 5; as the position was up-hill as the Romans advanced, so the valleys were down-hill in the rear of the Aequi. — *ubi*: loosely used of the camp and the valleys at once.

7. *trifariam*: with the Aequi, the Sabines, and the Volsci. — *gratia*: personal influence; *arte*: secret machinations. — *quae, means to*.

8. *actionum, questions*, about which he consulted the senate. — *victore*: *i.e.* by whose prowess the victory had been gained. — *quid . . . placeret*: the standing formula for presenting a question.

9. *reiecta*: *i.e.* the senate declined to entertain the proposition of the consul recommended in his *relatio*; cf. *reicerent*, 22. 5. — *non placeo*: the emphasis gives a force

which we get by using *it seems or forsooth*. — *mei similes*: *i.e.* instead of the much more dangerous ones that they will have.

10. *quod ad me, etc.*: as if he said, 'but that is your affair; as for myself, I will,' etc. — *frustra*: a play on the kindred words. — *discordiae, etc.*: *i.e.* there were two purposes for which a dictator was needed, to remove civil strife and to carry on war; the latter has been accomplished, the former is hindered (as he implies) by the machinations of citizens, so that the dictator is powerless. — *interero*: not, of course, as a promoter, but to quell it.

11. *apparuit*: notice the emphasis, and see *itaque* below. — *causa*: the reason of his action explained by the following clause. — *plebi*:



suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse; itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

- 32 Timor inde patres incessit ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent. Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solveretur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse. Trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum.
- 3 Ea frequentior fama est quam cuius Piso auctor est, in
- 4 Aventinum secessionem factam esse. Ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot

*dative. — suam vicem, on their behalf. — persoluta fide, having performed his promise. — per eum, etc., it had not been his fault. — praestaretur: he was held free from the obligation of his promise, though that promise had not been performed, the failure being no fault of his.*

#### SECESSION OF THE PLEBS.

32. *dimissus, disbanded.* In those times the army did not continue in service, but was called out for a campaign and then disbanded. — *quamquam, etc.:* this appears to be put in by Livy, as so many other details, to explain and connect the meagre accounts of the annals. Other authorities represent

only the army of the consuls as retained in service, in which case this explanation is unnecessary. — *in consulum verba:* because it was they who had held the levy ordered by the dictator. — *per causam, on the pretext;* cf. I. 49. 5. — *maturata:* brought to a head.

2. *de consulum caede:* as if, by their death, the oath of obedience to them would be annulled. — *religionem, religious duty.*

3. *frequentior, more commonly reported, by more authorities. — cuius, the one of which. — Piso:* see Intr. 6.

4. *rem nullam, etc.:* i.e. without any lawless violence, indicating the peaceable character of the movement.

dies neque lacesiti neque lacescentes sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe metuque mutuo suspensa erant 5 omnia. Timere relictā ab suis plebes violentiam patrum, timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti manere eam an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tran- 6 quillam quae secesserit multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam 7 ducere; eam per aequa per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Sic placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti, 8 Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.

Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore quo 9 in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspi- 10 rasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quae conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde ap- 11 paruisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem.

5. mutuo: between the two parties in the city.

6. fore: see Gr. 338.

7. ducere: historical infinitive.—per aequa, etc.: i.e. by whatever measures, whether they were just to themselves or not, hence at any cost.

8. inde: i.e. ex plebe. — nihil aliud: sc. fecisse, a common ellipsis. — narrasse: this apologue is a commonplace in literature; cf. Xen. Mem. II. 3. 18; Cic. de Off. III. 5. 22; St. Paul, Corinth. I. 12. 21.

10. hac ira: cf. I. 30. 4 n. — una, as well; properly, 'along with.'

- 12 Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.
- 33 Agi deinde de concordia coeptum, concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Ii tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his Sicinium fuisse seditionis auctorem; de duobus qui fuerint minus convenit.
- 3 Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam.

Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Cominius consulatum inierant. Iis consulibus cum Latinis populi ictum foedus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit; alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque, compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus moenibus potitur. Inde protinus Poluscam item Volscorum cepit, tum magna vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores iuve-

12. *comparando*, showing by comparison; see Gr. 301. ftn.

#### RECONCILIATIONS OF THE ORDERS. TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

33. *concessum* in: as they yielded on each side and adopted terms, they may be said to have given way 'into' them. — *sacrosancti*, *inviolable*; protected by religious obligation as sacred functionaries. — *latio*: cf. *ferre auxilium*, which came to be used as the technical expression for remedial interference against legal or magisterial action.

2. *creati*: by what form of election is not known; cf. 58. 1 n. — *creaverunt*: perhaps by appointment; cf. 58. 1. — *fuisse*: depending on a *convenit* to be supplied

from the other. — *de duobus qui fuerint*: see Gr. 334. c.

3. *sunt qui*: e.g. Cicero (*de Re Publ.* II. 34. 59). — *duos tantum*: this is probably the fact; cf. III. 51. 10. — *sacratam*: i.e. which made the tribunes *sacrosancti*. It was probably sworn to not only by the *plebs* (see Festus, p. 318), but by the patricians as well. — *per*, *during*. The author now takes a new departure after the return.

4. *feriendum*: as this word (in this sense) is incomplete in its conjugation, Livy uses it as if conjugated *ferio*, *ferire*, *ici*, *ictum*; cf. *ferio*, *ferire*, *percuti*, *percutsum*, in another sense. — *Longulam*, etc.: these originally Latin towns had been taken by the Volsci, as also Corioli.

num Cn. Marcius, adulescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Cum subito 6 exercitum Romanum Coriolos obsidentem atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminenti belli Volscae legiones profectae ab Antio invasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, forte in statione Marcius fuit. Is cum delecta militum manu non modo impetum erumpentium rettudit, sed per patentem portam ferox inrupit, caedeqe in proximo urbis facta ignem temere abreptum imminentibus muro aedificiis iniecit. Clamor inde oppidanorum, mixtus muliebri puerilique ploratu, ad terrorem, ut solet, primum orto, et Romanis auxit animum et turbavit Volscos, utpote capta urbe cui ad ferendam opem venerant. Ita fusi Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum. Tantumque sua laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius ut, nisi foedus cum Latinis columna aenea insculptum monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoria cessisset.

Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni in 10 vita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis 11

EXPLOIT OF CN. MARCIUS. DEATH  
OF MENENIUS AGRIPPA.

5. Coriolano: see Gr. 231. b.

6. ab Antio: cf. *ab Alba*, l. 27. 4, and see Gr. 258. a. N. 1. — in statione, on guard.

7. in proximo: the use of neuter adjectives as nouns, especially in a partitive sense, as here, is a favorite construction with Livy, and became still more common later.

8. ad terrorem: cf. l. 7. 7 n. —

utpote: as they naturally would, seeing that, etc.; cf. the use of *utpote* with relative clauses (Gr. 320. e. N. 1).

9. columna: mentioned by Cicero, *Balb.* 53. — cessisset: we should expect *cessurum fuerit* (cf. *facturus fuerit*, l. 3), but we may suppose Livy had carelessly forgotten the dependence upon ut.

11. interpreti, agent, the one who acted as go-between. — arbitro: as settling the terms on which they

Romanae in urbem sumptus funeri defuit. Extulit eum plebs sextantibus conlatis in capita.

- 84 Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti. Eo anno cum et foris quies omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem  
 2 invasit, caritas primum annonae ex incultis per secessi-  
 onem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis solet;  
 3 ventumque ad interitum servitorum utique et plebis  
 esset, ni consules providissent dimissis passim ad fru-  
 mentum coemendum non in Etruriam modo, dextris  
 ab Ostia litoribus, laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad  
 Cumas, sed quaesitum in Siciliam quoque: adeo finiti-  
 4 morum odia longinquis coegerant indigere auxiliis. Fru-  
 mentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naves pro bonis  
 Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat,  
 retentae sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem  
 potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis fru-  
 5 mentatoribus fuit. Ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit:  
 eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis  
 commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos iam moventes  
 6 arma pestilentia ingens invasisset. Ea clade conteri-  
 tis hostium animis, ut etiam ubi ea remisisset terrore  
 aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colono-

agreed. — *extulit*: cf. *efferr*, 8. 8. The first place is given to the word by a rhetorical emphasis: 'This great benefactor hadn't money for his funeral; he *was buried by*,' etc. — *sextantibus*: a little copper coin worth one-sixth of the *as*, but used here to express what must have been at the time referred to a piece (or amount) of copper merely. — *in capita*: the use of the preposition in this formula comes from the idea of assessment, wherein the amount is 'imposed upon' the contributors.

SCARCITY OF FOOD. VIOLENT  
SPEECH OF CORIOLANUS.

84. 2. *clausis*, a city besieged, whose communications are cut off.

3. *Volscos*: these extended to the sea; cf. *Volsci Antiates*, 33. 9. — *quaesitum*: supine.

4. *pro bonis*, in payment for, etc. — *Aristodemo*: cf. 21. 5. — *Pomptino*: *sc. agro*. — *Tiberi*: *i.e.* they were not obliged, as in other cases, to go by sea.

6. *Velitris*: cf. 31. 4. — *Norbam*: in the Volscian mountains,

rum Romani, et Norbam in montis novam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt.

M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus magna 7 vis frumenti ex Sicilia advecta, agitatumque in senatu quanti plebi daretur. Multi venisse tempus premendae 8 plebis putabant recipierandique iura, quae extorta secessionem ac vi patribus essent. In primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciae potestatis, 'Si annonam' in- 9 quit 'veterem volunt, ius pristinum reddant patribus. Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem video, sub iugum missus, tamquam ab latronibus red- 10 emptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est? Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram? Secedat nunc, avocet plebem: patet via in Sacrum montem aliosque colles. Rapiant frumenta ex agris, quem ad modum tertio anno rapuere. Fruan- 11 tur annona, quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere hoc malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore, quam ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant.' Haud tam 12 facile dictu est faciendumne fuerit, quam potuisse arbitrator fieri, ut condicionibus laxandi annonam et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia invitis iura imposita patres demerent sibi.

Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est et plebem 35

above the Pomptine marshes, not far beyond Cora and Velitrae.

9. *ego*: the common emphatic use of the first personal pronoun in colloquial language. — *sub iugum missus*: in allusion to the ignominious surrender of the nobles.

10. *Tarquinium . . . Sicinium*: contrasting their respective positions, the one a great king, the other a low plebeian.

11. *quam ut*: cf. 15. 2 n.

12. *faciendum, etc.*: *i.e.* whether it would have been a good thing to do, as that it could have been done. — *ut*: the regular construction after *facere*. — *imposita . . . demerent*: these rights of the people are regarded as burdens on the nobles.

WRATH OF THE PLEBS. BANISHMENT OF CORIOLANUS.

35. *et plebem*: not that any of them were present in the senate

ira prope armavit : fame se iam sicut hostes peti, cibo victuque fraudari ; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi Gnaeo Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat. Eum sibi carnificem novum ex-  
 2 ortum, qui aut mori aut servire iubeat. In exeuntem e curia impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent. Ibi ira est suppressa : se iudicem quisque, se dominum vitae necisque inimici factum vi-  
 3 debat. Contemptim primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias : auxilii non poenae ius datum illi potestati, plebisque non patrum tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs ut unius poena defungendum esset  
 4 patribus. Restiterunt tamen adversa invidia, usique sunt qua suis quisque, qua totius ordinis viribus. Ac primo temptata res est, si dispositis clientibus absterrendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque disicere rem

the tribunes were later, but they would hear of the speech ; cf. III. 41. 4. — fame : *i.e.* they were to be starved out like a besieged city. The figure is of hunger used as a weapon (cf. *spicula petit*, 20. 2), but is not felt very strongly.

2. diem dixissent : this is the first instance of a capital trial instituted by the tribunes. The assemblies of the people had jurisdiction of such cases, and in order to give a fair trial, the accusing magistrate announced that on a certain day (*diem dicere*) he should bring in a bill against the offender. The charge against Coriolanus is not given by Livy, and varies in other writers, but it is impliedly his conduct in the senate.

3. auxilii, etc. : *i.e.* he claimed that the power of the tribunes was only remedial, and that their present action was, as we should say,

unconstitutional. — sed, etc. : *i.e.* the patricians were obliged to abandon the view held by the accused and consent to the trial. — defungendum : the word has the idea of getting over something, having done with it ; here it means get rid of the animosity of the *plebs* by sacrificing one of their number.

4. tamen, etc. : *i.e.* though they saw the necessity, yet they resisted by political means, and made every effort to acquit their champion on the trial. — adversa invidia : in spite of the odium of their course ; literally, 'facing it.' — suis : *i.e.* the personal influence of themselves and their dependents in political working ; totius ordinis : the authority of the senate as a body. — temptata res est, si : cf. I. 57. 3. — dispositis, etc. : *i.e.* by the use of bullies and strikers to prevent the political meetings of their op-

possent. Vniversi deinde processere — quidquid erat 5  
 patrum reos diceret — precibus plebem exposcentes,  
 unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem ab-  
 solvere nollent, pro nocente donarent. Ipse cum die 6  
 dicta non adesset, perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus  
 absens in Volscos exsulatum abiit, minitans patriae hos-  
 tilesque iam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci  
 benigne excepere benigniusque in dies colebant, quo  
 maior ira in suos eminebat crebraeque nunc querellae  
 nunc minae percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Atti 7  
 Tulli. Longe is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat,  
 Romanisque semper infestus. Ita cum alterum vetus  
 odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt  
 de Romano bello. Haud facile credebant plebem suam 8  
 impelli posse ut totiens infeliciter temptata arma cape-

ponents, precisely as is done in modern times, so that there should be no concerted action. This measure apparently failed. — *clientibus*: there was evidently up to this time an order distinct from the *plebs*, and under the control of the aristocracy, but what the difference was is uncertain. As each house had its own, the institution may have had its origin in the old clan constitution, while the plebeians were newcomers independent of the clan system. The freedmen afterwards took the place of the clients, and the position of the two classes may have been similar.

5. *universi*, in a body, as opposed to the individuals working through their clients. — *quidquid*: cf. *quidquid deorum*, 5. 7 n. — *reos*: it was customary for persons accused to put on mean apparel as a sign of mourning, in order to excite sympathy, and in this garb to supplicate the people. And in this guise the senate now appeared. —

*diceret*, you would have said; see Gr. 311. a. — *pro nocente*, etc.: i.e. pardon him for their sake, as an act of grace.

6. *ipse*: notice the force of the emphasis, 'But after all these entreaties of his colleagues C. himself did not appear, and taking this as proof that he was not humbled, they refused to be mollified.' — *iam tum*, even then, before he joined the Volscian arms. — *quo, as*, in proportion as. — *crebraeque*, etc.: i.e. the more he complained and threatened.

7. *hospitio*, etc.: the force of the emphasis is, 'the person with whom he stayed was,' etc., explaining the manner in which the plan of war was set on foot. Livy might have said, '*A. T. was the person*,' etc., but that would have laid stress on the individual instead of on the circumstance of his intimacy with Coriolanus, which gave an occasion for their plans.

8. *haud facile*, etc.: 'they didn't



rent. Multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa iuventute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleta iam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

- 26 Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat: ludis mane servum quidam pater familiae nondum commisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circo. Coepti inde ludi, velut  
 2 ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. Visus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore;  
 3 iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen maiesta-

suppose it would be very easy,' etc., 'and so they felt they must use artifice.' — *ira, cause of anger.*

A GREAT SPECTACLE AT ROME,  
AND A CURIOUS REASON FOR IT.

36. ludi magni: apparently vowed by Postumius in the Latin war. It was not yet a regular festival, as it afterwards became, with the name *ludi Romani*. — *instauratione*: in any sacred observance, if anything faulty occurred, the whole had to be gone over again, for which the regular term was *instaurare*, a word of doubtful etymology. — *ludis*: cf. *bello Latino*, 26. 2. — *commisso*: a natural word, since the games consisted of races. — *caesum*: not to be distinguished here from a present passive participle, which the Latin lacks; cf. Gr. 290. *b*. Cicero uses *cum caederetur* (*de Div.* I. 55). — *ad religionem*, with the sacred games; properly, with the religious character of the proceedings; *i.e.* with the desecration of them. The

word appears to have originally meant the noticing and taking care of any portentous appearance, but came to have a wide range, sometimes meaning, as here, a religious difficulty, sometimes the feeling or perception of it, as in 3, sometimes (in a bad sense) superstition, sometimes (in a good sense) religion.

2. *praesultatorem, the head dancer*. Evidently the Romans had in their native cults a ritual of dancing (like our savages), which was an important part of their religion. These rites were performed by a chorus (cf. the Salian priests), led by a chief dancer (*praesul, praesultor, praesullator*), whose movements were followed by the others (originally *consules*, from which the name might come to mean colleagues, and afterwards be used to designate the two sharers of the supreme power in place of the king). In Jupiter's divine riddle this leader is identified with the whipped slave.

2. *de plebe*: cf. I. 50. 3 n.

3. *liber, etc.*: *i.e.* he was not un-

tis magistratuum timorem vicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit: filium 4 namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cuius repentinae cladis ne causa dubia esset, aegro animi eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, satin magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem; maiorem instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet consulibus. Iam prae- 5 sentior res erat. Cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. Tunc enimvero deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis 6 praeteritis instantibusque consilio propinquorum adhibito cum visa atque audita et obversatum totiens somno Iovem, minas irasque caelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubie omnium qui aderant in forum ad consules lectica defertur. Inde in 7 curiam iussu consulum delatus eadem illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam 8 esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

affected by a religious anxiety, he thought the dream significant; yet his fear of the consuls was stronger than his religious feeling. — *ne in ora*, etc.: an explanation of *verecundia*. His fear is that, being repulsed by the consuls, a humble citizen venturing to appear before such grand and lofty personages, he should become a common jest in the mouths of men.

4. *magno*, etc.: Gr. 252. — *animi*: see Gr. 218. *c. r.* — *satin*: cf. I. 58. 7 n. — *mercedem*: in a bad sense, but suited to the sarcastic character of the question. — *ni eat*: for *ni is* in the direct.

5. *praesentior*: *i.e.* came nearer home. — *tamen*: *i.e.* though it be-

came more threatening, yet he delayed, etc. — *debilitate*: the manifestation of his sickness. — *tunc enimvero*: cf. *enimvero tum*, 22. 6 n., and the often used *tum vero* (23. 13 n.). — *admonuit*: *i.e.* had the desired effect of bringing him to his senses.

6. *instantibus*: *i.e.* his own threatened death. — *repraesentatas*, *instantly fulfilled*, the figure derived from immediate payment, the literal meaning of the word. — *casibus*: the means of fulfilment.

8. *captus*: more commonly of permanent disability, which, however, was the case here, to all appearance. — *functum*, etc.: *i.e.* having told the story.

- 87 Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio vis magna Volsco-  
 2 rum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut  
 3 domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit ;  
 4 dicit esse quae secreto agere de re publica velit. Ar-  
 5 bitris remotis 'Invitus' inquit 'quod sequius sit de  
 6 meis civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quicquam  
 7 ab iis criminatum venio, sed cautum ne admittant.  
 8 Nimio plus quam velim nostrorum ingenia sunt mo-  
 9 bilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nos-  
 10 tro merito sed vestra patientia incolumes simus. Magna  
 11 hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est ; ludi sunt ; spec-  
 12 taculo intenta civitas erit. Memini quid per eandem  
 13 occasionem ab Sabinorum iuventute in hac urbe com-  
 14 missum sit. 'Horret animus ne quid inconsulte ac te-  
 15 mere fiat. Haec nostra vestraque causa prius dicenda  
 16 vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extem-  
 17 plo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cuius facti dic-  
 18 tive contagione praesens violer.' Haec locutus abiit.  
 19 Consules cum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo  
 20 detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad praecaven-  
 21 dum vel ex supervacuo movit ; factoque senatus con-  
 22 sulto ut urbem excederent Volsci, praecones dimittun-

MACHINATIONS OF ATTIIUS TUL-  
LIUS.

87. 2. *committerentur*: see Gr. 327. — *de re publica*, on a matter of state, as opposed to private business.

3. *admissum*, etc.: *i.e.* not to charge that they have done anything, but, etc.

4. *velim*: see Gr. 311. *δ*.

5. *cladibus*: ensuing upon the hasty action of the people in making wars in which they were defeated.

6. *Sabinorum*, etc.: see. 18. 2.

7. *quod ad me attinet*: cf. 31. 10 n. — *contagione*: *i.e.* by being implicated in any act. The figure is of course drawn from a disease, but the application is different from I. 15. 1. — *praesens*: *i.e.* as I should if I should remain.

8. *dubiam*, etc.: the two things are contrasted, a doubtful matter, but on too good authority to be disregarded. — *vel ex supervacuo*: *i.e.* even in case it should be superfluous.

tur qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem iuberent. Ingens pavor primo discurrentis ad suas res tollendas 9 in hospitia perculit; proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se ut consceleratos contaminatosque ab ludis festis diebus coetu quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

Cum prope continuato agmine irent, praegressus Tul- 38 lius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque veniret, primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos, sedulo audientes secunda irae verba, et per eos multitudinem aliam in subiectum viae campum deduxit. Ibi 2 in contionis modum orationem exorsus 'Veteres populi Romani iniurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut omnia' inquit 'obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commiserere? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie 3 de vobis esse? Vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? Vestras coniuges, vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos qui audire vocem praeconis, quid qui nos 4 videre abeuntes, quid eos qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto

9. *discurrentis*: the present indicates the time of the action of *perculit* as opposed to that of *oborta*; while they were getting ready to go fear predominated, when they were actually starting (*proficiscentibus*) that emotion gave way to indignation. — *deorumque*: inasmuch as it was a religious festival.

#### THE SUCCESS OF TULLIUS' SCHEME.

38. *cum ... irent*: *i.e.* they came almost in a body, so that Tullius could address them to advantage. — *caput Ferentinum*: cf. I. 50. 1, 51. 9. The site was, however, oc-

cupied by the Latins, and this detail is imaginary, as is perhaps the whole story. — *veniret*: see Gr. 309. *b.* — *indignando*, with expressions of indignation; cf. 28. 2 n. — *secunda*: *i.e.* agreeing with.

2. *contionis*: *i.e.* like a regular set political speech. — *ut ... obliviscamini*: see Gr. 313. *a.*

3. *an*, etc.: with the usual force, 'am I not right, or,' etc. — *triumphatum*: observe the technical meaning underlying the figure, giving the idea of a public display of their humiliation. — *traductos*: as prisoners in a triumph.

nefas esse, — quod, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi  
 simus ludos piaculumque meritori, ideo nos ab sede pi-  
 5 orum coetu concilioque abigi? Quid deinde? Illud non  
 succurrit, vivere nos quod maturarimus proficisci? — si  
 hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non  
 hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, mo-  
 riendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est,  
 6 magno eorum malo qui indixere, si viri estis.' Ita et  
 sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde digressi  
 sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere ut  
 omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

89 Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sen-  
 tentia lecti Attius Tullius et Cn. Marcius, exsul Roma-  
 2 nus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam spem  
 nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret ducibus validio-  
 rem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circeios pro-  
 fectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberam-  
 3 que eam urbem Volscis tradidit. Inde in Latinam viam  
 transversis tramitibus transgressus Satricum Longulam

4. quod: referring directly to *nefas*, and so a neuter accusative, *which*, but explaining *ideo*, and so a conjunction, *because*. But they are really the same thing; cf. Gr. 240. a.

5. quid deinde, *what follows*? The answer is *illud*, etc. — *hoc*: more emphatic than *haec*, the usual form (Gr. 195. d'), as dwelling more on the act independent of its name. — *fuit*: see Gr. 308. c. — *malo*: ablative of manner. For the thought, cf. *pestiferum*, I. 58. 8.

6. suos quisque: they were *primores* (see 1) of different cities of the stock. — *deficeret*: Livy is probably thinking of the later Roman supremacy, for the Volscians had never been conquered, and so could not 'revolt.'

THE VOLSCI TAKE THE FIELD.  
 THE ROMANS ARE FAINT TO  
 NEGOTIATE.

89. plus: *i.e.* than in their own countryman.

2. nequaquam, etc.: *i.e.* their hope was fulfilled in the success of their arms, which, in contrast with their former defeats, showed that it was in their leaders, not their armies, that the strength of the Romans lay. — *Circeios*: cf. I. 56. 3.

3. in *Latinam viam*: there is an error in the geography here, but whose is uncertain; Satricum, etc., as well as Circeii, lay west of the Appian Way. — *tramitibus*: the cross-roads that ran between the two great routes, the Appian and the Latin Ways.

Poluscam Coriolos Mugillam, haec Romanis oppida ademit. Inde Lavinium recepit, tum deinceps Corbionem 4 Vitelliam Trebium Labicos Pedum cepit. Postremum 5 ad urbem a Peto ducit, et ad fossas Cluilias quinque ab urbe milia passuum castris positae populatur inde agrum Romanum custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patri- 6 ciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi, sive ut discordia inde inter patres plebemque oreretur. Quae 7 profecto orta esset — adeo tribuni iam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant —, sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se iungebat animos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatus consu- 8 lesque nusquam alibi spem quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia quam bellum malebat.

Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius consules erant. Eos 9 recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque in quibus stationes vigiliasque esse placuerat loca distribuentis multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conterruit, deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad Cn. Marcium mittendis coegit. Acceperunt relationem patres, postquam apparuit labare 10

5. a Peto: the plan of the campaign is not very clear, and probably was not to Livy himself. — fossae Cluilias: cf. I. 23. 3.

6. agros intactos: cf. Hannibal's similar device, XXII. 23.

7. per se: i.e. without such instigation. — criminando: used absolutely. — sed: taking the place of a protasis. — quamvis, etc.: a kind of cross between a general statement, 'united dispositions, however hostile,' and a particular one, 'united these, though they were,' etc. — iungebat, tended to unite; a use of the conative imperfect.

8. id modo, etc., in this only they did not agree.

9. iam: i.e. time had elapsed for an election to come round; cf. 23. 14 n. — recensentes: the next step after the conscription, which the plebs did not, as in other cases, resist; distribuentis: a still later step. — stationes, pickets; vigilias, sentinels, for night-watches. — primum, etc.: i.e. first they were met by an indefinite, riotous mob, and then were definitely forced to take measures.

10. acceperunt: cf. reiecta, 31. 9. — labare: i.e. in reference to

- plebis animos, missique de pace ad Marcium oratores  
 11 atrox responsum rettulerunt : si Volscis ager redderetur,  
 posse agi de pace ; si praeda belli per otium frui velint,  
 memorem se et civium iniuriae et hospitum beneficii  
 adniscurum ut appareat exsilio sibi inritatos, non fractos  
 12 animos esse. Iterum deinde idem missi non recipiuntur  
 in castra. Sacerdotes quoque, suis insignibus velatos,  
 isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est ; nihilo  
 magis quam legatos flexisse animum.
- 40 Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Vo-  
 lumniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. Id publicum  
 2 consilium an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio ; per-  
 vicere certe, ut et Veturia magno natu mulier et Vo-  
 lumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in  
 castra hostium irent, et quoniam armis viri defendere  
 urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque de-  
 3 fenderent. Vbi ad castra ventum est, nuntiatumque  
 Coriolano est adesse ingens mulierum agmen, primo,  
 ut qui nec publica maiestate in legatis nec in sacerdoti-  
 bus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus es-  
 set, multo obstinatio adversus lacrimas muliebres erat.

continuing the war. — missi, etc. : the common Latin way of forcing two statements into one sentence, 'the embassy was sent, and being sent, brought back,' etc.

11. ager: see 25. 6. — si... redderetur, posse: see Gr. 307. d. — si praeda, etc.: i.e. if they chose the other alternative of refusing to surrender the land. — per otium: i.e. without taking any action to make peace. — velint: representing *vultis* of the direct; the difference of tense in the direct allows the difference here.

12. velatos: the fillet was the special ornament of priests as well as of suppliants.

THE MOTHER AND WIFE OF CORIOLANUS ENTREAT HIM.

40. id: strictly the act of the women, but used for the cause of the act; cf. *consilium* (the action of the senate) and *timor* (the spontaneous expression of alarm in the women).

2. certe, in any case, whether it was one or the other. — duos parvos: the emphasis is explained by the meaning, 'the mother, the wife, and two little ones, sons of Marcus, carried by their mother as infants.'

— ex Marcio: a participle is omitted, making the words an adjective phrase, a somewhat rare Latin construction. — secum: of

Dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem maestitia inter 4  
 ceteras cognoverat Veturiam inter nurum nepotesque  
 stantem, 'Nisi me frustrantur' inquit 'oculi, mater tibi  
 coniunxque et liberi adsunt.' Coriolanus prope ut amens 5  
 consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviae com-  
 plexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa 'Sine, prius-  
 quam complexum accipio, sciam' inquit 'ad hostem an  
 ad filium venerim, captiva materne in castris tuis sim.  
 In hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut exulem 6  
 te, deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc ter-  
 ram, quae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis in- 7  
 festo animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira  
 cecidit? Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit  
 'Intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater,  
 coniunx liberique?' Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma 8  
 non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera

course the women generally. — **pos-**  
**sent:** the thought of the women.

3. **publica:** *i.e.* of the state.

5. **consternatus**, *springing wild-*  
*ly*, indicating the frenzied start from  
 his place at the news. — in **iram**,  
*etc.*: *i.e.* she had come to suppli-  
 cate, but at the sight of her son her  
 feelings change, and she meets him  
 with stern reproaches. — **accipio:**  
 the present for the future, an almost  
 regular construction with *ante* and  
*priusquam* in colloquial language.  
 — **sciam:** see Gr. 331. *f. R.* —  
**captiva:** if he was an enemy, then  
 she, being in his power, was a slave,  
 instead of having the authority of a  
 mother.

6. in **hoc**, *to this*, though the  
 Latin uses a stronger expression by  
 means of *traxit*, as if, 'dragged me  
 into this condition.' — **potuisti:** the  
 emphasis gives the force of 'could  
 you bring yourself to?' Cf. Hor.  
*Od.* III. 11. 31. Notice, also, the  
 emphasis on *populari*.

7. **non:** the emphatic position  
 of the negative gives the force, 'it  
 seems incredible that it did not.'  
 — **quamvis:** this word, in classical  
 Latin, from its meaning always takes  
 the subjunctive, but beginning with  
 the omission of the verb, which  
 would be in that mood if expressed,  
 the construction comes to allow the  
 indicative, as if *etsi* or the like had  
 been used; here **quamvis infesto**  
**animo**, with another conditional  
 particle would be regular, and Livy  
 forgets, as it were, that no such  
 particle or any verb has been ex-  
 pressed, and goes on as if he had  
 said, *etsi quamvis infesto animo per-*  
*veneras.*

8. **ergo:** introducing, as often,  
 a conclusion from all the circum-  
 stances not immediately connected  
 with the preceding. It is to be  
 remembered that Livy is, first of  
 all, a rhetorician, and these occa-  
 sions are his opportunities for show-  
 ing his skill in speech-making. —



patria mortua essem. Sed ego nihil iam pati, nec tibi turpius quam mihi miserius, possum, nec, ut sum mi-  
 9 serrima, diu futura sum: de his videris, quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors aut longa servitus manet.' Vxor deinde ac liberi amplexi fletusque ab omni turba mulierum ortus et comploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem  
 10 virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retro ab urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt alii alio leto. Apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem,  
 11 usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem invenio; refert certe hanc saepe eum exacta aetate usurpasse vocem, multo miserius seni exsilium esse. Non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri Romani: adeo sine obtreptione  
 12 gloriae alienae vivebatur. Monumento quoque quod esset, templum Fortunae muliebri aedificatum dedicatumque est.

Rediere deinde Volsci adiunctis Aequis in agrum Romanum, sed Aequi Attium Tullium haud ultra tulere

sed, etc.: for the moment she has brought herself into prominence, and this she now corrects. *ego* is opposed to his below. — *nihil... nec*: loose writing for *nec... quidquam*, correlative with *nec... sum* below, and followed by *non turpius*. The case differs from the ordinary *nec... nec* after a negative, in that the two are not strictly correlative. Veturia herself has reached the height of wretchedness, and her son's further acts cannot increase her misery, but only his disgrace; but with the wife and children both may be increased.

9. *videris*: cf. *videritis*, I. 58. 10.

10. *suos*: his family, taking the gender from the two sons. — *alio*: one was by suicide. — *antiquissimum*: cf. *veterrimos*, 18. 5.

11. *refert*, etc.: this implies that he continued to live in exile. — *certe*: cf. 2 n. — *laude*: the regular earlier Latin construction would be *laudi mulierum*, but this construction becomes after Livy common, and is probably an imitation of the Greek (cf. *φθόνειν τινί τινος*), though a natural enough use of language. — *sua*: allowed, instead of *earum*, on account of the idea of *peculiar* or *special* contained in it.

12. *quoque*: i.e. as well as *glory*. — *templum*: four miles out on the Latin Way, where the meeting was supposed to have taken place. — *rediere*: Livy resumes, perhaps from other sources, his dry narrative after the picturesque incident, joining it on as well as he can. — *Aequi*, etc.: cf. 39. 1.

ducem. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Aequine impera- 13  
torem coniuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox  
proelium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hos-  
tium exercitus haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci  
certamine confecit.

Consules Titus Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Vol- 14  
sci, Aquilio Hernici — nam ii quoque in armis erant —  
provincia evenit. Eo anno Hernici devicti, cum Volscis  
aequo Marte discessum est.

Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules 41  
facti. Cum Hernicis foedus ictum, agri partes duae  
ademptae. Inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi di-  
visurus consul Cassius erat. Adiciebat huic muneri 2  
agri aliquantum, quem publicum possideri a privatis  
criminabatur. Id multos quidem patrum, ipsos posses-  
sores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. Sed et publica  
patribus sollicitudo inerat, largitione consulem pericu-  
losas libertati opes struere. Tum primum lex agraria 3  
promulgata est, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memo-  
riam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter 4

13. *darent*: depending on the  
idea of question in *certamine*; see  
Gr. 334. *b*.

14. *provincia*: in predicate ap-  
position with the names of the two  
nations. For the origin and use of the  
word, see *Harvard Studies*, I. p. 101.

THE PUNISHMENT OF SP. CASSIUS.

41. *foedus ictum*, etc.: rather  
favorable terms for a people *devicti*,  
but exact history is not to be looked  
for here.

2. *publicum*: *i.e.* belonging to  
the state, and so available for dis-  
tribution, were it not for the action  
of the patricians. — *possideri*: not  
merely held in the regular manner,  
as *criminabatur* shows, but 'ap-

propriated,' in that by long contin-  
uance of an occupation originally  
natural and legal, the *plebs* were  
kept out of a right which they had  
come to want and become able to  
use. — *quidem*: opposing the self-  
ish motives of many to the political  
alarm (*publica*, etc.) of the rest.

3. *lex agraria*: all such laws  
proposed a distribution of the pub-  
lic lands to the poorer classes to  
be held as private property, as the  
public lands in modern times are  
distributed. — *maximis motibus*:  
as in the case of the Gracchi and  
others. — *agitata*: equivalent to  
a relative clause, whereby an in-  
accuracy of the time of the partici-  
ple results; cf. *caesum*, 36. 1.

largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe adversante, quae primo coeperat fastidire munus vulgatum; a civibus isse in socios; saepe deinde et Verginium consulem in contionibus velut vaticinantem audiebat pestilens collegae munus esse, agros illos servitutem iis qui acceperint laturos, regno viam fieri. Quid ita enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid attinuisse Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut eae gentes pro Coriolano duce Cassium habeant? Popularis iam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariae coeperat. Vterque deinde consul certatim plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passurum se adsignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi Romano adsignentur; Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque civibus vilior erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, iubere pro Siculo fru-

4. nec omni: *i.e.* no doubt some rich plebeians were also interested in the great bodies of public lands let for pasturage and the like. — primo: opposed to *deinde* in 5. — fastidire: see Gr. 333. *b.* — vulgatum: in the fact that the *socii* were to enjoy it also. — socios: possibly this part of the scheme is borrowed by the ancient historians from the later measures of Drusus.

5. et: as well as their dissatisfaction with the extent of the boon. — vaticinantem: not merely 'prophe-sying,' in our sense, — anybody can do that, — but with the idea of an inspired foresight. — regno: the suggestion of this bugbear was the second cause of the alarm of the *plebs*.

6. ita, in this way, as they were. — adsumi: see Gr. 338. — attinuisse: *i.e.* 'what did it mean?' 'why should it be done?' — nisi ut, etc.: *i.e.* that these nations should be used

by Cassius as a means to destroy the liberty of the Romans.

7. popularis, etc.: *i.e.* the opponent of these measures, ordinarily favored by the *plebs*, had begun, by these appeals to their prejudices, to be regarded as the true friend of the people. — dissuasor, *opponent*, by argument; intercessor, *nullifier*, by the power of one colleague to stay the other's proceedings. — uterque, etc.: *i.e.* it now became a race for popular favor between the two consuls. — adsignari, etc.: thus catering to the prejudices of those who wished to confine the largess to Roman citizens. — adsignentur: see Gr. 314. *a.*

8. agraria: opposed to the largess of money. — ambitiosus: in its regular meaning of catering to one for political purposes. Of course the point of view is a later one, as the struggle for equality of the Latins could hardly have begun so early.

mento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. Id vero 9  
 haud secus quam praesentem mercedem regni aspernata  
 plebes: adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut  
 abundarent omnia, munera eius in animis hominum re-  
 spuebantur. Quem, ubi primum magistratu abiit, dam- 10  
 natum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem  
 eius supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse  
 ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse; sig-  
 num inde factum esse et inscriptum 'Ex Cassia familia  
 datum.' Invenio apud quosdam, idque propius fidem 11  
 est, a quaestoribus Caesone Fabio et L. Valerio diem  
 dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi iudicio, di-  
 ritas publice aedes. Ea est area ante Telluris aedem.

— *viliior, less esteemed*, but with the literal force that we express by 'cheapening one's self.' — *Siculo*: cf. 34. 3. and 7. — *pecuniam* . . . *retribui*: the grain would thus become a gratuitous distribution, such as was afterwards practiced.

9. *id vero*: cf. *tum vero*, often commented on. — *praesentem*, *downright*; literally, paid on the spot, and so a direct price paid by Cassius for the regal power. The ignorant prejudices of the people were fully roused by the crafty nobles. — *insitam*, *deep-seated*; *i.e.* the natural hatred of the people to regal power. — *abundarent*: see Gr. 312.

10. *ubi*, etc.: a magistrate as such could not be attacked while in office, but upon its expiration he became like any other private citizen. — *sunt qui*, etc.: these read like later comment and explanation of the meagre facts as stated in the annals. — *cognita*, etc.: *i.e.* he acted as judge, and formally tried the son, over whom the *patria potestas*, suspended during the magistracy, was again restored at its expiration; cf.

I. 26. 9. — *peculium*: the son was the property of the father, and could own nothing, but was allowed, like a slave, to enjoy some property as if it were his own. — *Cereri*: cf. *sacrando cum bonis*, etc., 8. 2; he was apparently put to death by the law of Valerius Publicola there mentioned. — *signum*: cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 15, *Romae simulacrum ex aere factum Cereri primum reperi ex peculio Sp. Cassi*. — *familia*: here used in its regular sense of *res familiaris*.

11. *fidem*: see Gr. 261. a. — *quaestoribus*: not in the later sense of officers of the treasury, but of commissioners who acted partly as judges in the first instance, and partly as prosecutors before the people; cf. the appeal of Horatius, I. 26. 8. — *diem dictam*: cf. 35. 2 n. — *perduellionis*: very likely a later attempt to bring the case under some general class of offences; cf. Cic. *de Rep.* II. 35. 60, *Sp. Cassium de occupando regno molientem quaestor accusavit*, etc. — *populi*: in the *comitia centuriata*, doubtless. — *Telluris aedem*: in the Carinae, near

- 12 Ceterum, sive illud domesticum sive publicum fuit iudicium, damnatur Servio Cornelio Q. Fabio consulibus.
- 42 Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dulcedo agrariae legis ipsa per se dempto auctore subibat animos; accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate patrum, qui devictis eo anno Volscis Aequisque militem praeda  
 2 fraudavere; quidquid captum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul ac redegit in publicum. Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter novissimum consulem; tenere tamen patres ut cum L. Aemilio Caeso Fabius  
 3 consul crearetur. Eo infestior facta plebes seditione domestica bellum externum excivit. Bello deinde civiles discordiae intermissae. Vno animo patres ac plebs rebellantes Volscos et Aequos duce Aemilio prospera  
 4 pugna vicere. Plus tamen hostium fuga quam proelium absumpsit: adeo pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt  
 5 equites. Castoris aedes eodem anno idibus Quintilibus dedicata est. Vota erat Latino bello a Postumio dictatore. Filius eius duumvir ad id ipsum creatus dedicavit.

the *sororium tigillum* (I. 26. 13n); it was said to have been consecrated B.C. 486.

#### WARS ABROAD AND DISSENSIONS AT HOME.

42. *agrariae legis*: though no actual law had been brought to a vote, yet the measure had been proposed, and may well be so called here.—*dempto*: i.e. though the proposer was gone.—*malignitate, meanness*; i.e. the *ungenerous* action of the senate, who, by the hands of Fabius, one of their party, turned the booty into the common store. The general in command had the disposal of the booty.

2. *novissimum*: see 41. 12.—*tenuere, etc.*: i.e. they succeeded

in securing one of the consuls in spite of the opposition; such half-successes were very common; cf. the famous case of Caesar and Bibulus.—*Caeso*: see 41. 11.

3. *excivit, brought about*; literally *roused*, by encouraging the enemies of Rome to take advantage of her internal dissensions.

4. *tamen*: opposing the greater loss in flight to the implied loss in *prospera . . . vicere*.

5. *Castoris*: this is the great temple of Castor and Pollux (called *Castoris* for short), which is so often mentioned in later Roman history, and is still partly standing; it was near the end of the Forum, under the Palatine.—*Latino*: see 20. 12.—*filius*: the father was probably

Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariae legis 6  
 animi plebis. Tribuni plebi popularem potestatem lege  
 populari celebrabant; patres satis superque gratuiti  
 furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largitiones te-  
 meritatisque invitamenta horrebant. Acerrimi patri-  
 bus duces ad resistendum consules fuere. Ea igitur 7  
 pars rei publicae vicit, nec in praesens modo, sed in  
 venientem etiam annum M. Fabium, Caesonis fratrem,  
 et magis invisum alterum plebi accusatione Sp. Cassii  
 L. Valerium consules dedit. Certatum eo quoque anno 8  
 cum tribunis est. Vana lex vanique legis auctores iac-  
 tando inritum munus facti. Fabium inde nomen ingens  
 post tres continuos consulatus unoque velut tenore omnes  
 expertos tribuniciis certaminibus habitum. Itaque ut  
 bene locatus mansit in ea familia aliquamdiu honos.  
 Bellum inde Veiens initum; et Volsci rebellarunt. Sed 9  
 ad bella externa prope supererant vires, abutebanturque

by this time dead, and in such cases it was usual to appoint a kinsman as one of the commission of two to build and dedicate the temple.

6. *dulcedine*, etc.: cf. 1. — *plebi*: a rare form of the genitive found in certain phrases; cf. *plebiscitum*. — *popularem*, etc.: *i.e.* being elected to an office devoted to the people, they felt bound to 'magnify' it by proposing a law for the benefit of the people. — *celebrabant*: for the tense, cf. *instigabant*, 39. 7. — *gratuiti*, *without a premium*; *i.e.* without a definite incitement to partisan agitation. — *largitiones*, etc.: a descriptive reference, in quite the modern style, to the measure in question, the agrarian law; cf., however, 41. 2.

7. *ea pars*: *i.e.* the senate, identical in Livy's mind with the patricians. — *nec in praesens*: *sc. vicit*. — *accusatione*: see 41. 11. — *de-*

*dit*: *i.e.* by its success in the elections.

8. *vana . . . facti*, *was brought to nought*; *vani, baffled*; but with the underlying idea in each case that the agitation ended in nothing. — *iactando*: a loose ablative of manner; see Gr. 301. footn. — *inritum*, *unaccomplished*, but containing the same idea as *vana*, etc., above. — *tenore*, *character*, but with the idea of the pursuance of the same policy throughout. — *expertos*: not merely that they met with the opposition, but that they forced it. — *bene locatus*, *well invested*, with the same figure.

9. *sed*: contradicting the inference that foreign war would occupy the state so as to prevent civil dissensions. — *abutebantur*: with its proper etymological idea of *misuse* or diversion from an end or purpose.

- 10 iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere ad aegras iam omnium mentes prodigia caelestia, prope cotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas; motique ita numinis causam nullam aliam vates caneant publice privatimque, nunc extis nunc per aves consulti, quam haud rite
- 11 sacra fieri. Qui terrores tamen eo evasere, ut Oppia virgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit.
- 43 Q. Fabius inde et C. Iulius consules facti. Eo anno non segnior discordia domi et bellum foris atrocius fuit. Ab Aequis arma sumpta. Veientes agrum quoque Romanorum populantes inierunt. Quorum bellorum crescente cura Caeso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt.
- 2 Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant; Veientes, pleni iam populationum, Romam ipsam se oppugnatos minabantur. Qui terrores cum compescere deberent, auxere insuper animos plebis; redibatque non sua sponte plebi mos detrectandi militiam, sed Spurius Licinius tribunus plebis venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae patribus iniungendae, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis versa in auctorem est; nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius

10. *aegras iam*: *i.e.* on account of the civil discord. — *prodigia*: *i.e.* such as the rain of stones, comets, mock-suns, and the like. — *moti*: cf. I. 55. 3 n. — *consulti*: with numinis.

11. *tamen*: *i.e.* notwithstanding the great alarm, it only ended in this one case of atonement. — *poenas*, etc.: she was buried alive.

WAR WITH VEII AND THE AEQUI.

43. *quoque*: *i.e.* not only took up arms, but made an inroad. — *consules*: apparently the next year,

but the two years are thus connected to avoid the stiffness of annals.

2. *pleni*: *i.e.* they were now tired of ordinary pillaging, and sought higher game.

3. *non sua*, etc.: cf. 23. 2; 27. 7; 29. 2; opposed to *sed*, etc. — *iniungendae*, *forcing*. — *impediendam*: by using his tribunician power to protect the recusants.

4. *tota invidia*, etc.: *i.e.* the whole odium capable of being raised by the power was thrown upon Licinius, by the fact that his colleagues turned against him. —

collegae coorti sunt, auxilioque eorum dilectum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur : 5  
 ducendus Fabio in Veientes, in Aequos Furio datur. Et in Aequis quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est ; Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus quam cum hostibus fuit. Vnus ille vir, ipse consul, rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. Nam cum consul praeter ceteras 7  
 imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem ut solo equitatu emissio exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. Nec illos, etsi non adhortatio inveni ducis, suum saltem 8  
 flagitium et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare, aut, si aliud nihil, stare instructos. In 9  
 iussu signa referunt, maestique — crederes victos — exsecrantes nunc imperatorem nunc navatam ab equite operam redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilenti ex- 10  
 emplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt : adeo

**auxilio**, etc. : although the tribunes had no power to set anything on foot, and so could not strictly assist a levy, yet they could aid by defending the consuls in their compulsory measures, against the interference of their colleague.

5. **ducendus** : a curious use of the combined force of the participle and adjective, 'the one to be, etc., is given to *Fabius*, the one to be, etc., to *Furius*.'

6. **ipse consul** : i.e. the very man whom they had so hated. — in **se** : the use of the reflexive, though irregular, is justified by a kind of indirect discourse, 'we will ruin the state so far as in us lies,' implied in the action of **prodebat**.

8. **nec illos**, etc. : the narrative

here, perhaps worked over from the traditions of the Fabian family, assumes the rhetorical form of a speech addressed to the soldiers by their consul. The peculiar constructions, as well as the words employed, become natural if we change the whole into direct discourse, '*nonne vos . . . vestrum . . . redierit, . . . potest*,' etc. Rhetorical style with the ancients was always more or less connected with speeches.

9. **crederes** : cf. 35. 5 n. — **navatam** : Gr. 292. a.

10. **pestilenti** : as being mutiny, and destructive to military discipline. — **quaesita**, *found* ; cf. *quaesitam*, 44. 3. — **adeo**, etc. : a natural remark of Livy's after so many years of civil government had made



- excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars qua civem  
 11 regant quam qua hostem superent. Consul Romam  
 rediit non tam belli gloria aucta quam iritato exacer-  
 batoque in se militum odio. Obtinuere tamen patres  
 ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret : M. Fabium con-  
 sulem creant, Fabio collega Gnaeus Manlius datur.
- 44 Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae ha-  
 buit : Ti. Pontificius fuit. Is eandem viam, velut pro-  
 cessisset Sp. Licinio, ingressus dilectum paulisper im-  
 2 pediit. Perturbatis iterum patribus Appius Claudius  
 victam tribuniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in  
 praesentia re, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inventum  
 3 sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim umquam  
 defuturum qui et ex collega victoriam sibi et gratiam  
 melioris partis bono publico velit quaesitam ; et plures,

the Romans even more famous as statesmen and politicians than as generals and warriors ; but one could hardly expect the civil virtues to flourish as early as the military. — defuerit : see Gr. 311. *b*.

11. gloria aucta, etc. : these ablatives absolute have all the force of ablatives of quality. In fact, the Romans were not so particular about classifying the uses of cases as it is convenient for us to be. — obtinere : cf. *tenere*, 42. 2. — collega . . . datur : in these cases (cf. 42. 2 and 43. 1) the patricians succeeded in forcing one of their partisans on the elective body, but were obliged to allow one consul to the supporters of the plebeians ; hence the word datur.

THE PATRICIANS AGAIN DIVIDE  
 THE TRIBUNES. HOPES OF THE  
 ETRUSCANS.

44. eandem : *i.e.* as Licinius, explained in the next clause. — processisset : impersonal, as often

with *succedere*, and occasionally with this word. For mood, see Gr. 312.

2. victam, etc. : the emphasis gives the force, 'the method proposed succeeded the last time, why not try it again?' Cf. in *praesentia re* and its chiasitic antithesis, 'not only effectually for the moment, but so as to suggest it again in any similar circumstances.' — dicere : not very different from *dixit*, but giving more the idea of 'proceeded to suggest,' or 'it occurred to Appius to suggest,' as a part of the situation ; cf. the further description of the situation and the final action (*obtinere*, etc.) in 5.

3. ex collega : corresponding chiasitically with *melioris partis*. — *melioris* : the emphasis is caused by the fact that the tribune himself belonged, in the view of the speaker, to the worse part. — bono : used as a substantive, like *pessimo* in 1. 3. — quaesitam : cf. *quaesita*, 43. 10.

si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum vel adversus omnes satis esse. Da-  
rent modo et consules et primores patrum operam ut,  
si minus omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicae  
ac senatui conciliarent. Praeceptis Appii moniti patres  
et universi comiter ac benigne tribunos appellare, et  
consulares, ut cuique eorum privatim aliquid iuris ad-  
versus singulos erat, partim gratia partim auctoritate  
obtinuere ut tribuniciae potestatis vires salubres vel-  
lent rei publicae esse; novemque tribunorum adver-  
sus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum  
consules habent. Inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo  
undique ex Etruria auxilia convenerant, non tam Veien-  
tium gratia concitata quam quod in spem ventum erat  
discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Prin-  
cipesque in omnium Etruriae populorum conciliis fre-  
mebant aeternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semet  
ipsi seditionibus saeviant. Id unum venenum, eam

5. **universi**: as a body, without regard to private relations. — **consulares**: *i.e.* particularly these, as persons of importance, who would be likely to have relatives and influence. — **aliquid iuris**, *any claims upon*, business, social, or other. — **gratia . . . auctoritate**: a good example of the difference between these words, the first referring to *personal* influence and popularity, the second to that arising from prominence in the community, and somewhat political in its nature. — **obtinuere**: belonging in sense also with **universi** (**patres**), as **appellare** also belongs with **consulares**, but the Latin so loves an antithesis that it makes one even where, as here, the precise form of the thought is disturbed by it; at the same time, by the present arrange-

ment, the main word is more closely connected with **consulares**, to which it most belongs. — **salubres**: in the view of the aristocracy, to which body any agitation on behalf of the commons always seemed pernicious. — **vellent**: *sc.* the tribunes implied in **ut cuique**, etc.

6. **novem**: cf. 33. 2, where five in all are mentioned, but Livy (or his authority) is writing from a later point of view; or, as some think, he wrote *quattuor* here, and **novem** is due to a later hand. — **moratorem**: cf. 43. 3.

7. **quo**: *i.e.* **ad Veios**, implied in **Veiens**.

8. **populorum**: *i.e.* the different cities, each independent, but under one league. — **saeviant**: the apodosis is **aeternas . . . esse**, which contains in it a future idea; cf.

- labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna imperia  
 9 mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum partim  
 patrum consiliis partim patientia plebis iam ad extrema  
 venisse. Duas civitates ex una factas, suos cuique parti  
 10 magistratus, suas leges esse; primum in dilectibus sae-  
 vire solitos, eosdem in bello tamen paruisse ducibus.  
 Qualicumque urbis statu manente disciplina militari sisti  
 potuisse; iam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra  
 11 quoque Romanum militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsa  
 acie, in ipso certamine consensu exercitus traditam ultro  
 victoriam victis Aequis, signa deserta, imperatorem in  
 12 acie relictum, iniussu in castra reditum. Profecto, si  
 instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud  
 opus esse quam indici ostendique bellum, cetera sua  
 sponte fata et deos gesturos. Hae spes Etruscos arma-  
 verant multis in vicem casibus victos victoresque.
- 15 Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud quam  
 suas vires, sua arma horrebant. Memoria pessimi pro-

Gr. 307. *d.* — *magna*: the emphasis represents the greatness as the cause or condition of the destruction. — *ut . . . essent*: taking the form of a result clause on account of *repertam*.

9. *sustentatum*: the emphasis gives the force, 'it had long been endured, but had now come to an outbreak.'

10. *eosdem*: *i.e.* though they had been turbulent in the conscription, yet these same persons who had been so had calmed their fury in war. — *qualicumque*: *i.e.* no matter how bad the civil condition was. — *manente*: of course with *disciplina*, but put first as containing the main idea. — *sisti potuisse*, they had been able to maintain themselves; cf. 29. 8. — *iam*: as often, of the gradual progress of a

thing; opposed to *primum* above. — *quoque*: *i.e.* as well as in the city at the time of the levy.

11. *proximo*, etc.: the final climax. — *acie*: this would refer to the time when the armies were only in array ready to fight, and so is less strong than *certamine*, which would mean only the moment of conflict. — *ultro*: *i.e.* the soldiers gave the victory, as it were, for nothing, voluntarily to their enemies who were already beaten (*victis*).

12. *si instetur*, if they pressed matters, *i.e.* as he goes on to show, and made war energetically in appearance. — *hae spes*, etc., it was these hopes that had, etc.

VEII AND THE ETRUSCANS.

45. *consules Romani*: though

ximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent eo ubi  
 duae simul acies timendae essent. Itaque castris se  
 tenebant tam ancipiti periculo aversi: diem tempusque  
 forsitan ipsum lenitum iras sanitatemque animis adla-  
 turum. Veiens hostis Etrusque eo magis praepropere  
 agere, lacescere ad pugnam primo obequitando castris  
 provocandoque, postremo, ut nihil movebant, qua con-  
 sules ipsos qua exercitum increpando: simulationem in-  
 testinae discordiae remedium timoris inventum, et con-  
 sules magis non confidere quam non credere suis militi-  
 bus. Novum seditionis genus silentium otiumque inter  
 armatos. Ad haec in novitatem generis originisque qua  
 falsa qua vera iacere. Haec cum sub ipso vallo portis-  
 que streperent, haud aegre consules pati; at imperitae  
 multitudini nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare  
 et ab intestinis avertere malis: nolle inultos hostes, nolle

the two nations are here contrasted, yet as it was the generals that were at variance with the soldiers, and whose state of mind is discussed; they take the prominent place. — *quoque*: *i.e.* they had the same feelings about the dissensions that the Etruscans had. — *ne . . . committerent*: cf. 9. 5. — *eo*: *i.e.* in *eum locum*; cf. *rem in casum ancipitis eventus committunt*, IV. 27. 6.

2. *ancipiti*: although modified by *tam* in its general sense of *dangerous*, yet it is used partly in its etymological sense of *double* in reference to the two perils. — *aversi*, *deterred*, *i.e.* from fighting. — *diem tempusque*: the first refers only to lapse of time, the second contains also a reference to circumstance. — *ipsum*, *alone*, without any action on their part. — *iras*: see Gr. 75. c.

3. *eo magis*: *i.e.* on account of the inactivity of the Romans. —

*nihil movebant*, *had no effect*, in arousing the Romans. — *qua . . . qua*: used three times in this chapter; see 4 and 16.

4. *simulationem*, etc.: *i.e.* that their civil dissensions were only a pretence to cover the real cowardice which prevented them from fighting. — *confidere*: in reference to their courage; *credere*: in reference to their fidelity and patriotism. — *novum*: emphatic, because the state described is just the opposite of mutiny. — *novitatem*: *i.e.* taunting the Romans as a young nation of upstarts, and sprung from criminals and bastards.

5. *haud aegre*, etc.: a skilful chiasmic arrangement, 'It was not at all UNWELCOME to the *consuls*, but filled the SOLDIERS with *indignation*.' — *intestinis*, *domestic*; *i.e.* the wrongs that had driven them to rebel. — *nolle*: still historical infinitive. — *inultos*: see Gr. 292. d. N

- successum non patribus non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant externa: adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt, poscunt pugnam, postulant ut signum detur. Consules velut deliberabundi capita conferunt, diu conloquuntur; pugnare cupiebant, sed retro revocanda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum immaturam rem agi, nondum tempus pugnae esse: castris se tenerent. Edicunt inde ut abstineant pugna; si quis iniussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus consules velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accendunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisset pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe impune se insultaturos, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque venisse Romano imperio.

— nolle . . . non . . . non: Gr. 209. a. 2. — externa: *i.e.* of the enemy; see Gr. 217. a (but cf. 213. N.). — domestica: *i.e.* of the patri-  
cians.

6. superant: we should expect externa first, but there is a rhetorical emphasis in reference to certare, like 'at length the contest is decided, and the victory remains with the hatred of the enemy.' — adeo: *i.e.* too much for them to bear. — eludebat, *insult them*; cf. I. 48. 2. — praetorium: the space in front of the general's tent (cf. 47. 5), but it may be translated *headquarters*. — poscunt . . . postulant: the first has more imperativeness in it than the second, though here the word is only varied for rhetorical effect.

7. velut: because their consultation was only a pretence, as they knew just what they wanted. — pugnare, etc., *to fight was just*

*what they were anxious for*, to translate the emphasis. — retro, etc.: a highly poetical expression for curbing the desire.

8. redditur: emphatic, as opposed to their *keeping back* their true intention, 'the answer that they gave was,' etc. — agi: *i.e.* that a plan was on foot that was not yet ready, apparently with a kind of irony; cf. *matura res erat*, II. — edicunt: used of the formal proclamation; important on account of the threat at the end.

9. quo minus, etc.: *i.e.* the less they think the consuls wish it, the more they desire it. — ferocius multo: the emphasis is not on multo but on ferocius, 'they were still fiercer and bolder when the formal determination not to fight became known.' The adverb belongs grammatically with accendunt, but modifies an implied *occursant*.

His freti occursant portis, ingerunt probra, aegre abstinent quin castra oppugnent. Enimvero non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse; totis castris undique ad consules curritur. Non iam sensim, ut ante, per centurionum principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Matura res erat, tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde, ad crescentem tumultum iam metu seditionis collega concedente, cum silentium classico fecisset: 'Ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem ipsi fecerunt. Itaque certum atque decretum est non dare signum, nisi victores se redituros ex hac pugna iurant. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit, deos numquam fallit.' Centurio erat M. Flavoleius inter primores pugnae flagitator. 'Victor' inquit, 'M. Fabi, revertar ex acie;' si fallat, Iovem patrem Gradivumque Martem aliosque iratos invocat deos. Idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se quisque iurat. Iuratis datur signum. Arma capiunt; eunt in pugnam irarum speique pleni. Nunc iubent Etruscos probra iacere, nunc armati sibi quisque lingua promp-

10. his: *i.e.* the ideas expressed in the preceding discourse.

11. *enimvero*: equivalent to *tum vero*, but with a kind of colloquial force, 'really, now, they couldn't, don't you see?' as it were. — *sensim*, *tentatively*, feeling their way; cf. 2. 4. — *matura*, etc.: cf. 8 n.; *tergiversantur*: in reference to the farce enacted in the next section.

12. *ad*, *amid*, but almost with the force of the English *at*, containing a suggestion of cause. — *iam*: of course with *concedente*, but joined with *metu*, as the cause which at last forces Manlius to yield. — *ego*: only emphasized, according to Roman custom, as an antithesis to *istos*. — *velle*: opposed to *posse*,

and implying, as usual in antitheses, the rest of the clause, *istos vincere*. — *ne*: see Gr. 319. *a. N.*

13. *non dare . . . iurant*: both containing an idea of futurity; see Gr. 307. *a. N.*, and cf. 276. *c.* — *fefellit*: as much as 'broken his oath to,' an almost technical meaning of *fallo*; cf. 14.

14. *si fallat*: *sc. deos*; the oath is expressed in a kind of indirect discourse, for *si fallo*, etc.; cf. I. 24. 8, and see Gr. 341. *c.* — *iratos*, etc.: a shorthand expression for 'the anger of' the gods. — *idem*: *i.e.* each man repeats the full oath.

15. *nunc*: belonging to *iacere*, being quoted from the soldiers' words. — *armati*: one would at

- 16 tum hostem offerri. Omnium illo die, qua plebis qua patrum, eximia virtus fuit: Fabium nomen, Fabia gens maxime enituit. Multis civilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illa pugna sibi reconciliare statuunt.
- 16 Instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detrectant. Prope certa spes erat non magis secum pugnuros quam pugnarint cum Aequis; maius quoque aliquid in tam inritatis animis et occasione ancipiti haud
- 2 desperandum esse facinus. Res aliter longe evenit. Nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus — adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant
- 3 — proelium iniit. Vix explicandi ordines spatium Etruscis fuit, cum pilis inter primam trepidationem abiectis temere magis quam emissis pugna iam in manus, iam
- 4 ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Quintum Fabium — tertio hic anno

first expect *armatis*, and indeed the reading is not certain; this clause also is a kind of quotation.

16. qua . . . qua: cf. 3 and 4 — nomen . . . gens: the same idea from two different points of view.

#### THE DECISIVE BATTLE.

46. acies: *i.e.* of the Romans. — detrectant: *sc. pugnam*, implied in the preceding. — pugnarint: for tense, see Gr. 336. B. a. — Aequis: cf. 44. 11. — quoque: here approaching its later sense of *even*, though not losing its sense of *also*; 'they would do what they had done before, and also (even) something more.' — ancipiti, *critical*; the opportunity offered by the dangerous crisis is meant.

3. pilis, etc.: the regular tactics were to throw the javelins at the first onset, and then to press for-

ward with the sword to close quarters; but here the advance of the Romans was so fierce (*infestior*, 2) that steady aim was impossible, on account of the haste (*trepidationem*), and the javelins were merely thrown away, not shot at the enemy. — *temere*, *at random*. — *venerat*: the construction is that of Gr. 325. b (*cum inversum*), 'they had hardly had time to deploy, when they were already at close quarters.' In such cases either event can often be made the subordinate one, according to the momentary feeling of the narrative.

4. inter primores, *in the foremost rank*, following the old *heroic* method of fighting. The emphasis makes the statement a double one, 'they were in the front and were an example there'; cf. principem below. — *ferox*: cf. I. 7. 5. — *prae-*

ante consul fuerat — principem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo extracto praeceps Fabius in vulnus abiit. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebat- 5 que inde Romanus, cum M. Fabius consul transiluit iacentis corpus, obiectaque parma ‘Hoc iurastis’ inquit, ‘milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros? Adeo igna- 6 vissimos hostis magis timetis quam Iovem Martemque, per quos iurastis? At ego iniuratus aut victor revertar, aut prope te hic, Quinte Fabi, dimicans cadam.’ Consuli tum Caeso Fabius prioris anni consul: ‘Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnent te impetraturum credis? Dii 7 impetrabunt, per quos iuravere. Et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potius quam adhortando accendamus militum animos.’ Sic in primum infestis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.

Proelio ex parte una restituto nihilo segnius in cornu 47 altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat; ubi prope similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu 2 Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium iam velut fusos agentem hostis et impigre milites secuti sunt, et, ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum

**ceps**, etc.: *i.e.* he fell forward on his wounded breast; a common representation, doubtless drawn from life.

5. **sensit**, etc.: *i.e.* the loss was felt by both entire armies, though that of only a single man. — **inde**, (from) *their position*; more definite than the common *loco*; cf. 47. 3. — **transiluit**: cf. *venerat*, 3 n. — **obiecta**: *i.e.* in defence of the body and of himself. — **hoc**, *is this what?* — **fugientes**: opposed to *victores* in 45. 13.

6. **adeo**: the word here appears in the transition from its proper meaning of ‘to that degree’ to ‘therefore’ or ‘then.’ — **iniuratus**: and so not bound, as they were, to conquer or die. — **consuli**: a vivid substitute for a pronoun, almost in the modern rhetorical style.

7. **impetrabunt**: *i.e.* will force them to fight; we may leave it to the gods without exhortation to them. — **moverunt**, *carried*.



- 3 rati gradum rettulere ; cessissentque loco, ni consul alter cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo advectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso  
 4 altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinuisset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos. Simul et vanior iam erat hostium acies, dum abundante multitudine freti subtracta subsidia mittunt  
 5 ad castra oppugnanda. In quae haud magno certamine impetu facto, dum praedae magis quam pugnae memores tererent tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam inruptionem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nuntiis quo loco res essent, conglobati ad praetorium rede-  
 6 unt, et sua sponte ipsi proelium renovant. Et Manlius consul revectus in castra ad omnes portas milite opposito hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit. Nam cum incursantes quacumque exitum ostenderet spes vano aliquotiens impetu issent, globus iuvenum unus in ipsum consulem

#### VICTORY OF THE ROMANS.

47. 3. *rem inclinatam*, the waver-  
*ing battle.*

4. *coram*: i.e. in the presence of the soldiers. — *vanior*, less solid, the rear ranks being withdrawn. — *mittunt*: see note on *tererent* below.

5. *quae*: sc. *castra*. — *tererent*: see Gr. 328. a. N., and cf. I. 40. 7. The difference between this use of *dum* and the one in 4 is, that here we have the same kind of time which is used with *cum*, and the same causal implication; in the other case we have the ordinary use of the *dum* clause equivalent to a participle (see Gr. 290. c. N.). — *triarii*: according to the (supposed) later organization of the Roman army (see VIII. 8), these were the

oldest veterans and best fighters of the whole, composing the third line or reserve. But their weapon, the *pilum*, is mentioned in 46. 3, and they appear here as a constituent part of the force. We must either suppose that they were introduced earlier than Livy's account makes out, or that he allows himself an anachronism. — *praetorium*: cf. 45. 6. — *sua*, etc.: i.e. without orders; the expression is doubled for emphasis.

6. *et Manlius*: in consequence of the message of the *triarii*. — *viam*: i.e. the enemy, being in the camp, are now prevented from getting out. — *ea desperatio*: (like *is terror* and the like), the desperation proceeding from the shutting of the gates. — *unus*: here not very dif-

insignem armis, invadit. Prima excepta a circumstan- 7  
tibus tela, sustineri deinde vis nequit. Consul morti-  
fero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis 8  
crescit audacia, Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos  
agit; et ad extrema ventum foret, ni legati raptu consu-  
lis corpore patefecissent una porta hostibus viam. Ea 9  
erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem  
alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum caesi fusique  
passim.

Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam  
claris funeribus. Itaque consul decernente senatu tri- 10  
umphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare pos-  
sit, pro eximia eo bello opera facile passurum respondit:  
se familia funesta Quinti Fabi fratris morte, re publica  
ex parte orba consule altero amisso, publico privatoque  
deformem luctu lauream non accepturum. Omni acto 11  
triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit: adeo spreta  
in tempore gloria interdum cumulator rediit. Funera  
deinde du deinceps collegae fratrisque ducit, idem in

ferent from *quidam*, but admissible as opposing the frenzy of one body to the action of the rest; cf. *una porta* in 8.

9. *consternato*: a rhetorical exaggeration, though, as the men were fleeing, although desperate, it is a natural one. — *iterum*: the first time is implied in *desperatio* in 6. — *caesi fusique*: not the same persons, of course, but the two are connected by *-que*, according to the Latin fashion. — *victoria*: one might at first think of supplying *erat*, but probably no such verb was in the author's mind, but the word is in a kind of apposition, to speak grammatically, with the previous description.

10. *decernente*: conative pres-

ent, so called; the senate was engaged in making the decree, but it could not take effect without being accepted. — *si exercitus*, etc.: *i.e.* so far as the army was concerned he had no objection, but he would not lead the triumph, and so it was impossible. — *funesta*: cf. 8. 7. — *orba*: as deprived of one of its parents, as it were. — *lauream*: the laurel wreath worn in the triumph, put as a symbol of the whole.

11. *omni, any*. — *acto*: the technical term for the celebration of a triumph, because the general and his army entered the city in procession. — *depositus*: as it was offered him, he could be said to lay it aside. — *in tempore*: like our *on occasion*. — *funera*: opposed to the

utroque laudator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipse  
 12 maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor eius  
 quod initio consulatus imbiberat, reconciliandi animos  
 plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit patribus. Fabiis  
 plurimi dati, nec alibi maiore cura habiti. Inde popu-  
 lares iam esse Fabii, nec hoc ulla re nisi salubri rei  
 publicae arte.

- 48 Igitur non patrum magis quam plebis studiis K. Fa-  
 bius cum Tito Verginio consul factus neque bella neque  
 dilectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere, quam  
 ut iam aliqua ex parte incohata concordiae spe primo  
 quoque tempore cum patribus coalescerent animi plebis.  
 2 Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agra-  
 riae legis auctor tribunus existeret, occuparent patres  
 ipsi suum munus facere, captivum agrum plebi quam  
 maxime aequaliter darent: verum esse habere eos, quo-  
 3 rum sanguine ac sudore partus sit. Aspernati patres  
 sunt, questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et

triumph, as these also had a proces-  
 sion; hence ducit.—in utroque,  
*in the case of each*, as often with  
*in*.—laudator: the technical word  
 for the *eulogist* who pronounced  
 the funeral oration.—cum: equiv-  
 alent to *wherein*; used like a par-  
 ticipial construction.

12. eius, *of the policy*.—recon-  
 ciliandi: in apposition with eius;  
 cf. *foros faciendos*, I. 56. 2 n., and  
 see Gr. 301. R.

#### MEASURES FOR THE RELIEF OF THE PLEBS.

48. studiis, *votes*; literally, the  
 interest shown in his election.—  
 K: that is, *Caeso*; see Gr. 6. N.  
 —Fabiis: cf. 43. 1 and 46. 6.  
 —Verginio: the senate, on this  
 occasion, seems not to have been  
 obliged to concede a consul of the

plebeian party.—coalescerent: cf.  
 I. 11. 2.

2. censuit: *i.e.* in his first ad-  
 dress to the senate.—tribunus:  
 not emphatic; the idea is, 'before  
 any champion should arise, among  
 the tribunes (of course).'—ex-  
 isteret, *should arise*; see Gr. 327.  
 a.—occuparent, *should anticipate*  
*them*; a device not unknown to mod-  
 ern politics.—munus: *i.e.* the ser-  
 vice to the plebs.—verum, *fair*, as  
 often. One wonders why this had  
 not occurred to the patricians be-  
 fore.

3. aspernati: naturally, such  
 abuses are not reformed by the  
 will of the wrongdoers.—luxu-  
 riare: the figure is derived from  
 the loss of vigor from overgrowth.  
 —nullae: emphatic, 'but there  
 were no party contests (as you

evanescere vividum quondam illud Caesonis ingenium. Nullae deinde urbanae factiones fuere. Vexabantur incursionibus Aequorum Latini. Eo cum exercitu Caeso 4 missus in ipsorum Aequorum agrum depopulandum transit. Aequi se in oppida receperunt murisque se tenebant. Eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit.

At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius 5 consulis actumque de exercitu foret, ni Caeso Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veientibus fuit; res proxime formam latrocinii venerat: legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello in vicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. Et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque, non diutius quam recens dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus; aut mox moturos esse apparebat Sabinos semper infestos Etruriamque omnem. Sed 7 Veiens hostis, adsiduius magis quam gravis, contumeliis saepius quam periculo animos agitabat, quod nullo tempore neglegi poterat aut averti alio sinebat. Tum Fabia 8 gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente loquitur: 'Ad-

might expect), *foreign* (opposed to *urbanae*) war occupied their minds.' — **vexabantur**: opposed to *nullae*, 'they were troubled,' etc.

4. **eo**: *i.e. in Latinos*. — **transit**: *i.e. across the borders*.

5. **Veiente**: *i.e. but with the people of Veii they did not come off so easily, and in fact, etc.* — **formam**: see Gr. 261. a.

6. **cedebant**, *they retired before*. — **eludentes**, *evading*, with a feeling of the original meaning, *dodge*, or *parry*. — **tota**: with the force of an adverb; see Gr. 191. — **trans-**

**iret**: one would expect *dum*, but the phrase seems used like *priusquam* and other forms with *quam* (without *ut*). One could say, *tam diu dolor transit, so long as, etc., in passing*, and correspondingly, *diutius quam dolor transit*; from that would come the subjunctive, by a kind of indirect discourse. — **quiescentibus**: continuing present for future.

7. **neglegi, averti**: impersonal. — **alio**: *i.e. ad aliam rem*; cf. *vos alia bella curate*, 8.

8. **consul**: Caeso. — **auctores**

siduo magis quam magno praesidio, ut scitis, patres conscripti, bellum Veiens eget. Vos alia bella curate, Fabios hostis Veientibus date. Auctores sumus tutam ibi  
 9 maiestatem Romani nominis fore. Nostrum id nobis velut familiare bellum privato sumptu gerere in animo  
 10 est; res publica et milite illic et pecunia vacet.' Gratiae ingentes actae. Consul e curia egressus comitante Fablorum agmine, qui in vestibulo curiae senatus consultum exspectantes steterant, domum redit. Iussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse, domos inde discedunt.

49 Manat tota urbe rumor. Fabios ad caelum laudibus ferunt: familiam unam subisse civitatis onus, Veiens  
 2 bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma versum; si sint duae roboris eiusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant haec Volscos sibi, illa Aequos; populo Romano tranquillam pacem agente omnes finitimos subigi populos posse. Fabii postera die arma capiunt, quo iussi erant conveni-  
 3 unt. Consul paludatus egrediens in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt; acceptus in medium signa ferri iubet. Numquam exercitus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et admiratione homi-  
 4 num per urbem incessit: sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem

sumus, *we will guarantee*; no doubt one of the earliest meanings of *auctor*. — ibi: *i.e. apud Fabios*.

9. nostrum, etc.: here we have a favorite Latin emphasis on pronouns, which gives the force, 'this *our own* domestic war, *we* purpose to carry on as such.' — illic: *i.e. in eo bello*.

#### MARCH OF THE FABII.

49. 2. si sint: see Gr. 308. *c.* — postera: the reading approved

in this passage, contrary to the general practice of Livy.

3. paludatus: the regular general's robe, as in a formal war, marks the solemnity of the occasion; cf. I. 26. 2, where, however, the word is used of a subordinate's dress. — in vestibulo: unquestionably in ancient times a large forecourt or 'dooryard' in front of the house, but in all the Roman houses we know, so dwarfed as to become only a little recess at the front

sperneres, egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiae viribus Veienti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba, propria alia cognatorum 5 sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo, alia publica sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens. Ire fortes, 6 ire felices iubent, inceptis eventus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare. Praetereuntibus Capitolium arcem- 7 que et alia templa, quidquid deorum oculis, quidquid animo occurrit, precantur ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant. In cassum missae preces. Infelici via, dextro 8 Iano portae Carmentalis profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio.

door; cf. 48. 10, where it is evidently incorporated in the building like a *pronaos*.

4. *sperneres*: see Gr. 311. a.

5. *turba*: *i.e.* of those who accompanied the warriors to the gates. — *propria*: opposed in thought, though not in form, to *publica* (the general crowd, whose interest was not personal). — *nihil medium*: *i.e.* of no moderate fortune; it was either supreme glory or utter ruin. — *immensa*, *boundless possibilities*. — *favore*, *enthusiasm*.

6. *ire*, etc.: *i.e.* they hailed them with cries of *ite fortes, ite felices, go in your prowess, go with good fortune*. — *ab se*: *i.e.* as the citizens who would vote these honors.

7. *praetereuntibus*: *sc. eis* (dative); the Latin has a fondness for omitting pronouns when there is any word which would indicate the case omitted. — *Capitolium*: they passed by under the hill, of which

the towering buildings would be plainly visible. — *quidquid deorum*: a colloquial form of expression which gradually after Cicero's time became common in literature. — *animo*: more for rhetorical effect than precision, but still some gods might be suggested to their minds by association, whose temples did not meet their eyes. — *precantur*: *sc. the crowd*.

8. *infelici*: so called afterwards, on account of this disastrous expedition. — *Iano*: as all entrance-ways were sacred to this god, his name came to stand for arches through which a road passed; cf. I. 19. 2. — *Carmentalis*: the gate next to the Capitol, between that and the river. It led out through the Campus, and was afterwards called *Scelerata* (Aur. Victor, 12). — *Cremeram*: a little river flowing by Veii and emptying into the Tiber, some six miles from Rome. The

- 9 L. Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. Et donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem  
 10 fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae comminus cum Etruscis dimicant acie. Quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium  
 11 Veientibus fuit: adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo  
 12 incipiendae sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra — ibi castra habebant — pacem supplices petunt; cuius impetratae ab insita animis levitate ante deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenituit.
- 50 Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo sine ullo maioris belli apparatu certamen, nec erant incursiones modo in agros aut subiti impetus *in* incursantes, sed aliquotiens aequo campo conlatisque signis certatum, gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res  
 2 erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tulit. Id primo acer-

garrison was thus lower down the stream, on the road from Veii into the Roman territory.

10. *quamquam*: correcting the use of the word *acie*.

11. *trepidationem*: cf. 46. 3. — *post signa*, etc.: in the line of battle the standards were placed in the front rank. — *ala*: in its later sense of *squadron*.

12. *Saxa Rubra*: a place still distinguishable near where the Flaminian Way crosses the Cremera (*Valchetta*). — *cuius impetratae*:

according to Latin idiom for 'which they obtained, but before,' etc. — *ab*: cf. I. 31. 4 n. — *ante*, etc.: *i.e.* before it was withdrawn, as it was to have been, in accordance with the terms of the treaty. — *paenituit*: implying that they began hostilities again, so that the Fabii remained.

#### DESTRUCTION OF THE FABII.

50. *rursus*: in allusion to the projected return of the Fabii; see *deductum*, 49. 12.

bum indignumque Veientibus est visum ; inde consilium  
 ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi. Gaudere  
 etiam multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque 4  
 et pecora praedantibus aliquotiens, velut casu incidis-  
 sent, obviam acta, et agrestium fuga vasti relictis agri,  
 et subsidia armatorum ad arcendas populationes missa  
 saepius simulato quam vero pavore refugerunt. Iam- 5  
 que Fabii adeo contempserant hostem, ut sua invicta  
 arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri  
 posse. Haec spes provexit, ut ad conspecta procul a  
 Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora, quamquam  
 rara hostium apparebant arma, decurrerent. Et cum 6  
 improvidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas  
 superassent, palatque passim vaga, ut fit pavore iniecto,  
 raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur, et ad-  
 versi et undique hostes erant. Primo clamor circumla- 7  
 tus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant ; coeun-  
 tibusque Etruscis iam continenti agmine armatorum  
 saepti, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogeantur bre-  
 viore spatio et ipsi orbem colligere ; quae res et pauci- 8  
 tatem eorum insignem et multitudinem Etruscorum  
 multiplicatis in arto ordinibus faciebat. Tum omissa 9

3. *ex re natum* : *i.e.* suggested by the circumstances. — *insidiis* : emphatic ; since they had failed in open fight, they resolved to try a stratagem, for which the situation was favorable. — *ferocem* : cf. I. 7.  
 5. — *gaudere* : as opposed to the first bitter feeling (*acerbum*, etc.).

4. *velut* : cf. 44. 1. — *vasti, deserted*, to invite pillage.

5. *sua* : emphatic, as opposed to hostem, from the habit of emphasizing persons. — *invicta, invincible*, as often with the perfect passive participle. — *provexit* : the object *eos* is omitted because it is

the same as the following subject. This economy of pronouns is characteristic of Latin. — *rara* : although this is emphatic, yet the main thought is that the armed forces did appear ; an example of the familiar crowding of two statements into one.

6. *adversi, in front*, as usual.

7. *circumlatus* : *i.e.* it began in one spot, and was echoed from one band to another. — *accidebant, began to meet them*. — *continenti* : *i.e.* the scattered bands of the enemy closed up and united in a continuous circle. — *quo magis* : cf. 19. 10 n.



- pugna, quam in omnes partis parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. Eo nisi corporibus  
 10 armisque rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem. Inde primo restitere; mox, ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni iugo circummissus Veiens in  
 11 verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. Trecentos sex perisse satis convenit, unum prope puberem aetate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiae dubiisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellique vel maximum futurum auxilium.
- 51 Cum haec accepta clades est iam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos  
 2 victoria elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupavere; obsesque urbs foret super bellum annona premente — transi-

9. *parem*, *alike*; adjective for adverb, as often. — *eo nisi*, *forcing their way there* (to that). — *viam*: see Gr. 238 c.

10. *inde*: as their resistance was directed forward from their standpoint, Livy can say *from there* where we should say *there*. — *vincebat*... *evasisset*: see Gr. 308. b. — *paucitas*, *the few*; a bold expression, but used in the same manner as *multitudo* and similar words in a concrete sense.

11. *praesidium*: the fortified camp they had erected; cf. 49. 8. — *puberem*: he was consul ten years later (B.C. 467), so that he must have been a tolerably large boy at the time. — *aetate*: it is difficult to say whether Livy means to connect this with *puberem* (cf. *maior natu*) or with *relictum*. Historians vary

in their statements as to whether he was *left* at home or *left* from the slaughter, but Livy's words seem to indicate the latter, in which case the word goes better with *puberem*. — *auxilium*: e.g. Q. Fabius Maximus and Fabius Cunctator. Cf. Ov. *F.* II. 239 *seq.*

#### ROME BESIEGED.

51. *est*: see Gr. 325. N. — C. Horatius: son of Marcus; see 8. 5. — Menenius: son of Menenius Agrippa; see 32. 8. — *victoria elatos*: and so impliedly making a demonstration at Rome after the defeat of the Fabii. It is to be remembered that these hostile cities were only two or three hours' ride apart.

2. *quoque*: as well as in the case of the Fabii. — Etrusci: cf

erant enim Etrusci Tiberim —, ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus; adeoque id bellum ipsis instituit moenibus, ut primo pugnatum ad Spei sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi quamquam 3 parvo momento superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem recepto pristino animo in futura proelia id certamen fecit.

A. Verginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post 4 acceptam proximam pugnae cladem Veientes abstinere acie. Populationes erant, et velut ab arce Ianiculi passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant. Non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes erant. Capti deinde eadem 5 arte sunt qua ceperant Fabios. Secuti dedita opera passim ad inlecebras propulsa pecora praecipitavere in insidias. Quo plures erant, maior caedes fuit. Ex hac 6 clade atrox ira maioris cladis causa atque initium fuit. Traiecto enim nocte Tiberi castra Servili consulis adorti sunt oppugnare. Inde fusi magna caede in Ianiculum se aegre recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit 7 Tiberim, castra sub Ianiculo communit. Postero die

49. 10, where they are represented as assisting their kinsmen. — **ex Volscis**: Livy forgets to mention his being sent there; the full account would be like 40. 14, but dryness and repetition must be avoided, at all hazards. Livy has dropped the Volsci since 42. 9, to take up the more picturesque and sensational Veian war. — **ad Spei**: *sc. aedem*; an omission frequent in Livy after prepositions; see Gr. 214. b. The temple was only a mile from the Esquiline gate. The Etruscans doubtless crossed below, and cut off the communications of the city by the Tiber and by Latium.

3. **momento, degree**, the figurative use of the word originally com-

ing from weight on the steelyards. — **meliores**: notice the emphasis; the advantage was slight, but there was an *improvement* in the morale of the soldiers.

4. **proximam**: the one mentioned in 2. — **velut ab arce**, etc.: two statements are again crowded into one; *i.e. ab Ianiculo velut ab arce*. — **Ianiculi**: see Gr. 214. f.

5. **secuti**, etc.: a shorthand way of telling the story of 50. 4 *seq.* — **dedita opera**: with **propulsa**. — **plures**: *i.e.* than the Fabii.

6. **ex hac clade**: as *ira* has in it a slight verbal idea, it allows a prepositional phrase as an attribute even more naturally than in other cases; but see Intr. 9. h.

- luce orta nonnihil et hesterna felicitate pugnae ferox, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamvis in praecipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere ad-
- 8 verso Ianiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediusque inde pulsus quam pridie pepulerat, interventu collegae
- 9 ipse exercitusque est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, cum in vicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.
- 52 Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit et advecto ex Campania frumento et, postquam timor sibi cuique futurae inopiae abiit, eo quod abditum fuerat prolato.
- a Ex copia deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi et pristina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quaerere. Tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agraria lege, in resistentis incitare patres, nec in universos modo sed
- 3 in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, cum haud procul inde
- 4 stativa consul habuisset. Ea oppressit, cum et patres haud minus quam pro Coriolano adnisi essent, et patris

7. et: the correlative is displaced by *magis tamen*. — *tamen*: *i.e.* though somewhat from confidence, yet more from the pressure of famine. — *quamvis*, etc.: *i.e.* in *consilia quamvis praecipitia dum*, etc. — *essent*: see Gr. 314.

#### TRIAL OF MENENIUS AND SERVI- LIUS.

52. urbi: as opposed to *Veiens bellum*. — *laxior*: with the same figure that we use in 'a tight money-market.' — *advecto*: the Tiber being now re-opened. — *sibi cuique*, etc.: a compressed form, representing *quam sibi quisque timuerat* or *futuram putaverat*. — *futurae*: cf. Gr. 293. b. — *abditum*: *i.e.* it had

been hoarded from fear of future want, but is now brought into the market.

2. animi: *i.e.* *plebis*. — *suo*, *their regular*. — *veneno*: the figure taken from sorcery, in which drugs were used to bewitch.

3. diem dicunt: *i.e.* as tribunes bring in a bill against them before the *comitia tributa*. — *invidiae erat*: *i.e.* made him unpopular. — *stativa*: not mentioned before, but Livy has probably here changed his source, and is following some other authority.

4. oppressit: *sc. eum*. — *Coriolano*: cf. 35. 4. — *Agrippae*: cf. 32. 8. — *hauddum*: found only in Livy and Silius Italicus.

Agrippae favor haudum exolevisset. In multa tempe- 5  
rarunt tribuni : cum capitis anquisissent, duo milia aeris  
damnato multam edixerunt. Ea in caput vertit. Ne-  
gant tulisse ignominiam aegritudinemque ; inde morbo  
absumptum esse.

Alius deinde reus Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, 6  
C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus initio statim anni ab  
L. Caedicio et T. Statio tribunis die dicta, non ut Me-  
nenius precibus suis aut patrum, sed cum multa fiducia  
innocentiae gratiaeque tribunicios impetus tulit. Et 7  
huic proelium cum Tuscis ad Ianiculum erat crimini.  
Sed fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo ante, sic  
tum in suo, non tribunos modo sed plebem oratione  
feroci refutando exprobrandoque T. Meneni damnatio-  
nem mortemque, cuius patris munere restituta quondam  
plebs eos ipsos quibus tum saeviret magistratus, eas  
leges haberet, periculum audacia discussit. Iuvit et 8  
Verginius collega testis productus participando laudes,  
magis tamen Menenianum — adeo mutaverant animum  
— profuit iudicium.

Certamina domi finita. Veiens bellum exortum, qui- 53  
bus Sabini arma coniunxerant. P. Valerius consul ac-  
citis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis cum exercitu

5. in multa : *i.e.* they contented themselves with a fine, without asking for exile. — capitis, etc. : *i.e.* they had brought a charge involving the loss of life, either bodily or civil. — ea in caput, etc. : *i.e.* the fine, not intended to be a 'capital' punishment, as affecting the accused's existence (see above), became such by its after-effects. — esse : with *dicunt* implied in negant (*dicunt non*).

7. periculo : cf. 51. 8. — refutando, by *upbraiding* ; properly,

by showing their claims to be unfounded and the action base. — exprobrando, by *reproaching them with*. — saeviret . . . haberet : see Gr. 341. c. — discussit, *averted* ; properly 'shattered,' as of something overhanging and threatening to fall.

8. participando : *i.e.* by sharing his own glory with the accused.

WAR WITH VEII AND THE  
SABINES.

53. accitis, etc. : cf. 33. 4 and

- Veios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus sociorum locata erant, confestim adgreditur, tantamque trepidationem iniecit ut, dum dispersi alii alia manipulatim excurrunt ad arcendam hostium vim, ea porta cui signa  
 2 primum intulerat caperetur. Intra vallum deinde caedes magis quam proelium esse. Tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat; tamquam Veis captis ita pavidi Veientes ad arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars Romanos toto impetu intentos in castra adoriuntur.  
 3 Paulisper aversi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utroque versis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule immissus Tuscos fundit fugatque; eademque hora duo exercitus, duae potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes superatae sunt.  
 4 Dum haec ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Aequeque in Latino agro posuerant castra populatque fines erant. Eos per se ipsi Latini adsumptis Hernicis sine Romano  
 5 aut duce aut auxilio castris exuerunt. Ingenti praeda praeter suas recuperatas res potiti sunt. Missus tamen ab Roma consul in Volscos C. Nautius. Mos, credo, non placebat sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus consiliisque bella gerere. Nullum genus calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est, nec tamen percelli potuere ut acie dimicarent.  
 54 L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Veientes provincia evenit. Non tamen bellatum; indutiae

41. 1. — sociorum: *i.e.* the Veientes. — alii alia: *i.e.* they run different ways, not referring necessarily to *gates*, though that is included in the general idea.

3. aversi: *i.e.* the Romans. — utroque: *i.e.* towards the now reinforced Sabines, and towards the second mentioned part of the enemy.

5. tamen: *i.e.* notwithstanding that the war was ended without Roman help. — gerere: contrary to the usual *ut* construction with *mos*, but no doubt suggested by the simple infinitive after that word, which is not so uncommon.

6. calamitatis: *i.e.* by ravages and inroads. — contumeliae: cf. 48. 7.

in annos quadraginta petentibus datae frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci externae confestim continuatur<sup>2</sup> discordia domi. Agrariae legis tribuniciiis stimulis plebs furebat. Consules nihil Meneni damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servilii summa vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius tribunus plebis arripuit. L. Aemilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum ineunt. Vo-<sup>3</sup> piscum Iulium pro Verginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno—quoscumque consules habuit—rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non plebem magis quam iuniores patrum. Sua-<sup>4</sup> dent, monent, honoribus et administratione rei publicae absterneant; consulares vero fascēs, praetextam, curulemque sellam nihil aliud quam pompam funeris putent; claris insignibus velut infulis velatos ad mortem destinari. Quod si consulatus tanta dulcedo sit, iam nunc<sup>5</sup> ita in animum inducant, consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate esse; consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio, omnia ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse. Si se commoverit, si respexerit patres,<sup>6</sup> si aliud quam plebem esse in re publica crediderit,

PEACE WITH VEII. ASSASSINATION  
OF THE TRIBUNE GENUCIUS.

54. provincia: cf. 40. 14 n.—*tamen*: *i.e.* though one of the consuls had the war as his province.

2. *continuatur, succeeds*; lit. 'joins on to.'—*abeuntes*: as long as they were in office they were unassailable.—*arripuit*: the figure is derived from the actual arrest of the defendant in a civil suit.

3. *rei*: Livy does not mention the charge, but it was so purely a political contest that this is unimportant.—*sordidati*: in mourning apparel, the usual dress of suppliants.—*iuniores patrum*: obvi-

ously for support by force of arms and violence.

4. *suadent*, etc.: this, of course, is only a rhetorical picture of their own condition, not intended for any instruction. It is another chance for Livy to make a speech.—*honoribus, office*, including at that time only the quaestorship and consulship.—*pompam funeris*: *i.e.* like the display in a funeral procession, only to escort the person to his grave.—*insignibus*, etc.: changing the figure, he compares the same marks of honor to the decorations of a sacrificial victim.

5. *iam nunc*: *i.e.* before they went into politics.

exsilium Cn. Marci, Meneni damnationem et mortem sibi  
 7 proponat ante oculos. His accensi vocibus patres consilia inde non publica sed in privato seductaque a plurimum conscientia habuere. Vbi cum id modo constaret, iure an iniuria eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quaeque maxime placebat sententia, nec auctor quamvis audaci  
 8 facinori deerat. Igitur iudicii die cum plebs in foro erecta exspectatione staret, mirari primo quod non descenderet tribunus; dein, cum iam mora suspectior fieret, deterritum a primoribus credere, et desertam ac prodigam causam publicam queri; tandem qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant nuntiant domi mortuum esse inventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. Praecipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil auxilii sacrae leges haberent, morte collegae monitos.  
 10 Nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam, adeoque neminem noxiae paenitebat ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.

55 Sub hac pessimi exempli victoria dilectus edicitur; paventibusque tribunis sine intercessione ulla consules  
 2 rem peragunt. Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse

7. accensi, etc.: the harangue had the intended effect. — non publica: *i.e.* it was a secret conspiracy. — an: the word of question on which this should depend is only implied in modo constaret, which indicates a debate of which the result was eripiendos, etc., but the other question, iure an iniuria, remained undecided; cf., for a less striking case of the same, I. 33. 8. — auctor, agent; properly, 'responsible party.'

8. igitur, etc.: a masterly touch of description. The necessary plot and means are described, and Livy skips with an 'accordingly' to the dramatic scene of the discovery of the death.

10. malo domandam: cf. 34. 11.

PUBLILIUS VOLERO, THE AUTHOR OF THE PUBLILIAN LAW.

55. sub, after, though the Latin says a little more than this.

2. silentio: cf. 45. 4 and 57. 4.

de libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reditum, cum Genu-  
cio uno mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem.  
Aliud agendum ac cogitandum, quo modo resistatur  
patribus: id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa 3  
plebs, quando aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quat-  
tuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus, et eos ipsos  
plebis homines. Nihil contemptius neque infirmius, si  
sint qui contemnant; sibi quemque ea magna atque hor-  
renda facere. His vocibus alii alios cum incitassent, ad 4  
Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia, quod or-  
dines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere, lictor  
missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. 5  
Cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et  
virgas expediri iubent. 'Provoco' inquit 'ad popu-  
lum' Volero, 'quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in  
conspectu suo virgis caedi malunt quam ipsi in lecto  
suo a vobis trucidari.' Quo ferocius clamitabat, eo in-  
festius circumscindere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero 6  
et praevalens ipse et adiuvantibus advocatis repulso lic-  
tore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eo  
se in turbam confertissimam recipit, clamitans 'Provoco 7  
et fidem plebis imploro: adeste cives, adeste commilito-

— ad antiqua: *i.e.* before the insti-  
tution of tribunes. — aliud agen-  
dum, *they must take some other*  
*course*; a general idea explained  
by cogitandum. — resistatur: a  
deliberative question, made indi-  
rect; see Gr. 334. b.

3. quattuor et viginti: cf. 1. 8.  
— apparere: cf. *apparitori*, 54. 5.  
— plebis homines: cf. *de plebe*  
*hominem*, 4. — contemptius, *con-*  
*temptible*, as often with the perfect  
passive participle.

4. ordines, etc.: *i.e.* he had been  
a centurion; cf. 23. 4.

5. spoliari, *to be stripped*. —  
— ipsi: attracted into agreement  
with the subject, for which this  
word has a particular fondness. —  
circumscindere: *i.e.* his clothes,  
as he resisted.

6. advocatis: persons accompa-  
nying a party, properly in court, as  
advisers, or to give him aid and  
moral support. — pro se: the use  
of the reflexive makes the clause  
the idea of the subject.

7. provoco: official, the continu-  
ation of the words in 5. — fidem,  
etc.: an informal request for help



nes. Nihil est quod exspectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis  
 8 vestro auxilio opus est.' Concitati homines veluti ad  
 proelium se expediunt; apparebatque omne discrimen  
 adesse, nihil cuiquam sanctum non publici fore non pri-  
 9 vati iuris. Huic tantae tempestati cum se consules ob-  
 tulissent, facile experti sunt parum tutam maiestatem  
 sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis e  
 foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti quatenus Volero  
 10 exerceat victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultu cum  
 in senatum vocari iussissent, queruntur iniurias suas,  
 11 vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferociter dictis  
 sententiis vicere seniores, quibus ira patrum adversus  
 temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

56 Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis  
 tribunum plebi creat in eum annum qui Lucium Pina-  
 2 rium P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium  
 opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus per-  
 missurum tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam  
 privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consuli-  
 bus rogationem tulit ad populum ut plebei magistratus  
 3 tributis comitiis fierent. Haud parva res sub titulo  
 prima specie minime atroci ferebatur, sed quae patri-  
 ciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi

at the moment, as well as at the trial of the appeal; cf. 23. 8 n. — quod: see Gr. 238. b. — exspectetis: see Gr. 320. a.

8. omne discrimen, a general struggle; not for some particular point, but one in which the whole state was at stake.

9. incerti, etc.: a euphemistic way of saying they were afraid of their lives.

10. vocari: the subject is so obvious that it is omitted.

11. vicere, prevailed.

VOLERO PROPOSES HIS LAW.

56. 2. permissurum, devote; lit. 'give over.' — post: with habito; elsewhere Livy uses the dative with *posthabere*. — ad populum: it is doubtful before what body Livy conceived the law to have been proposed; perhaps he had no clear idea, but most likely it was the *comitia tributa*; cf. 15.

3. clientium: according to Livy, these had the right to vote, but in what body is uncertain. — auferet: see Gr. 320. a.

quos vellent tribunos auferret. Huic actioni gratissimae plebi cum summa vi resisterent patres, nec, quae una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex collegio auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci posset, res tamen suo ipsa molimine gravis certaminibus in annum extrahitur. Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit: patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, Ap. Claudium Appi filium, iam inde a paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt; collega ei Titus Quinctius datur.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius collega eius auctor cum recentior tum acrior erat. Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod aetatis eius haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, cum Volero nihil praeterquam de lege loqueretur, insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse in accusationem Appi familiaeque super-

4. *actioni*: the magistrate was said *agere cum populo*. — *quae*: referring to the *ut* clause, which, however, depends immediately on *adduci*. — *resistendum*: Livy carelessly uses this word in a slightly different sense from that of *resisterent* above, which only means attempt to resist. — *aliquis*: this should be properly the subject of *posset*, but the sentence is confused by the parenthetical relative clause. It ought to read *neque quisquam ut intercederet adduci posset, quae una vis*, etc., but the parenthesis carries with it the *ut* clause, and we have *aliquis* and no subject for *posset*. — *tamen*: again a slight confusion of thought. The real idea is, 'This was a measure most agreeable to the *plebs*, but the senate resisted, and though they failed to secure the only effectual means, yet in spite of the zeal of the people and the

fact that no tribune could be won over to stay proceedings, the importance of the matter delayed it for a whole year,' *i.e.* beyond the term of office of Publius. — *molimine gravis*, *difficult from its importance*; lit. 'heavy from its own weight.'

5. *paternis*: cf. 27. 1. — *datur*: cf. 43. 11 n., and see the conduct of Quinctius, ch. 15.

6. *anni*: naturally of the consul's term. — *ut . . . sic*: almost equal to *though . . . yet*. The idea is, 'But the struggle was with a different adversary, though (while) Volero was the inventor, yet (so also) Laetorius was a champion, a fresher and more energetic man, so that he now takes the lead.'

7. *ferocem, audacious*; confident and violent at the same time, as is explained in the following. — *familiae*, etc.: cf. Tac. *Ann.* I. 4.

- bissimae ac crudelissimae in plebem Romanam exorsus,  
 8 cum a patribus non consulem sed carnificem ad vexan-  
 dam et lacerandam plebem creatum esse contenderet,  
 rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati  
 9 animoque. Itaque deficiente oratione 'Quando quidem  
 non facile loquor' inquit, 'Quirites, quam quod locutus  
 sum praesto, crastino die adeste. Ego hic aut in con-  
 10 spectu vestro moriar, aut perferam legem.' Occupa-  
 bant tribuni templum postero die; consules nobilitasque  
 ad impediendam legem in contione consistunt. Submo-  
 veri Laetorius iubet praeterquam qui suffragium ineant.  
 11 Adulcentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes viatori. Tum  
 ex his prendi quosdam Laetorius iubet. Consul Ap-  
 pius negare ius esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in ple-  
 12 beium: non enim populi sed plebis eum magistratum  
 esse; nec illum ipsum submovere pro imperio posse

3, *vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia*. — *exorsus*: as so often, two statements in one sentence. 'While Volero confined himself to the law, Laetorius proceeded to personalities, but having begun, he found his eloquence unequal to the subject, and so,' etc.

8. *rudis* in, etc.: *i.e.* as would be natural in a soldier. — *libertati animoque*, *his independent spirit*.

9. *quam*: correlative with a *tam* implied in *non facile*. — *crastino*: the day of the *comitia*. — *perferam*: of course this all looks towards expected violence from the patricians.

10. *occupant*: *i.e.* take possession in advance of their opponents. — *templum*: the *tribunal*, or raised platform. — *in contione*: apparently the first assembling of citizens at a *comitia* was *contio*, in which they were informed, by the presiding magistrates, of the 'object of

the meeting' and the questions at issue. This was dismissed by the order *discedite ad suffragium*, upon which the citizens took their respective places in order to vote. — *submoveri*: the regular word for clearing the way; here to be kept back as outsiders from hindering the proceedings. So far as Livy's words go, there is no indication that the patricians claimed the right to vote.

11. *stabant*: *i.e.* they refused to move. — *viatori*: the officer of the tribunes, or of any magistrate. — *prendi*: the usual practice of magistrates to enforce their orders. — *negare*, etc.: apparently a new claim resting on a quibble. Such new or forced interpretations of law are still common on occasions of political excitement. There is nothing like a party contest to produce 'implied powers' or 'strict constructions.'

12. *illum ipsum*: *i.e.* *magistra-*

more maiorum, quia ita dicatur 'Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites.' Facile et contemptim de iure disse-  
rendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur ira 13  
tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem  
ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine  
magistratu; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio 14  
omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset, et  
concursus hominum in forum ex tota urbe concitatae  
multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertina-  
cia tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento 15  
proelio foret, ni Quinctius consul alter, consularibus neg-  
otio dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro  
abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenis-  
set, nunc orasset tribunos ut concilium dimitterent;  
darent irae spatium, non vim suam illis tempus ademp- 16  
turum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et patres in  
populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate.

Aegre sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo aegrius consul 57  
alter a patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis sena- 2  
tum consules habent. Vbi cum timor atque ira in vicem  
sententias variassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab  
impetu ad consultandum advocabantur, eo plus abhorre-

*tum populi.* — pro imperio, *arbitrarily*, in the exercise of his supreme authority without special cause. — *quia ita*, etc.: again a quibble, founded on the standing polite phrase addressed to the citizens when the voting was to begin. — *facile*: as being an educated patrician, learned in the law of which Laetorius had no knowledge. — *et contemptim*: Livy, by these words, seems to give the idea that Appius knew his claims were founded on mere quibbles, but that even with these he could confuse the other.

13. *ardens*: the tribune, not being able to cope with his adversary in argument, loses his patience and proceeds to violence. — *privatum*: *i.e.* the tribune, so far as his present action was concerned; in fact, as he had no *imperium*, it might be claimed that he was *privatus* in general.

15. *concilium*: *i.e.* the *contio*.

THE LAW IS CARRIED.

57. 2. *quo magis*, etc.: *i.e.* the longer their anger had to cool, the less they were disposed to fight.

- bant a certatione animi, adeo ut Quintio gratias agerent quod eius opera mitigata discordia esset. Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem maiestatem esse vellet, quanta esse in concordi civitate posset. Dum consules tribunique ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque rem publicam; magis quorum in manu sit quam ut incolumis sit quaeri. Appius contra testari deos atque homines rem publicam prodi per metum ac deserui; non consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse; graviores accipi leges quam in Sacro monte acceptae sint. Victus tamen patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.
- 58 Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt. Numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, Cn. Siccium L. Numitorium M. Duellium Sp. Icilium L. Mecilium.
- 3 Volscum Aequicumque inter seditionem Romanam est bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros, ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet; compositis
- 4 deinde rebus castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius in Volscos missus, Quintio Aequi provincia evenit. Eadem in militia saevitia Appi quae domi esse, liberior,

3. *tantam, only so great*, as often; cf. I. 9. 1.

4. *silentio*: cf. 55. 2. — *perfertur*: of course at a new assembly.

#### WAR WITH THE VOLSCI AND AEQUI.

58. *tum primum*, etc.: it seems impossible that this should be true. It is difficult to see what assembly, in Livy's view, chose them before. The probability is that he knew really no more about it than we do, but, as usual, is writing a pictur-

esque history, of which this statement forms an important item, and that he does not stop to make a consistent theory of the whole matter. If he had, he perhaps would never have given us his 'pictured page' at all. — *numero*, etc.: cf. 33. 2; 44. 6. The whole matter is involved in the greatest uncertainty.

3. *vastaverant . . . ut*, etc.: the *ut* clause belongs really to the occupation of the territory implied in *vastaverant*; cf. *retro movere*.

4. *quae domi*: *sc. fuerat*. —

quod sine tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus 5  
 quam paterno odio: quid? se victum ab ea, se unico con-  
 sule electo adversus tribuniciam potestatem perlatam  
 legem esse, quam minore conatu nequaquam tanta pa-  
 trum spe priores impediunt consules? Haec ira in 6  
 indignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum saevo impe-  
 rio exercitum stimulabat. Nec ulla vi domari poterat:  
 tantum certamen animis imbiberant. Segniter otiose, 7  
 negligenter contumaciter omnia agere. Nec pudor nec  
 metus coercebat. Si citius agi vellet agmen, tardius se-  
 dulo incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes sua  
 sponte motam remittere industriam; praesenti vultus 8  
 demittere, tacite praetereuntem execrari, ut invictus  
 ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur. Omni 9  
 nequiquam acerbitate prompta nihil iam cum militibus  
 agere, a centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere, tri-  
 bunos plebei cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare.

Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant instabantque eo magis, 59  
 sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium  
 habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium  
 consulem habuisset. Ceterum multo Appio quam Fabio 2  
 violentior fuit: non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabi-

esse: a rather harsh historical infinitive.

5. *odisse*, he showed his hatred to. — *quid*: the MSS. give *quod*, which has no meaning; nor is *quid* much better, but may be justified by Livy's rhetorical tendency. — *unico*: i.e. as the one consul likely to accomplish the purpose of the aristocracy.

6. *nec, and yet . . . not*. — *poterat*: sc. *exercitus*. — *imbiberant*: sc. the common soldiers.

7. *adesset*: see Gr. 309. b.

8. *tacite*: with *execrari*. — *in-*

*victus*: cf. *contemptus*, 55. 3 n. — *odio*: ablative of respect with *invictus*. — *plebeio*: see Gr. 217. a.

9. *prompta*, etc.: i.e. having exhausted his means of coercion, he gave up dealing with the soldiers themselves. — *cavillans*, in bitter jest.

#### SUCCESS OF THE VOLSCI.

59. *Fabium*: cf. 43. 6.

2. *Appio*: the dative is occasioned by the idea 'Appius found his army more violent than Fabius,' so that the case does not depend

- anus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra, nec ante restitit quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque ex-  
 3 tremi agminis caedem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor iam a vallo submoveretur hostis, satis tamen appareret capi tantum castra militem Romanum  
 4 noluisse, alibi gaudere sua clade atque ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus cum insuper saevire vellet contionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique monentes, ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cuius vis omnis in consensu oboedientium esset.  
 5 Negare vulgo milites se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri voces postulantium ut castra ex Volsco agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse, ingentisque mali non suspicionem  
 6 modo sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Victus tandem, quando quidem nihil praeter tempus noxae lucrarentur, remissa contione iter in insequentem diem pronuntiari cum iussisset, prima luce classico signum  
 7 profectionis dedit. Cum maxime agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci ut eodem signo excitati novissimos adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit ut neque imperia

merely on violentior, but on the whole expression.

3. *expressa*: lit. 'wrung from them'; i.e. their energy was roused. — *vis*, *energy*. — *alibi*: i.e. except in the camp itself.

4. *saevire*, *vent his rage*, as often. — *imperium*, *an exercise of authority*; such abstract nouns are often used in concrete senses; cf. their use in the plural.

5. *negare*, etc.: the words of the remonstrants. — *apertam speciem*, *unmistakable appearance*,

such that it not only dimly occurred to the mind as a suspicion, but came before the eyes as a *visible reality*.

6. *quando quidem*, etc.: a thought put into the mind of Appius. — *tempus noxae*, *postponement of their punishment*. — *lucrarentur*, *they got*; properly as the price of the bargain. He meant to carry out his purpose later. — *remissa*: i.e. giving up the proposed assembly.

7. *cum maxime*, *just when*.

exaudiri neque instrui acies posset. Nemo ullius nisi 8  
 fugae memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque evasere ut prius hostis desisteret se-  
 qui quam Romanus fugere. Tandem collectis ex dissi- 9  
 pato cursu militibus consul, cum revocando nequiquam  
 suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; ad-  
 vocataque contione invectus haud falso in proditorem  
 exercitum militaris disciplinae, desertorem signorum, ubi 10  
 signa, ubi arma essent, singulos rogitans, inermes mili-  
 tes, signo amisso signiferos, ad hoc centuriones dupli- 11  
 cariosque qui reliquerant ordines, virgis caesos securi  
 percussit; cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad  
 supplicium lecti.

Contra ea in Aequis inter consulem ac milites comi- 60  
 tate ac beneficii certatum est. Et natura Quinctius  
 erat lenior et saevitia infelix collegae quo is magis gau-  
 deret ingenio suo effecerat. Huic tantae concordiae 2

8. *ullius*: a substantive use of this word unknown elsewhere; cf. *cius*, 47. 12.

9. *revocando*: ablative of manner; cf. *sumendo*, 32. 4. — *advocata*: notice the emphasis, *calling* the assembly, as he had originally purposed. — *invectus*: *sc. est*.

10. *inermes milites*, etc.: co-ordinated (or in apposition) with *singulos*, and so following *rogitans*, but containing the substance of his reproaches repeated chiastically.

11. *ad hoc*: *i.e.* in addition to his invective. — *centuriones duplicariosque*: as more trusted, and so more responsible for the treachery. The latter were not exactly officers, but soldiers who had received a reward (double rations) for previous valor, and so were in a position of trust similar to that

of the centurions. — *multitudo . . . decimus . . . lecti*: a curious construction according to sense, explained by the partitive apposition of *quisque*. — *ad supplicium, for execution*.

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF QUINCTIUS.

60. *et . . . et*: the two branches are the natural disposition of the consul, and his profiting by the experience of his colleague. — *quo . . . gauderet*: a rare construction of a result clause with *quo*; cf. the common *quominus* in such clauses.

2. *concordiae*, etc.: put by a common Latin usage for *duci*, etc., *tam concordibus*. Though the language is less fond of abstract nouns, yet it sometimes prefers them as summing up the quality referred to in a single word, which is then by its use made concrete again; cf. I.



- ducis exercitusque non ausi offerre se Aequi vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi. Nec ullo ante bello latius inde actae praedae. Ea omnis militi data  
 3 est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus haud minus quam praemio gaudent militum animi. Cum duci tum propter ducem patribus quoque placatior exercitus redit, sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum datum ab senatu memorans.
- 4 Varia fortuna belli atroci discordia domi forisque annum exactum insignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt, res maior victoria suscepti certaminis quam usu:  
 5 plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est patribus ex concilio submovendis, quam virium aut plebi additum est aut demptum patribus.
- 61 Turbulentior inde annus excepit L. Valerio T. Aemilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege agraria, tum propter iudicium Appi Claudii, cui acerrimo adversario legis causamque possessorum publici agri

41. 4. — *offerre se, to face*. — *hostem*: not merely a repetition of *ducis*, etc., as an English pronoun would be, but giving an additional idea that they were so much impressed that they stood by and looked on while *an enemy* was laying waste their lands. — *ea*: sc. *praeda*. — *data est*: cf. 42. 1 n.

3. *praemio*: the booty was a prize or reward. — *parentem*: as loved children; *dominum*: as oppressed slaves. Cf. the comparison of Domitian and Trajan in Plin. *Pan. 2, non de domino sed de parente loquimur*.

4. *varia*, etc.: *i.e.* though the year was remarkable for the fortunes of war and the dissensions at home, yet more than these the Publilian law makes it famous. — *victoria*, etc.: *i.e.* as a triumph in the

contest more than for any permanent advantage.

5. *dignitatis*, etc.: *i.e.* the new *comitia* lost dignity because the most distinguished of the voters were now excluded, and consequently the body was only a humble assembly of the poorer classes. Yet there is nothing in Livy's words that distinctly says that the patricians were excluded from *voting*, but only that they were excluded from *being present* to hinder. See note to 56. 10.

#### PROSECUTION OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

61. *excepit, followed*, properly with an object, here *civilatem*, understood; cf. I. 53. 4. — *Valerio*: cf. 42. 7. — *ordinum*: at this time only the two parties, the patricians

tamquam tertio consuli sustinenti M. Duillius et Cn. Siccus diem dixere. Numquam ante tam invisus 3 plebi reus ad iudicium vocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus paternarum irarum. Patres quoque non 4 temere pro ullo aeque adnisi sunt: propugnatorem senatus maiestatisque vindicem suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus, modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum, iratae obici plebi. Vnus e patri- 5 bus ipse Ap. Claudius et tribunos et plebem et suum iudicium pro nihilo habebat. Illum non minae plebis, non senatus preces percellere umquam potuere, non modo ut vestem mutaret aut supplex prensaret homines, sed ne ut ex consueta quidem asperitate orationis, cum ad populum agenda causa esset, aliquid leniret atque submitteret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contu- 6 macia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus reum timeret

and the plebeians. Perhaps they are only so called in accordance with later usage, derived from the 'equestrian order.'

2. *tertio*, etc.: *i.e.* he was so active and took such a leading part, that he seemed like another consul. — *diem dixere*: probably before the *comitia centuriata*, as in 35. 2. The use of *plebi* and *populi* in the next line seems to confirm this.

3. *plenus*, etc.: a harsh use of *plenus* as well as of the possessive pronoun for the objective genitive. But the phrase can hardly mean anything except 'overwhelmed by wrath against himself and his father,' and we may perhaps justify *plenus* by I. 25. 1, a case not precisely parallel, and *suarum* by 58. 8, taking *irarum* as equivalent to *odiorum*.

4. *non temere*, *not often*; properly, 'not without special cause,' so

that it doesn't occur by chance. — *propugnatorem*, etc.: expressing the feeling rather than the thought of the senate, and so approaching the exclamatory constructions; see Gr. 274. — *suae*: on account of the indirect discourse. — *modum dumtaxat*: *i.e.* he had only gone a little too far in what was, after all, the right direction.

5. *vestem mutaret*: cf. 54. 3 n. — *prensaret*: the technical expression used like our 'button-hole.' — *aliquid*: here hardly differing from *quidquam*, but giving a slightly different tone, 'a little, as one would have thought he would.' — *leniret*, *soften*. — *submitteret*, *humble*, from his lofty tone of arrogance.

6. *habitus oris . . . vultu*: the first, of movement of features; the second, of expression, as of the eyes or the like.

7 quam consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo  
semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu;  
adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupescit et ple-  
bem, ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent, trahi de-  
8 inde rem sinerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis  
fuit; ante tamen quam producta dies veniret morbo  
9 moritur. Cuius cum laudationem tribuni plebis impe-  
dire conarentur, plebs fraudari sollemni honore supre-  
mum diem tanti viri noluit, et laudationem tam aequis  
auribus mortui auditur quam vivi accusationem audi-  
erat, et exsequias frequens celebravit.

62 Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos  
profectus cum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset,  
castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit foeda tempe-  
2 stas cum grandine ac tonitribus caelo deiecta. Admira-  
tionem deinde auxit signo receptui dato adeo tranquilla  
serenitas reddita, ut velut numine aliquo defensa castra  
oppugnare iterum religio fuerit. Omnis ira belli ad  
3 populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Aemilius in  
Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se  
4 tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villa-  
rum modo sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habi-  
tabatur, Sabini exciti cum praedatoribus occurrissent,  
ancipiti proelio digressi postero die rettulere castra  
5 in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum cur pro victo  
relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

7. *semel, only once*, as opposed to the second trial referred to in the following. — *accusatorio: i.e.* with the tone of a prosecutor rather than a defendant. — *diem ipsi*, etc.: whether, as was the practice later, the accused had a right to two more hearings of the case before the vote was taken, is uncertain. Livy assumes that he had not, but the

prosecutors, of their own accord, allowed the case to drag.

9. *laudationem*: cf. 47. 11.

WAR WITH THE SABINES.

62. 4. *villarum*: single farm-houses; *vicorum*: clusters of houses, villages.

5. *integro, still unfinished*; properly, 'with nothing done about it.'

Inter haec bella manente discordia domi consules 63  
 Titus Numicius Priscus A. Verginius facti. Non ultra 2  
 videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariae legis, ulti-  
 maque vis parabatur cum Volscos adesse fumo ex in-  
 cendiis villarum fugaue agrestium cognitum est. Ea  
 res maturam iam seditionem ac prope erumpentem re-  
 pressit. Consules coacti extemplo ab senatu ad bellum 3  
 educta ex urbe iuventute tranquilliores ceteram plebem  
 fecerunt. Et hostes quidem nihil aliud quam perfusis 4  
 vano timore Romanis citato agmine abeunt. Numicius 5  
 Antium adversus Volscos, Verginius contra Aequos pro-  
 fectus. Ibi ex insidiis prope magna accepta clade virtus  
 militum rem prolapsam neglegentia consulis restituit.  
 Melius in Volscis imperatum est: fusi primo proelio 6  
 hostes fugaue in urbem Antium, ut tum res erant,  
 opulentissimam acti. Quam consul oppugnare non  
 ausus Caenonem, aliud oppidum nequaquam tam opu-  
 lentum, ab Antiatibus cepit. Dum Aequi Volscique 7  
 Romanos exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis  
 populates incessere. Deinde ipsi paucis post diebus  
 ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso  
 in finis, plus cladum quam intulerant acceperunt.

Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper alias, 64  
 sollicitae pacis certamine patrum et plebis. Irata plebs

#### WAR ABROAD AND DISCORD AT HOME.

63. 2. cum cognitum est: *cum inversum*, Gr. 325. b.

3. coacti: *sc. educere*, implied in educta, etc.

4. quidem: opposing the enemy to the consuls; 'the enemy did nothing, to be sure, but the consuls continued the war.'—aliud: originally a cognate accusative with the verb (cf. 29. 4), but retained

even when that construction ceases to be possible; cf. Gr. 240. a and g.

6. melius . . . imperatum est, *the general did better*.—ut tum, etc.: so I. 3. 3; II. 50. 2; cf. I. 18. 1 n.

7. per iram: cf. 24. 5.—finis: *sc. Sabinorum*.—cladium: *i.e. populationibus*.

#### ANOTHER YEAR OF WAR AND DISCORD.

64. sollicitae, *disturbed*.

2 interesse consularibus comitiis noluit : per patres clien-  
 tesque patrum consules creati T. Quinctius Q. Servilius.  
 Similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia,  
 3 bello deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini, Crustumino  
 campos citato agmine transgressi, cum caedes et incen-  
 dia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope  
 Collina moenibusque pulsus ingentes tamen praedas ho-  
 4 minum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul in-  
 festo exercitu insecutus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci  
 aequis locis non potuit ; populationem adeo effuse fecit  
 ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret multiplicique capta  
 5 praeda rediret. Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta  
 cum ducis tum militum opera. Primum aequo campo  
 signis conlatis pugnatum ingenti caede utrimque, plu-  
 6 rimo sanguine. Et Romani, quia paucitas damno sen-  
 tiendo propior erat, gradum rettulissent, ni salubri men-  
 dacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans,  
 concitasset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant vin-  
 7 cere, vicere. Consul metuens ne nimis instando reno-  
 8 varet certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessere  
 pauci dies velut tacitis indutiis utrimque quiete sumpta ;  
 per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Aequis-  
 que populis in castra venit, haud dubitans, si senserint,  
 9 Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertia fere vigilia ad  
 10 castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quinctius, sedato tumultu  
 quem terror subitus exciverat, cum manere in tentoriis  
 quietum militem iussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in sta-

2. tranquilla: loosely connected with initia, but really referring to the rest of the year.

3. prope: a colloquial freedom of speech, as we say 'from the gate almost.'

4. multiplices, many times as much (as the enemy had taken).

5. caede: i.e. loss in killed; sanguine: loss in wounded.

6. paucitas: cf. *concordiae*, 60. 2. — damno, etc., more likely to feel the loss; literally, 'nearer,' and so more exposed. — putant: see Gr. 328. a. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* V. 231.

9. itaque, etc.: i.e. fearing the es-

tionem educit, cornicines tubicinesque in equos impositos canere ante vallum iubet sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere. Reliquum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia <sup>11</sup> in castris fuere ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante sonitu saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

Vbi inluxit, Romanus integer satiatusque somno pro- <sup>65</sup> ductus in aciem fessum stando et vigiliis Volscum primo impetu perculit: quamquam cessere magis quam pulsi <sup>2</sup> hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi, in quos post principia integris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. Consul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem. Miles aegre teneri, clamare et poscere ut percussis instare liceat. Ferocius agunt equites, circumfusi duci vociferantur se <sup>3</sup> ante signa ituros. Dum cunctatur consul, virtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant se ituros; clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quo leviores ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus effu- <sup>4</sup> sis ad primum impetum missilibus telis saxa obiacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes turbatosque ictibus crebris

cape of the Romans, they made the attack before they should find out their arrival, and in the night.

10. *stationem*: *i.e.* an outpost beyond the camp, the usual meaning of the word.

11. *plures*: *i.e.* than they were. — *Romanos*: not Hernici, and so better soldiers. — *insueto*, etc.: two reasons for the uneasiness of the horses.

#### VICTORY OVER THE VOLSCI.

65. 2. *pulsi*: this would imply

broken ranks, while the Volsci retired in good order. — *principia*: the first line under the old tactics, containing the best citizens, who protected the other lines when hard pressed. Either really or according to Livy's conception, the other lines must have advanced to the front, and on occasion retired behind the *principes*. — *iniquum locum*: *i.e.* the clivi mentioned above.

4. *turbatos*, etc.: *i.e.* first throws them into confusion, and then begins to press on them from above

urget ex superiore loco. Sic prope oneratum est sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus iam gradum consul increpando simul temeritatem simul ignaviam pudore  
 5 metum excussisset. Resistere primo obstinatis animis; deinde, ut obtinentes locum vires refecerant, audent ultro gradum inferre, et clamore renovato commovent aciem. Tum rursus impetu capto enituntur atque exsperant iniquitatem loci.  
 6 Iam prope erat ut in summum clivi iugum evaderent, cum terga hostes dedere effusaque cursu paene agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur. Qui  
 7 Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt; Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus. Paucos circumsessum dies deditur nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod iam inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.

— oneratum: *i.e.* overborne by mere weight. For construction, see Gr. 308. *b*.

5. obtinentes, etc.: *i.e.* holding their ground for a moment allowed

them to recover. — ultro: *i.e.* not merely to hold their own, but even to advance.

7. paucos: see 23. 12 n. — nulla etc.: cf. *oppugnare non ausus*, 63. *c*









1. *Phragmites* (common)

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