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LIVY: BOOK XXI.



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EDITED BY

A. H. ALLCROFT, M.A. OXON.

EDITOR OF CAESAR'S GALLIC WAR, HORACE'S ODES, VERGIL'S AENEID, ETC.

AND

W. F. MASOM, M.A. LOND. AND CAMB.

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SOUTHAMPTON, AND  
FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON



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## II.—CARTHAGE.

*(a) Its Position.*

The city of Carthage, now desolate, stood upon the western shore of the Bay of Tunis, a few miles southward from the estuary of the Bagradas (Mejerda). It was thus due west of the southernmost point of Sicily (Pachynum); while Selinus on the S.W. coast of that island was distant only ninety miles from the Heraean promontory (C. Bon), which forms the eastern side of the Bay of Tunis.

The Bay of Tunis is one of the few safe harbours on the north coast of Africa. The coast-line from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Bagradas runs eastward with very few indentations. Beyond the Heraean headland it turns abruptly southward toward the modern kingdom of Tripoli, thus forming the great curve known to the ancients as the *Syrtis* (or "Drifts"). From thence to Suez the coast is only broken by the headland of Cyrene and the delta of the Nile.

The peninsula of Italy, Sicily, and the Cape of Bon, form as it were the waist of the Mediterranean Sea, which opens out to the east into the Ionian and Aegean Seas, and to the west into the Mare Tyrrhenum or Inferum. Carthage was thus situated in the best possible position for commanding alike the eastern and western waters, and the trade of Europe, Asia, and Africa, at one and the same time; and herein lay the cause of her early prosperity and her mighty resources.

*(b) The Soil, Climate, &c.*

The whole area of North Africa, from Cyrene, a Greek colony on the N.W. of Egypt, to the base of C. Bon, is a sandy desert, admitting only of a very narrow margin of cultivated coast-line. Tunis, however, and the districts to the west of Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco (Numidia and Mauretania) are of a different stamp. Pliny records that the soil of Carthage yielded often 150-fold; and to this

day, amid wretched cultivation, phenomenal harvests are not uncommon. There are numerous rivers in this western region, though Tripoli and the eastern shores are almost destitute of water. The general barrenness of Africa and the contrasted fertility of Cyrene and Carthage were proverbial amongst the ancients. And while in Tripoli and Cyrenaica rain is a precious rarity, at Carthage and to the westward there is at least a sufficiency. There still remain, however, on the site of the city, a series of enormous rock-hewn cisterns which prove at once the need of economising water, and the sagacity and engineering skill of the ancient Carthaginians.

(c) **The Town.**

The oldest portion of the town was, as usually happens, the citadel, Bosra (from the Canaanitish, = a fort), or, as the Latins called it, Byrsa. This was on rising ground by the seashore, overlooking the Cothon, or harbour district. To the north and west of the Byrsa lay the city proper, Megara (Hebr. Magurim), and the whole circumference of the ancient city was three and twenty miles. Its population, late on in history, immediately before the third and last war with Rome, was 700,000; and when at the close of that war it was sacked and fired by the Romans, its ruins burned unceasingly for ten days.

(d) **Its Origin.**

Herodotus says that the Phoenicians emigrated from the head of the Persian Gulf and founded Tyre about the year 2800 B.C.; and there is no reason to doubt his story. From Tyre they spread at first north and south along the coast of the Levant, and gave the name of Phoenicia to that region—a region which never exceeded 150 miles in length and 30 in its widest breadth, but averaged rather less than 5 miles in width. They never attempted to gain an inland power. Trade was their one object, and so long as they were left at liberty to trade they cared little whether they were subject to Assyria or Egypt, or any other great Eastern Power. From Phoenicia they sailed to all parts of the Mediterranean. They planted their factories (or trad-

ing stations) in Egypt, in the islands of the Aegean Sea, on the coast of Asia Minor, in the Black Sea, and upon the mainland of Greece. By the year 1500 B.C. they had factories as far west as Sicily and Italy; and in 1140 B.C., they founded Utica a few miles to the north of the site of Carthage. About 1000 B.C. was founded their factory at Gades (Cadiz); and round that centre grew up a wide and prosperous commerce, and a semi-Phoenician district known to the Hebrews as Tarshish. In 853 B.C. a party of them, being exiled for political reasons from Tyre, fled to Africa, and there founded the city of Carthage. According to Vergil, Sychaeus, King of Tyre, was murdered by his half-brother Pygmalion, who usurped the throne, and by his persecutions drove into exile Elissar (Elissa, or Dido), the widow of Sychaeus, and her adherents. The legend probably contains the truth that there was a party-quarrel in Tyre, and that one of the factions was forced to fly.

#### (e) **The People.**

From 1000-700 B.C. the trade of the Aegean was in the hands of the Phoenicians. For land empire they cared nothing so long as they were allowed the freedom of the sea; nor did they abuse this freedom by indiscriminate piracy, albeit they were addicted to kidnapping and to the slave-trade. Even when the Greeks, imitating the example of the Phoenicians, gradually monopolised the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean, the latter people declined to fight for their interests, and withdrew gradually without a struggle. Mining was their great object, and they had already worked out most of the gold mines in that quarter, such as those of Thasos. Moreover, the Western Mediterranean was still virgin ground, and thither they turned their vessels, colonising Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles. They even passed the Pillars of Hercules and traded to the Scilly Isles and Cornwall for tin and copper, to the Baltic for amber, and to the Canary Islands for spices, &c. So famous were their seamen for hardihood and skill that when, about the year 600 B.C., Necho King of Egypt desired to know the limits of Africa, he commissioned a party of Phoenicians to circumnavigate

the continent; which they did, sailing southward from the Red Sea and passing the "Cape of Storms" 2000 years before Vasco de Gama's time.

The Carthaginians retained all the characteristics of their ancestors; but towards 600 B.C. they found themselves threatened with the loss of their trade in the Western seas. The Greeks in Sicily and Magna Græcæ began to usurp much of the commerce of the West; and in defence of their interests the Carthaginians for the first time were compelled to fight. They made an alliance with the Etruscans, the great naval and piratical Power of Northern Italy; and maintained a long and bloody struggle with the Greeks headed by Syracuse. They were forced however, to retire to the westernmost parts of Sicily, where they retained the fortresses of Soloeis, Motye, and Panormus. In 474 B.C., Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, defeated a combined fleet of Carthaginians and Etruscans off the coast of Campania; and there is still to be seen in the British Museum the helmet of one of his vanquished foes, which he dedicated at Olympia in memory of his victory. The Etruscan power was now declining before the growing strength of Rome, with which state Carthage had already made a treaty for commercial purposes as early as 509 B.C., the very year in which the expulsion of the Tarquins led to the final breach between Rome and Etruria. This treaty was renewed, with modifications, in 348 B.C., and again in 279 B.C., when Pyrrhus was in Italy.

#### (f) Government and Constitution.

As colonists from Tyre, the Carthaginians imitated in the main the institutions of the mother-country, particularly in religion. Their gods were Moloch, Baal, Melcarth (Hercules), and the Phœnician Venus, Astarte. In government, the cities of Phœnicia seem to have been a loose confederacy of independent kingdoms or oligarchies, holding conventions from time to time at an appointed centre. Carthage adopted the **Oligarchic** government; and the original settlers were doubtless the founders of a Patriciate of the ancient families, corresponding to the patrician *gentes* of Rome. Theoretically

the **popular assembly** had a right to discuss more important questions of government; but over this a **Senate of 300**, and over them again a smaller **Council of 100**, had complete control. The latter body is stated to have been created expressly to prevent any one citizen from becoming too powerful, a contingency which was proved by the examples of Hamilcar and Hannibal to be not unlikely. Besides these various assemblies there were a board of five State officials, a Commander-in-Chief, and two Judges (**Suffetes**; from the Hebr. *Shophet*, a judge), who had religious as well as judicial functions and presided at meetings of the Senate. They were appointed conjointly by the Senate and the people.

At the time of the first and second Punic Wars, the government was in the hands of two great patrician families, that of **Hamilcar**, the Barcines or war-party, and that of **Hanno**, the peace-party or Romanizers. The latter were at violent feud with the former, particularly after the mercenary war in which Hamilcar had been preferred to Hanno as Commander-in-Chief.

### III.—CARTHAGE AND ROME.

The first battlefield of Carthaginians and Romans was **Sicily**. For two centuries (*c.* 500—300 B.C.) the former had been fruitlessly endeavouring to drive the Greek colonists out of the island. In the year of the battle of Salamis, when Xerxes and the power of Persia were distracting the attention of the Grecian States at home, the Carthaginians had chosen their opportunity to make a gigantic attempt upon Sicily. But at that date Syracuse was the strongest of any existing Grecian State, and at the battle of Himera (*p.* x) Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, was general of the Sicilian Greeks. Again in 339 B.C. Timoleon the Corinthian cleared the island by his great victory on the Crimessus; and when, after his death, the Carthaginians once more attacked Syracuse, Agathocles turned the tables upon them by invading Africa, where he ravaged the whole province of Carthage for four years, supported by the revolted African tribes (310—307 B.C.).

A desultory series of hostilities followed until 264 B.C., when another Hiero was tyrant of Syracuse.

Some Campanian mercenaries—*Mamertines*, or “Children of Mars,” as they called themselves—had seized the town of Messina, upon the Straits of Messina. Hiero made war upon them; and, unable to resist, the Mamertines were divided in mind. One party was in favour of calling in the aid of Rome; the other, that of Carthage. The latter prevailed for a little while; but the Romanizing party soon recovered the ascendancy, and in their turn sent off an embassy to beg for help. By the time that it reached the Senate, Carthage had already come into the field. So good an opportunity of getting the *entrée* of Sicily was not to be lost. The Romans warned the Carthaginians to keep their hands off, while the latter prepared to defend their rights. Thus the two nations went to war to decide which was to have the privilege of chastising Syracuse.

The **First Punic War** began in 264 B.C., and ended in 241 B.C., after a struggle of twenty-four years. The whole scene of action was the island of Sicily and the neighbouring seas, with the exception of Regulus' brief campaign in Africa. At the outset of hostilities the Romans found their supplies threatened, their commerce destroyed, their coast-lines insulted, and their sieges rendered useless, by the fleets of Carthage which commanded the sea. Hitherto Rome had had no fleet. She now determined to build one; and by good fortune won the battle of Mylae (260 B.C.). But seamen cannot be trained in a day. Fleet after fleet was wrecked or defeated; and, disheartened by disasters, the Roman efforts were again confined to a land-warfare. In 255 B.C. Regulus attempted to transfer the war, as Agathocles had done, to Africa. His success at first was immense; but, growing over-confident, he was completely defeated by Xanthippus, and himself taken prisoner. Every one knows the story of his being sent to Rome to sue for peace, of his refusing to enter the city, and his advising the Senate to reject the Carthaginian overtures, although he knew his conduct would cost him his life.

Then followed a weary succession of sieges, at Lilybæum (250) and Drepanum (248), in which the Romans gradually prevailed, but only at immense cost of blood and time. But even here they were foiled at last by the sudden appearance of Hamilcar Barca as General of the Carthaginians (247 B.C.). He seized the fortresses of Ercete and Eryx, where, with his fleet to keep open his communications, he could defy the Roman blockades and siege trains. For five years he did so: and then in despair the Romans made one last effort for the sea. They built a new fleet, and with it C. Lutatius, the consul of 241 B.C., won the battle of the Ægates Insule, and so cut off Hamilcar's supplies. Resistance was useless now, and Hamilcar submitted. A treaty was agreed upon by himself and Lutatius, by which Carthage was to evacuate Sicily, give up all Roman prisoners of war, and pay in twenty years 2,200 talents<sup>1</sup> as an indemnity. By the constitution of Rome, the power of making war and peace rested only with the Senate and the people jointly. Hence the treaty of Lutatius was not accepted; and a new treaty was arranged by which the indemnity was raised to 3,200 talents<sup>2</sup> to be paid in ten years, the other stipulations remaining the same. The Carthaginians and Romans were to be allies, defensive and offensive, and neither should make war upon the allies of the other.

The Romans had been in the wrong in attacking Carthage; and they tried to gloss over their misdoing by alleging as the cause of the war the fact that a Carthaginian squadron had appeared off Tarentum in 272 B.C. in defiance of the treaty of 279 B.C. Polybius, however, says that that treaty contained no clause to prevent the Carthaginians from appearing in Italian waters; and in any case, it was unlikely that a war would have been commenced to revenge an insult committed eight years before, and hitherto unmentioned. This is the view taken by Hanno in his speech (cap. x., § 8) advocating the surrender of Hannibal.

<sup>1</sup> £536,250.<sup>2</sup> £780,000.

## IV.—THE MERCENARY WAR.

The Carthaginians, like all the Phoenicians, were too strictly a mercantile people to have any national talent for war. That they could fight when at bay was amply proved by the terrible siege of Carthage in 146 B.C. Otherwise, they preferred to hire troops to do battle for them,—the savage tribes of Africa, Numidians, Moors, Liby-Phoenicians, Gaetulians; the scarcely less savage races of Spain; Ligurians and Gauls from the northern shores of the Gulfs of Lyons and Genoa; with Balearic slingers, Greeks, and, in general, the outcasts and runaways of all nations. The natural result was that the Carthaginian armies were almost as formidable to that State as to their enemies. To keep such a mob of lawless hirelings, without patriotism and without principles, under control, required not only sternness and tact, but a ready supply of money wherewith to pay them, and good fortune in war wherewith to provide them with plunder. Herein lay the secret of the defeats of Carthage. Her armies had no inducement but that of pay to stand by her; and hence too, when Hannibal garrisoned Spain and Africa in 218 B.C., he interchanged the troops of each continent, so that Africans were the guards of Spain, and European troops served in Africa. In this way he could be assured of the fidelity of each army; for each was in a manner at the mercy of the other.

At the close of the First Punic War there were present all the evils which usually induced discontent amid the mercenaries. The war had been unsuccessful, and the treasury was exhausted. They were hurt in pride and in pocket as well; and the discontent so roused was fanned to insurrection by Matho and Spendius, two ruffians of exceptional villany. The efforts of the Carthaginians to keep the mercenaries isolated were fruitless; and in a few months all Africa was overrun by their pillaging battalions. Meanwhile, Hanno and Hamilcar, whose career of success had been thwarted by the incompetence or ill-fortune of a namesake of the former, were quarrelling for the post of commander-in-chief, and nothing was done,



For two years the mercenaries did as they pleased, defeating army after army sent against them under incapable leaders. Carthage was on the brink of destruction when Hanno waived his opposition; and Hamilcar, taking the field at once and dividing the enemy's forces, crushed them utterly in the course of a few weeks (238 B.C.).

## V.—ROMAN HISTORY BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND PUNIC WARS.

The First Punic War left Rome almost as exhausted as Carthage, and she was glad to rest for the three years of the Mercenary War. About that time the revolted mercenaries of Sardinia had been expelled by the Carthaginians, and they appealed to Rome for protection. Knowing that Carthage was too weak to resist, the Senate took their part, and threatened Carthage with immediate war unless she instantly surrendered Sardinia. This she was forced to do, and Hamilcar's hatred of Rome received a fresh impulse (Liv. xxi. 1), 237 B.C.

For three years more the Roman Empire was so peaceful that in 235 B.C. the temple of Janus was closed for the first time since the reign of Numa, that being the sign of universal peace. Six years later, however, a quarrel arose with Illyria. This country lay along the upper part of the east shore of the Adriatic, and was occupied by a nation of pirates, who plundered indiscriminately whatever vessels they could. In 230 B.C. Teuta, Queen-regent of Illyria, after seizing most of the islands in the upper Adriatic, laid siege to Issa, also an island town. Thereupon Rome sent C. and L. Cornucianus to warn her to desist. On her refusal, L. Cornucianus made some spiteful remark for which Teuta had him seized and put to death. She then captured Coreyra, and put in command there a Greek named Demetrius.

Meanwhile the Romans had declared war. Demetrius at once turned traitor and surrendered Coreyra; other towns made no resistance; and Teuta was stripped of much of her possessions and compelled to acknowledge

the traitor Demetrius as her superior and governor of Illyria, 228 B.C. The Histri, a petty tribe of Northern Illyria, sided in this war with the rest of the nation.

In 225 B.C. began the **Galic War**. As early as 295 B.C. the Senonian Gauls had been annihilated at Sentinum; and twelve years later the Boians had been crushed at the battle of Vadimo (283 B.C.). Since then they had remained quiet, occupying the parts of upper Italy south of the Padus (Po), from Picenum and Umbria on the Adriatic, to the Gulf of Genoa. Two colonies had been sent out to the eastern district, Sena Gallica and Ariminum. This roused the jealousy of the Gauls; and when in 232 C. Flaminius, afterwards the commander at Trasimenus, proposed to distribute more of the Ager Gallicus amongst the poorer Roman citizens, the Gauls became rebellious. For four years the law was not put into effect: and it was not until 225 B.C. that the Boians, supported by the Insubres from Gallia Transpadana, and other Gauls from Gallia Narbonensis, made a raid into Etruria. At Fæsulæ, near Florence, they defeated a Roman Prætor; but shortly afterwards found themselves entrapped at Telamon, between the Consul Atilius, who had crossed from Sardinia to N. Etruria, and his colleague Aemilius Papus, who was following in their rear. A battle followed in which the Boians were almost annihilated; and in the next year all the Gauls south of the Po submitted, 224 B.C. Flaminius, consul in 223 B.C., invaded the Insubrian lands on the N. of the Po and won a battle, and in 222 B.C. Marcellus defeated and slew Viridomarus, the chief of the Insubres, captured their capital, Mediolanum (Milan), and reduced the whole region to peace. In 220 B.C. were founded the Colonizæ of Placentia on the S. and Cremona on the N. bank of the Po, and the Flaminiæ Way was constructed across the Ager Gallicus from Ariminum to Rome.

In 219 B.C. Demetrius again turned traitor. In one campaign (**Second Illyrian War**) he was forced to take refuge in Macedonia, a tribute was imposed upon Illyria, and Corcyra, Apollonia, and Dyrrachium were occupied by Roman garrisons. In this year was sent the embassy

to Hannibal (Liv. xxi. 6, 3; 9, 3), and **Saguntum** fell (Liv. xxi. 14).

## VI.—THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN.

From exceedingly early times Carthage had secured a footing on the Spanish coast, where the old Tyrian colonies [see Introduction, ii. (d)] still flourished and would welcome the Carthaginians as kinsmen. But no attempt was made by the latter to attain any ascendancy of arms. They were satisfied to have right of free trade with any coast towns which offered a good market for their wares,—wrought metal, silver, gold, &c., and purple linen—in return for the raw gold of Tarshish, and other unwrought metals.

The loss of Sicily with its fertile cornlands, and the subsequent loss of Sardinia, a richly-metalled island, both combined to direct the thoughts of **Hamilcar** to some new vantage ground where he might at once build up a mainstay to the home-power in Carthage, and create a thorn in the flesh of the Roman Empire. He chose **Spain**. It was known to be rich in minerals, and hitherto undrained by any foreign conquest. Its people were warlike then as always; and if to subdue them would require a well-trained army, they would themselves, when conquered, provide the finest soldiery out of Italy. It was on sea that Carthage had lost the First Punic War. The second should be a war by land, and the Romans should have no chance of turning the fortunes of Hamilcar or his son by a single naval victory, as they had before done.

In 238 B.C., Hamilcar, victorious over the mercenaries, and preferred to his rival Hanno, but smarting with the loss of Sicily and Sardinia (Liv. xxi. i. 5), crossed to Spain. The rival faction probably rejoiced at his departure. If he was successful, he was still far away; if not successful, they would be well rid of an enemy. He did succeed. Generalship was hereditary amongst the Barcines; and Hamilcar maintained his reputation and name of "Lightning" by striking surely if seldom. In eight years he

Hamilcar "LIGHTNING"<sup>10</sup>  
"P..."<sup>14</sup>

conquered most of modern Andalusia and Murcia. The resistance offered may be gathered from the fact that some years later, when half of Spain had become Carthaginian, it cost Hannibal 22,000 men to subdue the few corner States at the E. foot of the Pyrenees. In 229 B.C. Hamilcar fell in a battle upon the banks of the Tagus.

He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal. Less by generalship than by policy, Hasdrubal pushed forward his father-in-law's work. He consolidated what was already conquered, and extended his possessions by amicable dealing with the border chieftains. With him the Senate concluded a treaty in 228 B.C. by which the Hiberus (Ebro) was fixed as the limit of Carthaginian extension. Hasdrubal, virtually an independent monarch, concluded this treaty on his own responsibility, and so gave opportunity to Carthage to repudiate it if she wished, on the principle followed in Roman treaties (see Introduction iii.). In the same year Hasdrubal centralised his power by the foundation of Carthago Nova (New Carthage) on the S.E. coast of Spain. This town, now Cartagena, became the capital of Carthaginian Spain. Hasdrubal fell in 221 B.C., assassinated by a native.

There was only one person to succeed to the now hereditary power in Spain. This was Hannibal. He had crossed to Spain with his father Hamilcar, after swearing at Carthage to be Rome's enemy for all his days. For sixteen years he had served in the army as a private soldier, roughing it with the roughest. He did not know what it was to be cold or sunburnt, tired or at a loss. He was always the first to begin, the last to quit a fight; and was always chosen for the exploits requiring the greatest courage and the clearest head. He possessed in a wonderful degree at once the "Lightning" generalship of his father and Hasdrubal's powers of diplomacy. He was now 26 years of age, the darling of the army and of the native Spaniards. A feeble effort was made by the faction of Hanno to prevent his accession to power; but in vain. To attempt his deposition would have been to provoke a civil war, and Carthage preferred to wait rather for the inevitable collision with Rome which this "firebrand of war" was bent upon bringing about.

In succession Hannibal overcame the Olcades, the Carpetani, and the Vaccæi, ravaging central Spain from the mountains of Castile to the Douro. A formidable coalition of the tribes in his rear, while himself was in the far N.W., was defeated in a bloody battle upon the Tagus. He then turned his attention to Saguntum.

Saguntum was an ancient Greek colony upon the E. coast, due W. of the Balearic Isles, now Murviedro. It had been founded by fugitives from Zacynthus, for which word Saguntum is the old-Latin equivalent; and it was said that some Rutulians from Ardea, the people of Virgil's Turnus, had joined the colony: a story probably invented to give Rome a pretence for blood-relationship with the Spanish town. By the treaty of 228 B.C. Saguntum was recognised as an ally of Rome, and was not to be molested. Hannibal was too wise to leave a well-fortified position in his rear, particularly one under Roman influence. He encouraged the surrounding tribes to quarrel with the Saguntines. The latter made reprisals. Hannibal was at once called in by the opposite party, headed by the Turdetani, a tribe near the adjacent coast; and declared war upon Saguntum, 219 B.C.

The Saguntines at once sent an embassy to Rome to beg for assistance. The Romans, imagining that mere threats were enough now, as they had been when Sardinia was surrendered, sent envoys to warn Hannibal to desist. The latter was already far on with the siege. He declined to see the envoys, and they crossed over to Carthage. Here too they were repulsed; and returned without success to Rome. But a few days later came the news of the fall and sack of Saguntum (end of 219 B.C.), after a siege of eight months. A second envoy was at once sent to Carthage. "Was Saguntum attacked by the State's commands, or by Hannibal's orders alone?" was the question put by the envoy. The Carthaginians were exasperated by Rome's insolence, and roused to stand by their successful general. They refused to answer the question. "Then," said Fabius, "in this fold of my robe I carry for you peace and war. Take which you will." "Give us which you will," was the answer. And the

envoy shook out the fold with the words, "Then I give you war."

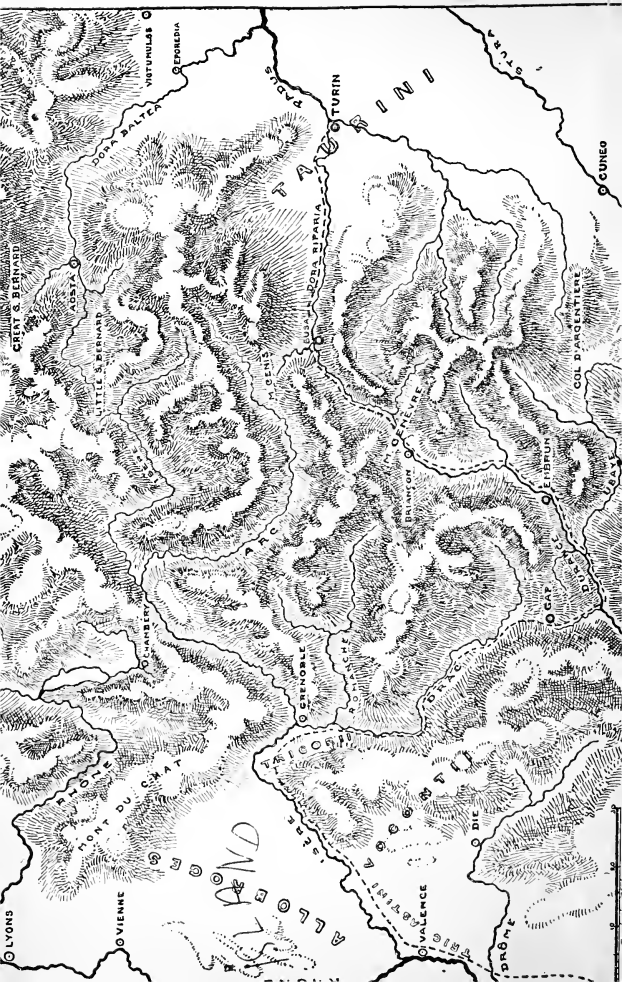
The apparent unanimity of the Carthaginian Senate deserves notice; but, though it encouraged Hannibal now, it refused him any material assistance during the war.

With the exception of a little money, probably no supplies reached Hannibal for the fifteen years in which he was in Italy. Hanno, who had spoken warmly in favour of the Romans on the occasion of the first embassy, probably acquired a fresh ascendancy in the council.

On the fall of Saguntum, Hannibal withdrew his army to New Carthage for the winter. Here he divided all the spoil of the captured town, and granted furlough to all who desired it. In the early spring the army once more assembled; and after the performance of some vows to the god Hercules (*i.e.*, Melcarth) at Gades, the march upon Italy was commenced.

The route lay along the shores of the Gulf of Lyons. It was exposed to attack from Roman fleets; and to secure it, it was necessary not only to completely overawe the Spanish tribes, but to leave behind a substantial force to defend it. In chastising the tribes Hannibal spent several months, with a loss of 22,000 men. Then he crossed the Pyrenees, leaving a force of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse in Spain with his brother Hasdrubal, with a special commission to protect the coast road and line of communications. On leaving New Carthage the whole force had been 102,000 men, including 12,000 cavalry. The desertion and dismissal of a few timid natives, his losses in war, and the contingent left with Hasdrubal, had reduced this total, at the Pyrenees, to **50,000 foot and 9,000 horse**. When the army at last descended into the plains of N. Italy, it numbered only 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse. Had not war and hardship reduced his men to one quarter of their original number, Rome must have fallen and her history ceased with the first years of the Second Punic War.





GREAT S. BERNARD

DORA BALTEA

LITTLE S. BERNARD

MONT DU CHAT

TURIN

GRENOBLE

GENEVE

COL D'ARGENTIERE

EMBRUN

LYONS

VIENNE

ALPES

VALENCE

DRÔME

CUNEO

10  
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## VII.—HANNIBAL'S ROUTE OVER THE ALPS.

(i.) Hannibal's route is described in detail by (1) the Greek **Polybius** (born 204 B.C.) who spent seventeen years in Italy, conversed with men who had fought against Hannibal, and professes to have personally traversed the route, and (2) **Livy**, who wrote some 200 years after the event. It is also alluded to by (3) **Varro** (80-30 B.C.), an antiquary and savant, known as "the most learned of the Romans"; and by (4) **Strabo**, the geographer, who flourished about the Christian Era.

(ii.) There are at the present day four principal passes leading across the Alps from south France to Italy. In their order as one travels from south to north, these are (1) the **Col d'Argentière**, (2) the **Mont Genève**, (3) the **Mont Cenis**, and (4) the **Little St. Bernard**. It is certain that Hannibal did not pass by the Great St. Bernard still further north, or the Corniche Road by the coast on the south. He must therefore have travelled by one or other of these four routes.

(iii.) As one moves up the left (eastern) bank of the Rhone from Marseilles one crosses in succession three tributaries, viz. the **Druentia** (Durance), the **Drôme**, and the **Isara** (Isère). Higher up, at Lyons, the Rhone valley turns sharply east to the **Mont du Chat**, and thence runs more or less north-east to the Lake of Geneva and the river's sources in the Pennine Alps. The level lands called "the Island," between the Isère and the Rhone, were occupied by the **Allobroges**. The east side of the valley of the Isère was in possession of the **Tricastini**. At Grenoble the Isère is joined by a tributary from the south-east, the **Drac**, in whose valley dwelt the **Tricorii**. The sources of the Drac are in the north slopes of the **Col Bayard**, which forms the watershed between the valleys of the Drac and the Durance. At the southern foot of the Col the Druentia valley forks: that of the main stream runs north-north-east to **Briançon** and the **Mont Genève**, and that of its affluent the **Ubaye** east to the **Col d'Argentière**.

(iv.) Hannibal crossed the Rhone near **Arausio** (Orange), and turning north marched as far as the **Isara**. Thus far **Livy** and **Polybius** are in agreement. They agree also in

their descriptions of the actual ascent and passage of the Alps. But it has generally been held that their accounts of the intermediate portion of the march are inconsistent. Livy expressly says „that Hannibal marched by one or other of the passes to which the Druentia valley leads. If Polybius' account is different, he must refer to some other pass, either to the Mont Cenis or to the Little St. Bernard. The former is reached by following the valley of the Isère and its tributary the Arc; the latter by the Isère valley. Most authorities held that Polybius had the Little St. Bernard in his mind.

(v.) This view leads to a further difficulty. Livy says that everyone was agreed that the first Italian people whom Hannibal encountered were the Taurini; and there is nothing in Polybius to contradict this. Now the Taurini dwelt around what is now Turin (*i.e.* “the Colony of Augusta of the Taurini”) and in the valley of the Dora Riparia. The only passes leading into that valley are the Mont Genève and the Mont Cenis. The Little St. Bernard is too far to the north; the Col d'Argentière too far to the south. It follows then that if Polybius and Livy thought of *different* passes, they must have thought of the Cenis and the Genève, respectively. If they thought of the *same* pass, that pass was most probably the Genève.

(vi.) It has now been conclusively shown<sup>1</sup> that **there is nothing inconsistent in the two accounts of Polybius and Livy.** The former wrote without much reference to names of places and rivers, at that date unknown to the bulk of his readers; and as a result it became difficult to identify the route which he described. Hence, even in Livy's day (Ch. xxxviii., § 6) the actual route of Hannibal was already matter of doubt to most people. Livy set himself to correct this by carefully specifying such places, rivers, tribes, etc., as were important. But in thus doing he is merely elaborating, not contradicting, Polybius.

(vii.) From the confluence of the Isara with the Rhone, Hannibal marched “not straight on (*i.e.* eastward) to the Alps, but rather to the left” (Livy), that is, as Polybius says, “along the river,” *i.e.* the Isara (whose lower course

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. G. E. MARINDIN in the *Classical Review* for June 1899.

is from north-east to south-west), and "to the Tricastini" (Livy), as far as Grenoble. Thence he turned south-east up the valley of the Drac "just skirting the Vocontii, and so reached the Tricorii . . . and presently the Druentia" (Livy), *i.e.* after crossing the Col Bayard, probably near Gap. Here was made the first attempt to oppose his march, and here was the scene of the fight of Ch. xxxii., xxxiii. He thence followed the Druentia valley upwards past Embrun to Briançon and so on to the Mont Genève. The position described in xxxiv. § 6 is Briançon itself. The downward path into the Valley of the Dora Riparia had been broken away by an avalanche or landslide (Ch. xxxvi., xxxvii.). Mr. Marindin concludes that **the narrative of Polybius suits best the Genève, which (or the Argentière) Livy distinctly requires us to adopt**; and that Varro's account probably, and the citation in Strabo certainly, support the same view."

#### VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF HISTORY.

B.C.

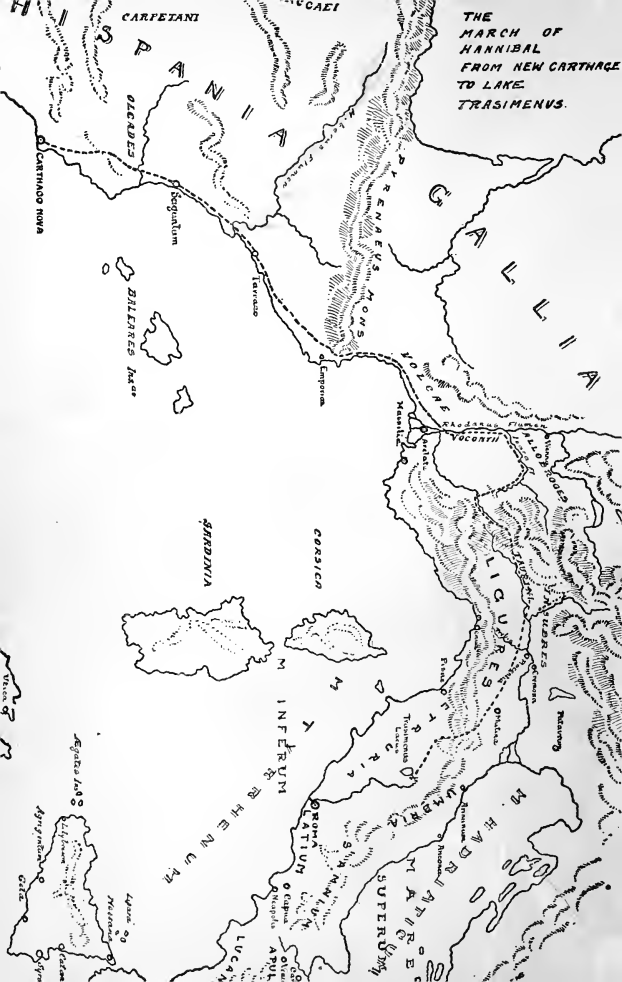
- 853 *c.* Phœnician refugees from Tyre, under Elissar (Dido), found Carthage.
- 600 *c.* The Greeks occupy all Sicily with exception of the west corner, where the Carthaginians maintain the ports of Drepana, Lilybaeum, and Panormus. Foundation of Massilia (Marseilles) by Phœcean Greeks from Asia Minor.
537. League of Carthage with Etruria, Battle of Alalia.
509. Carthage makes a commercial treaty with Rome.
480. The Sicilian Greeks defeat the Carthaginian effort to reconquer that island at the Battle of Himera.
339. A second invasion of Sicily defeated by Timoleon at the Battle of the Crimessus.
310. Agathocles, Tyrant of Syracuse, invades Carthaginian Africa.
278. Pyrrhus endeavours to drive the Carthaginians out of Sicily.
- 264. First Punic War** begins, through Rome taking part with the Mamertines of Messana against Syracuse and Carthage.

B.C.

255. Regulus invades Africa : his defeat.
247. First appearance of Hamilcar Barca.
- ✓ 242. Battle of the Aegatian Islands, and **end of the war**. The Carthaginians evacuate Sicily and pay an indemnity of 3,200 talents.
240. The revolt of the Carthaginian mercenaries in Africa and Sardinia.
- ✓ 238. Hamilcar ends the Mercenary War. Surrender of Sardinia to Rome. **Hamilcar crosses to Spain**. The oath of Hannibal.
229. Death of Hamilcar, and **succession of Hasdrubal**.
228. Treaty of Rome with Hasdrubal fixing the Ebro as the boundary. Foundation of New Carthage.
- 225-2. Revolt of the Boian and Insubrian Gauls against Rome, and its suppression.
221. Assassination of Hasdrubal ; **accession of Hannibal** (ii. § 5).
220. Hannibal conquers the Olcades and takes Cartala (v. § 3).
219. He subdues the Vaccaei, and captures Hermandica and Arbocala (v. § 4). The Carpetani, joined by some fugitives of the Olcades and Vaccaei, attack him on his retreat, but are defeated and subdued (v. §§ 5-11). The Turdetani, at variance with Saguntum, call in Hannibal. **Siege and fall of Saguntum** in the eighth month (vi., vii., viii.). Debate in the Senate (vi.). An embassy sent to bid him desist (*ibid*). They cross to Carthage, and, as their demands are refused, war is declared. Hannibal winters at New Carthage.
218. Advance of Hannibal. Foundation of colonies at Cremona and Placentia. Hannibal crosses the Pyrenees, eludes Scipio on the Rhone, crosses the Alps, and descends into Italy in October. Skirmish at the **R. Ticinus** and battle of the **Trebia**. Successes of Cn. Scipio in Spain. Hannibal winters in Gallia Cisalpina.



THE MARCH OF HANNIBAL FROM NEW CARTHAGE TO LAKE TRASIMENUS.



*rel. cl. in dy. statement*

# TITI LIVII

## LIBER XXI.

*l. of*  
*rejet*

**I**N parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio 1  
summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, THV  
bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae unquam gesta DIDE  
sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses  
cum populo Romano gessere. 2. Nam neque validiores 5  
opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma,  
neque his ipsis, tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit, et  
haud ignotas belli artes inter sese sed expertas primo  
Punico conferebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli  
ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint, qui 10  
vicerunt. 3. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam  
viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultro  
inferrent arma, Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent  
imperitatum victis esse. 4. Fama est etiam Hannibalem  
annorum ferme novem pueriliter blandientem patri Hamil- 15  
cari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello  
exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum  
tactis sacris iure iurando adactum se, cum primum posset,  
hostem fore populo Romano. 5. Angebant ingentis spiritus  
virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis 20  
celeri desperatione rerum concessam, et Sardiniam inter  
motum Africae fraude Romanorum stipendio etiam insuper  
inposito interceptam.

2 II. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub  
recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos; 2. ita  
deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio  
gessit, ut apparetet maius eum, quam quod gereret, agitare  
5 in animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce  
Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisse, cui Hannibalis ductu  
intulerunt. 3. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia  
Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. 4. Medius Hasdrubal inter  
patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore  
10 aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde  
ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus, et quia gener  
erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque  
plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum  
in imperio positus. 5. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens  
15 hospitiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam  
principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Cartha-  
giniensem auxit. 6. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit:  
barbaris eum quidam palam ob iram obtruncati ab eo  
domini interfecit comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud  
20 alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tormentis quoque cum lacer-  
aretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante laetitia dolores  
ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit. 7. Cum hoc Hasdru-  
bale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo  
iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut  
25 finis utriusque imperii esset annis Hiberus, Saguntinisque  
mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

3 III. In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin  
praerogativam militarem, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal  
in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore  
atque adsensu appellatus erat, favor plebis sequeretur. 2.  
6 Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat;  
actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. 3. Barcinis nitentibus,  
ut adsuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet  
opes, Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, "et aecum postu-

*quoniam successerunt 25**erat**ut qui m  
accersierat*



*Litteris = 1 litt*  
*2 3 "*

lare videtur," inquit, "Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, 3  
 quod petit, tribuendum." 4. Cum admiratione tam ancipitis 10  
 sententiae in se omnes convertisset, "florem aetatis," inquit,  
 "Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruentum praebuit,  
 iusto iure eum a filio repeti censeo; nos tamen minime decet  
 iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento ad-uefacere  
libidini praetorum." 5. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris 15  
 filius nimis seo imperia inmodica et regni paterni speciem  
 videat, et cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relictis exercitus  
 nostri, eius filio parum mature seruiamus? 6. Ego istum  
 iuuenem domi tenendum sub legibus, sub magistratibus  
 docendum vivere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne 20  
 quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet."

IV. Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hanno adsentie- 4  
 bantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit.

Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu  
 omnem exercitum in se convertit: 2. Hamilcarem iuuenem  
 redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in 5  
 vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaue intueri.  
 Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum momentum  
 ad favorem conciliandum esset. 3. Numquam ingenium  
 idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum,  
 habilis fuit. 4. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum 10  
 imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal  
 alium quemquam praeficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac  
 strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus  
 confidere aut audere. 5. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula  
 capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. 15  
 Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat.  
 6. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque  
 desiderio naturali non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum  
 somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora: 7. id  
 quod gerendis rebus superesset quieti datum; ea neque molli 20  
 strato neque silentio accersita; multi saepe militari sagulo

*Consilia*

4 opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum  
 conspexerunt. 8. Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens;  
 arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque  
 25 idem longe primus erat: princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus  
 conserto proelio excedebat. 9. Has tantas viri virtutes  
 ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia  
 plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum  
 metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. 10. Cum hac  
 30 indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale  
 imperatore meruit nulla re, quae agenda videndaque magno  
 futuro duci esset, praetermissa.

5 V. Ceterum ex quo dio dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei  
 provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset,  
 2. nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamil-  
 carem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis  
 5 opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. 3. Quibus  
 > oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur,  
 in Olcadum prius fines—ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte  
 magis quam in ditione Carthaginiensium erat—induxit  
 exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie,  
 10 finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendoque tractus ad id bellum  
videri posset. 4. Cartalam urbem opulentam, caput gentis  
 eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu percussae minores  
 civitates stipendio inposito imperium acceperunt. Victor ex-  
 ercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna  
 15 est deductus. 5. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendioque  
 praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque  
 animis in se firmatis vere primo in Vaccaeos promotum  
 bellum. 6. Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum urbes, vi  
 captae. 7. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum  
 20 diu defensa; ab Hermandica profugi exulibus Olcadum,  
 priore aestate domitae gentis, cum se iunxissent, concitant  
 Carpetanos, 8. adortique Hannibalem regressum ex Vac-  
 caeis haud procul Tago flumine, agmen grave praeda.

*hac = vaccaei*

*in c. 11*

turbavere. 9. Hannibal proelio abstinnit castrisque super 5  
 ripam positis, cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus 25  
 fuit, annem vado traiecit, valloque ita producto, ut locum  
 ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos trans-  
euntes statuit. 10. Equitibus praecepit, ut, cum ingressos  
 aquam viderent, adorerentur impeditum agmen, in ripa  
 elephantos—quadraginta autem erant—dispexit. 11. Car- 30  
 petanorum cum appendicibus Obadum Vaccaeorumque  
 centum milia fuere invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur  
 campo. 12. Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti  
 et, quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam  
 rati, quod interesset annis, clamore sublato passim sine 35  
 ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est in annem ruunt. *g. v. c.*  
 13. At ex parte altera ripae vis ingens equitum in flumen  
 inmissa, medioque alveo haudququam pari certamine con-  
 cursum, 14. quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens  
 vel ab inermi equite equo temere acto perverti posset, eques 40  
 corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili  
comminus eminusque rem gereret. 15. Pars magna flumino  
 absorpta; quidam verticibus animi, delati in hostes ab  
 elephantis obruti sunt. 16. Postremi, quibus regressus in  
 suam ripam tutior fuit, ex variâ trepidatione cum in unam 45  
 colligerentur, priusquam a tanto pavore reciperent animos,  
 Hannibal agmine quadrato annem ingressus fugam ex ripa  
 fecit vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque  
 in deditioem accepit. 17. Et iam omnia trans Iberum  
 praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant. 50

*POSSESSIVE*

VI. Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat; ceterum iam 6  
 belli causa certamina cum finitinis seruebantur, maximo  
 Turdetanis. 2. Quibus cum adesset idem, qui litis erat  
 sator, nec certamen iuris sed vim quaeri appareret, legati  
 a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud 5  
 dubie inminens crantes. 3. Consules tunc Romae erant  
 P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus; qui cum

*in c. 11*

6 legatis in senatum introductis de re publica rettulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum  
 10 inspiciendas, 4. quibus si videretur digna causa, (et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent,—5. hęc legatione decretā necdum missā, omnium spe celerius Saguntum  
 15 oppugnari adlatum est. 6. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum; 7. erant, qui non temere movendam rem tantam  
 20 expectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur, vicit; 8. legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti  
 25 deponendum.

7 VII. Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. 2. Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari.  
 5 ORIUNDI a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; 3. ceterum in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus, seu multitudinis incremento, seu disciplinae sanctitate, quā fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. 4. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines pervastatis passim agris  
 10 urbem tripartito adgreditur. 5. Angulus muri erat in pleniorem patentioreque quam cetera circa vallem vergens. Adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries moenibus admoveri posset. 6. Sed ut locus procul muro satis aecus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere,  
 15 postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat. 7. Et turris ingens iminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto

SAGUNTINI

*caroling  
in laud*

loco, supra cetera modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et 7  
iuventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostende-  
batur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. 8. Ac primo missilibus  
submovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munitibus 20  
pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque turri tela  
micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque  
hostium animus erat; 9. quibus tumultuariis certaminibus  
haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Poeni. 10. Ut  
vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum 25  
femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepi-  
datio fuit, sic non multum abesset, quin opera ac vineae  
desererentur.

*BLOCKADE*

*— SIEGE*

VIII. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppug- 3  
natio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur. Per quod tempus,  
ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac muni-  
tionum nihil cessatum. 2. Itaque acrius de integro coortum  
est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibus- 5  
dam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi admoverique aries.  
3. Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus; ad centum  
quingenta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur; 4. op-  
pidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri  
coepti non sufficiebant. 5. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus 10  
muri, quassataque multae partes erant; una continentibus  
ruinis nudaverat urbem; tres deinceps turres quantumque  
inter eas muri erat cum fragore ingenti prociderant. 6. Cap-  
tum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni; qua, velut si  
pariter utroque murus texisset, ita utrinque in pugnam 15  
procursum est. 7. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat,  
quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis  
alterius conseri solent, sed instae acies velut patenti campo  
inter ruinas muri tectaue urbis modico distantia intervallo  
constiterant. 8. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irrat, 20  
Poeno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum admittatur, credente,  
Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponenti-

*ADV.*

*avis  
avis  
avis  
avis*

*Circum muros*

*on the side & on the other!*

abiegnus a um = of pine wood Phalarica  
teres etc = smooth XXI.

8 bus, nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum  
hostem inmitteret. 9. Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis  
25 utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur nullo inter  
arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. 10. Phalarica erat  
Saguntinis missile telum hastili abieigno et cetera tereti  
praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut  
in pilo quadratum, stuppâ circumligabant linebantque pice; *Smc*  
30 11. ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis  
transfigere corpus posset. 12. Sed id maxime, etiam si hae-  
sisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat,  
quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque ipso  
motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat,  
35 nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat.

9 IX. Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen, et Saguntinis, quia  
praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi. Poenus, quia  
non vicisset, pro victo esset, (2.) clamorem repente oppidani  
5 trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in  
castra redigunt.

3. Interim ~~ab~~ Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est;  
quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale, qui dicerent  
nec (tuto) eos adituros, inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium  
10 arma, nec Hannibal in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse  
legationes audire. 4. Apparebat non admissos protinus Car-  
thaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes  
factionis Barcinæ praemittit, ut praepararent suorum ani-  
mos, ne quid pars altera gratificari populo Romano posset.

10 X. Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea  
quoque vana atque inrita legatio fuit. 2. Hanno unus  
adversus senatum causam foederis magno silentio propter  
auctoritatem suam, non cum adsensu audientium egit per  
5 deos foederum arbitros ac testes senatum obtestans, ne  
Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum monuisse, prae-

*fruitless*

to condition their minds

\* dixisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; 10  
 3. non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec unquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit,  
 \* quietura Romana foedera. 4. "Iuvenem flagrantem cupidino 10  
 regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella se-  
 rendo succinetus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam  
 igni praebentes ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc  
 incendium, quo nunc ardetis. 5. Saguntum vestri circumse-  
 dent exercitus, unde arcantur foedere; mox Carthaginem 15  
 circumsedebunt Romanae legiones ducibus iisdem dis, per  
 quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti. 6. Utrum hostem *Avenge*  
 an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? legatos ab  
 sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus imperator vester in castra  
 non admisit, ius gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium 20  
 quidem legati arcantur, pulsi ad nos venerunt; res ex foe-  
 dere repetunt; ut publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et  
 reum criminis deponunt. 7. Quo lenius agunt, regnius in-  
*mi...* *t...* *l*  
ciunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius saeviant.  
 Aegatis insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, quae terra 25  
 marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. 8. Nec  
 puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut  
 isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstineramus  
 ex foedere, sicut nunc Saguntō non abstinemus. 9. Vice-  
 runt ergo di homines, et id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter 30  
 populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli velut accūs index, unde  
 ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit. 10. Carthagini nunc Hanni-  
 bal vineas turresque admovet; Carthaginis moenia quatit  
 ariete: Sagunti ruinae—falsus utinam vates sim—nostris  
*ulo-*  
 cajritibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum ha- 35  
 bendum cum Romanis est. 11. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem?  
dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem  
 propter paternas inimicitias; sed (et) Hamilcarem eo perisso  
 laetatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus  
 cum Romanis, (et) hunc iuvenem tamquam furiam facemque 40  
 huius Lelli odi ac detestor; 12. nec dedendum solum ad

someone will say - walks

10 piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposcat, devehendum  
 in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo, unde  
 nec ad nos nomen famaue eius accidere neque ille sollicitare  
 45 quietae civitatis statum possit. 13. Ego ita censeo, legatos  
extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatui satisficiant, alios,  
qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat,  
 ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam  
 legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno."

11 XI. Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare  
 oratione cum eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus  
 Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Han-  
 nonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Romanum.  
 5 2. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est bellum ortum ab  
 Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum  
 iniuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimo Carthaginien-  
 sium societati praeponat. ]

3. Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis,  
 10 Hannibal, quia festum militem proeliis operibusque habebat  
 paucorum iis dierum quietem delit stationibus ad custodiam  
 vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos  
 eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum  
 accendit. 4. Ut vero pro contione praedam captae urbis

15 edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt, ut, si extem-  
 plo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse.  
 5. Saguntini, ut a proeliis quietem habuerant, nec laces-  
 sentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die  
 umquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea

20 parte, qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficerent.  
 6. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta  
est, nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem,  
 cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant.  
 7. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta  
 25 urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae *TURRIS*  
eum admota catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata

*at the mt... qua parte ageb..*



dispositis muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal 11  
occasionem ratus quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad  
subruendum ab imo murum mittit. 8. Nec erat difficile  
opus, quod caementa non calee durata erant, sed interlita 30  
luto structuræ antiquæ genere. 9. Itaque latius, quam  
qua caederetur, ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina  
armatorum in urbem vadebant. 10. La cum quoque editum  
capiunt; conlatisque eo catapultis ballis'isque, ut castellum  
in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro 35  
circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum  
capta parte urbis ducunt. 11. Utrumque summa vi et  
muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies  
urbem Saguntini faciunt. 12. Simul crescit inopia omnium  
longa obsidione et minuitur expectatio externæ opis, cum 40  
tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent. *glu.*  
13. Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreavit repentina *prosci*  
profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo  
populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisi-  
toribus metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi 45  
celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.

**XII.** Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Maharbale 12  
Himileonis filio—cum praefererat Hannibal—ita in pigro  
rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent.  
2. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit, et tribus arietibus  
aliquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus 5  
ruinis adveniēti Hannibali ostendit. 3. Itaque ad ipsam  
arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque proelium cum  
multorum utrimque caede initum, et pars arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem  
Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. 4. Alco inseis Sagun- 10  
tinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, eum ad Hannibalem  
noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant, con-  
dicionisque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga  
ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans,

12 qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. 5. Postulabatur  
 16 autem, redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro  
 atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi  
 habitarent, ubi Poenus iussisset. 6. Has pacis leges ab-  
 nuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos,  
 20 ubi alia vincantur, adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore  
 pollicetur: erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice  
 Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. 7. Tradito palam telo  
 custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetorem  
 Saguntinum—et ipse ita iubebat—est deductus. 8. Quo  
 25 cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset  
 factus, submota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus  
 est, cuius talis oratio fuit.

13 XIII. “Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad  
 Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad  
 vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo  
 nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem:  
 5 2. nunc, cum ille aut vestrā aut suā culpā manserit apud  
 hostem—suā, si metum simulavit, vestrā, si periculum est  
 apud vos vera referentibus—ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas  
 et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio,  
 quod mihi vobiseum est, ad vos veni. 3. Vestra autem  
 10 causa me nec ullius alterius loqui, quae loquor apud vos, vel  
 ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis, neque  
 dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis umquam apud vos  
 mentionem feci. 4. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla  
 est spes, nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis  
 15 defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam  
 aequam. 5. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quem ad  
 modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis,  
 et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, cum omnia victoris  
 sint, sed quidquid relinquitur pro munere habituri estis.  
 20 6. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam  
 fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum adsigna-

turus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. 7. Aurum et 13  
 argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se iubet deferri;  
 corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat  
 inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto 25  
 exire. 8. Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam  
 sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet.  
 Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit,  
 aliquid ex his rebus remissurum; sed vel haec patienda  
 censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique 30  
 ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis."

**XIV.** Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multi- 14  
 tudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente  
 primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur,  
 argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum  
 conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conicientes eodem 5  
 plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. 2. Cum ex eo pavor  
 ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus  
 ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque  
 ruinam eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum  
 imperatori dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis 10  
 hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione  
 ratus Hannibal, totis viribus adgressus urbem momento  
 cepit, signo dato ut omnes puberes interficerentur. 3. Quod  
 imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum  
 ipso eventu est: 4. cui enim parci potuit ex his, qui aut 15  
 inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos con-  
 cremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam  
 morientes fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti  
 praeda. *Cimn*

**XV.** Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta 15  
 erant, et in caedibus vix ullum discrimen aetatis ira fecerat,  
 et captivi militum praeda fuerant, 2. tamen et ex pretio  
 rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse con-

15 stat et multam pretiosam suppellectilem vestemque missam  
6 Carthaginem.

3. Octavo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari, captum  
Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem Novam in  
hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense,  
10 quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse.

4. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius Ti.  
Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugna-  
tionis legati Saguntini missi sint, et qui in suo magistratu  
cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum anem, ambo aliquanto

15 post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. 5. Aut omnia breviora  
aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P.  
Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum  
oppugnari est, sed captum.

6. Nam excessisse pugna ad  
Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini non potest,  
20 quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti.  
Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos  
consules Roman cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum  
in hiberna rediit.

16 XVI. Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab  
Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et  
Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; 2. tantusque simul

maeror patres misericordiaeque sociorum peremptorum in-  
digne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginenses  
metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas  
hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati tre-  
pidarent magis quam consulerent: 3. nam neque hostem  
acriorem bellicosioreque secum congressum, nec rem

10 Romanam tam desiderem umquam fuisse atque inbellem.

4. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacesse magis  
quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum  
verius quam belligeratum; 5. Poenum hostem veteranum,  
trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas  
15 gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo adsuatum, recentem

ab excidio opulentissimae urbis, Hiberum transire; 6. tra- 16  
 here secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos; concituum  
 avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes. Cum orbe terra-  
rum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis  
 esse. 20

*Sociorum = non a lat'*

XVII. Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant; 17  
 tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa  
 cum Sicilia evenit. 2. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones  
 et socium quantum ipsis videretur, et classis quanta parari  
 posset. 3. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum milia 5  
 scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta  
 milia peditum quattuor milia et quadringenti equites;  
 naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti de-  
 ducti. 4. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iuberent populo  
 Carthaginiensi bellum indici; eiusque belli causa supplicatio 10  
 per urbem habita atque adorati di, ut bene ac feliciter  
 eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset. 5. Inter  
 consules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio datae legiones duae  
 —ca quaterna milia erant peditum et trecenti equites—et  
 sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti, 15  
 naves longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. 6. Cum  
 his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius missus  
 in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum  
 Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset. 7. Cornelio minus  
 copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud 20  
 invalido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur; 8. navium max-  
 ime Cornelio numerus deminutus: sexaginta quinqueremes  
 datae—neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli  
 dimicaturum hostem credebant—et duae Romanae legiones  
 cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuordecim milibus sociorum 25  
 peditum, equitibus mille sescentis. Duas legiones Romanas  
 et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios ses-  
 centos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum  
 bellum habuit.

*velo  
 inco*

*Numerus sociorum*

*fall. due*  
*formalities*

18 XVIII. His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum  
fierent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium M. Livium L.  
Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium, in Africam mittunt ad  
5 percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal  
Saguntum oppugnasset, 2. et, si, id quod facturi videban-  
tur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut  
indicerent populo Carthaginensi bellum. 3. Romani post-  
quam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et  
Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat,  
10 percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginensibus unus:  
4. "Praecepta vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum  
Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem  
deposebatis; ceterum haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est,  
re asperior. 5. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et  
15 deposebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur,  
et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur. 6. Ego autem  
non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit,  
quaerendum censeam, sed utrum iure an iniuria: 7. nostra  
enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum  
20 est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una dis-  
ceptatio est, licueritne per foedus fieri. 8. Itaque quoniam  
discerni placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte im-  
peratores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio  
consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis,  
25 nihil de Saguntinis—necdum enim erant socii vestri—  
cautum est. 9. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale  
ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil  
dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. 10. Vos enim, quod  
C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque  
30 ex auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis  
vos eo teneri: itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio  
ictum est. 11. Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex  
auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis  
foedus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. 12. Pro-  
35 inde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere, et

*verbis lenior - re asperior!*

quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat." 18  
 13. Tum Romanus sinu ex toga facto "Hic," inquit, "vobis  
 bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, sumite." 14. Sub  
 hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret, utrum vellet,  
 subclamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare 40  
 dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent  
 animis, iisdem se gesturos. ✓

**XIX.** Haec directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis 19  
 ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure  
 verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa.  
 2. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid foedus  
 Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod mutatum est, 5  
 comparandum erat? 3. cum in Lutati foedere diserte ad-  
 ditum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, ✱  
 Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et ✱  
tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus, ut  
ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur. 4. Quam 10  
 quam, etsi priore foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Sag-  
 untinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis. Nam neque additum  
 erat "iis, qui tunc essent" nec "ne qui postea adsumerent  
tur;" 5. et cum adsumere novos liceret socios, quis acum ✱  
 censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi, 15  
 aut receptos in fidem non defendi? Tantum ne Cartha-  
 ginensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua  
 sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

6. Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae  
 imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut in 20  
 societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traiecerunt.  
 7. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt; a quibus benigne  
 excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum  
 populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae crexerunt. 8. Ad  
 Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam 25  
 responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit.  
 Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit:

19 9. "Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram  
 Carthaginiensium amicitiae praeponamus, cum, qui id  
 30 fecerunt Saguntini, crudelius, quam Poenus hostis perdidit,  
 vos socii prodideritis? 10. Ibi quaeratis socios, censeo, ubi  
 Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre  
 ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei  
 Romanae aut societati confidat." 11. Inde extemplo abire  
 35 finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae  
 benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania  
 in Galliam transeunt.

PERARRO ARE

20 **XX.** In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati  
 —ita mos gentis erat—in concilium venerunt. 2. Cum  
 verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac  
 magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno bellum Italiae  
 5 inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent,  
 3. tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistra-  
 tibus maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur; 4. adeo stolidi  
 impudensque postulatio visa est, censere, ne in Italiam  
 transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere in se agrosque  
 10 suos pro alienis populandos obicere. 5. Sedato tandem  
 fremitu responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meri-  
 tum esse neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam, ob quae aut pro  
 Romanis aut adversus Pcenos sumant arma; 6. contra  
 ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae  
 15 pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera  
 indigna pati. 7. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis  
 dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis  
 prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. 8. Ibi omnia ab  
 sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita, praecoccupatos iam  
 20 ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem  
 ipsi satis mitem gentem fore,—adeo ferocia atque indomita  
 ingenia esse,—ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est,  
 principum animi concilientur. 9. Ita peragratis Hispaniae  
 et Galliae populis legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo



post, quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem 20  
omnem expectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante 26  
fama iam Hiberum Poenos transisse.

**XXI.** Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Novam in 21  
hiberna concesserat ibique auditis, quae Romae quaeque  
Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non ducem solum  
sed etiam causam esse belli, (2.) partitis divenditisque  
reliquis praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus Hispani 5  
generis milites convocat. 3. "Credo ego vos," inquit, "socii,  
et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis aut  
finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse, aut  
in alias terras transferendum bellum; 4. ita enim hae  
gentes non pacis solum sed etiam victoriae bonis florebut, 10  
si ex aliis gentibus praedam et gloriam quaeremus. 5. Ita-  
que cum longinqua a domo instet militia, incertumque sit,  
quando domos vestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri  
sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere volt, commeatum do.  
6. Primo vere edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuvantibus bellum 15  
ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus." 7. Omni-  
bus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et  
iam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus  
desiderium. 8. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores  
aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora 20  
animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad  
edictum convenere.

9. Hannibal, cum recensisset omnium gentium auxilia,  
Gadis profectus Herculi vota exsolvit novisque se obligat / *Ann. 21*  
votis, si cetera prospere evenissent. 10. Inde partiens 25  
curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum  
ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam  
peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset,  
valido praesidio firmare eam statuit. 11. Pro eo supple-  
mentum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum, levium armis, 30  
petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul

21 ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pigneribus obligati, stipendia facerent. 12. Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites caetratos misit in Africam et  
 35 funditores Baliares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. 13. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitates missis quattuor milia conscripta delectae iuventutis, praesidium eosdem et  
 40 obsides, duci Carthaginem iubet.

22 **XXII.** Neque Hispaniam neglegendam ratus, atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, (2.) Hasdrubali fratri, viro inpigro, eam provinciam destinat, firmatque  
 5 Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Baliaribus quingentis. 3. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta et Numidae Maurique, aecolae  
 10 Oceani, ad mille octingenti et parva Iltergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephantum viginti unus. 4. Classis praeterea data ad tuendam maritumam oram, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi  
 15 poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

5. Ab Gadibus, Carthaginem, ad hiberna, exercitus redit; atque inde profectus praeter Onussam urbem ad Hiberum  
 20 maritima ora ducit. 6. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. 7. Pavidum primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem secutum; deinde cura  
 25 ingenii humani, cum, quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitus

esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; 8. tum 22  
 vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti  
 arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum  
 fragore caeli nimbum. 9. Tum, quae moles ea quidve  
 prodigii esset, quaeientem audisse vastitatem Italiae esse: 30  
 pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in  
 occulto esse.

**XXIII.** Hoc visu laetus tripartito Hiberum copias traiecit 23  
 praemissis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus  
 erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur.  
 Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Hiberum  
 traduxit. 2. Ibergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et 5  
 Lacetniam, quae subiecta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit,  
 oraeque huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quae  
 Hispanias Gallis iungunt in potestate essent. 3. Decem  
 milia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis  
 data et mille equites. 4. Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum 10  
 traduci exercitus est coeptus, rumorque per barbaros  
 manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum  
 peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non tam bello  
 motos quam longinquitate viae inexsuperabilique Alpium  
transitu. 5. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos 15  
 anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi iritarentur,  
 supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos *also*  
 gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos  
 simulans.

**XXIV.** Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, 24  
 cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum  
 Iliberri castra locat. 2. Galli, quamquam Italiae bellum  
 inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaeum  
 Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida inposita, metu 5  
 servitutis ad arma consternati, Ruscinonem aliquot populi  
 conveniunt. 3. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram

24 magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum  
 misit: conloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius  
 10 Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut  
 ex propinquo congressus facilius esset; 4. nam et accep-  
 turum eos in castra sua se laetum, nec cunctanter se ipsum  
 ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliae non hostem  
 advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat,  
 15 quam in Italiam venisset. 5. Et per nuntios quidem haec;  
 ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis  
 haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona  
 pace exercitum per finis suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum  
 transmiserunt.

25 **XXV.** In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum  
 transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam per-  
 latum erat, 2. cum, perinde ac si Alpibus iam transisset, Boi  
 sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in popu-  
 5 lum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum Placenti-  
 am Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas  
 aegre patiebantur. 3. Itaque armis repente arreptis in  
 eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum terroris ac  
 tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi  
 10 triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum,  
 diffusi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius  
 C. Servilius M. Annius. 4. Lutati nomen haud dubium  
 est; pro Anno Servilioque M'Acilium et C. Herennium  
 habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C.  
 15 Papirium Masonem. 5. Id quoque incertum est, legati ad  
 expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros  
 agrum metantis impetus sit factus. 6. Mutinae cum  
 obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes  
 rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis  
 20 adsideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi, 7. evocati-  
 que ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conloquium non  
 contra ius modo gentium sed violata etiam, quae data in id

tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi 25  
 obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. 8. Cum haec de  
 legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo 25  
 esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen  
 ad Mutinam ducit. 9. Silvae tunc circa viam erant  
 plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias  
 praecipitatur, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in  
 apertos campos emersit. 10. Ibi castra communita, et, quia 30  
 Gallis ad temptanda ea defuit spes, refectioni sunt militum  
 animi, quamquam ad sescentos cecidisse satis constabat.  
 11. Iter deinde de integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia  
 loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; 12. ubi rursus  
 silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepida- 35  
 tione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex  
 signa ademere. 13. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi  
 fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque inpedito evasere. Inde  
 apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum,  
 vicum propincum Pado, contendere. 14. Ibi se munimento 40  
 ad tempus com meatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam  
 Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem  
 hostium tutabantur.

**XXVI.** Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam per- 23  
 latus, et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres  
 acceperunt, (2.) C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione  
 Romana et quinque milibus sociorum dilectu novo a consule  
 conscriptis auxilium ferre Manlio iubent, qui sine ullo 5  
 certamine — abscesserant enim metu hostes — Tannetum  
 pervenit.

3. Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum praetore  
 erat, scripta legione nova profectus ab urbe sexaginta  
 longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde 10  
 Salluvium montis pervenit Massiliam, 4. et ad proximum  
 ostium Rhodani — pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare de-  
 currit — castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem

26 superasse Pyrenaeos montes. 5. Quem ut de Rhodani  
 15 quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus, quoniam ei  
 loco occurreret, necdum satis relictis ab iactatione maritima  
 militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Mas-  
 siliensibus et auxiliariis Gallis ad exploranda omnia  
 visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. 6. Hannibal ceteris  
 20 metu aut pretio pacatis iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum,  
 gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rho-  
 dani; sed diffusi ceteriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut  
 flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans  
 Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam armis obtine-  
 25 bant. 7. Ceteros accolae fluminis Hannibal et eorum  
 ipsorum, quos sedes suae tenerant, simul perlicit donis ad  
 naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi  
 traici exercitum levatique quam primum regionem suam  
 tanta hominum urgente turba cupiebant. 8. Itaque ingens  
 30 coacta vis navium est linciumque temere ad vicinalem  
 usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes  
 cavabant ex singulis arboribus, 9. deinde et ipsi milites  
 simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis inducti alveos  
 informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera  
 35 possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent,  
 faciebant.

27 **XXVII.** Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traiciendum  
 terrebant ex adverso hostes omnem ripam equites virique  
 obtinentes. (2. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris  
 filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime  
 5 Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, (3.) ubi  
 primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni circumducere  
 agmen, ut, cum opus factum sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostes.  
 4. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde milia quinque et  
 viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem  
 10 latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum  
 ostendere. 5. Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae,

in quibus equi virique et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani 27  
 sine ulla mole in utris vestimentis coniectis ipsi caëtris  
 superpositis incubantes flumen tranaverø. 6. Et alius ex-  
 ercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positus, 15  
 nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei  
 reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum.  
 7. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo significant transisse  
 et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, no  
 tempori deesset, dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas 20  
 aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos  
 naves. 8. Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum  
 fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra  
 traicientibus lintribus praebebat. 9. Equorum pars magna  
 nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur praeter eos, quos in- 25  
stratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti  
 usui essent, inposuerant in naves.

**XXVIII.** Galli occursant in ripa cum variis ululatibus 23  
 L cantuque moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibran-  
 tesque dextris tela, 2. quamquam et ex adverso terrebat  
 tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore  
 vario nautarum militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere 5  
 impetum fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa traicientes suos  
 hortabantur. 3. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terri-  
 bilior ab tergo adortus clamor castris ab Hannone captis.  
 Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat et e  
 navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et ab tergo 10  
 inprovisa premente acie. 4. Galli postquam utroque vim  
 facere conati pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter,  
 perrumpunt trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt.  
 Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis, spernens iam  
 Gallicos tumultus, castra locat. 15

5. Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse  
 credo, certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis  
 ad ripam elephantis tradunt fepocissimum ex iis inritatum

*In all directions*

28 ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam sequeretur,  
 20 nantem traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem  
 destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam  
 rapiente. 6. Ceterum magis constat ratibus traiectos; id  
 ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem  
 pronius est. 7. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes quin-  
 25 quaginta latam a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne  
 secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte  
 superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta  
 constraverunt, ut beluae audacter velut per solum ingrede-  
 rentur. 8. Altera ratis aequae lata, longa pedes centum,  
 30 ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; 9. tum ele-  
 phanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus  
 feminis acti, ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, RATEM  
 extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vinculis,  
 ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur.  
 35 10. Ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti ac traiecti sunt.  
 Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerent-  
 tur; primus erat pavor, cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum  
 raperentur. 11. Ibi urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis  
 ab aqua, trepidationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem  
 40 ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. 12. Excidere  
 etiam saevientes quidam in flumen, sed pondere ipso stabiles  
 deiectis rectoribus quaerendis pedetentim vadis in terram  
 evasere.

*First clash with Roman*

29 ✓ **XXIX.** Dum elephantibus traiciuntur, interim Hannibal  
 Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat  
 speculatum, ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent.  
 2. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio  
 5 Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. 3. Proe-  
 lium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam  
 praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrimque  
 fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum  
 fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec

† (160)



omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti 29  
 ceciderunt. 4. Hoc principium simul omenque belli ut 11  
 summae rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruen-  
 tam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. *portendit*  
 5. Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec  
 Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coeptisque 15  
 hostis et ipse conatus caperet, (6.) et Hannibalem incertum,  
utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter, an cum eo, qui  
primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret,  
 avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique  
 Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore 20  
adfirmantes integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus  
 Italiam adgrediendam censent. 7. Multitudo timebat qui-  
 dem hostem nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli,  
 sed magis iter immensum Alpisque, rem fama utique  
 inexpertis horrendam, metuebat. 25

**XXX.** Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit 30  
 pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie  
 militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: 2. mirari  
 se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit.  
 Per tot annos vincentis eos stipendia facere, neque ante 5  
 Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas  
 duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginensium es-  
 sent. 3. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum  
 obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus  
 Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Roman-10  
 orum liberandumque orbem terrarum. 4. Tum nemini  
 visum id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent  
 iter; 5. nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris  
 emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas  
 gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus 15  
 Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi  
 traiectum, in conspectu Alpibus habeant, quarum alterum  
 latus Italiae sit, (6.) in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos

30 subsistere—quid Alp̄s aliud esse credentes quam montium  
 20 altitudines? 7. Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis; nullas  
 profecto terras caelum contingere nec inexcuperabiles  
 humano generi esse. Alp̄s quidem habitari coli, gignere  
 atque alere animantes; pervias paucis esse, pervias exerciti-  
 bus. 8. Eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sub-  
 25 lime elatos Alp̄s transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum  
 indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alp̄s  
 ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus  
 migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. 9. Militi quidem  
 armato nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid  
 30 invium aut inexcuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur,  
 quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse?  
 10. Roman, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam  
 adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur?  
 11. Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse  
 35 Poenus desperet: proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute  
 genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae, aut itineris finem  
 sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

31 **XXXI.** His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque  
 ad iter se parare iubet. 2. Postero die profectus adversa  
 ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rectior  
 ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset, minus  
 5 obvium fore Romanum credens, (3.) cum quo, priusquam  
 in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere.  
 4. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara  
 Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes agri  
 aliquantum amplexi confluent in unum; mediis campis  
 10 Insulae nomen inditum. 5. Incolunt prope Allobroges,  
 gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior.  
 6. Tum discors erat. Regni certamine ambigebant fratres.  
 Maior et qui prius imperitabat, Brancus nomine, minore ab  
 fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui iure minus, vi plus poterat,  
 15 pellebatur. 7. Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum

ad Hannibalem delegata esset, arbiter regni factus, quod 31  
 ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori  
 restituit. 8. Ob id meritum comteatu copiaque rerum om-  
 nium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus  
 Alpes praeferari cogeant. 20

9. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam  
 Alpīs peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad  
 laevam in Tricastinos flexit: inde per extremam oram  
 Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam impedita  
 via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. 10. Is et 25  
 ipse Alpinus annis longe omnium Galliae fluminum diffi-  
 cillimus transitu est; 11. nam, cum aquae vim vehat  
 ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis  
 coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens,  
 nova semper vada novosque gignit gurgites. Et ob eadem 30  
 pediti quoque incerta via est; ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens  
 nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet. 12. Et tum  
forte imbris auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum  
 fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis  
 clamoribus turbarentur. 35

**XXXII.** P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post, quam 22  
 Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra  
 hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus.  
 2. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum  
 praegressos adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac navis rediit, 5  
 tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali oc-  
 cursurus. 3. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania  
 esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem  
 cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit,  
 (4.) non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios concilian- 10  
 dosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem.  
 5. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo *exercenti*  
 qui circa Padum erat exercitus Italiam defensurus.

6. Hannibal a Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad

- 32 Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit.  
 16 7. Tum, quamquam famā prius, quā incerta in maius vero  
 ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa  
 montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope inmixtae, tecta  
 informia inposita rupibus, pecora iumentaue torpida  
 20 frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque  
 omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora,  
 terrorem renovarunt. 8. Erigentibus in primos agmen  
 clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani,  
 qui, si vallis occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam  
 25 repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. 9. Han-  
 nibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque ad visenda loca  
 praemissis postquam conperit transitum ea non esse, castra  
 inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque quam extentissima  
 potest valle locat. 10. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane  
 30 multum lingua moribusque abhorrentis, cum se inmiscuis-  
 sent conloquiis montanorum, edoctus interdium tantum  
 obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce  
 prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdium vim per  
 angustias facturus. 11. Die deinde simulando aliud, quam  
 35 quod parabatur, consumpto, (12.) cum eodem, quo constiter-  
 ant, loco castra communissent, ubi primum digressos tumulis  
 montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus  
 quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis inpedi-  
 mentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum  
 40 ipse cum expeditis, (13.) acerrimo quoque viro, raptim  
 angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenerant,  
 consedit.
- 33 **XXXIII.** Prima deinde luce castra mota, et agmen  
 relicum incedere coepit. 2. Iam montani signo dato ex  
 castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente  
 conspiciunt alios arce occupata sua super caput imminentis,  
 5 alios via transire hostis. 3. Utraque simul obiecta res  
 oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; 4. deinde,

ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu mis-<sup>33</sup>  
 ceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid  
 adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, diversis  
 rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia adsueti decurrunt. 5. Tum <sup>10</sup>  
 vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni  
 oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente, ut  
 periculo primus evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat ✓  
 6. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus  
 dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussaeque valles augebant, <sup>15</sup>  
 territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consterna-  
 bantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum  
 omnis generis facerent: 7. multosque turba, cum praeci-  
 pites deruptaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum  
 altitudinis deiecit, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime <sup>20</sup>  
 modo iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. 8. Quae quam-  
 quam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac  
 suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augetet. 9.  
 Deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque  
 esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam incolu-<sup>25</sup>  
 mem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco, et cum impetu  
 ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. 10. Sed  
 is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera  
 fuga montanorum erant, sedatur; nec per otium modo sed  
 prope silentio mox omnes traducti. 11. Castellum inde, <sup>30</sup>  
 quod caput eius regionis erat, viculosque circumiectos capit,  
 et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit;  
 et quia nec a montanis primo percussis nec loco magno  
 opere inpediebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viae confecit.

**XXXIV.** Perwentum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, <sup>34</sup>  
 ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed  
 suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus.  
 2. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum  
 veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes  
 amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; 3. itaque

34 oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque  
 duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. 4. Han-  
 nibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne  
 10 repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respondisset,  
 obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu, quem in  
 viam ipsi detulerant, usus nequaquam ut inter pacatos  
 conposito agmine duces eorum sequitur. 5. Primum  
 agmen elephantum et equites erant, ipse post cum robore  
 15 peditum circumspiciens omnia sollicitusque incedebat.  
 6. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte altera subiectam iugo  
 insuper imminente ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari  
 a fronte ab tergo coorti cominus eminens petunt, saxa  
 ingentia in agmen devolvunt. 7. Maxima ab tergo vis  
 20 hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium  
 fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens  
 in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. 8. Tunc quoque ad  
 extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. 9. Nam  
 dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias,  
 25 quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus  
 quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliquerat, occursantes per  
 obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere;  
 noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis  
 acta est.

35 **XXXV.** Postero die iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris  
 iunctae copiae saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen  
 iumentorum quam hominum pernicie superatus. 2. Inde  
 montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more  
 5 concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen,  
 utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi  
 morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. 3. Elephantum, sicut  
 per artas praecipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum  
 ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi  
 10 propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

4. Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia

pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides 35  
 iis non esset, temere initalæ valles a coniectantibus iter  
 faciebant. 5. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque  
 labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumentaue ali 15  
 quot, quæ prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia  
 agminis in castra pervenere. 6. Fessis taedio tot malorum  
 nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum ingentem  
 terrorem adiecit. 7. Per omnia nive oppleta cum signis  
 prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et 20  
 desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, 8. prægressus signa  
 Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late pro-  
 spectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat  
 subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos,  
 9. moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed 25  
 etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut  
 summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac  
 potestate habituros. 10. Procedere inde agmen coepit,  
 iam nihil ne hostibus quidem præter parva furta per  
 occasionem temptantibus. 11. Ceterum iter multo, quam 30  
 in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut  
 breviora ita arrectiora sunt, difficilius fuit. 12. Omnis  
 enim ferme via præceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque  
 sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec, qui paulum titubassent,  
 haerere adflicti vestigio suo, aliique super alios et iumenta 35  
 in homines occiderent.

**XXXVI.** Ventum deinde ad multo angustiores rupem 36  
 atque ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus  
 manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes  
 demittere sese posset. 2. Natura locus iam ante præceps  
 recenti lapsu terræ in pedum mille admodum altitudinem 5  
 abruptus erat. 3. Ibi cum velut ad finem viæ equites con-  
 stitissent, miranti Hannibali, quæ res moraretur agmen,  
 nuntiatum rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad  
 locum visendum. 4. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia

33 circa nec trita antea quamvis longo ambitu circumduceret  
 11 agmen. 5. Ea vero via inexasuperabilis fuit; nam cum  
 super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis  
 esset, molli nec praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insiste-  
 bant; 6. ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu  
 15 dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem  
 liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. 7. Taetra ibi luctatio  
 erat lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium et in prono  
 citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu  
 genu se adiuvisissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum cor-  
 20 ruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu  
 quisquam eniti posset, erant: ita in levi tantum glacie tabida-  
 que nive volutabantur. 8. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam  
 infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius  
 in conitendo unguis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque  
 25 velut pedica capta haerent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

37 **XXXVII.** Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus  
 fatigatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco  
 purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit.  
 2. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse  
 5 poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arbori-  
 bus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem  
 lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo  
 igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto  
 putrefaciunt. 3. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pan-  
 10 dunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta  
 solum sed elephantum etiam deduci possent. 4. Quadriduum  
 circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis;  
 nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et si quid est pabuli,  
 obruunt nives. 5. Inferiora valles apricosque colles habent  
 15 rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca.  
 6. Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis  
 hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum iam et  
 locis mollioribus et accolarum ingenis.



**XXXVIII.** Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, 38  
 quinto mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt,  
 quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. 2. Quantae copiae  
 transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter  
 auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum 5  
 viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia  
 peditum, sex equitum. 3. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum  
 se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret, nisi con-  
 funderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis; 4. cum his  
 octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta—in Italia 10  
 magis adfluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt;  
 5. ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum  
 transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum  
 equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini Semi-  
 galli proxima gens erat in Italiam degresso. 6. Id cum 15  
 inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quamam Alpibus  
 transierit, et vulgo credere Poenino—atque inde nomen ei  
 iugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Coelum per Cremonis  
 iugum dicere transisse; 7. qui ambo saltus eum non in  
 Taurinos, sed per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos 20  
 deduxissent. 8. Nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam  
 patuisse itinera; utique, quae ad Poeninum ferunt, obsaepta  
 gentibus semigermanis fuissent. 9. Neque hercule montibus  
 his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo  
 Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen norint inditum, 25  
 sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Poeninum  
 montani appellant.

**XXXIX.** Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis 39  
 proximae genti adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed  
 armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in  
 reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non  
 poterat; 2. otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus  
 ex inlucie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie  
 movebat. 3. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas

39 navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone  
 et in novis ignominiiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum  
 10 hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. 4. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volens in amicitiam non veniebat, vi expugnarat; 5. ac iunxisset sibi non metu solum sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolae Padi, ni eos circumspicientis defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. 6. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars sequenda esset, Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. 7. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum  
 20 satis noti, ita iam inbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. 8. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem virum credebat; 9. et auxerant inter se  
 25 opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium et effectu. 10. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traicere, et ad Ticinum annum motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum  
 30 militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

40 **XL.** “ Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; 2. quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas  
 5 legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? 3. Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit,  
 10 4. ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo

imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt. 40  
 5. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis,  
 milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis,  
 a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus 15  
 capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. 6. Erit  
 igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus, qui victori-  
 bus et victis esse solet. 7. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed  
 quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu  
 incolumi pugnam detractavere, eos duabus partibus peditum 20  
 equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis qui plures paene  
 perierint quam supersint plus spei nactos esse. 8. At enim  
 pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque,  
 quorum robor ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. 9.  
 Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame frigore, inlucie 25  
 squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque;  
 ad hoc praenesti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torpida  
 gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi.  
 10. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedito pugnaturi estis, reli-  
 quias extremas hostium, non hostem habetis. Ac nihil 30  
 magis vereor, quam ne, eum vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse  
 Hannibalem videantur. 11. Sed ita forsitan decuerit, cum  
 foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana  
 ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum  
 deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere." 35

**XLI.** "Non vereor, ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi 41  
 causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum  
 esse. 2. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam  
 profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii  
 5 participem ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem  
 potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie  
 molem belli; 3. tamen cum praetervolaverer navibus Galliae  
 oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso  
 equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. 4. Equestri proelio,  
 qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, 10

41 hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium  
raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra nequieram, regressus  
ad navis, quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris  
terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpium huic  
15 timendo hosti obvius fui. 5. Utrum, cum declinarem  
certamen, improvidus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? 6. Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt  
20 insulas, et quos ab Eryce duodevicensis denariis aestimatos emisistis, (7.) et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani a patre relictus. 8. Quem nisi Saguntinum scelus agitare, respiceret profecto si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera Hamilcaris  
25 scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, (9.) qui graves inpositas victis Carthaginensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. 10. Itaque vos  
30 ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. 11. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere; licuit victricem classem in  
35 Africam traicere atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere: 12. veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur. 13. Pro his inperitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! 14. Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. 15. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti  
45 obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari

nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut 41  
 si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. 16. Unus quisque se  
 non corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis  
 protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed  
 identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus 50  
 senatum populumque Romanum; 17. qualis nostra vis  
 virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac  
 Romani imperii fore." Haec apud Romanos consul.

**XLII.** Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos 42  
 milites ratus circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu captivos  
 montanos vinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante  
 pedes eorum proiectis interrogare interpretem iussit, equis,  
 si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, 5  
 decertare ferro vellet. 2. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum  
 pugnamque poscerent, et deicta in id sors esset, se quisque  
 eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, cuius-  
 que sors exciderat, alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exultans  
 cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. 3. Ubi 10  
 vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem  
 modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes  
 vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium  
 fortuna laudaretur.

**XLIII.** Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimi- 43  
 sisset, contione indo advocata ita apud eos locutus fertur:  
 2. "Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante  
 habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habu-  
 eritis, vicimus, milites: neque enim spectaculum modo 5  
 illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat.  
 3. Ac nescio an maiora vincula maioresque necessitates  
 vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit; 4. dextra  
 laevaue duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem  
 navem habentes; circa Padus amnis, maior Padus ac vio- 10  
 lentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis

43 ac vigentibus transitae. 5. Hic vincendum aut moriendum,  
 milites, est, ubi primum hosti occuristis. Et eadem fortuna,  
 quae necessitatem pugnandi inposuit, praemia vobis ea  
 15 victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab dis  
 quidem immortalibus optare solent. 6. Si Siciliam tantum  
 ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute  
 recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent;  
 nunc, quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque  
 20 possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est.  
 7. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite dum, dis bene  
 iuvantibus arma capite. 8. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae  
 Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consecrando nullum emolu-  
 mentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis;  
 25 9. tempus est iam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et  
 magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes  
 fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. 10. Hic vobis  
 terminum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem  
 emeritis stipendiis dabit.

30 11. "Nec quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem  
 existimaritis victoriam fore; saepe et contemptus hostis  
 cruentum certamen edidit, et inchi populi regesque perlevi  
 momento victi sunt. 12. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore  
 nominis Romani quid est, cur illi vobis comparandi sint?  
 35 13. Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute,  
 cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano  
 terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae  
 et Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis; 14. pugnabitis  
 cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso victo circum-  
 40 sso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem.  
 15. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope  
 natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque,  
 victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum,  
 quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam  
 45 duce, desertore exercitus sui? 16. Cui si quis demptis signis

Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum 43  
 habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. 17. Non ego illud parvi  
 aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cuius non anto  
 oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non  
 idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locis- 50  
 que referre sua possim decora. 18. Cum laudatis a me  
 miliens donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam  
 imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se  
 ignorantesque."

**XLIV.** "Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video 44  
 animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum  
 gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, (2.) vos socios fide-  
 lissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, cum pro patria  
 tum ob iram iustissimam pugnaturos. 3. Inferimus bellum 5  
 infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius  
 fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior  
 est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. 4. Accendit  
 praeterea et stimulat animos dolor iniuria indignitas. Ad  
 supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos 10  
 omnes, qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis crucia-  
 tibus adfecturi fuerunt. 5. Crudelissima ac superbissima  
 gens sua omnia sui que arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum,  
 cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum inponere acum  
 censet. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium 15  
 fluminumque, quos non excedamus; neque eos, quos  
 statuit, terminos observat. 6. Ne transieris Hiberum! No  
 quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis! At liberum est Saguntum.  
 7. Nusquam te vestigio moveris! Parum est quod veterri-  
 mas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam adimis? Etiam 20  
 in Hispanias, et, inde si decessero, in Africam transcendes?  
 Transcendes autem? Transcendisse dico. Duos consules  
 huius anni, unum in Africam alterum in Hispaniam  
 miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod  
 armis vindicarimus. 8. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet, 25

44 qui respectum habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac  
 pacata itinera fugientes accipient ; vobis necesse est fortibus  
 viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa despera-  
 tione abruptis aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in  
 30 proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. 9. Si hoc  
 bene fixum omnibus, si destinatum animo est, iterum dicam,  
 vicistis : nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum  
 homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est."

45 **XLV.** His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen  
 accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iung-  
 unt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper inponunt ;  
 2. Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala  
 5 Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum  
 populi Romani agros mittit ; 3. Gallis parci quam maxime  
 iubet principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte  
 perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium  
 quinque milia passuum a Victumulis consedit. 4. Ibi Hanni-  
 10 bal castra habebat ; revocatoque prope Maharbale atque  
 equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam  
 satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus,  
 vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat, in quorum  
 spem pugnarent : 5. agrum sese daturum esse in Italia,  
 15 Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi, qui acce-  
 pisset, liberisque ; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei  
 se argento satisfacturum ; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses  
 fieri vellent, potestatem facturum ; 6. qui domos redire  
 mallent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium  
 20 mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. 7. Servis quoque  
 dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit binaque pro his  
 mancipia dominis se redditurum. 8. Eaque ut rata scirent  
 fore, agrum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret,  
 Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quem ad  
 25 modum ipse agrum mactasset, secundum precationem caput  
 pecudis saxo elisit. 9. Tum vero omnes, velut dis auctori-



bus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum 45  
pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati proelium uno animo et  
voce una poscunt.

**XLVI.** Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas 46  
erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis;  
2. nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse  
intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio  
inminente consederat. 3. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum 5  
equitatu iaculatoribusque ex peditibus profectus ad castra  
hostium ex propinquo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis  
essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum  
equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. 4. Neutri  
alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot homi- 10  
num et equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium  
hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium  
sese expediabant. 5. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites  
in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in  
subsidiis; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, 15  
cornua Numidis firmat. 6. Vixdum clamore sublato iacu-  
latores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde  
equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps; dein, quia turba-  
bant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis  
aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, 20  
iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, donec  
Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab  
tergo se ostenderunt. 7. Is pavor perculit Romanos auxit-  
que pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque intercurso tum  
primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. 8. Hic erit iuvenis, 25  
penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob  
egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus.  
9. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos  
Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem  
in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam corporibus 30  
suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse

46 cedendo reduxit. 10. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad  
 servum natione Ligurem delegat. Malim equidem de  
 filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores, et fama  
 35 obtinuit.

47 **XLVII.** Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, quo  
 facile apparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse, et ob id  
 campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpisque, bello  
 gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. 2. Itaque proxima nocte  
 5 iussis militibus vasa silentio conligere castra ab Ticino mota  
 festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iunxerat  
 flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione  
 hostis copias traiceret. 3. Prius Placentiam pervenere,  
 quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad  
 10 sescentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem  
 solventes cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema  
 resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente.  
 4. Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis  
 peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per  
 15 superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in  
 ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. 5. Ea  
 peritis annis eius vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites  
 armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri  
 simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres,  
 20 et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerunt,  
 qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. 6. Potiores  
 apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo  
 flumini inventum tradunt: ea cum Magone equites et  
 Hispanorum expeditos praemissos. 7. Dum Hannibal circa  
 25 flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit  
 gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu  
 fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt.  
 8. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra  
 30 potestatem pugnae fecit.

**XLVIII.** Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, 48  
 tumultu tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliariis Gallis  
 facta est. 2. Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites  
 vigilibus ad portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt,  
 quos Poenus benigne adlocutus et spe ingentium donorum 5  
 accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popu-  
 larium animos dimisit. 3. Scipio caedem eam signum  
 defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo  
 scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, (4.) quamquam  
 gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis 10  
 insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium iam  
 in loca altiora collisque inpeditiones equiti castra movet.  
 5. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal  
 primum Numidis deinde omni equitatu turbasset utique  
 novissimum agmen, ni aviditate praedae in vacua Romana 15  
 castra Numidae devertissent. 6. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca  
 omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus  
 terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus, et cum iam trans-  
 gressos Trebiam Romanos metantisque castra conspexissent,  
 paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. 20  
 7. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens  
 et collegam—iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat—  
 ratus expectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus  
 stativis est visus, delectum communiit. 8. Nec procul inde  
 Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, 25  
 tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem  
 nusquam praeparatis com meatibus maior in dies excipiebat,  
 ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum  
 congererant Romani, mittit. 9. Ibi cum vim pararent,  
 spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis 30  
 quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino, praefecto praesidii, cor-  
 rupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. 10. Id horreum fuit  
 Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito  
 praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur,  
 nihil saevitum est.

49 **XLIX.** Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, in-  
 terim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a  
 Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique res  
 gestae. 2. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad  
 5 depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginensibus missae,  
 novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres  
 in fretum avertit aestus. 3. Ad eas conspectas a Messana  
 duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missae,  
 qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperiens,  
 10 nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum de-  
 duxerunt. 4. Cognitum ex captivis, praeter viginti naves,  
 cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas quinque et tri-  
 ginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos  
 veteres socios; 5. Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam  
 15 esse; credere eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent,  
 eam quoque classem ad Aegatis insulas deiectam. 6. Haec,  
 sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius  
 Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit monetque, Lilybaeum firmo  
 teneret praesidio. 7. Extemplo et a praetore circa civitates  
 20 missi legati tribunisque suos ad curam custodiae intendere,  
 et ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli, (8) edicto  
 proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad  
 naves deferrent, ut ubi signum datum esset, ne quid moram  
 conscendendi faceret, perque omnem oram, qui ex specu-  
 25 lis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem, dimissis.  
 9. Itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium  
 erant Carthaginenses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum,  
 praesensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat, et sublatis  
 armamentis veniebant; 10. extemplo datum signum ex  
 30 speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves  
 conscensum; pars militum in muris portarumque in sta-  
 tionibus, pars in navibus erant. 11. Et Carthaginenses quia  
 rem fore haud cum inparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem  
 portu se abstinerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore  
 35 aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. 12. Ubi inluxit,

recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnae esset exitum- 49  
que liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. 13. Nec  
Romani detrectavere pugnam et memoria circa ea ipsa loca  
gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute.

L. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam 50  
et ex propinquo vires conferre velle; 2. contra eludere  
Poenus et arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam viro-  
rum aut armorum malle certamen facere. 3. Nam ut  
sociis navalibus adfatim instructam classem, ita inopem 5  
milite habebant; et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudqua-  
quam par numerus armatorum ex ea pugnabat. 4. Quod  
ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit  
animum et paucitas illis minuit. 5. Extemplo septem naves  
Punicae circumventae, fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et 10  
septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque, in  
his tres nobiles Carthaginensium. 6. Classis Romana  
incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa  
reduce, in portum rediit.

7. Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui 15  
Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. 8.  
Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem instructam ornatamque  
obviam duxit transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam navem,  
gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse,  
precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, 20  
9. statum deinde insulae et Carthaginensium conata ex-  
posuit pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum  
Romanum iuvenis adiuvisset, eo senem adiuturum; 10. fru-  
mentum vestimentaue sese legionibus consulis sociisque  
navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo 25  
maritumisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus  
novas res fore. 11. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum  
visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque  
classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lily-  
baeum fusasque et captas hostium naves acceperunt. 30

51 **LI.** A Lilybaeo consul Hierone cum classe regia dimisso  
 relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram ipse in insulam  
 Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit.  
 2. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii,  
 5 cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum  
 insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum,  
 captivique et a consule et a praetore praeter insignes nobili-  
 tate viros sub corona venierunt. 3. Postquam ab ea parte  
 satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Vulcani,  
 10 quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec  
 quisquam hostium circa eas insulas inventus. 4. Iam forte  
 transmiserant ad vastandam Italiae oram, depopulatoque  
 Viboniensi agro urbem etiam terrebant. 5. Repetenti  
 Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem  
 15 facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam  
 Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore conlegae ferret  
 auxilium, missae traduntur. 6. Multis simul anxius curis  
 exercitum extemplo in naves inpositum Ariminum mari  
 supero misit, Sexto Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque  
 20 longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque oram  
 Italiae tuendam adtribuit, 7. M. Aemilio praetori quin-  
 quaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse compositis Siciliae  
 rebus decem navibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum per-  
 venit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen  
 25 conlegae coniungitur.

52 **LII.** Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virium  
 erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse  
 Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis  
 declarabat. 2. Tamen consul alter equestri proelio uno et  
 5 vulnere suo minutus trahi rem malebat; recentis animi  
 alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. 3. Quod  
 inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incolabant, in  
 duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum  
 favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. 4. Id

Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenus 52  
 periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad 11  
 liberandos eos dictitans. 5. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda  
 militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas  
 plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps  
 agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. 6. Egentes ope 15  
 Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab  
 auctoribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque  
 ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam  
 cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. 7. Cornelio  
 nec causa nec tempus agenda rei placebat, suspectaque 20  
 ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia  
 vetustate obsolevisent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam;  
 8. Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum  
 vinculum esse primos, qui eguissent ope, defensos censebat.  
 9. Conlega cunctante equitatum suum mille peditum iacu- 25  
 latoribus ferme admixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum  
 trans Trebiam mittit. 10. Sparsos et inconpositos, ad hoc  
 graves praeda plerosque cum inopinato invasissent, ingentem  
 terrorem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque  
 hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsus rursus subsidio 30  
 suorum proelium restituere. 11. Varia inde pugna se-  
 quentes inter cedentesque cum ad extremum aequassent  
 certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos  
 fama victoriae fuit.

**LIII.** Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustiorque quam 53  
 ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter  
 consul victus foret, ea se vicisse. 2. Restitutos ac refectos  
 militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter conlegam, qui  
 dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum animo magis quam cor- 5  
 pore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. 3. Sed  
 non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri  
 aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium  
 exercitum expectari? 4. Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia

53 ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam  
 11 victis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo  
 patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos.  
 5. "Quantum ingemiscant," inquit, "patres nostri circa  
 moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem  
 15 suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia  
 paventis intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpīs Appenni-  
 numque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse." 6. Haec adsidens  
 aegro conlegae, haec in praetorio prope contionabundus  
 agere. Stimulabat et tempus propincum comitiorum, ne  
 20 in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum  
 vertendae gloriae, dum aeger conlega erat. 7. Itaque  
 nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propincum certa-  
 men milites iubet.

8. Hannibal cum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix  
 25 ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quicquam  
 consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama prius,  
 deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse ferociusque  
 factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet,  
 adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat. 9. Cuius ne  
 30 quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat,  
 dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus  
 inutilem vulnus faceret, (10.) dum Gallorum animi vigerent,  
 quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam,  
 quanto longius ab domo traherentur. 11. Cum ob haec  
 35 taliaque speraret propincum certamen et facere, si cessaretur,  
 cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quae  
 vellet, tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos  
 pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circum-  
 spectare Poenus coepit.

54 LIV. Erat in medio rivus praealtis utrimque clausus  
 ripis et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta  
 ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites  
 quoque tegendo satis latebrosam locum circumvectus ipse



oculis perlustravit, "hic erit locus," Magoni fratri ait, "quem 54  
teneas. 2. Delige centenos viros ex omni peditate atque 6  
equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc cor-  
pora curare tempus est." 3. Ita praetorium missum.  
Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Robora virorum cerno,"  
inquit Hannibal; "sed uti numero etiam non animis modo 10  
valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque  
vestri similes eligit. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insi-  
deatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis." 4. Ita  
Magone cum mille equitibus, mille peditibus dimisso,  
Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam 15  
flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in  
stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certa-  
mine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. 5. Haec  
mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque  
praeceptum, ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde 20  
instratisque equis signum expectare.

6. Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem  
equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum,  
postremo omnes copias ad destinatum iam ante consilio 25  
avidus certaminis eduxit. 7. Erat forte brumae tempus et  
nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque interiectis, pro-  
pinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludium praegelidis. 8. Ad  
hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis non capto ante  
cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris  
inerat, et quidquid aurae fluminis adpropinquabant, ad 30  
flabat acrior frigoris vis. 9. Ut vero refugientes Numidas  
insequentes aquam ingressi sunt—et erat pectoribus tenuis  
aucta nocturno imbri—tum utique egressis rigere omnibus  
corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et  
simul lassitudine et procedente iam die fame etiam de- 35  
ficere.

**LV.** Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis 55  
oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per

55 otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostis nuntiatum est,  
 alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem  
 5 procedit. 2. Baliares locat ante signa, levem armaturam,  
 octo ferme milia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem,  
 quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit  
 decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem  
 10 divisos elephantos statuit. 3. Consul effuse sequentis  
 equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exci-  
 perentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus.  
 4. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium nominis Latini  
 viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide  
 manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursus est. 5. Proe-  
 15 lium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore  
 legiones obsisterent, diducta propre in cornua levis arma-  
 tura est, quae res effecit, ut equitatus Romanus ex-  
 templo urgeretur; 6. nam cum vix iam per se resisterent  
 decem milibus equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris  
 20 plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a  
 Baliaribus coniecta. 7. Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab  
 extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore  
 insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. 8. Pedestris pugna  
 par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentis Poenus  
 25 paulo ante curatis corporibus in proelium adtulerat; contra  
 iciuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpe-  
 bant. 9. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum peditum solum  
 foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite iaculabantur  
 in latera, et elephanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese  
 30 tulerant, et Mago Numidacque, simul latebras eorum impro-  
 vida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum  
 ac terrorem fecere. 10. Tamen in tot circumstantibus  
 malis mansit aliquamdiu inmotae acies, maxime praeter  
 spem omnium adversus elephantos. 11. Eos velites ad id  
 35 ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti aversos  
 sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodie-  
 bant.

**LVI.** Trepidantisque et prope iam in suos consternatos e 56  
 media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos  
 auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. [Tibi extemplo haud dubiam  
 fecere fugam; novusque terror additus Romanis, ut fusa  
 auxilia sua viderunt.] 2. Itaque cum iam in orbem pug- 5  
 narent, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alibi evadere  
 nequissent, media Afrorum acie, quae Gallicis auxiliis  
 firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere et,  
 3. cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis,  
 neque prae imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem 10  
 ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. 4. Plures  
 deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen  
 petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem  
 ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; 5. qui passim per agros  
 fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis 15  
 Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam in-  
 grediendi flumen fecit, transgressisque in castra pervenerunt.  
 6. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines  
 multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnis absumpsit.  
 (7. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit,) et ita 20  
 torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriae  
 sentirent. 8. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium  
 castrorum et quod relicum sauciorum ex magna parte mili-  
 tum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent, aut nihil sentire  
 obstrepente pluvia, aut, quia iam moveri nequibant prae 25  
 lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimularunt; quietis-  
 que Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus  
 Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus Cremonam,  
 ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

**LVII.** Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut 57  
 iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem  
 venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse, quo a portis  
 moenibusque vim arcerent: 2. uno consule ad Ticinum  
 victo alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulibus, 5

57 duobus consularibus exercitibus victis quos alios duces, quas  
 alias legiones esse, quae arcessantur? 3. Ita territis Sem-  
 pronius consul advenit. 4. Ingenti periculo per effusos passim  
 ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio  
 10 aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus,) id quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis  
 consularibus habitis in hiberna rediit.) Creati consules  
 Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.)

5. Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant  
 15 vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque iis  
 inpeditoria erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur  
 undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves sub-  
 veherent. 6. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere  
 magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli  
 20 expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus  
 Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum  
 spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. 7. Tantus  
 repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiae quoque audiretur.  
 Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat iussis quadrato  
 25 agmine legionibus sequi; 8. equestre interim proelium  
 commissum, in quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit,  
 pavore hostibus iniecto defensum egregie praesidium est.  
 9. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum satis  
 percurato vulnere ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergit.  
 30 10. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum  
 inde locum frequentaverant adcolae mixti undique ex fini-  
 timis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex  
 agris compulerat. 11. Huius generis multitudo, fama inpigre  
 defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa, armis arreptis  
 35 obviam Hannibali procedit. 12. Magis agmina quam acies  
 in via concurrerunt, et, cum ex altera parte nihil praeter  
 inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles  
 fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa.  
 13. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia  
 40 accepere; iussique arma tradere cum dicto paruissent, signum

repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem 57  
diriperent. 14. Neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis  
scribentibus videri solet, praetermissa clades est; adeo omnis  
libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in  
miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones 45  
Hannibalis.

**LVIII.** Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia 53  
frigora erant, quies militi data est, 2. et ad prima ac dubia  
signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam  
quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut vol-  
untate adiuncturus. 3. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo 5  
atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope foeditatem  
superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora,  
primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut contra enitentes  
vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere; 4. dein, cum iam  
spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi 10  
a vento parumper conedere. 5. Tum vero ingenti sono  
caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes;  
capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere; 6. tandem effuso  
imbrè, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo  
deprenti erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. 15  
7. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec  
explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant, nec, quod statutum  
esset, manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente, 8.  
et mox aqua levata vento cum super gelida montium iuga  
concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis deiecit, ut omnibus 20  
omissis procumberent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti  
quam tecti; 9. tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa  
miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque  
attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus  
rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. 10. Deinde, ut 25  
tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et raris  
locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops  
tendere. 11. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere. Multi

58 homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui proelio  
30 ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

59 **LIX.** Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra  
movit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die  
duodecim milia peditum quinque equitum adversus hostem  
ducit; 2. nec Sempronius consul—iam enim redierat ab  
5 Roma—detrectavit certamen. Atque eo die tria milia  
passuum inter bina castra fuere; postero die ingentibus  
animis vario eventu pugnatum est. 3. Primo concursu adeo  
res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed  
pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque  
10 oppugnarent. 4. Hannibal paucis propugnatoribus in vallo  
portisque positis ceteros confertos in media castra recepit  
intentosque signum ad erumpendum expectare iubet. 5. Jam  
nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato  
milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum  
15 receptui dedit. 6. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque  
pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra  
laevaue emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum robore mediis  
castris erupit. 7. Pugna raro magis ulla aequa et utriusque  
partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum  
20 spatium sivisset: nox accensum ingentibus animis proe-  
lium diremit. 8. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam caedes  
et, sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum  
est. Ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium  
eius equitum cecidit; 9. sed maior Romanis quam pro  
25 numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni  
militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti.  
10. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempro-  
nius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per  
insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et  
30 L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque  
equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam  
fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

**LX.** Dum haec in Italia geruntur, (2.) Cn. Cornelius Scipio 60  
 in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab ostio  
 Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumvectus Em-  
 porias adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, (3.) orsus a  
 Lacetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim 5  
 renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis Romanae  
 dicionis fecit. 4. Inde conciliata clementiae fama non ad  
 maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac  
 montanis ad ferocios iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo  
 apud eos sed societas etiam armorum parta est, validaequae 10  
 aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. 5. Han-  
 nonis eis Hiberum provincia erat: cum reliquerat Hannibal  
 ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam aliena-  
 rentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus castris in conspectu  
 hostium positus in aciem eduxit. 6. Nec Romano differendum 15  
 certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdru-  
 bale sibi dimicandum esse malletque adversus singulos  
 separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. 7. Nec  
 magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex milia hostium  
 caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra 20  
 expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus  
 capiuntur, et Cissis, propineum castris oppidum, expugnatur.  
 8. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex  
 barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum; 9. castra militem dita-  
 vere, non eius modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et eius, 25  
 qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris  
 rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra  
 Pyrenaeum relictis.

**LXI.** Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, trans- 61  
 gressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum,  
 mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum  
 occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque  
 castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. 2. Haud procul 5  
 Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantisque

61 per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundae res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, maiore fuga ad naves compellit. 3. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari  
 10 ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. 4. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico relicto Emporias cum classe rediit. 5. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat, et  
 15 Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. 6. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. 7. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu  
 20 invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsegit intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. 8. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, pro-  
 25 cedit atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxiliium finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul iam urbe, cum intrare vellent, excepit insidiis. 9. Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems  
 30 tutabatur. 10. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro umquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. 11. Postremo, cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

62 **LXII.** Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt; 2. in quis, ingenuum infantem semenstem in foro olitorio triumphum



clamasse, 3. et in foro boario bovem in tertiam contigna- 62  
tionem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum 6  
territum sese deiecisse, et navium speciem de caelo adfulsisse,  
et aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam:  
4. et Lanuvi hastam se commovisse et corvum in aedem  
Iunonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinari consedis- 5. et in 10  
agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul can-  
dida veste visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno  
lapidibus pluisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia  
lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. 6. Ob  
cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem 15  
lapidibus pluisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum.  
Et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit.  
7. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque  
maiores quibus editum est dis caesae, 8. et donum ex auri  
pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est, et 20  
signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt,  
et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae erant, impera-  
tum, et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido; 9. Romae quoque  
et lectisternium Iuventati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis  
nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria 25  
indicta, 10. et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et  
C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere iussus, si in decem  
annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. 11. Haec procu-  
rata vota ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant  
religione animos. 30

**LXIII.** Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae 63  
legiones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant,  
edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus  
Martii Arimini adesset in castris. 2. Hic in provincia  
consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum certa- 5  
minum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea  
consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho  
habuerat, (3.) invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam

63 Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno  
10 patrum adiuvante C. Flaminiō tulerat, ne quis senator cuive  
senator pater fuisset maritimam navem, quae plus quam  
trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. 4. Id satis habi-  
tum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quaestus omnis patribus  
indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta in-  
15 vidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminiō, favorem  
apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. 5. Ob  
haec ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum  
mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in  
urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit.  
20 6. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis-  
iam ante patribus movit; non cum senatu modo, sed iam  
cum dis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. 7. Con-  
sulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie dis  
atque hominibus non paruisse; 8. nunc conscientia spretorum  
25 et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse,  
ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi maximi templum  
adiret; ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret  
consuleretque; ne Latinas indiceret Iovique Latiari sollemne  
sacrum in monte faceret; ne auspicato profectus in Capi-  
30 tolium ad vota nuncupanda paludatus inde cum lictoribus  
in provinciam iret. 9. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine  
lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exilii  
causa solum vertisset. 10. Magis pro maiestate videlicet  
imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in  
35 deversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam  
sumpturum. 11. Revocandum universi retrahendumque  
censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos  
hominesque fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in pro-  
vinciam iret. 12. In eam legationem—legatos enim mitti  
40 placuit—Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis  
eum moverunt quam priore consulatu litterae moverant  
ab senatu missae. 13. Paucos post dies magistratum  
iniit, inmolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sac-

rificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes 63  
cruore respersit; 14. fuga procul etiam maior apud 45  
ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a pleris-  
que in omen magni terroris acceptum. 15. Legionibus inde  
duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio  
praetore acceptis in Etruriam per Appennini tramites ex-  
ercitus duci est coeptus. 50



## NOTES.

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The references to the Text are by chapter and line: thus **4, 12** denotes the twelfth line of the fourth chapter.

An obelus (†) denotes that the reading of the Latin text is doubtful (v.l. = *varia lectio* = variant reading).

Such proper names of importance as are not discussed in the Notes will be found in the Index.

**Ch. 1. ARGUMENT.**—*I may fairly say that the war which I am about to chronicle is in many respects the most notable in history.* ✓

[See Index for Hamilcar and Hannibal; and read Introduction, §§ iii., iv.]

✓ **1. 1. parte:** "section." Livy designed his *History* to fill 150 Books, divided into fifteen decades or sections of ten Books each. The present Book therefore commences the third decade, the whole of which is occupied with the history of the Second Punic War. **praefari:** "to say by way of preface." Upon this word depends the accusative and infinitive *me . . . scripturum esse*.

**2. rerum scriptores:** this, or the fuller phrase *rerum gestarum scriptores*, is the Latin for "historians," "writers of history." Livy is thinking in particular of the Greek historian Thucydides, who wrote an account of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.) between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians and their respective allies. ✓

**3. gesta sint:** subjunctive as being the verb of a relative clause in dependent statement. On the other hand the indicative is used in the relative clause *quod . . . gessere*, which further defines *bellum*, that clause not being felt to form part of the dependent statement.

**4. Hannibale duce:** lit. "with Hannibal (as) leader," ablative absolute, otherwise called ablative of attendant circumstance. Here, as often, an English abstract expression should be used in rendering the concrete Latin substantive; say "under the command of Hannibal."

**6. opibus:** "resources," ablative of respect, expressing that in respect of which the adjective *validiores* is applied. **inter se:** join with *contulerunt arma*, "crossed swords with one another." The phrase occurs again two lines below (*inter sese*), where it must be joined with *ignotas* ("unknown to one another"). Notice the

different English renderings of the preposition (*inter*). **civitates gentesque**: *civitates* are different *political* communities, "states"; *gentes* are "nations" differing in blood.

7. **his ipsis**: dative of the possessor with *fuit est mihi* = ("I have"). The words refer to the Romans and the Carthaginians. **virium aut roboris**: the genitives are partitive, dependent upon *tantum* (= "such an amount"). The disjunctive *aut* shows that *vires* and *robur* denote different things. The former is "strength" for attack; the latter is "stamina," the power to withstand attack.

8. **expertas**: in a passive sense, "tested." The perfect participles of many verbs otherwise dependent are thus used. **primo . . . bello**: 264-241 B.C. The ablative is that of date ("time when").

8. **haud ignotas**: *haud* negatives words, not clauses, and is stronger than *non*; *haud* is very commonly used (as here) with adjectives and adverbs beginning with a negative prefix (*in-* or *dis-*).

10. **Mars**: the name of the god of war stands in lieu of the thing itself. Similarly *Iuppiter* = "the sky," *Neptunus* = "the sea," *Vulcanus* = "fire," *Bacchus* = "wine." *Aeneas* means "double-faced," "facing both ways," and so "doubtful." **periculum**: *propius* and *proxime* can govern the accusative by analogy with *prope*. **fuertint**: as the principal verb (*fuit*) is in historic time, the normal rule of sequence would require a historic tense (*essent*) in the dependent clause. But in consecutive clauses the perfect subjunctive is sometimes used after a historic principal verb to express the final result, and the present is similarly used of a result still continuing. Examples are rare in Cicero and Caesar, but more frequent in Livy. **qui vicerunt**: *i.e.* the Romans. The clause supplies the subject to *fuertint*. **Romanis indignantibus**: another ablative absolute, here equivalent to a causal clause ("because . . ."). The participle *indignantibus* must be repeated with *Poenis* in the same construction.

12. **victoribus**: dative of the indirect object with *arma inferrent* (= "attacked"). The Romans are meant, as *victi* denotes the Carthaginians, with reference to the issue of the First Punic War. **ultra**: connected with *ultra*, "beyond"; the words means "beyond what was to be expected," and so "voluntarily," "without provocation." For the Carthaginians forced the Romans into war by their attack upon Saguntum.

13. **inferrent**: subjunctive of the reported cause, *i.e.* expressing the reason which presented itself to the minds of the Romans at the time. Translate: "because, as the Romans reflected, the vanquished party were attacking," etc. **superbe avareque**: the allusion is probably to the annexation of Sardinia by Rome, 237 B.C., after the revolt of the Carthaginians' mercenary troops there, and to the exaction of 1200 talents (£292,500) as an indemnity for the military preparations made with a view to enforcing the Roman demands. The refusal of Rome to make peace in 241 B.C. save on harder terms than those granted by Lutatius Catulus (Introduction, p. xiii.) may also have been in the writer's mind. **crederent**: we should expect the indicative *credebant*. The subjunctive may be explained in two ways. (1) It is due to assimilation to the mood of *inferrent* in the corresponding clause above.

(2) It is analogous to the idiom of such a sentence as *recitarit litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret*, which is a confusion between (a) *recitarit litteras quas . . . dicebat*, and (b) *recitarit litteras quas sibi misisse*, where the subjunctive *misisse* is that of reported or alleged description, just as *inferrent* (above) is subjunctive of the reported or alleged reason. For a somewhat similar instance of carelessness in English, cp. the sentence, "He went away because he said it was late."

14. *imperitatum . . . esse*: impersonal, passive (literally "that it had been ruled over the vanquished"). As *imperitare* is an intransitive verb (and accordingly governs the dative, *victis*), this is the only way in which it admits of use in the passive voice. *fama est*: "there is a story that." Upon this phrase depends the rest of the sentence down to *adactum*, the subject being *Hannibalem*, and the main predicate being *iure iurando adactum* (sc. *esse*). "was bound by oath," i.e. "swore." Upon this depends *se . . . hostem fore*. Converted into direct narrative we should have (a) in the first part of the sentence *Hannibal . . . blandiens . . . adnotus . . . adactus est*; and (b) in the second part *ego, cum primum potero, hostis ero*.

15. *annorum . . . novem*: genitive of quality. *patri*: indirect object of the intransitive *blandientem*.

16. *Africo bello*: i.e. the Mercenary War, see Introduction, § iv.

17. *eo*: "thither," i.e. to Spain.

18. *sacris*: i.e. the flesh of the victims of the sacrifice.

20. *Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae*: literally "Sicily and Sardinia lost," i.e. "the loss of Sicily and Sardinia." Similarly *urbs capta* = "the capture of the city," *urbs condita* = "the foundation of the city," *interemptus Hector* = "the death of Hector." *nam et Siciliam*: the rest of the chapter is in *oratio obliqua*, depending upon some such verb as "he thought" or "he said," easily understood from the context. With *concessam* and *interceptam*, sc. *esse*.

22. *motum Africae*: the Mercenary War. *stipendio . . . inposito*: the indemnity of 1,200 talents mentioned in the note on l. 13.

✓ **Ch. 2-6. ARGUMENT.**—*In Spain Hamilcar was succeeded by Hasdrubal, who did more by diplomacy than by force to extend the power of Carthage. He concluded a new treaty with Rome, recognising the Ebro as the limit of the Carthaginian influence, and Saguntum as a neutral State. To Hasdrubal succeeded Hannibal, despite the opposition of Hanno. Hannibal was a thorough soldier, but a faithless and cruel man. He began his career by reducing the tribes lying between him and Saguntum, winning a notable battle on the Ebro. The Saguntines sent to Rome to ask for help against the impending attack. The Senate, however, refused to declare war.*

[See Index for Carthago Nova, Hasdrubal, Longus, Saguntum, Scipio (1).]

2. 1. **sub**: *sub* used in a temporal sense with the accusative signifies "immediately after," as here, or "immediately before."

2. **quinque annos**: in reality the war lasted probably less than *four* years, viz. 240-238 B.C.

3. **novem annis**: in Latin of the best period duration of time is regularly expressed by the accusative: cp. l. 9, *octo ferme annos*. The use of the ablative instead of the accusative, sometimes found in Livy, is mainly post-Augustan. **augendo . . . imperio**: this use of the ablative of the gerundive (or gerund) to express manner or circumstance, where other writers would prefer a dependent clause (introduced e.g. by *dum*), is characteristic of Livy's style.

4. **appareret**: "it was obvious," much stronger than "it seemed" or "it appeared" (*videretur*). **agitare**: "have in mind," "meditate," a common meaning. The direct form would be *maius, quam quod gerit, agit in animo bellum*.

5. **Hamilcare duce**: cp. *Hannibale duce*, 1, 4.

6. **Poenos . . . inlaturos fuisse**: the oblique form of *Poeni . . . intulissent*. *Italiae* is dative, like *victoribus* in 1, 12, as also is *cui*. **Hannibalis ductu**: used for the sake of variety instead of *Hannibale duce*.

9. **octo ferme annos**: accusative of duration of time. **obtenuit**: "maintained," "held." *Obtinere* rarely means "to obtain." **flore aetatis**: "youth and beauty."

10. **uti**: the older form of *ut*; the meaning being "as," it is of course constructed with the indicative. The subject of *ferunt*, "men say," is unexpressed because indefinite. **primo**: adverbial, "in the first instance," "originally," answered by *inde* below. **gener**: predicatively with *adseitus*, "accepted as his son-in-law."

11. **profecto**: "assuredly," "certainly," in contrast with *uti ferunt* above.

12. **factionis Barcinae**: the party in the State which supported the policy of Barca (Hamilcar), i.e. the anti-Roman, popular, or war-party. *Opibus*, like *voluntate*, is an instrumental ablative with *positus*.

13. **principum**: the nobles of Carthage, who, being for the most part capitalists and merchants, naturally belonged to the peace party, and disliked Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal, equally. Their chief spokesman was Hanno (3. 3).

15. **hospitiis . . . regulorum**: "by entertaining the various petty chiefs." The genitive is objective, i.e. the *reguli* were the persons whom he entertained. *Magis* is resumed by *quam* in the next line.

17. **nihilo . . . tutior**: "none the safer," literally "by nothing the more safe," the ablative being that of the measure of difference, as in *nihilo minus, nihilo magis*, "none the less," "none the more," etc. *Pax* is here equivalent to "peaceful methods."

18. **barbarus**: a "native" of Spain. **ob iram obtruncati . . . domini**: "by reason of his (the native's) anger at the execution of his master, who had been put to death by Hasdrubal." The genitive is causal, i.e. it explains the cause of the anger.

21. **eo . . . habitu**: ablative of description, here doing duty as a



"whenever I have got to my country house, I love to be idle." The use of the subjunctive in such sentences (iterative subjunctive) is a mark of silver Latinity; cp. l. 19, *id quod . . . superesset*, "whatever on each occasion remained over," and two good examples in 35, 6 and 9. **alio duce**: to be taken as ablative absolute.

17. **par**: sc. *erat*, and so with *finitus*, and *erant* with *discriminata*. The ellipsis of the substantive verb is too common to need notice again.

20. **superesset**: iterative subjunctive; see on note l. 13.

21. **sagulo**: the heavy "cape" or "sartout" of the common soldier.

22. **humi**: locative, "on the ground." **custodias stationesque**: *custodia* is "sentry-duty" at the gates, *statio*, "outpost-duty" further afield.

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24. **conspiciebantur**: emphatic, "were sights to see."

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28. **Punica**: Carthaginian merchants were notorious for sharp practice. Nothing is known, however, to justify this charge against Hannibal.

29. **ius iurandum**: "respect for an oath." **religio**: "religious scruples," "conscience." The Roman equivalent for "religion" is either *religiones*, plural, or *sacra*.

30. **triennio**: we should expect the accusative (of duration of time), with or without *per*; see note on *novem annis*, 2, 3.

31. **meruit**: sc. *stipendium*, literally "earned a soldier's pay," and so "served campaigns," "campaigned."

32. **duci**: dative of the agent, as usual with gerunds and gerundives. **esset**: the relative clause has a consecutive or generic force (*quae* = "of such sort as"); hence the subjunctive mood.

5. 1. **ex quo die**: the substantive is attracted into the relative clause.

2. **provincia decreta**: another Roman phrase. *Provincia* meant the "sphere of duty" of a Roman magistrate, usually territorial (whence our word "a province"), but not necessarily so; e.g. a magistrate might have as his *provincia* the duty of supplying Rome with corn. The senate determined (*decernere*) what the *provinciae* of the magistrates should be. **bellum Romanum**: "war against the Romans."

5. **quibus oppugnandis quia**: "but because by any attack on them . . .," equivalent to "if he attacked them." Translate: "To attack them (the Saguntines) was to begin war with Rome."

6. **movebantur**: apodosis of a conditional sentence of which the protasis is contained in *quibus oppugnandis*. In apodoses in which the subjunctive would be expected the indicative is occasionally found (as here), the occurrence which would take place on the condition being

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realised being thus for vividness' sake represented as actually taking place.

7. **ultra**: *i.e.* on the south side of the Ebro; this *from the Roman point of view* was "beyond" the river. By the treaty between Carthage and Rome, all "beyond the Ebro" was Carthaginian. But it had not by any means all been conquered yet; it was rather *in parte*, within Carthage's "sphere of influence," than *in dicione*, actually in her control.

9. **ut**: final, "in order that," *non* going closely with *petisse*.

12. **quo metu**: "fear of which (*sc.* fate)."

13. **stipendio**: the word properly means "payment," "pay." Hence it has two general uses: (*a*) the "pay" of troops, as in l. 15; (*b*) the "tribute" paid by a subject people to their conquerors. The latter is the sense here.

14. **hiberna**: *sc. castra*, "winter quarters," *i.e.* for the winter 220-219 B.C.

15. **ibi**: another instance of anacoluthon (cp. 3, 1, note). The *grammatical* subject of the sentence is *bellum*; yet the words *in se*, which ought according to rule to refer to the subject only, obviously refer to *Hannibal*, the implied subject of the verbals *partiendo* and *exsolvendo*, and the *logical* subject of the entire sentence. **stipendio praeterito**: "arrears of pay."

16. **cum fide**: "honestly." The same meaning would be conveyed by *cum summa fide*, *summa fide*, or by the adverb *fideliter*. But the substantive alone could not be used to convey this meaning. The exceptions to this rule are very few. **exsolvendo**: *pecuniam solvere*, or *exsolvere*, is "to pay," "pay off," a debt, etc.

18. **Hermandica et Arbocala**: the former is now Salamanca, the latter is unknown.

20. **ab Hermandica**: the town whence motion takes place is according to rule expressed by a simple ablative; the use of a preposition seems to have been a colloquialism. **exulibus**: dative of the indirect object with *inexistens*.

23. **procul Tago**: Livy is the first prose writer to use *procul* as a preposition; earlier prose always has *procul a* (or *ab*).

25. **cum . . . fuit**: in historic narrative *cum*, "when," takes the indicative (1) when the temporal clause is introduced in order to mark the time at which the action of the principal verb takes place; and (2) in iterative clauses (see note on 4, 13). **ab hostibus**: literally "from the direction of the foe." So *a dextra* "(from *i.e.*) on the right," *a tergo* "(from *i.e.*) in the rear."

26. **ita**: Hannibal placed his infantry above and below the ford behind the shelter of an earthen rampart. *Vallum* is properly the earthen rampart thrown up in front of a Roman camp.

28. **ingressos**: *sc. hostes*. †**inpeditum**: "hampered," because they were floundering in the water. There is another reading *peditum*, emphasising the contrast between the dismounted Spaniards and the mounted Numidian troops. **Carpetanorum**: the genitive depends on *milia*, with which *acies* stands in apposition.

32. **invicta . . . si . . . dimicaretur**: "a force which would have been invincible, if the fighting had occurred on level ground." The apodosis of the conditional clause is contained in *invicta*. *Dimicaretur* is an instance of the Latin use of an intransitive verb in the impersonal passive, where English employs an abstract verbal.

34. **metu**: causal ablative, "because he (the enemy) was afraid." **id**: explained by the following substantival clause *quod interesset amnis*, "this only, viz. the fact that the river lay between." The mood of *interesset* shows the clause forms part of what the Spaniards are represented as saying to themselves: *id moratur victoriam, quod interest amnis*.

36. **qua cuique proximum est**: lit. "by which way it was nearest for each (to do so)," i.e. "each by the shortest way."

39. **quippe ubi**: *quippe qui* = "inasmuch as he," or "for in fact he"; so *quippe ubi* = "for in fact there." The mood after *quippe qui*, etc., may be either indicative or (as here, *gereret*) subjunctive. *Possset* is subjunctive by assimilation to *gereret*.

40. **vel**: here (as often) *vel* = "even," "actually." **temere**: "haphazard," "without guidance." *et, random*

43. **hostis**: the accusative plural of masculine and feminine substantives and adjectives which form genitive plural in *-ium* is correctly written *-is*, not *-es*.

45. **in unum**: "to one spot." Livy is fond of this substantival use of adjectives, especially those of three terminations, in prepositional phrases; cp. *de integro*, 6, 15.

46. **reciperent**: when *antequam* and *priusquam* are found with the indicative, the only assertion is that one thing occurred before another; but when these conjunctions are used with the subjunctive, it is implied that the action expressed by the subjunctive is purposely anticipated or (if the principal verb is negated) is purposely awaited.

47. **agmine quadrato**: "in battle order," for the Romans went into battle in rectangular formations. What we mean by "in square formation," the Romans expressed by the word *orbis*. Cp. 56, 5.

50. **Carthaginiensium erant**: "belonged to Carthage." The genitive is predicative.

6. 3. **Turdetanis**: for the geographical difficulty suggested in calling this tribe *finitimi* of Saguntum, see the Index. **adesset**: *adesse alicui* is "to appear for a man," "to support a man," as counsel his client in a law-court. **qui . . . sator**: "who had also sowed the seeds of strife."

4. **certamen iuris**: "contention at law," i.e. "arbitration."

6. **orantes**: Caesar would have written *oratum* (supine) or *qui . . . orarent*, for the word is really intended to convey the reason why they were sent, i.e. it expresses purpose, and this the present participle cannot do in the best Latin. **Romae**: locative.

7. **Ti**: *Tiberius*. Livy is in error, for the consuls here named are those of 218 B.C., whereas the embassy of the Saguntines occurred in the year preceding (219 B.C.). See farther on 15, 11.

8. **rettulissent**: the principal verb to which this and the following verbs are subordinate does not come until l. 15, *adlatum est*, the sentence being interrupted by (a) the purport of the resolution arrived at by the Senate (*mitti . . . deferrent*), and (b) an ablative absolute (*haec . . . missa*) summarising the position of affairs. **de re publica**: we should say "on the (political) situation." The phrase *de aliqua re referre*, or (as in l. 15) *rem referre*, means "to bring forward a motion," "to raise a debate," upon such and such a point, in the Senate.

9. **placuisse**: used in reference to the Senate and similar bodies, *placuit* means "it was resolved." **mitti**: the direct form would be *mittuntor legati . . . quibus si videbitur . . . denuntianto ut . . . abstineat . . . traieciunto . . . deferunto*.

14. **omnium spe celerius**: "sooner than anyone had expected it." *Spes* is here (as often) used in the neutral sense of "expectation."

15. **de integro**: "afresh," "anew"; ep. in *unum*, 5, 45.

17. **decernentes**: the participle is equivalent to *decernebant et*, the force of the imperfect being "were anxious to decree," "were for decreeing." **terra marique**: "by land and sea," one of the few phrases in which a common substantive in the ablative of "place where" requires no preposition.

18. **totum in . . . intendebant bellum**: *i.e.* wanted to see the war entirely directed against. . .

19. **qui . . . censerent**: generic use, a variety of the consecutive subjunctive; "there were some (such as) to vote," *i.e.* some voted.

20. **expectandos**: in the usual sense of *expectare*, "to wait for."

21. **eo maturius**: "all the sooner" (literally "by that the sooner").

23. **si non absisteretur**: impersonal, "if there were no cessation of the war." The apodosis to the condition is to be gathered from the context. Their orders were: Go to Saguntum to Hannibal, and if he will not desist, go on to Carthage. **in poenam foederis rupti**: "to be punished for his breach of the treaty." *In* with the accusative frequently conveys an idea of purpose in view. For the rendering of the participle *rupti*, see note on l, 20.

✓ **Ch. 7-9, l. 6. ARGUMENT.**—*In the meantime Hannibal advanced to Saguntum and laid siege to it. The defence, however, was vigorous, and Hannibal himself was seriously wounded; but his rams gradually breached the walls, and a fierce battle followed, in which the Saguntines, thanks mainly to their use of the phalarica, not only held their own but actually drove the storming party back to the Carthaginian lines.*

7. 1. **dum . . . parant**: when meaning "within (not throughout) the time that" *dum* is used with the present indicative even of past events, as here.

3. **passus**: accusative of extent of space.

4. **oriundi**: sc. *civis*, understood from *civitas*. *Oriundus* (from *orior*) is an old gerundival form which has the same meaning as the past participle (*ortus*). **a Zacyntho**: the ablative of origin is generally used without a preposition; with *ab* it denotes a remote source.

Zacynthus, now Zante, is an island of the Ionian Sea off Elis rather than Aetolia. In the Latin orthography of the third century B.C. or earlier the Greek name ZAKYNTHO(S) would be transliterated SACUNTO(M), i.e. Saguntum. There seems to be no means of proving or disproving this story of the origin of Saguntum. Its inhabitants were certainly half Greek.

8. *fidem socialem*: "their loyalty as Rome's allies."

10. *tripertito*: "from three sides at once."

11. *circa*: adverb. Many prepositions thus retain their original adverbial character, e.g. *circum*, *iuxta*, *super*, *supra*.

12. *vineas agere*: "to drive mantlets." The *vineae* were pent-houses, or sheds, of rough boards covered with raw hides, under the protection of which sappers could work without exposing themselves to the enemy's missiles. Wet sacks were laid on the roof as a protection from fire. The *vineae* were mounted on wheels, so they could be pushed forward as occasion required. *aries*: a "battering ram," i.e. an enormous beam suspended by chains in such a fashion as to swing backwards and forwards in the direction of its axis: the forward end was shod with metal, to "butt" the enemy's wall.

13. *ut . . . ita . . .*: literally "just as . . . even so . . .," i.e. "while . . . yet . . .," "though . . . yet . . ." The mood in each clause is indicative.

14. *aecus*: see 3, 8, note. *agendis vineis*: dative of purpose.

15. *postquam . . . ventum est*: "after the rams had been got into an effective position for action," i.e. within striking distance. Latin commonly prefers the perfect with *postquam*, *uti*, *cum*, where English uses the pluperfect. *coeptis succedebat*: the verb is impersonal and *coeptis* is dative, "success followed his undertaking or attempts."

16. *ut in suspecto loco*: an instance of the "restrictive" use of *ut*, "as was natural." *Suspecto* implies that the Saguntines had anticipated that the spot would be selected for attack. *emunitus*: the force of the prefix is "up and over" the adjacent parts of the wall.

20. *submoverē*: historic infinitive, as *pati* and *micare*. See note on *credere*, 4, 5. The subject is *inventus delecta*. *Submovere* means "to make to move on," and so "to drive away." *munientibus*: sc. *hostibus*, i.e. the Carthaginians. *Munire* here means "to erect siege-works (*munitiones*)."

22. *micare*: "flew" or "flashed." The two ideas run together, because that which moves rapidly seems also to twinkle. *opera*: as we speak of "(siege-) works." For *stationes*, see note on 4, 22.

24. *ferme*: "generally," "on an average."

25. *incantius*: "too carelessly," "somewhat carelessly"; absolute use of the comparative. *adversum femur . . . ictus*: "dangerously wounded in the front of the thigh"; accusative of the part affected. The usual prose construction is the ablative of respect, here avoided probably on account of the presence of the ablative *tragula*.

26. *circa*: adverb, as in l. 11.

27. **non multum abesset quin . . .**: "there was little wanting but that the works should be abandoned," *i.e.* "the works were all but abandoned." In this idiom *abest*, *aberat*, etc., are always impersonal.

8. 1. **obsidio . . . oppugnatio**: the two words are contrasted as "blockade" with "assault."

2. **dum curaretur**: *dum* is followed by the subjunctive when purpose is implied (= "in order that meanwhile").

3. **ut . . . ita**: ep. 7, 13. **quies certaminum**: "respite from fighting." The genitive is that of the "remoter object"; *i.e.* whereas the ordinary objective genitive corresponds to an accusative governed by the cognate verb (*e.g.* *virtutis amor*, *virtutem amo*), so this genitive of the remoter object corresponds to an ablative or prepositional phrase (*e.g.* *obsidionis quies*, *ab obsidione quiesco*).

4. **nihil cessatum**: impersonal, "there was no pause."

5. **accipientibus**: "admitting of," "allowing," the construction of works.

6. **coeptae agi**: whenever the dependent infinitive is passive, *coeptus est*, etc., is preferred to *coepit*; ep. l. 9, *distineri coepti*.

7. **ad**: adverb, "roughly."

11. **una**: *sc. pars*. **continentibus ruinis**: literally "by continuous downfalls," *i.e.* by the fall of successive portions.

12. **tres deinceps turres**: "three consecutive towers," lit. "three towers in succession."

14. **qua**: ablative of the way by which, referring to the breach (*ruina*) just made.

16. **pugnae**: dative, as usual with *similis* and *dissimilis*, except with substantives denoting persons and with personal pronouns, which usually stand in the genitive; *e.g.* *similis sui*, "like oneself."

17. **occasionem**: in its usual sense of "opportunity."

18. **iustae acies**: "regular battle-array." So *iustum proelium* "a pitched battle," *iusta legio* "a full legion," *iusta victoria* (see 53, 1).

20. **hinc . . . hinc . . .**: "on the one side . . . on the other . . ."; ep. note on 11, 19.

21. **cepisse**: he would have said to himself *cepi . . . si adnitar* (future), where the perfect *cepi* is vividly used in lieu of the more logical *cepero*.

22. **moenibus**: ablative of separation with *nudata*, "stripped of walls."

24. **quo . . . eo . . .**: literally "by what the more fiercely . . . by that the more numerous . . .," *i.e.* "the more fiercely they fought, the more of them were wounded."

25. **nullo . . . telo**: the ablative here has the force of a causal clause. *Vano* is predicative, "without effect."

27. **hastili abiegnio**: ablative of description. **cetera**: accusative of extent.

28. **extremum**: substantival, "the end."

29. **pilo**: the *pilum*, "pike" or "javelin," of the Roman soldier,



a heavy wooden shaft five-and-a-half feet long carrying a nine-inch iron head.

30. **pedes**: accusative of extent of space.

31. **id**: "the (following) fact," explained by the clauses *quod . . . praebebat*.

33. **medium**: "in the middle." **conceptum**: "kindled" on it. *Maiorem* is predicative, "a flame that grew greater," and *ipso motu* stands with *maiorem* as an ablative of cause.

9. 2. **resisterent**: subjunctive of the reported reason; so *viciisset*. See note on *inferrent*, 1, 13.

3. **pro victo**: "as good as vanquished."

Ch. 9, 1. 7-15. ARGUMENT.—*The Roman envoys, refused a hearing by Hannibal, passed on to Carthage. Hanno advocated complete submission to Rome; but he met with no support, and Carthage made an evasive reply. The siege meantime went on, uninterrupted by the temporary withdrawal of Hannibal to reduce a revolt of the Spanish tribes. An attempt to induce the Saguntines to accept terms proved unavailing. Many of the inhabitants preferred to destroy themselves and their property in one great bonfire, which was still blazing when the Carthaginians took the town. There is considerable question as to the dates of the beginning and end of the siege.*

[See Index for Hanno, Maharbal.]

7. **ab**: the simple ablative might be expected; cp. note on 5, 20.

8. **qui dicerent**: subjunctive of purpose.

10. **operae esse**: *operae* is predicative dative, "a matter for attention."

13. **factionis Barcinae**: see note on 2, 12. **ut praepararent**: the construction is that which would be used after a verb of commanding (e.g. *imperare*), because the expression *litteras praeemittit* implies "sent forward orders by letter."

14. **quid**: accusative of extent, "in some point," i.e. by some concession. **pars altera**: the party of Hanno (3, 8).

10. 3. **causam . . . egit**: *causam agere* is "to conduct or plead a case."

5. **obtestans**: the construction is *obtestans* ("calling to witness") *senatum, se monuisse (et) praedixisse, ne . . . mitterent* ("not to send"), *ne suscitarent* ("lest they should provoke").

8. **manes**: "ghost," "spirit," used in the plural even of a single person's spirit. *Eius viri* refers to Hamilcar.

9. **donec . . . quisquam supersit**: strict sequence would require *superesset*, the principal verb being historic (*egit*). Primary sequence is here used to make the phrase more vivid. The use of *quisquam* is unusual: commonly it stands only in negative or quasi-negative clauses, or in questions to which a negative answer is expected.

11. **si . . . vivat**: the construction represents, in Hannibal's own words, (*una mihi est via*) *si vivam* (future). **ex bellis bella**: "war after war," a common meaning of *ex*. For the metaphor of *serendo*, cp. *litis sator*, 6, 3.

12. **materiam**: not "material," but literally "wood" (the usual meaning) as fuel.

16. **per quos**: "through whose aid." With *ulti sunt*, sc. *Romani*, understood from *Romanæ legiones*. **rupta foedera**: Livy makes Hanno say that the Carthaginians deserved to be beaten in the First Punic War, because it was they who had committed the first breach of the peace. Livy is thinking of the traditional story, that the war was brought about by the appearance of a Punic fleet off Tarentum in 272 B.C. to support that town, in spite of a treaty which forbade them to enter Tarentine waters. But (1) Polybius says there was no such treaty; (2) if they were, a breach of it in 272 B.C. could not account for a war which only broke out in 264 B.C.; and (3) we know that the real cause of the war was the interference of Rome on behalf of the Mamertines of Messina (see Introduction, p. xii.).

19. **bonus**: ironical.

20. **ius gentium**: it was part of the *ius gentium*, "rights of man," that envoys should be admitted to audience.

21. **ex foedere**: "in accordance with the terms of the treaty." *Res repetere* is "to demand satisfaction."

22. **publica fraus**: *fraus* is "wrong-doing," *publica fraus*, wrong-doing to which the entire nation is a party. If the government of Carthage refused to give the required satisfaction, they made the State at large a party to what the Romans alleged to be a wrong.

23. **reum criminis**: "him that is arraigned on the charge." *Crimen* properly means a "charge," "accusation," rarely a "crime." **quo . . . eo**: cp. 8, 24. *Et* must be understood between the clauses *agunt . . . incipiunt*, which are coordinate.

24. **coeperint**: perfect subjunctive by assimilation to *saeviant*, representing the future-perfect (*coeperint*). *Coepti* serves as perfect of *incipio*.

25. **Aegatis**: for the spelling, cp. *hostis*, 5, 43, and note, **quae**: "and all the reverses which."

28. **isti**: senators who belonged to the Barcine party. *Volunt* here means "make out," "represent."

30. **uter . . . rupisset**: dependent question, explaining *id*, "the question that was in dispute, namely, which of the two States had broken the peace."

31. **unde**: i.e. *cuius ex parte*, "on whose side."

32. **ei victoriam dedit**: instead of writing *diinducavit*, "this the issue determined," Livy substitutes *unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit*, making the construction irregular, though the sense is clear enough. **Carthagini**: emphatic by position. So is the next sentence. **turres**: i.e. *turres mobiles* (11, 24), lofty towers of timber, carrying catapults and other engines of war. Running on wheels, like *vineæ*, they could be pushed forward and used to drive the defenders from their walls.

34. **utinam . . . sim**: "I hope I may be." *Utinam* introduces a jussive subjunctive, expressing a wish. With the present tense the wish relates to the future, with the imperfect to the present, and with the pluperfect to the past.

35. **habendum . . . est**: "will have to be waged."

37. **in eo**: "in his case," "as regards him."

38. **paternas inimicitias**: "my differences with his father." **eo . . . quod**: "for the reason that . . ."

40. **furiam facemque**: "minister of vengeance and firebrand." The Carthaginians, according to Hanno, had incurred the divine displeasure by their failure to observe the treaty with Rome, and Hannibal will play the part of a Fury, the Furies being the goddesses of vengeance.

41. **nec dedendum**: *sc. esse*. Some such verb as *censeo* must be supplied.

43. **eo unde**: "to a place whence." The relative clause has a consecutive sense ("whence" = "such that thence"), as the mood of *possit* shows.

46. **satisfaciant**: subjunctive of purpose. So also *nuntient* and *dedant*.

47. **ut . . . abducat**: the construction is adapted to the sense of *nuntient* (= *imperent*); see note on 9, 13.

11. 3. **Hannibalis erat**: "was on the side of Hannibal." The genitive is predicative: *ep. militum fore*, l. 15.

4. **Flaccus Valerius**: his full name was Publius Valerius Flaccus (6, 22); when the praenomen or personal name is omitted, the family name often precedes that of the gens or clan.

8. **praeponat**: subjunctive of reported condition. The original answer was *iniuste facit populus Romanus, si . . . praepoint*.

9. **terunt**: for the mood and tense, see note on 7, 1.

10. **fessum**: predicative with *habebat*, "his troops were worn out."

11. **paucorum . . . dierum**: genitive of quality with *quietem*.

13. **ira . . . spe**: instrumental ablatives with *stimulando*. **stimulando**: instrumental ablative with *accendit*.

14. **pro contione**: the regular word for a meeting held in camp.

16. **resisti videretur posse**: impersonal; *sc. eis*.

17. **ut . . . ita**: see note on 7, 13.

19. **ab ea parte**: "in that direction," "at that point."

21. **aliquanto**: "very much." The word implies a large measure.

22. **qua . . . ferrent**: indirect question depending upon *scire*. In direct form the question is *qua parte feramus opem?* "where are we to bring help?" *i.e.* it is deliberative.

24. **turris mobilis**: see note on 10, 32.

26. **catapultis ballistisque**: various forms of artillery, the former throwing darts, the latter heavy stones. **tabulata**: "storeys," "floors," made of planks (*tabulae*).

27. **defensoribus**: ablative of separation.

28. **occasione**: *sc. esse*, "that his opportunity was come."

29. **ab imo**: we say "at the bottom." For the substantival use of the adjective, see note on 5, 45.

32. **caederetur**: iterative subjunctive; cp. 4, 13. **patentia ruinis**: the present participle is used substantivally, "the parts left open by these collapses."

34. **eo**: adverb, "to that spot."

35. **muro circumdant**: sc. *locum*.

36. **ab**: "on the side of." *Interiorem* is predicative with *ducunt*, "constructed on the inner side."

38. **minorem in dies**: "daily less." *Cotidie* is used of a daily occurrence, *in dies* of the daily progress of a growth or decrease.

40. **longa obsidione**: ablative of cause. **cum . . . essent**: *essent* goes both with *Romani* and with *omnia*. *Circa* is an adverb, and *hostium* predicative genitive like *militum*, l. 15.

44. **conquisitoribus**: i.e. the agents of Hannibal engaged in collecting (*conquirere*) troops.

12. 3. **cives**: i.e. the Carthaginians.

4. **aliquot**: "many"; cp. *aliquanto*, 11, 21, and *aliquantum muri*, "a large extent of wall," in the next clause.

11. **moturum**: sc. *se* as subject to the infinitive.

12. **nihil**: "in no wise," accusative of extent. The object of *movebant* is *Hannibalem* understood.

13. **ut**: "as was natural"; for this restrictive force of *ut*, cp. 7, 16.

14. **oratore**: in its original sense of "one who pleads" (*orat*) for terms, etc. Alco was not, however, an authorised envoy (l. 10). **moriturum**: the subject of the infinitive is defined in the following relative clause.

15. **ageret**: the direct form would be *moriatur*, *qui . . . agat* (= *si quis agat*), a conditional sentence referring to future time.

16. **redderent**: subjunctive of reported command, the actual wording of the command being *reddite*. So below *habitarent* represents *habitate*.

18. **iussisset**: in direct speech *iusserit*, future-perfect. **leges**: "terms," a common meaning.

19. **vinci . . . vincantur**: he said *vincuntur animi* ("men's courage"), *ubi alia vincuntur*.

21. **publice**: "in a public capacity," "officially." He was somewhat in the position of a modern "consul," i.e. the official representative and agent of an alien people.

23. **praetorem**: "commandant." See the note on *praetorium*, 3, 3.

24. **deductus**: *deducere* is regularly thus used for "to escort."

26. **senatus . . . datus est**: "an audience of the senate was accorded."

13. 3. **quo**: sc. *itinere*, "in the which journey."

6. **si metum simulavit**: the emphasis is on the verb, "if his apprehensions are fictitious." Alco had said that he was afraid to report such conditions of peace to his townsmen.

8. **pro**: "in consideration of." The word *hospitium* refers to his position as *amicus atque hospes* (12, 22).

9. **vobiscum**: the preposition *cum* usually becomes enclitic when coupled with a personal or relative pronoun. **vestra . . . causa**: "for your own sakes." The word *causa* must be supplied with the genitives *ullius alterius*, "for the sake of no one else." *Alterius* is commonly used as the genitive of *alius*. **me . . . loqui**: the accusative and infinitive clause depends upon *ea fides sit*, "let this be proof that I say, etc." **vel**: "even"; cp. note on 5, 40, and below, l. 29.

11. **ea**: we might expect *id*, "the following fact," but the assimilation of the demonstrative to the gender of the complement is idiomatic. **dum . . . restitistis**: *dum* meaning "all the time that," "so long as," takes whatever tense the sense requires.

13. **postquam nec . . . est**: we say "now that you have no hope."

16. **ita . . . si**: "only on condition that . . ." Translate: "Your only hope of peace lies in receiving meekly, like conquered men, the terms (*eum*, sc. *pacem*) which Hannibal offers sternly, like a conqueror."

18. **in damno**: *in damno habere* is "to account amongst one's losses," "to set down as loss." **victoris**: predicative genitive.

20. **vobis**: the customary dative of the indirect object with a verb signifying "to take away." **ex magna parte**: we say "for the most part" or "in great part."

22. **in quo . . . aedificetis**: "wherein to build," final subjunctive, i.e. subjunctive expressing purpose.

28. **haud despero**: equivalent to "I earnestly hope"; *haud* is stronger than *non*.

29. **remissurum**: sc. *Hannibalem* as subject.

30. **trucidari**: the infinitive depends on *sinatis*. So *rapi trahique*.

31. **sinatis**: the subjunctive is idiomatic after *potius quam* or *potius quam ut*.

14. 2. **concilium**: simply "gathering," "throng."

3. **secessionis facta**: "their withdrawal effected," i.e. "withdrawing." **priusquam . . . daretur**: subjunctive, implying that the action is purposely anticipated; cp. note on 5, 46.

4. **ex publico privatoque**: substantival, "from stores both public and private."

5. **conicientes**: Cicero would have written *cum coniecissent*, causality being implied, not merely contemporaneous action. **eodem**: adverb.

10. **stationibus custodiisque**: ablative of separation as in 11, 27.

11. **non cunctandum**: gerund, "that there must be no delay."

12. **momento**: sc. *temporis*. *Momentum* (cp. note on 4, 7) means a particle sufficient to turn (*movere*) the scale.

14. **crudele**: sc. *fuit*, to be supplied from *cognitum est*.

15. **cui parci potuit**: "who could possibly have been spared." As *parco* is intransitive ("to show mercy"), it can only be used impersonally in the passive.

17. *ante*: to be joined with *quam*. For *morientes*, Cicero or Caesar would have written *mortui sunt*; but the use of *antequam* with a participle is characteristic of Livy's style.

15. 1. *de industria*: "on purpose."

4. *redactum*: *pecuniam redigere* is "to realize a sum of money."

7. *octavo mense, quam*: for *octavo mense post quam*. So again I. 9, *quinto mense quam*. For the passive of *coeptum* with a passive infinitive (*oppugnari*), cp. note on 8, 6.

8. *quidam*: Polybius in particular.

11. *fieri non potuit ut, etc.*: Livy finds himself involved in a difficulty as to dates. Briefly, the facts are as follows:—(i) In 6 he says that the siege of Saguntum began in the consulship of Sempronius and Scipio. (ii) It lasted eight months (15, 7). (iii) Hannibal then went into winter quarters; and in the *next* year started for Italy, which he reached in five months. (iv) Now the year of the consulship of Sempronius and Scipio was also that of the battle at the Trebia, viz. 218 B.C. (v) Hence it must be supposed that either (1) Saguntum was taken in much shorter time, and Hannibal at once pushed on to Italy; or (2) the siege must have commenced in 219 B.C., and ended in 218 B.C., and Hannibal must have pushed on without waiting until the next spring; or (3) the siege lasted for eight months in 218 B.C., and Hannibal did not reach the Trebia until 217 B.C. The last supposition is impossible, because Sempronius and Scipio were consuls in the battle at that place, and the battle must therefore have been fought in their year, 218 B.C. (vi) The true solution is contained in the note on 6, 7, where it is shown that Livy is mistaken in saying that Sempronius and Scipio were consuls at the time of the embassy from Saguntum and the beginning of the siege. The true date of the embassy is the latter half of 219 B.C., and Saguntum was besieged and taken entirely within that year. So says Polybius. Livy himself seems to accept this alternative, for in 30, 31, he again speaks of the siege as lasting eight months.

12. *ad quos*: a repetition of the mistake already made in 6, 7.

13. *sint . . . pugnaverint*: subjunctives by assimilation to *fuertint*. *suo magistratu*: "in their own year of office," viz. 218 B.C., as contrasted with a possible year or years subsequent, in which they held office as *pro*-consuls.

18. *excessisse . . . in*: "have overflowed into," i.e. "have occurred so late as." The expression *pugna ad Trebian*, "the fight at the Trebia," would not be admissible in Ciceronian Latin, which would add some such participle as *commissa*, "the fight that was fought at the Trebia."

19. *Cn. Servili et C. Flamini*: consuls of the year 217 B.C. The genitive singular of nominatives in *-ius* was in Livy's time generally written with one *i*, though Ovid uses *-ii*.

20. *Arimini*: locative. The argument is as follows: Sempronius held the consular *comitia* in Rome *after* the fight at Trebia; therefore Sempronius must have been himself consul at the time (for only a

consul could hold such *comitia* as a rule); and therefore the fight at Trebia must have occurred before the consulship of Flaminius began.

**Ch. 16-19, l. 18.** ARGUMENT.—*On the return of the envoys from Carthage to Rome, there was something like a panic in the city. The consuls were commissioned to act in Spain and Africa with the necessary forces. A second embassy to Carthage met with no better reception than the first, Carthage declining to be bound by any alleged treaty made by Hasdrubal with Rome. The Romans replied with a declaration of war. The parallel drawn by the Carthaginians between the conduct of the Roman Government in regard to Lutatius, and that of themselves in regard to Hasdrubal, does not hold good.* ✓

[Read Introduction, §§ v., vi., and see Index for Catulus.]

1. *sub idem . . . tempus*: "immediately after, or (as we should say) at the same time"; cp. 2, 1.

4. *patres*: in the restricted sense of "the senate," as often. *sociorum*: objective genitive.

5. *pudor non lati auxilii*: "shame that no succour had been sent." The genitive is that of the remoter object; cp. note on *quies certaminum*, 8, 3.

6. *summa rerum*: "their empire," *summa* being of course a substantive.

8. *nam neque*: the construction from this point down to the end of the chapter is that of *oratio obliqua*. In direct speech we should have *neque hostis acrior bellicosiorque nobiscum congressus est, nec res Romana tam deses unquam fuit atque inbellis*.

11. *Sardos, Corsos . . . Histros . . . Illyrios*: see Introduction, § v. The Sardi and Corsi are the inhabitants of Sardinia and Corsica respectively. The Histri, situated near the modern Trieste, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, were merely one amongst a number of tribes called collectively Illyrii (Index s.v.). In direct speech: *Sardi . . . lacessiverunt . . . exercuerunt . . .*

12. *tumultuatum*: sc. *esse*, passive voice, used impersonally; commonly the verb is deponent. *Tumultus*, *tumultuari*, are regularly used of Gallic risings in Italy.

14. *trium et viginti*: i.e. from the end of the First to the outbreak of the Second Punic War, 241-218 B.C. As a matter of fact, however, Hamilcar crossed over to Spain for the first time in 236 B.C.

18. *Gallicas gentes*: the tribes of northern Italy; cp. note on 17, 28. *orbe terrarum*: the Latin equivalent for "the whole world."

17. 1. *nominatae . . . sorti*: for *provincia*, see note on 5, 2. At this date it was usual for the Senate to "name" two *provinciae* for the two consuls, leaving the latter to make the final arrangement by drawing lots (*sortiri*).

3. **in eum annum**: we say "for that year."

4. **socium**: the older form of the genitive plural (= *sociorum*). This form rarely occurs in Classical Latin prose except in the case of (a) names of peoples, tribes; (b) names of trades, measures, coins (*fabrum, modicum, nummum, sestertium*); and (c) cardinal and distributive numerals. **ipsis**: the consuls; the point was usually decided by the Senate. **videretur**: "might seem good." This use of *videor* as a verb of complete predication is common.

6. **scripta**: "enrolled," because "written down" on the lists **mille octingenti**: *i.e.* ten *turmae* of thirty men for each legion, as was usual.

8. **quinqueremes**: "having five banks of oars" on each side. All ships of war (*naves longae*) were propelled by oars, the rowers being arranged in tiers one above the other. Five rows was the normal number at this date, but smaller vessels of four, or three banks (*quadriremes, triremes*, 22, 15) were also used. [This is the usual explanation. Experiment, however, claims to have shown that such an arrangement is impracticable; but as no alternative explanation is offered, the traditional one must stand for the present.] **celoces**: "dispatch boats" of lighter burthen and driven by single banks of oars. Except in Livy the word is feminine.

9. **latum**: *ad populum ferre* is "to refer (a matter) to the people" in *comitia*. **vellent iuberent**: the actual wording of the proposal was *velitis iubeatis* (potential subjunctive) . . . *bellum indiei*? "would it be your will and command that war be declared?"

12. **quod bellum**: "the war which." *Iussisset* is subjunctive of reported definition, the prayer being *bene eveniat quod . . . iussit*.

14. **ea**: not *cae*, though referring to *legiones*, but assimilated in gender to the nearest predicate, *milia*. **quaterna . . . trecenti**: the distributive numerals imply that this was the total of each legion.

16. **naves longae**: "ships of war," in contrast with the shorter and broader transport vessels (*naves onerariae*).

18. **ita . . . si**: "only . . . if," as in 13, 16. So again 19, 7.

23. **ea parte belli**: "in that branch of warfare," *i.e.* by sea.

25. **iusto equitatu**: "the proper complement of cavalry," which was 300 to the legion.

28. **eodem versa**: "intended for the same object," explained by *in Punicum bellum*. *Versa* is neuter plural, referring to all the preceding accusatives. The "province of Gaul" here meant is Gallia Cisalpina, Rome having nothing to do with Transalpine Gaul for nearly a century after this date.

18. 2. **maiores natu**: "senior." *Natu* is an ablative (of respect), "by birth."

4. **publicone**: the *-ne* serves to introduce the single (indirect) question; contrast l. 17, below. *Publico consilio* means "with the authority of the Government."

6. **defenderent**: "should say in defence." Hence the accusative and infinitive construction, as after any verb of saying. **ut indicerent**:



final subjunctive depending upon *mittunt*, and parallel to the clause *ad percunctandos Carthaginienses*, above.

8. *senatus datus esset*: *senatus* is "audience," as in 12, 26.

10. *unus*: a verb of saying is easily understood.

13. *verbis . . . re*: ablatives of respect. *Re*, or *re vera*, is the Latin for "in reality," "really."

17. *privato publicone*: attached to the second word in the clause, *-ne* serves to mark the second alternative in the double question. In translating, *utrum* must be supplied before *privato*.

18. *censeam*: potential subjunctive; half ironical, as we might say "in my humble opinion."

19. *quaestio*: the proper word for a legal "enquiry." *animadversio in civem*: "the (task of) punishing our fellow-citizen." For the force of *in*, cp. *ira in Carthaginienses*, 16, 5.

20. *quid . . . fecerit*: an indirect question depending upon *quaestio* (= "duty of enquiring"), with which it must be joined.

23. *nobis vobiscum foedus est*: the reference is to the peace by which the First Punic War was ended, 241 B.C.

24. *consule*: he was pro-consul at the time. *ictum*: "ratified," literally "struck," because the swearing to the treaty was accompanied by the sacrifice (*icere*) of a victim. *caveretur . . . sociis*: *cavere alicui* is "to take precautions for or on behalf of." In the next clause the usual construction is varied to *cavere de aliquo*, without any difference in the sense.

26. *at enim*: this formula regularly serves to introduce an objection raised, or supposed to be raised, by the opposite party. *cum Hasdrubale*: the treaty of 228 B.C. (2, 21).

30. *ex auctoritate patrum*: "by the sanction of the Senate," which at this period was necessary to the validity of any decision of the people in their *comitia*. In actual practice, the making of peace lay at this date entirely with the Senate, the people having no voice in the matter. *aliud . . . foedus*: it was by this means that the amount of indemnity was raised and the time for its payment shortened; see *Introd.*, p. xiii.

34. *nobis insciis*: "without our knowledge," ablative of attendant circumstance (ablative absolute).

36. *aliquando*: "at length." *Pariat* is jussive subjunctive.

37. *sinu*: a "fold" like a bag. *Hic* is the adverb, "herein."

38. *utrum*: neuter of the relative pronoun *uter*. *sub*: see note on 2, 1. The same force belongs to the prefix in *subclamatum*.

39. *ferociter*: "haughtily," "proudly." *daret, utrum vellet*: they shouted, *Da, utrum vis*.

41. *accipenter*: subjunctive of reported definition. In direct speech, *accipimus . . . geremus*.

19. 2. *de foederum iure*: i.e. how far the treaties were binding.

3. *cum ante, tum maxime*: "both previously, and especially . . ." In this idiom *cum . . . tum . . .* are little more than a substitute for *et . . . et*. *Sagunto excisa*: elsewhere in Livy the form used is

*Saguntum* (neuter); here perhaps we should understand *urbe* in apposition.

4. **verborum disceptationis**: “verbal quibbling?” **quid**: accusative of extent.

5. **priore foedere**: the treaty as drafted by Lutatius, before it was amended by the Senate.

6. **comparandum erat**: the verb *sum* accompanied by a gerund or verbal adjective, and the verbs *possum*, *debeo*, *decet*, *oportet*, are in the apodoses of conditional sentences commonly used in a past tense of the indicative, where other verbs would be in the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive. *Comparandum erat* = “could be compared”; the gerundive when a negative is expressed or (as here) implied often corresponds to an English adjective ending in *-ble*, e.g. “comparable.” **diserte**: “clearly.” **cum . . . additum esset . . . fuerit . . . conprobatum sit**: these are causal clauses giving the reasons whereby the speaker justifies his implied statement that the cases of the two treaties are not parallel. The change of tense may be partly for the sake of variety, partly with a view to greater vividness in the mention of the treaty actually under discussion.

7. **ita . . . si**: “only on condition that”; cp. 17, 18. **ratum**: “ratified,” “confirmed,” another and very common instance of the participle of a deponent verb (*reor*) having a passive force; cp. *inritus* (= *in* + *ratus*), “not ratified,” “futile.” **in Hasdrubalis**: in English an adversative expression must be inserted before this clause, e.g. “but,” “on the other hand.”

10. The possibility of the treaty not having been communicated to the Carthaginian government is overlooked. **quamquam**: resumptive, “and yet,” a common usage.

11. **etsi priore foedere staretur**: “even if the disputants stood upon the former treaty,” i.e. based their arguments upon it. The authorized treaty of 241 B.C. is meant, as *prior* to that made by Hasdrubal. **cautum erat**: cp. 18, 24.

13. **ne**: sc. *cautum esset iis*, “that there was to be no proviso as regards those” who should subsequently be admitted to alliance.

14. **aecum**: “reasonable,” as in 3, 8.

15. **censeret**: “could have deemed,” potential subjunctive. **ob nulla . . . recipi**: “that on no account should any one (i.e. any new community) be admitted to alliance (with Rome or with Carthage) in return for services rendered.”

16. **tantum ne**: here too a predicate must be supplied, e.g. *id tantum cautum est, ne . . .* “the one proviso was, that no ally, etc.”

18. **desciscentes**: the participle does duty for a conditional clause, “if they should secede.”

**Ch. 19, l. 19-20. ARGUMENT.**—*The Roman envoys returned home by way of Spain and Gaul. One Spanish tribe gave them a favourable hearing, but this was counterbalanced by the answer of the Volciani, who enquired what inducement there was to side with Rome, if Rome treated all her allies as she treated Saguntum. They did no better in Gaul, where only the allied*

*State of Massilia proved friendly. Hannibal had already bought the allegiance of the Gallie tribes.*

[See Index for Massilia.]

22. **Bargusios**: somewhere between the Ebro and the Pyrenees.  
 23. **taedebat**: se. *eos*. It was the conduct of the Carthaginians in dealing with other states to which they objected; they themselves were still independent.

25. **Volcianos**: nothing is known of this people except that they were apparently neighbours of the Bargusii. **celebre**: here "noised abroad," and so "celebrated." But the usual sense of *celeber* is "much frequented," "populous"; the derivative sense being due to the fact that that which is much frequented is also renowned.

28. **quae verecundia est . . . postulare**: "what (sort of) modesty is it that you should demand?" i.e. "it is shameless of you to demand."

31. **quaeratis**: jussive subjunctive in semi-dependence on *censeo*. As in English we may say (a) "I bid you to seek," or (b) "I bid you seek," so in Latin we may have (a) *censeo ut quaeratis* or (b) *censeo quaeratis*. The latter construction is common after a verb of advising, ordering, or asking.

33. **documentum**: "lesson" or "warning," and therefore constructed with a dependent *ne*-clause like a verb of the same meaning.

20. 1. **his**: i.e. *Gallis*, readily understood from *Galliam* in the preceding sentence; ep. *oriundi* referring to *civitas*, in 7, 4.

4. **petissent**: the subject is *legati Romani*.

7. **iuventus**: the word regularly denotes "warriors," "fighting men," for the Romans spoke of a man as being a *iuvenis* at any time between eighteen and forty-five, i.e. in the prime of life.

8. **censere**: "to propose," introducing the infinitives *avertere* and *obicere*. On these again depends the *ne*-clause. The construction of *censeo* with an infinitive is poetical.

9. **ipsos**: i.e. *Gallos*.

12. **esse**: here a verb of complete predication, "exist." The words *in se* refer, according to rule, to the speakers, viz. the Gauls.

15. **pellī . . . pendere . . . pati**: the reference is to the subjection of the Boian and Insubrian Gauls, and the confiscation of part of their lands for the foundation of the colonies of Placentia and Cremona. See Introduction, § v.

19. **cognita**: se. *sunt*, "everything that our allies (the Massiliots) had discovered by careful and loyal enquiry was now revealed" to the Roman envoys. What this amounted to is explained by the following oblique statement *praecognatos . . . conciliantur*.

22. **subinde**: here in the sense of "from time to time." The more usual meaning is "thereupon." **est**: the mood (indicative) of this clause shows it to be no part of the *oratio obliqua*, but a parenthetic remark of Livy's.

25. **consules**: the consuls of 218 B.C. The consuls at this date entered upon their duties on March 15th.

**Ch. 21-24.** ARGUMENT.—*Wintering* (219-218 B.C.) at *Carthago Nova*, Hannibal gave leave of absence to such of his men as wished it. In the spring he paid a ceremonial visit to the temple of Hercules at Cadiz, and after making the needful dispositions for the defence of Africa and Spain, began his advance. At Onussa he saw a vision which greatly encouraged him. A number of his troops deserted, or were dismissed, before the Pyrenees were crossed. Passing into Gaul, he readily obtained permission to move onward to the Rhone.

[See Index for Gades, Ligures.]

21. 1. in *hiberna*: for the winter 219-218 B.C.

2. *auditis*: sc. *iis*, antecedent to *quae*.

3. *Carthagine*: ablative of "place where." *se . . . esse*: the accusative and infinitive depends upon the verbal notion in *auditis* (= *cum audivisset*). This accounts for the use of *se*, referring to Hannibal.

4. *partitis*: passive, although the verb is deponent.

8. *nobis*: dative of the agent, regular with gerundives.

13. *quae . . . cara*: the neuter here includes persons of either sex.

14. *vestrum*: the partitive genitive of *vos*. *commeatum*: "leave to go and come (*commeare*)," "furlough." Elsewhere, and in particular in the plural, the word usually means "supplies" (*e.g.* 25, 41).

15. *edico adsitis*: for the semi-dependent jussive, see note on 19, 31.

17. *ultra*: "without the asking."

18. *suos*: "their kindred," "their friends," a common substantival use of *sui*.

19. *desiderium*: not "desire," which is *cupido*, but the feeling of one who "misses" or "regrets" what is absent.

21. *de integro*: "afresh." *ad edictum*: "according to orders."

24. *Gadis*: accusative of the goal of motion. Gades is the modern Cadiz. By Hercules the Tyrian god Melcarth is meant.

25. *si . . . evenissent*: the apodosis is involved in *votis se obligat*, "bound himself to fulfil further *vous*, if," etc. What he said was *si . . . everserint* (future-perfect), *nova vota exsolvam*.

26. *in*: we should say "between."

28. *Romanis*: dative, "for (the benefit of) the Romans." *ab*: "from the direction of," "on the side of."

30. *levium armis*: literally "lightly equipped in the matter of arms," the ablative being that of respect.

32. *miles*: collective, "troops." *pigneribus obligati*: the Spaniard serving in Africa left behind him in Spain his goods and family as *pignera*, "guarantees," of his own good conduct; and so conversely the African serving in Spain.

33. *stipendia facerent*: "serve." The more usual expression is *stipendia mereri*; see note on 4, 31.

34. *caetratos*: light-armed troops whose sole or chief defensive

arm was the *caetra*, or light round shield of wicker covered with hide.

37. **praesidio**: predicative dative, *Carthagini* being dative of the indirect object, "to act as garrison of Carthage."

39. **eosdem**: we say "(to serve) *at once* as garrison and as hostages."

22. 4. **provinciam**: predicative. **firmat**: sc. *provinciam* as object.

5. **praesidiis**: with this the following ablatives, *milibus*, etc., are in apposition.

8. **Libyphoenices**: as the next clause explains, these were the offspring of marriages between Carthaginians (*Phoenices*) and the natives (*Libyæ*).

10. **Oceani**: the Atlantic. **ad**: an adverb ("about"), and therefore not affecting the case of *mille octingenti*.

11. **quod**: from the indefinite adjective (*qui, qua, quod*), agreeing with *genus*. If there were no substantive expressed the *prounominal* form (*quis, qua, quid*) would be used.

13. **†ad tuendam . . . oram**: some editors read *tuendæ . . . orae*, dative of purpose.

14. **tum quoque**: "on the *present occasion* too." The First Punic War had been ended by the success of the Roman fleet at the *Aegates Insulæ*, to the west of Sicily.

16. **aptae**: here used as a participle, "fitted out," "ready for sea." **remigio**: "rowers," "crews," abstract for concrete.

19. **Onussam**: otherwise unknown. It evidently lay upon the coast between Cartagena and the mouth of the Ebro.

20. **maritima ora**: ablative of the "road by which." **quiete**: "sleep" or "dream," a common meaning.

22. **sequeretur**: subjunctive of reported command. So *deflecteret*. The actual words were: *sequeve, neque . . . a me deflexeris oculos*.

24. **cura**: "inquisitiveness," "curiosity." The case is ablative of cause.

27. **mira magnitudine**: ablative of description.

28. **ferri**: "rushing on," a common meaning of the passive of *fero*. *Post* is an adverb, like *ultra* in l. 31.

29. **nibum**: "downpour." The serpent represents Hannibal, the *nimbus* the havoc which he would cause.

30. **audisse**: "he was told."

31. **pergeret . . . inquireret . . . sineret**: subjunctives of reported command. **in occulto esse**: "to remain secret."

23. 1. **Hiberum copias**: *traicere, transmittere, traducere*, admit two accusatives, one of the thing put across, the other of the obstacle crossed, the latter accusative being governed by the prepositional prefix.

2. **praemissis**: a substantive, to which *qui* refers, is easily supplied, e.g. "men." **qui . . . conciliarent**: subjunctive of purpose.

5. **Ilergetes**: a tribe living in the region about the modern Lerida. North of them lay the Ausetani (modern Vich, north of Barcelona) and Lacetania, the "country of the Lacetani," at the foot of the Pyrenees.

9. **praesidium obtinendae regionis**: "a garrison to secure the district." This usage, where the genitive of the gerundive appears to convey the notion of purpose, is in reality a genitive of quality; cp. *leges firmandae libertatis*, "legislation for the security of liberty."

16. **anceps**: "dangerous," because the result of any attempt at coercion was "doubtful."

17. **domos**: the accusative plural of *domus* (meaning "home") is used, like the singular, to express the goal of motion without a preposition. **et ipsos**: as well as the Carpetani.

24. 3. **Iliberri**: here indeclinable. But in l. 10, we have *Iliberrim*, from a nominative *Iliberris*, feminine. It is the modern Elne, at the north foot of the eastern Pyrenees.

6. **Ruscinonem**: the modern La Tour de Roussillon, near Perpignan, on the coast immediately north of Elne. **aliquot populi**: appositive to *Galli*, "that is to say, a considerable number of tribes."

9. **conloqui**: the construction from this point down to *venisset* is *oratio obliqua* dependent on the verbal force of *oratores*, "envoys to explain that." His message was: *conloqui ego vobiscum volo; vel vos . . . accedite, vel ego . . . procedam, ut . . . sit; nam et accipiam vos in castra mea laetus, nec cunctanter ego ipse ad vos veniam.*

12. **laetum**: in Latin an adjective often stands predicatively to express the state of the subject at the time of the action, where in English an adverb is used to modify the action itself; thus *accipiam laetus* = "I will gladly receive."

13. **hospitem**: he said: *hospes ego Galliae non hostis adveni, nec stringam . . . si per vos licbit . . . venero.*

14. **stricturum**: *stringere gladium* is "to draw the sword" from its sheath.

15. **haec**: sc. *dixit* or *egit*.

16. **ad**: here used in the sense of "towards" or "near to."

17. **cum bona pace**: "without molestation."

**Ch. 25-26.** ARGUMENT.—*At this juncture the Boian Gauls of Northern Italy, taking offence at the planting of colonies at Placentia and Cremona, revolted, drove out the Commissioners, and laid temporary siege to Mutina. They also ambuscaded the praetor Manlius. On arriving at Massilia the consul Cornelius Scipio heard, to his surprise, that Hannibal was already on the banks of the Rhone, preparing to cross.*

[See Index for Cremona, Mutina, Padus, Placentia, Rhodanus.]

**Ch. 25. 3.** **perinde ac si**: "exactly as if." *Alpis* is accusative, and the subject to *transisset* is of course Hannibal.

5. **nuper**: modifying *deductas*. **circa**: Placentia on the southern bank, Cremona on the northern.

6. **colonias nuper . . . deductas**: after the conquest of any part of Italy, the Romans secured it by planting colonies (*deducere coloniam*) of Roman citizens in several of the strongest positions, which served as garrisons and forts. The colonists were mostly of the poorer class, who were tempted to go by the gift of land forfeited by the conquered people. Three officers (*tresviri*) were sent to conduct the settlers, to distribute the lands, and to establish a local government. The towns of Cremona and Placentia, besides commanding the passage of the Po, served to separate the Boii to the south from the Insubres to the north and north-west.

7. **aegre patiebantur**: literally, "they with difficulty tolerated," i.e. "they were annoyed at."

13. **M'**: i.e. Manius. But M. = Marcus.

15. **legati**: understand *utrum*, answered by *an* in the next clause.

18. **ad**: so we might speak of an officer being "a bad hand at a siege."

19. **intactis**: i.e. no attempt had been made to assault the walls.

22. **ins . . . gentium**: see note on 10. 20.

23. **fide**: "promise" of safety, "safe conduct." **nisi . . . dimissuros**: in direct speech, *hos non dimitemus, nisi obsides nobis reddentur*. The hostages were those which had been in the Romans' hands since the last war.

26. **praetor**: see note on 62. 27. **effusum**: "straggling" in its hurry to get there, in contrast with *quadrato agmine* (5. 47). He probably started from Ariminum (the modern Rimini) on the Adriatic.

27. **ad**: "towards"; "to" would imply that he arrived there.

28. **plerisque incultis**: neuter, "for most of the country was uninhabited." **inexplorato**: *explorato* and some other perfect participles are used in the ablative absolute (neuter singular) without a substantive; e.g. *auspicato*, "after taking the auspices." To these the negative *in-* is prefixed and an adverb formed. **profectus**: i.e. from Mutina, after relieving the town.

31. **spes**: "confidence."

32. **ad**: adverb, as in 22, 10. The case of *sescentos* is due to its being the subject of the infinitive *eccidisse*.

33. **de integro**: "afresh." **dum . . . ducebatur**: for the tense, see note on 13, 11.

38. **ut**: "when." The perfect indicative after *ut* or *ubi* used as a temporal conjunction is generally best rendered by the English past perfect.

39. **Tannetum**: on one of the tributaries of the Padus, a few miles from Parma.

40. **vicum**: *in vicum* would be more usual. For the spelling *propincium*, cp. *aeuum*, 3, 8. **contendere**: perfect indicative. **munimento ad tempus**: "temporary defences." Livy is fond of using these prepositional phrases as adjectives; cp. *pugna ad Trebiam*, 15, 18 and note.

41. **commeatibus fluminis**: "supplies from the river," i.e. brought

up along the Padus. **Brixianorum**: inhabiting Brixia, now Brescia, thirty miles north of Cremona, and midway between Verona and Bergamo. These Gauls belonged to the tribe of the Cenomani.

26. 1. **qui tumultus**: "the report of this rising." For the use of *tumultus*, see note on 16, 12.

3. **acceperunt**: "heard," a very common meaning.

4. **consule**: viz. Scipio.

5. **conscriptis**: referring both to *legione* and to *milibus*. **qui**: viz. Atilius.

8. **in locum**: join with *scripta* (cp. 17, 6).

9. **sexaginta longis navibus**: we should say "with sixty men-of-war," but the Latin idiom regards the vessels rather as instruments, and therefore uses the ablative without *cum*.

11. **Salluvium montis**: *montis* is accusative (as in l. 14), *Salluvium* genitive; see note on 17, 4. This tribe (called also *Salyi* and *Saluves*) inhabited what is now the Department of *Bouches du Rhône* and the lower slopes of the Riviera mountains east of Marseilles. **proximum**: i.e. nearest to Italy.

12. **pluribus**: sc. *ostiis*, ablative of the "road by which."

15. **quonam . . . occurreret**: indirect question. The enclitic *nam* serves to make the interrogative more emphatic. The direct question was deliberative, *Quonam . . . occurram?* See note on 11, 22.

19. **ex tuto**: cp. *in occulto*, 22, 31; *ex propinquo*, 24, 11. **ceteris**: sc. *Gallorum gentibus*.

21. **validae**: viz. by reason of their numbers.

22. **citeriore**: "nearer" to Hannibal, i.e. the western bank. *Ultior ripa* (l. 24) is therefore the eastern bank.

23. **suis**: neuter.

24. **obtinebant**: "were holding"; see note on *obtinit*, 2, 9.

25. **eorum ipsorum**: of the Volcae. For they had not *all* crossed the Rhone. The genitive (partitive) depends on *eos*, the suppressed antecedent of *quos*.

28. **quam primum**: "as soon as possible." So *quam maxime* "as much as possible," *quam eclerrime*, "as speedily as possible," etc.

29. **turba**: the "multitude" of Hannibal's army, to feed which was a heavy tax upon their resources.

30. **coacta**: *cogere* is the usual word for "to collect." For *vis* meaning "number," cp. 5, 37. **lintrium**: "small boats," as contrasted with larger *naves*. They were "rough and ready" (for that is the meaning of *temere paratarum*), being only intended for "local use" (*ad vicinalem usum*).

31. **incohantes**: "beginning," i.e. "roughly shaping."

33. **materiae**: in its usual sense of "timber." **alveos**: the word suggests that the boats made by the soldiers were mere "tubs."

34. **dummodo**: "provided only that." *Dummodo, tantummodo, dum*, and sometimes *modo* alone, are used in this sense, and always with the subjunctive.

35. **quibus . . . transveherent**: subjunctive of purpose.



**Ch. 27-29. ARGUMENT.**—*Hannibal despatched Hanno with a force to cross the Rhone at a point higher up and so make a diversion in the rear of the Gauls who were prepared to dispute the passage. By this means the Gallic force was completely dispersed. The elephants were very troublesome to get across, but it was at last done by means of rafts. As in the meantime there occurred between some of Hannibal's Numidian horse and a Roman force moving up from Massilia a conflict in which the Romans had the advantage, without further delay Hannibal pushed on towards the Alps.*

**27. 2. ex adverso:** "on the opposite side."

**3. Hannonem:** not the Hanno mentioned in **23, 7.**

**4. vigilia prima:** the night begun at sunset and ended at sunrise: its length, therefore, varied with the season of the year. For military purposes it was divided into four "watches" of equal length. The first watch would end about 9 p.m., for it was now well on in March.

**5. adverso flumine:** ablative absolute, "the stream being against him," i.e. "up stream"; just as *secundo flumine* means "down stream." **iter:** cognate accusative. A day's march is of course a very variable quantity. It could hardly be less than ten miles, and on this occasion it was twenty-five (Roman) miles (l. 8).

**7. cum opus facto sit:** "when there was need for action," "when the case required it." *Facto* is the usual ablative with *opus*, used in the sense of "need."

**8. ad id dati:** "appointed for the purpose."

**9. supra:** adverb, "higher up" the stream. *Insulae* is dative of the indirect object with *circumfusum*.

**10. dividebatur:** the subjunctive of reported definition might have been expected, the clause being part of the information given by the Gallic guides; but the indicative is not uncommon in Livy, especially in the case of matters of fact. **alveo:** here the "bed," "channel," of the river.

**13. sine ulla mole:** "without more ado." **utris:** accusative. These were skins used for holding wine, water, etc. Presumably each soldier carried one by way of a "water bottle." On the present occasion they would be filled with air. For *caetra*, see note on **21, 31.** *Caetris* is dative with *inebant*.

**14. alius:** Livy frequently uses *alius* in the sense of "the rest" (*reliquus, cetera, ceterum*).

**15. iunctis:** *vatem iungere* is "to make a raft," i.e. to join together the material of which it is formed.

**18. fumo:** by lighting a fire, the smoke of which could be seen in Hannibal's camp, for the fire was on high ground (*elito loco*). With *transisse* and *abesse* supply *se* as subject.

**20. temporis:** "the right moment," "the opportunity."

**21. propter equos:** "because of the size of their horses," which were too big to cross in *lintres*. But some of them swam across (l. 25); hence *ferè*, "as a rule,"

22. **excipiendum**: *excipere* is "to intercept," and so "to break," the force of the stream, which was (and is) very great. Hannibal's object was to avoid having his forces scattered down stream by the current and cut off in detail by the Gauls on landing.

23. **parte superiore**: "on the up-stream side" of the *littres*.

24. **pars . . . nantes . . . trahebantur**: the syntax is made subordinate to the sense, for *pars*, though singular, is here plural in meaning.

25. **instratos**: *i.e.* "saddled."

27. **usui**: predicative dative.

28. 3. **et**: the sentence is incomplete, there being nothing to answer to this *et*. We ought to have *et ex adverso . . . et a tergo*; but after the long parenthesis of ll. 5-7, Livy ends the sentence at *hortabantur*.

5. **perrumpere**: the Ciceronian syntax after *nitore* and other verbs of similar meaning is the subjunctive with *ut*. *Nitebantur* refers to the efforts of the rowers.

7. **paventes**: *sc. Gallos*, object of *adortus (est)*.

9. **anceps**: "double," or "from two directions."

11. **utroque**: adverb, "in each direction."

12. **pellebantur**: the imperfect here expresses incomplete, rather than repeated, action.

14. **per otium**: "at leisure." In Livy and Vergil *per* with an accusative is a common substitute for an adverb.

17. **actae rei**: "of the doing of the thing," "of how the thing was done," the predicative participle standing for a verbal substantive; *cp.* note on *Sardinia amissa*, l. 20.

18. **tradunt**: "relate." Livy is referring to the Roman historian Coelius in particular.

19. **refugientem**: *sc. rectorem*.

20. **nantem**: referring to *ferocissimum ex iis* (l. 18), not to *gregem*. **ut quemque**: "for the mere force of the stream carried them over, as one by one (*quemque*), despite their dread of deep water, they lost their footing" (literally "as the shallow-water failed each fearing the depth").

22. **constat**: *viz.* on the authority of Polybius.

23. **foret**: the mood is not due to *ut*, but is potential, "it would have been" (if the event were not already in the past). **ad fidem pronius**: "easier to believe."

24. **ducentos . . . pedes**: accusative of extent of space.

26. **secunda aqua**: equivalent to *secundo flumine* (27, 5, note), "down stream."

27. **superiore**: "on the up-stream side," "above" the raft. **humo**: contrasted with *solum*, l. 28, as "soil" with "solid ground."

31. **stabilem ratem**: the larger of the two rafts, which was made fast to the bank.

32. **feminis**: to this day female elephants, as being more tractable, are employed in the catching, taming, and training, of wild elephants,

34. *actuarius . . . navibus*: light vessels capable of moving at a high speed, whether by oars or sails, or both.

36. *donec . . . agerentur*: the normal way for expressing "all the time that" is by *dum* or *donec* with the indicative; the subjunctive here, as in lines 38 (*raperentur*) and 40 (*fecisset*), is apparently iterative (see note on 4, 13).

37. *ceteris*: neuter, "everything else."

38. *urgentes inter se*: "pushing one another"; cp. note on 1, 6.

29. 3. *speculatum*: supine in *-um* (in reality an accusative of the goal of motion) used in dependence upon a verb of motion (here *miserat*) to express purpose.

4. *huic alae*: the dative depends upon *occurrunt*. The dispatch of the three hundred Roman horse was mentioned in 26, 17.

9. *ad*: adverb, as in 22, 10.

10. *pars Gallorum*: "some who were Gauls," "some of them Gauls." The genitive is that of definition. *amplius ducenti*: two hundred and more." *Amplius*, *plus*, and *minus* may be thus used with numerals without *quam* and without the numeral being put in the ablative of the standard of comparison.

12. *summae rerum*: here "the war as a whole."

13. *ancipitisque*: the negative *haud* belongs to *incruentam* only; cp. note on 1, 8.

14. *sui*: here referring to that which belongs, not to the subject, but to a person denoted by a substantive in an oblique case. This usage is admissible provided that it does not cause any ambiguity. *nec . . . nisi ut*: "Scipio's only possible course was to" (literally "no course could hold good for Scipio, unless that . . ."). The phrase *sententia stetit alicui*, "it is a man's fixed opinion or resolve" occurs again in 30, 1.

21. *integro . . . viribus*: the ablatives absolute modify *adgrediendam* (*esse*). *Integer* means "untouched"; hence *integro bello*, "before the fighting began." *Libare* is "to take sips of," and so "to reduce little by little." Hannibal's only course was to avoid all fighting for the present, and to hurry on to Italy with every available man.

22. *multitudo*: the "rank and file" of Hannibal's men.

24. *rem*: referring appositively to the whole phrase *iter immensum Alpsque*, "the endless march across the Alps." *utique inexpertis*: dative, "at anyrate to men who had never essayed it." Join *fama* ("by all accounts") with *horrendam*.

25. *metuebat*: notice the change of word. They feared (*timebant*) the Romans, from experience; they were apprehensive of (*metuebant*) the Alps, of which they had no experience.

**Ch. 30-32, l. 13. ARGUMENT.**—*At this point Hannibal found it needful to encourage his men by a speech. Thence moving northward, he came to the Isle of the Allobroges, where he settled a dispute between rival claimants to the throne; and striking eastward, crossed the Druentia near its headwaters. Scipio in the meantime, having failed to stop the enemy's*

advance on the Rhone, sent forward his forces to Spain under the command of his brother Gnaeus and returned in person to Genoa.

[See Index for Allobroges, Druentia, Insula, Scipio.]

30. 3. **mirari se**: the *oratio obliqua* continues throughout the chapter, the sequence being in the main primary for the sake of vividness. In ll. 20, 35, however, the sequence is historic (*fingerent, cederent*). The mixture of sequences is here justified by the rule that a historic present (*versat*, l. 3) may take either sequence.

4. **quinam**: the adjectival interrogative *qui*, emphasized by the enclitic *nam*.

5. **vincentis**: with *eos*. The present *facere* is used because their victorious career is still going on.

6. **omnes**: this is of course an exaggeration.

7. **duo diversa maria**: the Mediterranean on the east, the Atlantic on the west, of Spain. *Carthaginiensium* is possessive genitive used predicatively.

11. **liberandum orbem terrarum**: to speak of the world being then under Roman rule is of course an anachronism; cp. l. 32.

12. **exortus**: the use of the plural here (= "the east") is poetical. **intenderent**: in direct speech *intendebatis*, the force of *eum* being "at the time when."

14. **emensam**: passive; cp. *expertas*, l. 8.

15. **tot milibus . . . prohibentibus**: the ablative absolute has the force of a concessive clause ("although so many . . .").

20. **fingerent**: "imagine," "suppose." The subjunctive is that of reported command. In direct speech: *Fingite Alpes altiores esse Pyrenaei iugis*.

23. **animantes**: "living things," whether human or not. We should say "mountain life."

24. **legatos**: Magälus and the other Gallic envoys mentioned in 29, 19.

26. **indigenas**: predicative. So *advenas*. Hannibal is alluding to the numerous migrations of Gallic tribes into Northern Italy, said to have begun about 600 B.C.

32. **Romam**: object of *petentibus*. The subject of the sentence is *quicquam* (= *numquid*).

33. **quod . . . mcretur**: consecutive, "(so difficult) as to delay."

34. **ea**: *i.e.* Rome, which was taken by the Gauls in 390 B.C.

35. **cederent**: in direct speech *cedite*. So below *sperent* represents *sperate*. *Animo atque virtute* are ablatives of respect.

37. **campum**: the Campus Martius, lying north-west of Rome, between the city's walls and the river Tiber, which here makes a wide westward bend.

31. 1. **corpora curare**: *viz.* with food and sleep.

2. **adversa ripa**: "along the bank up-stream"; cp. *adverso flumine*.

4. **esset**: after *non quod* or *non quia* the mood is by rule subjunctive. If the clauses were grammatically parallel we ought to have *sed quia*.

. . . *eredebat*, in the next, where the indicative would show that the latter reason was the true one. For the use of the present participle, see note on 14. 5. *quantum*: the correlative *tanto* is omitted before *minus* in the next clause. *Quantum, tantum*, etc., are accusatives of extent; *quanto, tanto*, ablatives of measure.

5. *priusquam . . . foret*: the mood shows that the clause forms part of what Hannibal is represented as saying to himself, viz. *non conseram* (future). *priusquam venero* or *ventum erit*. *manus conserere*: "to engage"; cp. *conserto proelio*, 4, 26.

7. *quartis castris*: as a camp was pitched at the end of each day's march, *quartis castris* means "after the fourth encampment," "after four days' march." If Hannibal crossed at Arausio (Orange), the distance was about 60 miles.

9. *mediis campis*: "to the level country between them."

10. *Insulae*: dative, assimilated to the case of *campis*, a construction common in expressions of naming, but not belonging to Ciceronian prose. *prope*: adverb, "near at hand." *iam inde*: "even at (literally from) that early time."

12. *regni*: objective genitive, "a quarrel about the throne."

13. *minore*: "younger." So *maiori* = "elder."

15. *pellebatur*: the imperfect implies that they were *trying* to drive him out.

18. *ea . . . sententia*: "such a course" as that explained in *imperium . . . restituit*.

22. *recta regione*: "in a straight line." He did not march directly east, but bore somewhat to his left (*i.e.* north-east) up the valley of the Isara, and thence southward up the Drac to the valley of the upper Druentia. With *laeram* supply *manum*.

25. *is et ipse*: "that too," like the Rhone and the Isère.

26. *difficillimus*: the gender is determined by *is* (names of rivers are masculine), not by *fluminum*.

27. *transitu*: supine in *-u*, a verbal substantive used as an ablativus of respect.

28. *navium*: objective genitive dependent upon a present participle used as an adjective.

31. *pediti quoque*: *i.e.* for men fording the stream, as well as for boats. *saxa glareosa*: Livy apparently means stones washed down with the gravel.

32. 2. *quadrato agmine*: see note on 5, 47.

5. *adsecuturum*: "catch up."

7. *nuda auxiliis Romanis*: "left bare of Roman aid"; the plural *is* is used with reference to the forces quartered in various districts.

8. *sortitus erat*: see note on 17, 1.

12. *Genuam*: the modern Genoa, a convenient point from which to march northward to the Padus. *eo*: sc. *exercitu*, the substantive being attracted, as often, into the relative clause.

13. *circa*: "on either side."

**Ch. 32 l. 14-34.** ARGUMENT.—*The Alpine tribes resisted Hannibal's further progress, until he succeeded in turning their position. He advanced thenceforward with difficulty and danger, even those tribes which affected to be friendly being in reality treacherous. He barely escaped disaster in one narrow mountain defile.*

**32. 16. in maius vero ferri:** "to be reported larger than the truth," *i.e.* "to be exaggerated." *Fama* is ablative.

**18. nives:** the plural suggests the number of snow-covered peaks.

**19. pecora:** sheep and goats. **iuventa:** cattle and horses.

**22. erigentibus . . . agmen:** "(to them) as they directed their march upwards." The participle *imminentes* agrees with *tumulos*.

**25. dedissent:** "would have caused or made," a common meaning of *dare* in poetical Latin.

**26. consistere signa iussit:** "ordered a halt," for as the standards moved or not, so did the troops to which the standards belonged. **Gallis:** the envoys mentioned in 29, 19.

**27. ea:** *sc. via*, "in that direction." The path was barred by the enemy.

**28. quam extentissimā potest:** "the broadest possible" valley; cp. 27, 6, note.

**30. abhorrentis:** "differing" from the hostile tribe. The ablatives and *lingua moribus* are those of respect.

**32. quemque dilabi:** except the men left on out-post duty; cp. l. 37.

**33. subiit:** "he marched to the foot of . . ." **ut:** "as if" (= *velut*), implying deception. *Ex aperto vim facere* is "openly to force one's way."

**36. communissent:** the subject is Hannibal's troops.

**38. in speciem:** "for appearances," "to make a show," *i.e.* to give the impression that the whole force was bivouacking on the spot.

**40. acerrimo quoque:** "all the most daring"; cp. 4, 1. The words are appositive to *expeditis*.

**33. 1. prima luce:** "at daybreak."

**4. alios . . . alios:** the substantive *hostis* (accusative) belongs to both. *Occupare* here has its proper meaning of "to take a thing before" some one else.

**5. via:** "along the road" beneath.

**7. ut videre:** the construction of *videre* is double, (a) a direct object *trepidationem*, and (b) the accusative and infinitive clause *miseeri agmen*.

**9. adiecissent:** subjunctive of reported definition, representing according to rule the direct future-perfect *adiceerimus*. **diversis rupibus:** *i.e.* from right and left of the road.

**10. iuxta in vias . . . adsueti:** "accustomed equally to roads or no roads." *Iuxta* is adverbial (= "equally"); *devia* substantival, literally "places off the road." The usual construction of *adsuetus* is with the dative; that with *in* or *ad* and the accusative is rare.

**11. ab iniquitate:** the preposition is not needed; it is added simply to balance the preceding *ab hostibus*.

12. **sibi quoque**: "each for himself." The dative is that of advantage.

13. **certaminis**: the genitive (partitive) depends on *plus*.

14. **infestum**: the word is usually active in meaning, "menacing," "hostile," "dangerous," as in 11, 3. Here it has a passive sense, "endangered"; and *facere infestum* = "to endanger."

15. **repercussae**: "echoing." Strictly speaking it is not the *vallis*, but the *clamor*, which is *repercussus*, "slung back," i.e. re-echoed.

16. **trepidabant**: "became restive." The word does not necessarily imply fear, which is here expressed in *territi*.

19. **inmensum altitudinis**: "measureless depths." *Inmensum* is substantival and the genitive is that of definition. **ruinae modo**: "like falling masonry." In this usage *modō*, "in the manner of," is the ablative of *modus*, not the adverb *modō*, "lately" or "only" (1. 29). The beasts of burden with their packs piled high are suggestive of towers.

23. **suos**: the light-armed which he had taken with him (32, 40).

25. **nequiquam incolumem**: for his army would be helpless if all its transport and supplies were lost.

29. **per otium**: "at leisure"; cp. 28, 14.

30. **silentio**: one of the very few ablatives of manner which may stand without an epithet or preposition (*cum*); see note on 5, 16.

33. **primo**: "at first." But later on they recovered their confidence (34, 20). **magno opere**: "much," "greatly," the phrase doing duty as the adverb of *agnus*.

34. 1. **frequentem**: *frequens*, like *celeber*, means "populous," "crowded."

2. **ut**: for the restrictive use of *ut*, cp. 7, 16.

3. **suīs artibus**: compare what was said of Hannibal in 4, 27-28.

4. **magno natu**: "old men"; less common than *maiores natu*. **Poenum**: viz. Hannibal.

5. **doctos**: attributive to *se*, the suppressed subject of the infinitive.

8. **ad fidem promissorum**: "as a guarantee of what was promised." *Acciperet* is subjunctive of reported command. They said *accipe*.

10. **repudiati**: equivalent to a protasis, "if they should be rebuffed."

11. **commeatu**: the ablative is governed by *usus*.

13. **agmine**: construe *nequiquam (ita) composito agmine ut inter pacatos (fieri solet)*.

16. **parte altera**: "on one side (only)."

18. **a fronte ab tergo**: the asyndeton here and with *comminus eminus* is intended to express rapidity and the unexpected character of the attack; so too *petunt . . . devolunt*. The absolute use of *petere*, i.e. its use without an object, is rare.

21. **extrema agminis**: "the rearmost portion of the column." The genitive is partitive, as in Vergil's *opaca locorum*, "(those of the) places that were dark"; *strata viarum*, "(those parts of the) streets that were paved."

26. **per obliqua**: "crosswise." They forced their way across the road and cut Hannibal off from his cavalry and baggage, which had already passed into the defile. The infantry were with him in the rear.

28. **nox . . . acta est**: *agere tempus* (*diem, noctem, etc.*) is "to pass the time (the day, the night, etc.)." **Hannibali**: dative of the agent, not uncommon with the perfect participle.

**Ch. 35-37.** ARGUMENT.—*In nine days the summit was gained. Then the still more arduous descent commenced. At one point the road had entirely disappeared, and four days were wasted in surmounting this difficulty. In three days more the passage of the Alps was finally accomplished.*

35. 5. **modo . . . modo . . .**: "at one time . . . at another time . . .," "now . . . anon . . ." **novissimum agmen**: "the extreme rear," because, when a series of persons passes by, the "most recently" seen is also "the last." In any other sense than "the last" of a series, *recentissimus* is used as the superlative of *novus*.

6. **daret**: iterative subjunctive (4, 13, note). *Uteumque* ("however") does not itself influence the mood. Compare *quacumque incederent*, l. 9, and *ubi . . . esset*, l. 12.

7. **sicut . . . ita**: almost equivalent to "although . . . nevertheless."

9. **insuetis**: viz. to the sight. *Advundi* goes with *metus*.

10. **propius**: absolute, "any nearer."

12. **errores**: literally "missings of the way." **ducentium**: the *duces* of 34, 8.

13. **temere initae valles**: "haphazard entries into valleys." Cp. *Sardinia amissa*, 1, 20, and the note there.

14. **biduum**: accusative of extent of time. *Stativa* (sc. *castra*) is a "permanent" camp, as contrasted with the customary encampment for a single night only.

18. **sidere Vergiliarum**: the constellation of the Pleiades, of which the (morning) setting (*i.e.* their setting at sunrise) occurred about October 29. Probably the real date of Hannibal's arrival at the *iugum* was two or three weeks earlier in the year.

22. **promunturio**: (also spelt *promuntorio*) "a jutting rock or peak"; cp. *promineo*.

23. **ostentat**: Hannibal can only have pointed out the direction in which Italy lay, for it is not possible to see that country itself from any of the Passes by which he might have crossed. Livy's words, however, naturally give the reader the impression that the Lombard plain was actually visible, and were doubtless intended to do so for the sake of rhetorical effect.

24. **Circumpadanos**: "lying around the Padus (*Po*)."

25. **moenia**: a verb of saying is easily understood from *ostentat* to introduce the following *oratio obliqua*.



26. **uno aut summum altero** : "one, or at most two." *Summum* is accusative of extent.

29. **nihil ne . . . quidem** : the two negatives do not here cancel each other, as usually happens in Latin. **per occasionem** : cp. 8, 17.

31. **ab Italia** : "on the Italian side." *Multo* modifies *difficilius*, and *ceterum* is here the adjective.

34. **possent** : sc. the troops. **qui . . . titubassent** : generic subjunctive, a variety of the consecutive use (*qui* = "such as").

35. **†adfecti** : "when they had fallen." They could not stop where they fell, but went sliding down the slope. There is a conjectural reading *adfixi*, "fixed." i.e. "firm," which is easier.

36. 2. **rectis saxis** : ablative of description with *rupem*. *Rupis* may here be rendered "pass." **temptabundus** : "feeling his way." Another of these participial adjectives (most of which Livy is the first or only writer to use), *cautionabundus*, occurs in 53, 18. Elsewhere Livy uses *evnetabundus*, *mirabundus*, and other such forms.

4. **natura** : with *praeceps*, "naturally steep." With the ablative, cp. *silentio*, 33, 30.

5. **in . . . altitudinem** : according to Polybius the road had become so narrow as to be impassable for a length of a furlong and a half, doubtless through the action of a glacier. Livy, however, seems to have misunderstood this, and to imply by *in altitudinem* that there was a sheer drop of 1000 feet. The words *in pedum mille* are a conjectural emendation of the MSS. readings *impeditus ille* and *impeditus dum ille*.

8. **digressus** : the omission of *est* here and after *visa* in the next line is somewhat harsh.

10. **circumduceret** : the rendering "it seemed certain that he must lead his troops round" represents the general meaning well enough, but it is doubtful if the subjunctive can thus imply necessity, and it is safer to take *dubia res* as "a matter admitting hesitation" and to construe "the matter seemed such as not to admit of hesitation on his part to lead his army round." **quamvis** : to be taken with *longo*, "however long."

13. **molli nec praealtae** : sc. *niri*, dative with *insistebant*.

15. **dilapsa est** : "it had melted." The ablative *incessu* is causal.

17. **in prono** : "on the slope" of the mountain side.

18. **citius** : i.e. all the more quickly than if the surface had been level instead of sloping.

19. **adiuissent** : the subjunctive is (1) iterative, and (2) required by the subordination of the clause to the consecutive clause *ut . . . corruerent*.

20. **ad quas** : "by the help of which," literally "against which."

21. **levi** : from *lēvis*. **tantum** : "only," "nothing but."

23. **ingredientia** : "as they advanced." *Nivem* is best taken as the object of *seebant*.

24. **conitendo** : i.e. in their struggles to rise.

37. 3. **purgato** : "cleared" of the snow.

4. **ad rupem muniendam**: *viam muniere* is "to make a road." Hence *rupem muniere*, "to make a cliff passable," "to construct a road along a cliff."

5. **arboribus**: the mention of large trees here is hardly in accord with Livy's descriptions of the ground in 36, 20, and in l. 13 below.

8. **aceto**: not vinegar, but the "sour wine" which the soldiers carried with them. If limestone is heated, and suddenly drenched with any cold liquid, it will split; and thus far the story may have a little truth in it. Pliny speaks of mines being worked in a similar way, and it is said that many of the great monoliths of Stonehenge were thus broken up by the farmers about.

10. **anfractibus**: "zigzag paths," to lessen the steepness of the descent.

12. **iumentis . . . absumptis**: the ablative absolute may here be rendered by a clause beginning "whereby."

14. **inferiora**: substantival, "the lower slopes" of the Alps. So l. 17, *planum*, "level ground."

**Ch. 38-39. ARGUMENT.**—*Accounts differ as to the number of Hannibal's forces on his arrival in Italy: the highest figure is 120,000, the lowest 26,000. Hannibal himself admitted the loss of 36,000 men during the five months' march from Carthago Nova to Italy. There is a further question as to the route by which he crossed the Alps, which is the more remarkable, because all authorities agree that the Pass by which he came brought him direct to the Taurini. That he crossed by the Pennine Pass is absurd. The Taurini and the Insubres being at war, Hannibal attacked and took the town of the former, and so passed on down the Padus Valley, the Gauls as a whole temporising. Thus at last the two greatest generals of the age met for the first time on the River Ticinus.*

[See Index for Alimentus, Insubres, Taurini, Ticinus; and read Introduction, § vii.]

38. 1. **maxime**: "pretty much."

2. **quinto mense a**: so we might say "in the fifth month out from Carthage." As it is measure, not motion, that is concerned, the preposition is required. **quidam**: especially Polybius. *Auctor esse* is "to be responsible for" an assertion, and so "to assert." This parenthesis (*ut . . . sunt*) applies only to what precedes.

6. **qui minimum**: Polybius mentions 12,000 African infantry, 8,000 Spanish infantry, and 6,000 cavalry.

8. **moveret**: "would sway," "would influence."

9. **cum his**: "in addition to these."

10. **adducta**: i.e. (*Cincius scribit*) *adducta esse in Italiam*.

13. **transierit**: the mood is that of a dependent clause in *oratio obliqua*, but strict sequence would require a historic tense (*transisset*).

14. **amississe**: *eum* (*Hannibalem*) is to be understood as subject.

15. **degresso**: sc. *Hannibali*, dative with *proxima*.

16. **ambigi**: impersonal, "that the question should be raised."

**quanam**: ablative of the road by which. So *Poenino* (sc. *ingo*) in the next line.

17. **vulgo credere**: "that people commonly believe." The subject of the infinitive, being indefinite, is not expressed. **nomen inditum**: the Pennine Alps really derive their name from the Celtic root (*Pen*, *Ben*, "head") which is seen in Apennine, Penrhyn, Ben Nevis, etc.; and the connexion with *Poenus*, "Carthaginian," is purely fanciful. The Pennine Pass is the Great St. Bernard.

18. **Cremonis iugum**: supposed to be the Little St. Bernard.

21. **deduxissent**: potential subjunctive, "would have brought him down," if he had gone that way. So again *fuissent*, l. 23. **veri simile**: "like the truth," i.e. "probable," "likely." **tum**: the road over the Great St. Bernard was made under Augustus.

22. **utique**: "in any case"; cp. 20, 24.

25. **Seduni Veragri**: two tribes; Livy seems to speak of them as one. **norint**: (= *noverint*) potential subjunctive; the perfect so used gives a mild or modest tone to the assertion ("would seem to know of the name being given").

26. **ab eo**: Livy believed the range to take its name from the god or hero *Poeninus*, whom the mountaineers worshipped upon the mountain top. **sacratum**: i.e. honoured with a temple or shrine.

39. 1. **peropportune**: "very opportunely" for making a beginning, from Hannibal's point of view. *Taurinis* is dative of the agent.

3. **armare**: "get under arms," "bring into action." **parti alteri**: viz. the Insubres. **in reficiendo**: "in the course of its recovery"; cp. *refecto*, l. 10.

5. **ex**: "following upon." To translate "the change from toil to ease" brings out the force of the preposition.

6. **tabe**: their clothes were soaked with the slush of the trodden snow.

8. **tirone**: usually a substantive ("a recruit"), but here used as an adjective in the sense of "newly enlisted."

11. **moverat**: sc. *castra*. So again, l. 16.

12. **urbem**: on the site of the subsequent Roman colony of Augusta Taurinorum, now Turin.

15. **circumspectantis**: accusative, "while still casting about for."

17. **quae . . . esset**: the indirect question depends upon *incertos* (= "who had not yet decided"). **praesentem**: "the first arrival," literally "whoever was on the spot (first)."

19. **sicuti . . . ita . . .**: cp. *sicut . . . ita . . .*, 35, 7. For *inter se noti*, see note on l. 6.

23. **quod . . . esset**: the subjunctive gives the reason which suggested itself to Hannibal. **auxerant**: the subject is analysed into the two following nominatives, *Scipio* and *Hannibal*. **inter se opinionem**: "the respect which each had for the other."

27. **traiciendarum Alpium**: objective genitive, dependent upon *conatu*. **occupavit traicere**: "was the first to cross"; see note on 33, 4.

29. **educeret**: for the mood, cp. note on *reciperent*, 5, 46.

**Ch. 40-41.** ARGUMENT.—Here Scipio, for the encouragement of his men, delivered a speech, making light of Hannibal's army, and claiming that justice and the gods were on the side of Rome. He had come back from his province of Spain, simply because his dearest wish was to defeat the leader who had thus broken faith with Rome.

[See Index for Eryx.]

40. 2. **supersedissem**: "I should have refrained"; usually constructed with an ablative, the infinitive being first found in Livy.

3. **referret**: potential subjunctive; it is from the impersonal *refert*, "to be of importance."

4. **vicissent**: subjunctive by assimilation to *referret*; possibly also consecutive, in which case *eos equites . . . eas legiones* should be rendered by "cavalry . . . legions" without "the." Scipio is alluding to the petty skirmish described in 29.

6. **confessionem . . . certamen**: "his admission of retreat and of refusal to fight," the participles doing duty for English abstract nouns.

7. **Hispaniae provinciae**: "for (service in) the province of Spain," dative of advantage.

8. **meis auspiciis**: only a commander-in-chief could "take the auspices," i.e. by due performance of sacrifice obtain the gods' blessing upon his endeavours. Cn. Scipio, therefore, as a mere *legatus* or deputy-commander, could take no auspices of his own, but was considered to be acting under those of his superior officer Publius Scipio, though the latter was hundreds of miles away.

10. **ego . . . obtuli**: coordinate with the preceding clause, both being causal clauses; the principal sentence is *novo . . . sunt*.

11. **voluntario**: for it was by his own choice that he had returned to Italy. Had he obeyed the letter of his orders, he would have himself passed on to Spain.

13. **ne . . . ignoretis**: the clause expresses the purpose, not of the action of the principal verb (*est*), but of the mention of that action ("I may remind you that . . .").

15. **per viginti annos**: according to the draft-treaty of Lutatius Catulus, Carthage was to have paid a *stipendium* of 2200 talents in 20 years. According to the revised treaty the sum was fixed at 3200 talents to be paid in 10 years.

16. **Sardiniam**: not acquired by Rome at the close of the First Punic War, but in 237 B.C. (Introduction, p. xv).

20. **duabus partibus**: "two parts (out of three)," i.e. "two-thirds."

22. **perierint . . . supersint**: subjunctive of reported definition, being dependent on the accusative and infinitive *eos . . . nactos esse*.  
**at enim**: see note on 18, 26.

24. **quorum . . . possit**: the subjunctive is consecutive (*quorum = ita ut eorum*).

25. **immo**: used to introduce a correction, "nay rather . . ."

27. **ad hoc**: "besides," "moreover." **praeusti**: "frost-bitten," *nrere* being used of the effects of cold as well as of heat.

32. **decuerit**: the subjunctive with *forsitan* is that of dependent question (*forsitan* = *fors sit an*).

33. **foederum ruptore**: "treaty-breaking," the phrase qualifying *duce* and *populo* as an adjective.

34. **secundum**: the preposition, "next after." *Bellum profligare* is "to break the back of the war," "to bring the war almost to an end."

41. 1. **vestri adhortandi**: the genitive singular neuter of the gerundive is used with the genitive of the personal pronouns, these forms being in origin the genitive singular neuter of the corresponding possessive adjectives.

2. **ipsum**: equivalent to and coordinate with *me*. *Ipsum...esse* is accusative and infinitive dependent on *existimet*.

5. **haberem**: potential, "I should have had (if I had gone)."

8. **ad famam**: "on the news of."

10. **qua parte copiarum**: referring to *equites*, implied in *equestri*.

11. **fudi**: Scipio was not present in person, but the victory was gained under his auspices.

13. **tanto...circuito**: the ablative modifies the preceding phrase *quanta...celeritate*, "in view of the wide detour." *Quanta maxime* is a variation from the ordinary idiom *quam maxima*.

15. **timendo**: ironical. **cum...certamen**: closely with *improvidus incidisse*, i.e. "Does it look as if I were trying to avoid a conflict and had come across him unawares?"

16. **occurrere in vestigiis**: "come to face him in his own path."

18. **per viginti annos**: "in the twenty years," since the end of the First Punic War.

20. **denariis**: ablative of price. Nothing further is known of the "ransom" alleged to have been paid by Hamilear on evacuating Eryx. The amount paid (13s. or 14s. a head) is small, and was perhaps a nominal sum exacted as an acknowledgment of defeat.

21. **aemulus...Herculis**: "anxious to rival the travels of Hercules," who was fabled to have crossed the Alps into Italy when on his way from Gades (Cadiz) with the oxen of the giant Geryon.

22. **vectigalis stipendiariusque**: as *stipendium* means "tribute," *stipendiarius* means "one who pays tribute." *Vectigalis* means the same thing, the only difference being that originally *vectigal* was a tax paid in kind, while *stipendium* was a money tax. In reality Carthago was never subject to either the one or the other, though she had paid "indemnities" of 3200 and 1200 talents respectively.

26. **deduxit**: down (*de-*) from the fortress on the mountain.

31. **velim**: potential subjunctive.

34. **humanorum**: sc. *suppliciorum*.

37. **tutelae...duximus**: sc. *eos*, "regarded them as under our protection." The genitive is possessive used predicatively. During the Mercenary War (Introd., p. xiv.) the Romans allowed the Carthaginians to buy corn in Italy and Sicily and to enlist troops in Italy.

39. **oppugnatum patriam**: the construction of the supine with an accusative is avoided by Cicero, but is frequently admitted by Livy.

40. **utinam . . . esset**: the imperfect subjunctive expresses a wish that something were now otherwise than it is.

43. **agebatur**: "the question was."

44. **qui . . . obsistat**: consecutive subjunctive. But *possint* in l. 46 is potential.

48. **corpus suum**: we should say "himself."

49. **putet**: jussive. So *agitet* and *reputet*.

50. **identidem**: "over and over again." *Hoc* is the direct object of *reputet*.

52. **fuerit**: subjunctive of reported definition representing a future-perfect in the direct form.

53. **haec . . . consul**: sc. *dixit*; cp. 18, 10.

**Ch. 42-44.** ARGUMENT.—*Hannibal also sought to hearten his men, and after gratifying them by a gladiatorial display, addressed them in tones of confidence. They were bound to win, he said; and indeed the only alternative was to die. The spoils of victory would be worth the winning. And after all the Roman was not so formidable a foe: the army before them had been routed by Gauls a month or two ago, and its general did not know his men as Hannibal knew his Carthaginians. He declared that he was fighting to save the honour and the liberty of Carthage. The war was not of his making. He repeated that they had no course but to conquer or to die.*

42. 5. **victor**: equivalent to a protasis, "in the event of his conquering" in the proposed duel.

6. **decertare**: "fight to the death" (*de-*).

7. **deiecta**: into an urn, or perhaps a helmet; so we speak of "casting" lots. **in id**: "for the purpose" of deciding who should be permitted to fight.

8. **eum optabat**: sc. *esse*, *eum* being predicative. **cuiusque**: i.e. *et cuius*, the antecedent being the unexpressed subject of *capiebat*.

10. **capiebat**: the imperfect is used because the combatants would arm themselves one by one as the lot fell to them. **ubi . . . dimicarent**: iterative subjunctive.

11. **is**: followed by a consecutive *ut*, *is* must be rendered by "such."

13. **non . . . magis quam**: it is best to take *bene morientium* first and to substitute "no less than" for *non magis quam*.

43. 1. **paribus**: here a neuter substantive, "pairs," "couples." **adfectos**: sc. *suos*, "his men." *Sic* belongs closely to *adfectos*, "in such a frame of mind."

5. **vicimus**: for the perfect in the apodosis with a future protasis (*habueritis*), cp. 8, 21.

7. **ac nescio an**: "indeed, I rather think that." With *nescio an* the alternative to which the speaker inclines is mentioned, whereas "I do not know whether" introduces the alternative which he is inclined to reject. *Circumdederit* is perfect subjunctive in indirect question.

10. **circa** : often used (as here) of that which shuts in on more sides than one, though not on all sides. The Po runs first south-east, then east, and consequently bars the way westward as well as southward.

11. **vobis** : dative of the agent.

15. **victoribus** : "if you win"; cp. *victor*, 42, 5. **quibus** : ablative of the standard of comparison, "greater (rewards) than which."

17. **parentibus** : dative of the indirect object with *erecta*, "wrung from our fathers."

19. **partum** : "earned." 20. **vestrum** : the predicate.

21. **in** : "in pursuit of." **agite dum** : in this and similar idioms *dum* is merely a particle lending emphasis to the imperative.

22. **satis** : "long enough." **vastis** : "desolate."

23. **pecora consecrando** : i.e. chasing stray cattle. Hannibal is here addressing Spanish herdsmen who had enlisted in his army.

25. **tempus est . . . facere** : "it is high time to make . . ." The construction is accusative and infinitive, *vos* being the subject. *Ditia* = *divitia*, from *dives*.

29. **emeritis stipendiis** : "when your campaigns are over." So *emeriti* (deponent) = "time-expired troops," "discharged veterans."

30. **nec . . . existimaritis** : "and do not think." The use of the perfect subjunctive in prohibitions is probably a colloquial idiom, somewhat peremptory in tone; the polite substitute is *noli* or *nolite* with the infinitive. **magni nominis** : genitive of quality standing as predicate. We should say "great in name."

33. **momento** : "circumstance"; the metaphor is from the turn of the scale. **dempto . . . fulgore** : the ablative absolute has the force of a protasis, "if the glamour . . . were to be done away with."

34. **quid est, cur** : "what reason is there why . . . ?" **comparandi** : "comparable"; cp. note on 19, 6.

35. **ut . . . taceam** : we say "to make no mention of." The subjunctive is here final.

36. **Herculis columnis** : the Straits of Gibraltar, the two "pillars" being the opposite hill-promontories of Gibraltar and Ceuta.

39. **caeso . . . circumsessio** : referring to the events described in 25.

40. **ignoto . . . ignorantique** : ablatives in agreement with *exercitu*. When used as adjectives, present participles form the ablative singular in *-i*.

41. **an** : *an* introducing a single question (instead of, as usual, the second alternative of a double question) implies indignation or astonishment on the part of the questioner. **praetorio** : see note on 3, 3.

43. **eundem** : "too," "as well."

44. **semenstri** : for Scipio had only commenced his consulate on March 15th, at the most some seven months previously.

45. **desertore** : alluding to his having left his original force at Marseilles under his brother's command, with orders to proceed to Spain.

46. **ignoraturum** : sc. *eum esse*. **certum habeo** : "I am convinced."

47. **parvi** : "as a small thing"; genitive of value.

48. **cuius** : the clause is consecutive, and hence the mood of *ediderim*. So in the next clause, *cui . . . possim*. *Non* (l. 48) goes with *ediderim*.

49. **facinus**: the word means simply a "deed," good or bad according to the context; here it may be rendered "exploit."

44. 3. **frenatos**: Spanish cavalry. **infrenatos**: the Numidians are said to have ridden without saddle or bridle. **socios**: Spaniards, Ligurians, etc.

4. **cum . . . tum**: cp. 19, 3.

11. **qui . . . oppugnassetis**: "on the ground that you had besieged." The subjunctive is that of the reported cause; cp. 1, 13. **deditos**: the participle is equivalent to a protasis, "(had we been) surrendered."

13. **sua**: predicative; cp. *vestrum*, 43, 20. **sui arbitrii**: for the genitive, cp. *tutela nostrae*, 41, 37.

14. **habeamus**: dependent question, representing a deliberative subjunctive in the direct form; so *excedamus* in l. 16. The indirect question *cum . . . habeamus* depends upon *modum* (= "definition"), *aequum* (= *aequum*) being predicative, "think it fair that they should lay down definitions, etc." *Montium fluminumque* must not be taken literally: the reference is only to the Ebro.

17. **ne transieris**: peremptory; see note on 43, 30, and cp. *usquam moreris*, l. 19. Hannibal is quoting the supposed words of the Roman Government, and his own replies. **ne . . . sit**: jussive subjunctive. *Est mihi res* (or *aliquid rei*) *cum illo* means "I have somewhat to do with him."

18. **at**: introducing an imaginary objection on the part of a Carthaginian.

19. **vestigio**: ablative of separation.

20. **adimis**: the speaker is Carthage, the person addressed Rome personified.

22. **transcendes autem**: "'will you cross?' said I?" **transcendisse**: understand *Romanos* as subject.

23. **Africam . . . Hispaniam**: for these were the two *provinciae* of the consuls of the year; see 17, 2. Sempronius was, however, recalled when about to make a descent on Africa.

26. **respectum**: "the possibility of looking back," i.e. "a means of retreat." *Sua . . . suos* refer to things belonging to the persons denoted by *quos*; see note on 29, 14.

29. **dubitabit**: euphemism for "not continue favourable."

31. **omnibus**: dative, but *animo* is ablative. We should say "fixed and rooted in the minds of all."

32. **contemptu**: ablative of the standard of comparison with *acrius*.

**Ch. 45-48. ARGUMENT.**—*The Romans bridged the Ticinus, and crossed the river to the vicinity of Victumulae, where the enemy lay encamped. On the eve of battle Hannibal solemnly pledged himself to reward his troops on the most lavish scale, should fortune favour them. The engagement was brought on by accident, and ended in a victory for Hannibal. In this fight the famous Scipio of Zama won his spurs. The consul was able to make good his retreat to Placentia, whither Hannibal*



presently followed, though it is not clear where or how he crossed the *Podus*. Scipio now fell back on the *Trebia*, and Hannibal seized the stores at *Clastidium*.

[See Index for *Clastidium*, *Placentia*, *Trebia*.]

45. 2. **militum animi**: in English we should say "the soldiers" rather than the "soldiers' minds"; cp. note on 41, 48. **ponte . . . iungunt**: "threw a bridge over."

4. **ala**: a "squadron" of horse, the cavalry commonly forming the wings of the army.

5. **sociorum**: apparently the Ligurians.

9. **quinque milia passuum a Victumulis**: "five miles from *Victumulæ*." In such statements of *distance* (as distinct from *motion*), the preposition is always added, and the measure of the distance is generally expressed by the accusative of extent.

13. **certa**: previously (43, 26) Hannibal had only spoken vaguely. **in quorum . . . pugnarent**: the clause is final (*quorum = ut in eorum*).

15. **inmunem**: "rent-free." The construction from *agrum sese redditurum* (l. 22) is that of *oratio obliqua*, the sequence being historic, except in the case of *relict*, graphically substituted for the normal *vellet*.

19. **daturum . . . operam**: *operam dare* is "to take care." **ne cuius . . . vellent**: "that they should not wish for the lot of any one of their countrymen in exchange for their own." *Secum* is an instance of *comparatio eompensatoria*: *secum* stands for *cum fortuna sua*. *Cuius* is from the indefinite *quis*.

22. **rata**: passive, as in 19, 7.

23. **silicem**: the knife of flint or other hard stone (cp. *saxo*, l. 26) ordinarily used in sacrifices. **si falleret**: the words of the *precatio* were: *si fallam, ita me di mactent* (jussive subjunctive), *quem ad modum . . . mactavero*.

25. **secundum**: a preposition, "immediately after," as in 40, 34.

26. **dis . . . acceptis**: "the gods had been taken as vouchers for their several hopes." *Quisque* is in apposition to *omnes*.

27. **id morae, quod . . . pugnarent**: "the fact that they were not already fighting was a delay." *Morae* (sc. *esse*) is predicative dative.

28. **ad potianda sperata**: the gerundive of *potior* is a relic of its transitive use in older Latin, i.e. of its use with an object in the accusative; intransitive verbs have no gerundive. *Sperata* is substantival.

46. 2. **super cetera**: *super = praeter*, as in 31, 35.

3. **lupus**: signifying Hannibal, as the bees (l. 4) signify his army. **obviis**: "those who came in its way." The substantival use of an adjective in the masculine plural is common only in the case of adjectives that denote classes of persons, e.g. *boni, maiores, antiqui*.

5. **procuratis**: technical for "attending to," i.e. "expiating," an evil omen.

6. *iaculatoribus ex peditibus*: "foot-javelineers." *ad castra*: sc. *speculanda*, from *speculandas* in l. 8.

9. *circa*: adverb used adjectivally, "all about." *neutri alteros*: the words *uter*, *neuter*, *alter*, *alteruter* may be used in the plural when two *parties* (not two *individuals*) are spoken of.

10. *incessu*: as in 36, 14.

14. *quod roboris fuit*: "what there was of veteran troops." *in subsidiis*: they formed the main body rather than the reserve.

16. *cornua*: the "wings." *firmat*: the meaning is not that Hannibal strengthened already existing wings with Numidians, but that he constituted powerful wings consisting of Numidians.

19. *pedites*: viz. the *iaculatores* of ll. 13, 16.

20. *ubi . . . vidissent*: iterative subjunctive; these words go closely with *desilientibus*.

21. *ad pedes pugna venerat*: "the affair had reduced itself to an infantry engagement."

25. *pubescentis*: the youth meant is P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, who was at this date (218 B.C.) seventeen years of age, *i.e.* according to Roman ideas, had just attained his majority. *ferit*: "will be found to be." There is a variant *erat*.

27. *de*: the construction *victoria de aliquo* is formed on the analogy of *triumphare de aliquo*, "to triumph over so-and-so." For *victoriam de Hannibale* Ciceronian prose would require *victoriam de Hannibale reportatam*; cp. 15, 18.

29. *alius . . . equitatus*: the expression suggests that some of the Roman cavalry had fled.

33. *natione*: "by race," ablative of respect.

34. *fama obtinuit*: "the tradition has generally obtained," *i.e.* "prevailed." *Quod* is the object of *tradidere*, but not of *obtinuit*, for the latter is here intransitive; but the necessary thought (*e.g.* *id factum esse*, "that this was really the case") is easily supplied.

47. 5. *vasa*: *i.e.* their "baggage."

6. *iunxerat*: sc. Scipio. For the meaning of *iungo*, cp. 45, 2.

9. *sciret*: the subjunctive implies that the action of the clause was purposely anticipated, "before he could know"; cp. note on 5, 46.

10. *citeriore*: "nearer" to Hannibal, *i.e.* the northern bank. *Ratem (or naven) solvere* is "to unmoor" a ship. Here, as the bridge was of boats, it means "to cut" the bridge.

12. *rate*: collective. The northern end of the line of boats having been cut, while the southern end remained moored *in situ*, the whole bridge swung down with the stream. *in secundam aquam*: "down the stream"; cp. *secunda aqua*, 28, 26.

13. *Magonem*: Hannibal's younger brother.

17. *peritis amnis eius*: "to those who are acquainted with the river, as was Livy himself, who was a native of Patavium (Padua). *fecerint*: potential subjunctive, giving a modest tone to the assertion; cp. note on 18, 18.

19. **ut iam**: "even supposing that." The clause is concessive, and hence the verb is in the subjunctive.

20. **petenda fuerunt**: "would have had to be sought for." For the indicative, cp. 19, 6.

21. **qua**: "at a spot where"; cp. *ea*, l. 23.

22. **iungendo flumini**: dative of purpose.

27. **ad**: "towards." 28. **sex milia a Placentia**: see note on 45, 9.

29. **derecta**: *aciem derigere* has the same meaning as *aciem instruere*, "to arrange one's forces in battle-array." *Derigere* is the correct form, not *dirigere*.

30. **potestatem . . . fecit**: "gave (the enemy) a chance of fighting," i.e. "offered battle."

48. 2. **tumultu . . . re**: ablatives of respect.

3. **ad**: adverb, as in 22, 10.

10. **quarta vigilia**: about 3.30 a.m.; see note on 27, 4.

12. **impeditiores equiti**: "more difficult for cavalry," *eques* being collective.

13. **fefellit**: "escaped notice." 14. **utique**: "at least," "at any rate."

17. **nullo pretio**: ablative of attendant circumstance.

18. **transgressos**: i.e., according to Mommsen and others, to the right (eastern) bank; but the point is one that cannot be definitely settled.

22. **collegam**: the consul Sempronius, whose original *provincia* was Sicily, and who was to have proceeded if possible to Africa.

26. **hostium**: Gauls who had not joined Hannibal.

28. **numerum**: "quantity." 29. **mittit**: *sc.* troops.

30. **pretio**: ablative of price. **nummis aureis**: Livy is reckoning the sum (probably paid in bars of gold) in the coinage of his own day (1 *nummus aureus* = £1 1s. 1½d.) There was no gold coinage at Rome until 217 B.C., and but little at that date at Carthage.

31. **Brundisino**: "a native of Brundisium" in Calabria, now Brindisi, then, as now, the great port for the eastward trade. The *Dasii* were a leading family of the anti-Roman party in Apulia and Calabria.

34. **colligeretur**: "might be built up or won."

**Ch. 49-51.** ARGUMENT.—*Meantime there had been sundry naval movements in Sicilian waters, mostly in favour of the Romans, to whom Hiero lent his aid. An attempt by a Carthaginian squadron to seize Lilybaeum ended in its complete defeat. The consul Sempronius arrived immediately afterwards; but being at once ordered to join Scipio on the Padus, he had only time to take what steps he could for the protection of the coasts of Sicily and Southern Italy. He sailed for Ariminum, and thence marched to the Trebia.*

[See Index for Ariminum, Hiero, Lilybaeum, Messina.]

49. 1. **constitisset**: Scipio was remaining on the defensive, and Hannibal was engaged in trying to enlist Gauls and Ligurians.

**interim**: this refers to the period during which the *terrestre bellum* had been going on.

2. **imminentes**: "adjacent to," *Italie* being the dative case. The Lipari Isles, north of Sicily, are meant, of which the principal was known as *Insula Vulcani* (l. 6), now Volcano.

6. **tenuerunt**: sc. *cursum*.

7. **fretum**: the Straits of Messina, separating Sicily from Italy. **eas**: the three ships last mentioned. *Ad eas conspectas = ad conspectum earum*.

12. **cuius . . . classis**: we should say "besides the fleet of twenty sail to which they themselves belonged." **missas**: referring to *naves* in l. 11.

14. **veteres socios**: in the west of Sicily. **occupandi**: "surprising," before the Romans could send reinforcements.

16. **deiectam**: the force of the prefix is "out of their course," whereas *dis-* in *disiecti* (l. 15) implies separation from the main body.

19. **teneret**: for the semi-dependent jussive, see note on 19, 31.

20. **tribuni**: sc. *militum*. In each legion there were six military tribunes, who acted as captains of the legion, two at a time, for two months each pair, thus completing the campaigning year of six months. They were originally appointed by the consuls, but in 362 B.C. the *plebs* obtained the right to appoint six of them. **intendere**: historic infinitive. So *teneri*. Join *evram custodiae* closely, "careful vigilance."

22. **socii navales**: members of the allied communities of Italy, who served as rowers and seamen on board the Roman fleets.

23. **ut . . . ne . . .**: equivalent to *ne*; the idiom is not rare.

24. **conscendendi**: sc. (*in*) *naves*, "getting on board"; cp. l. 30. **qui prospicerent**: "(persons) to keep a look out for." The clause is final, and the antecedent to the relative is in *dimissis*, ablative absolute coordinate with *edicto proposito*.

28. **sublatis armamentis**: "with all sails set," which would make them easily seen in the moonlight. Conversely *armamenta demere* (l. 34) is "to take in sail." *Armamentum* includes any portion of a ship's rigging, tackle, and accessories.

32. **erant**: plural verb with a collective singular subject; cp. 37, 24.

33. **rem fore . . . cum**: "that they would have to deal with."

36. **altum**: substantival, as usual; "the high seas," "open water," where there was room for manœuvring.

39. **gestarum rerum**: the Roman victory off the Aegatian Islands, 242 B.C.

50. 2. **vires conferre**: "put their relative strength to the test." The principal verb of the sentence is the historic infinitive *velle*. So in the next sentence *cludere . . . gerere . . . malle* are also historic infinitives.

3. **arte**: i.e. by skilful manœuvring, so as to get in the rear of the enemy's vessel and ram it. The Romans had never been seamen, and could not do this. Therefore they fitted their vessels with grappling

irons, and so boarded the Carthaginian ships, defeating them by sheer force of numbers. It was in this way that they won the battle of Mylae (N.E. of Sicily) in the First Punic War, 260 B.C.

3. **navium**: the Carthaginians relied more upon the superior build of their vessels and upon tactics, especially upon the use of the ram (*rostrum*), with which all warships were armed; cp. l. 13. The Roman, weak in these points, sought to grapple with his enemy and reduce the struggle to a hand-to-hand fight upon the decks.

5. **sociis navalibus**: see note on 49, 22. Here it is applied to the Carthaginians, and means simply "seamen," as contrasted with "marines" (*miles*).

6. **sicubi . . . esset**: iterative subjunctive.

8. **sua**: referring to the dative *Romanis*, which may be regarded as the logical subject.

13. **perforata**: it had been "rammed" by the bronze "beak" of a Carthaginian vessel, but not so badly but that it could get back to port unaided.

15. **eius**: sc. *pugnae*, objective genitive depending upon *gnaris* (sc. *iis*), which is an ablative absolute.

18. **praetoriam navem**: "flagship" of the Roman *consul*; see the note on *praetorium*, 3, 3.

23. **senem**: he was now nearly ninety years of age. **adiuturum**: sc. *se*.

26. **quibusdam volentibus**: dative in imitation of a common Greek idiom. *Res novae* is "revolution," and the whole clause means "some (of the towns) would be glad of a revolution," i.e. glad to throw off the Roman yoke. In ordinary Latin this would be *quibusdam novas res gratas fore*.

27. **nihil cunctandum . . . quin**: "there must be no delay about (or in)" sailing.

30. **acceperere**: "they heard," "received intelligence."

51. 3. **Melitam**: now Malta, 68 miles south-west of the southern corner of Sicily.

5. **cum . . . milibus**: "with some 2000 or a little less." The phrase *paulo minus* does not affect the case of the numeral; cp. note on *amplius*, 29, 10.

8. **sub corona**: "by public auction," because slaves thus put up for sale were garlanded with flowers (*corona*, "a garland"). **ab ea parte**: "in this (i.e. the western) quarter."

9. **insulas Vulcani**: the Lipari Islands, here called after the principal island of the group; cp. 49, 6.

11. **iam forte**: to be taken closely together.

13. **Viboniensi**: belonging to Vibo (otherwise Vibo Valentia), a town of Bruttium on the west coast, fifty miles above Rhegium (Reggio). **repetenti**: "while he was on his way back."

16. **primo quoque tempore**: "the very first opportunity," the addition of *quisque* serving to strengthen the superlative.

19. **supero**: to the Romans the Adriatic was *Mare Superum*, the

Upper Sea: the sea off the west shore of Italy was *Mare Inferum*, the Lower Sea.

21. **quinquaginta . . . explevit**: "made up his fleet to a total of fifty sail."

23. **decem navibus**: we might have expected *cum decem navibus*, but the vessels are regarded as instruments. **legens**: "coasting along." **Ariminum**: now Rimini, on the Adriatic, thirty miles south of Ravenna. It commanded a road from Cisalpine Gaul to Rome, and a road also led thence to Placentia.

**Ch. 52-53. ARGUMENT.**—*The Gauls still hesitating to join him, Hannibal tried to terrorise them, which only led to their openly appealing to Rome. Sempronius insisted on lending them help, and thus gained a small success over Hannibal's raiding cavalry. This so elated him that he resolved to force on a decisive fight at once, despite Scipio's opposition. Hannibal soon learnt the facts, and at once set himself to bring on the battle.*

52. 1. **iam ambo consules . . . oppositum**: "the presence of both consuls (sc. *oppositi*) and all the forces of Rome to oppose Hannibal." The whole expression forms the subject of *declarabat*.

4. **consul alter**: Scipio, who had been defeated and wounded at the Ticinus.

6. **alter**: Sempronius. The genitive *recentis animi* is that of quality. For the meaning of *recentis*, "fresh," cp. 16, 15. **quod . . . agri est**: "all the land there is"; cp. *quicquid virium erat*, l. 1. The district meant must be that between the Padus and the left (west) bank of the Trebia (cp. *trans Trebiam*, l. 27).

8. **ambiguum favorem**: they would take neither side until they saw which was the stronger, but furnished each indifferently with supplies.

10. **modo**: equivalent to *dummodo*. **aequo**: sc. *animo ferebat*, "was fairly (*satis*) content with."

14. **deinceps**: "from that spot," lit. "beginning from there"; the adverb here stands in place of an adjective.

16. **ad id**: sc. *tempus*, "thus far." **Dubios** is predicative, "neutral." **ab auctoribus**: to be taken with *declinant*.

19. **fidem in Romanos**: "loyalty to Rome."

21. **ut**: "even supposing that," "although."

22. **recentem . . . perfidiam**: the seizure of the Roman envoys at Mutina (25, 23).

24. **primos . . . defensos**: "the defence of the first who needed aid." Cp. the translation of *oppositum* in l. 2, and note on l. 20.

25. **peditum**: genitive of material or definition.

27. **sparsos**: sc. *hostes*. **ad hoc**: "moreover."

32. **ad extremum**: "in the upshot."

53. 1. **iustior**: "more complete"; cp. note on *iusto*, 17, 25.

2. **videri**: historic infinitive. So *efferrī*. *Gaudio efferrī* is "to be carried away with delight," "to be overjoyed."

grow feeble," like old men. **quid differri**: in *oratio obliqua* the infinitive is used to represent a question which in *oratio recta* would be in the first or third person indicative. The same applies to a question in the second person indicative if practically equivalent to a negation: other second person questions are represented by the subjunctive. *Differri* here represents the impersonal *differretur*, "there is delay."

11. **victis**: dative of indirect object; cp. *parentibus*, 43, 17. **cis**: from the Roman point of view, i.e. north of the Ebro.

14. **bellare soliti**: an exaggeration. No Roman soldiers had as yet seen the walls of Carthage, except those who had gone with Regulus, only to be killed or captured there.

17. **suave dicionis fecisse**: see note on 41, 37.

18. **contionabundus**: cp. *temptabundus*, 36, 2.

19. **comitiorum**: the election of consuls for the next year (March 15, 217—March 14, 216 B.C.), which took place not later than Feb. 13. The clause really means that Sempronius was afraid of the proximity of the elections, that is, of the expiry of his own year of command; and the following clause, *ne . . . differretur*, is constructed as if a verb of fearing had been expressed.

24. **quid optimum foret hosti**: viz. a policy of caution and delay.

26. **alterius**: Sempronius.

30. **quod**: the indefinite adjective, in agreement with *tempus*.

31. **dum . . . esset**: the subjunctive is used because the implication is that it was Hannibal's purpose to fight while the conditions were favourable.

33. **segnius**: sc. *tanto*, correlative to *quanto*. For the idiom, see note on 31, 4.

35. **facere**: "to force" an engagement.

37. **quia . . . militabant**: a fact which made it very easy for them to come and go as spies.

**Ch. 54-57. ARGUMENT.**—He set Mago in ambush with two thousand men; ordered his main force to make an early meal; and sent his Numidians across the Trebia to draw the Romans out of their trenches. The latter fell into the trap. But the chill morning air and the bitterly cold water through which they had to wade chilled the Romans to the bone, for they had not yet breakfasted. The sudden attack of Mago on their rear, and the charge of the elephants upon their flank, completed their demoralisation. Those who escaped fled mostly to Placentia. The news caused a panic in Rome. Hannibal occupied himself during the winter in raiding, and though repulsed in an assault on one depôt, he took and burned *Victunulæ*.

54. 1. **in medio**: i.e. between the Carthaginian camp and the Trebia.

3. **equites . . . tegendo**: the construction of a dative gerund with a direct object, instead of the gerundival construction in the dative, is found here only in prose, and is very rare in poetry.

4. **circumvectus**: sc. *equo*.
5. **quem teneas**: final; cp. *cum quibus venias*, l. 7; *quem insideatis*, l. 12.
6. **centenos**: the distributive is used because there are to be one hundred *each* of horse and of foot. **corpora curare**: with food and sleep, as in 31, 1.
8. **praetorium missum**: "the council of war was dismissed." *Praetorium*, properly "the general's quarters," here has the transferred meaning of "council," owing to its being the place where the officers met; cp. the parliamentary use of the word "House." Contrast the meaning of *praetorium* in 3, 3.
11. **novenos**: each of the two hundred was to select nine men more.
12. **vestri**: genitive with *similis*, which is not constructed with the dative of personal pronouns.
17. **iniecto . . . certamine**: "when a fight had been started."
23. **ferox**: "confident."
24. **ad destinatum**: "according to his resolve or purpose," the participle being used substantivally. Some editors read *a* (or *ab*) *destinato* . . . *consilio*, "according to his purposed design."
27. **paludium**: the regular form is *paludum*.
30. **quidquid . . . adpropinquabant**: literally "to whatever extent they drew nearer to," i.e. "the nearer they drew to." *Quidquid* is accusative of extent.
32. **insequentes**: nominative case.
33. **egressis . . . omnibus**: dative of the possessor. *Rigere* and *deficere* are historic infinitives.

55. 2. **manipulos**: the term is said to be derived from the "handful" or wisp of hay which formed the primitive military standard. The normal strength of the infantry of a legion at this time may be put at 4,200. Of these, 1,200 were *hastati* (the front rank in battle), 1,200 were *principes* (second rank), 600 were *triarii* (third rank), and 1,200 were *velites* ("skirmishers"). The *hastati* and *principes* each formed ten maniples of 120 men each, and the *triarii* formed ten maniples of 60 men each. A maniple was divided into two equal centuries, each under the command of a centurion. Twenty *velites* were assigned to each century. **per otium**: equivalent to an adverb, "quietly."

5. **Baliares**: the whole of the light-armed troops seem to be here included under the term (cp. ll. 21, 28), not the slingers only. **ante signa**: the *signa* ("standards") were borne by the first fighting line. *Ante signa* therefore means "in front."

7. **quod . . . erat**: "all his offensive and defensive force." For the distinction between *vires* and *robur*, see note on 1, 7.

8. **ab cornibus**: "outside the wings."

11. **receptui**: dative of purpose, "for retreat."

12. **socium**: genitive plural, as in 17, 4. The *socii nominis Latini* were those communities who enjoyed such portion of the rights of a



citizen as had originally been accorded to the members of the Latin League, chief of which were the *ius commercii*, or right of holding property under the safeguards of Roman law, and *ius conubii*, or right of making a legal marriage.

13. **in fide**: "loyal."

16. **diducta**: "withdrawn" to the right and left wings, to attack the Roman cavalry.

21. **eminentes**: they were so placed (l. 8) as to "stand out" at the extremities of the line right and left.

24. **recentis**: (accusative plural) part of the predicate.

29. **latera**: "the flanks" of the Romans.

30. **simul**: conjunction, "as soon as." **inprovida**: English would use an adverb, "thoughtlessly."

31. **velites**: the *levis armatura* of l. 5. Their offensive weapon on the present occasion was the *verutum*, a pike about four feet long.

**56. 1. trepidantis**: accusative, *se. elephantos*. **consternatos**: "stampeding."

2. **in extremam**: *se. aciem*. The meaning is further explained by *ad sinistrum cornu*. On this side the enemy would not be protected by their shields from an attack in flank.

5. **in orbem**: "in a circle," or as we should say "in square." Cp. note on *agmine quadrato*, 5, 47.

9. **interclusis**: dative of disadvantage.

10. **imbri**: ablative. The use of *proe* in the sense of "for," *i.e.* "on account of," is confined to negative expressions. **qua . . . ferrent**: indirect deliberative subjunctive.

11. **recto itinere**: along the left (western) bank, and then probably crossing the Trebia by a bridge near its confluence with the Padus.

16. **contendere**: perfect indicative.

18. **homines**: evidently the Carthaginians are meant.

20. **Poenis**: dative.

24. **Trebian traicerent**: here Livy, probably following Coelius, seems to place the Roman camp on the left (west) bank. But the details appear untrustworthy, for it is difficult to see either whence the rafts were obtained, or how Scipio notwithstanding his wound was able to resume the command.

26. **quietis Poenis**: ablative of attendant circumstance (ablative absolute).

28. **Pado**: "by way of the Padus." The ordinary construction would be *exercitum Padum traiecit* (active) or *exercitus Padum traiectus est* (passive); but in order to avoid ambiguity, the river crossed is expressed by an ablative (of the "road by which") when the goal of motion (here *Cremonam*) is also mentioned, or *trans* is repeated (*trans Padum traiectus Cremonam*).

29. **duorum**: for the fugitives from the actual fight had also gone to Placentia (l. 16).

**57. 2. crederent**: the subject is not expressed, because indefinite.

4. **vim**: "an assault." **uno . . . revocatum**: the construction down to *arcessantur* is that of *oratio obliqua* in primary sequence.

5. **victo . . . revocatum**: the recall of Sempronius had in reality taken place before the defeat of Scipio on the Ticinus.

7. **esse**: for the infinitive in questions in *oratio obliqua*, see note on 53, 7. **quae arcessantur**: the mood would be the same in *oratio recta*, the clause being final ("to be called up"). **territis**: dative, *sc. eis*.

11. **in praesentia**: ablative. **comitiis consularibus**: the election of consuls for the ensuing year, 217 B.C.

12. **hiberna**: at Placentia.

14. **Romanis**: *i.e.* the legions at Placentia and Cremona.

15. **ut quaeque . . . erant**: *sc. loca*, "whenever the country was too difficult for them (the Numidians)."

17. **Pado**: ablative of the "road by which." *Subverere* means "to bring up stream," as *deverere* "to carry down stream." The subjunctive is iterative.

18. **emporium**: "a base of supplies," "depôt."

22. **spei**: partitive genitive dependent on *plurimum*. *Ad effectum* is to be joined closely with *spei*, "hope of striking a successful blow." **adortus**: concessive.

24. **sub lucem**: "just before dawn"; *cp.* note on 2, 1.

26. **in quo quia**: "and inasmuch as in it."

29. †**Victumulae**: evidently not the same as the Insubrian *Victumulae* mentioned in 45, 9. Some editors here prefer the reading *Victumvriae*; but there may well have been two places of the same name.

31. **inde**: *i.e.* after the Gallic rising of 225 B.C. **frequentaverant**: *frequentare* is here "to make populous or crowded" (*frequens*). **mixti**: Gauls and Ligurians.

34. **ad**: "near"; *cp. prope Placentiam*, l. 18.

35. **agmina . . . acies**: contrasted as men on the march, and men in battle array, respectively.

38. **ad**: adverb.

42. **ulla . . . clades**: "any kind of outrage."

44. **editum in miseros**: "visited upon the wretched inhabitants."

**Ch. 58-59.** ARGUMENT.—*Before the spring was fairly come Hannibal endeavoured to cross the Apennines into Etruria, but failed owing to the terrible weather. An attempt to induce Sempronius to give battle again only led to a small skirmish, of which the issue was doubtful.*

58. 1. **longi . . . temporis**: genitive of quality with *quies*. For *dum* with the imperfect indicative meaning "all the time that," see note on 13, 11.

2. **frigora**: "the cold each day." 3. **ducit**: *sc. exercitum*.

7. **superaverit**: for the perfect in historic sequence, see note on *fuervit*, l. 10. **ora**: *sc. militum*.

8. **omittenda**: *omittere* is "to lay down" for a time, not "to abandon." **contra**: adverb.

10. **spiritum intercluderet**: "took away their breath."

13. **capti auribus et oculis**: "deafened and blinded." So *captus pede* = "lame." The ablative is one of respect.

17. **explicare**: "to unfurl" the tents, a difficult matter even in a moderate wind.

19. **levata vento**: "drawn up by the wind" in the form of vapour. As the vapour rose, it condensed into snow, hail, and sleet.

27. **fieri est coeptus**: the passive of *coepi* is regularly used with a passive infinitive. *Coeperunt* must be understood with *movere* and *recipere*.

28. **tendere**: "sought to obtain"; historic infinitive.

59. 1. **ad**: "to the neighbourhood of." In the next line *ad* is an adverb meaning "about."

2. **decem milia**: sc. *passuum*.

4. **Sempronius consul**: for his year of office did not expire until March 14th, 217 B.C. It was now late in February.

5. **tria**: "only three."

6. **bina**: with substantives which have no singular, or none in the required sense, distributive numerals are used where otherwise the cardinals would be required.

10. **vallo**: on each of the four sides of a Roman camp there was a ditch (*fossa*), the earth from which was thrown up in a bank on the inner side (*vallum*). Livy assumes that Hannibal's camp was similarly fortified.

14. **potiundi**: an archaic form of the gerund (= *potiendi*).

15. **accepit**: "was informed of."

16. **recessum**: sc. *esse*, impersonal.

17. **mediis castris**: not "from the middle of the camp," but "from the camp between," i.e. midway between the cavalry acting right and left.

18. **aequa**: "undecided." *Aequior* is not used in this sense; hence *magis*.

20. **accensum**: "begun," literally "kindled."

22. **clade pari**: ablative of attendant circumstance.

24. **eius**: "of that total," *eius* being substantival. *Dimidium eius* = "half that number." Before *dimidium* understand *ab utraque parte* from *ab neutra parte*.

25. **equestris ordinis**: in early times the Roman cavalry consisted of wealthy citizens; later the cavalry was furnished by the allies, and the term *equites* was applied without regard to military service, and from 123 B.C. included all non-senators who possessed a certain amount of property; this amount was fixed by Augustus at 400,000 sesterii (£3,400). **tribuni militum**: see note on 49, 20.

26. **praefecti sociorum**: the principal officers of the allied forces. Each consul appointed twelve as a rule, making twenty-four for the year; but the number would of course vary with the forces called out. They were usually distinguished Romans, often of equestrian status.

28. **Lucam**: in north Etruria, now Lucca, thirty miles west of Florence. **Hannabali**: to be taken with *traduntur* (l. 32).

29. **quaestores**: financial officers, or "paymasters." As a rule one accompanied each consular army. These were probably the quaestors of the armies of Scipio and Sempronius.

32. **iis**: the Ligurians.

**Ch. 60-61.** ARGUMENT.—*Meantime fortune had favoured Gnaeus Scipio in Spain. His tact induced many tribes to furnish him with new recruits; and in a pitched battle near Cissis he completely defeated Hanno. But on Scipio's retiring to the coast, Hasdrubal at once moved north again, and chastised some of the disaffected tribes. Scipio reappearing, Hasdrubal fell back; and the Romans spent the rest of the season in making good their hold upon the region between the Pyrenees and the Ebro.*

[See Index for the Scipios.]

60. 1. **dum . . . geruntur**: resuming the narrative from 32, 11.

3. **Emporias**: now Ampurias, a Greek colony upon the Spanish coast immediately below the eastern termination of the Pyrenees.

7. **dicionis fecit**: see note on 41, 37. **fama**: nominative to *valuit*. *Conciliata* = "which he (Scipio) had acquired." **ad**: "among."

8. **mediterraneis**: "of the interior"; neuter.

9. **gentes**: "tribes," as contrasted with the more civilised peoples on the coast (*populos*).

11. **cohortes**: these allied troops were not incorporated in the legions, but formed separate corps.

12. **cis**: *i.e.* to the north of.

13. **alienarentur**: for the subjunctive see note on 5, 46.

16. **quippe qui sciret**: "for he knew." *Quippe* may be joined with any relative that introduces an explanation.

22. **capiuntur**: the construction is in accordance with the sense (*dux cum principibus* = *dux et principes*).

23. **parvi pretii rerum**: *parvi pretii* is genitive of quality with *rerum*, which is a genitive of material with *praeda*.

61. 1. **accideret**: as purpose is not implied the indicative would be in accordance with Ciceronian usage. Cp. the subjunctive with *donec* in 28, 36.

3. **mille equitum**: *mille* is here used as a substantive, by analogy with *octo milibus*.

5. **procul Tarracone**: Livy is the first prose writer to use *procul* as a preposition; Cicero always has *procul ab*.

6. **classicos milites**: each warship carried, besides the *socii navales* or navigating seamen, a small number of fighting men (*classici*, "marines").

7. **ut . . . creent**: explanatory of *quod*.

13. **Tarracone**: local ablative. For *Emporias*, see note on 60, 3.

19. **cum**: the conjunction.

20. **Atanagrum**: this town is not mentioned elsewhere. It was in the lands of the Ilorgetes, and therefore near the modern Lerida.

24. **et ipsos**: *i.e.* like the Ilorgetes.

27. **excepti**: regularly used of "trapping" an animal. **ad**: the adverb, *milita* being nominative.

30. **triginta dies**: accusative of duration of time. In the next line *quattuor pedes* is the corresponding accusative of extent of space. *Minus* does not affect the case of *pedes*; cp. note on 29, 10.

32. **pluteos**: screens of wicker and hide, similar in purpose to the *eineae*, for which, see note on 7, 12.

33. **fuert**: cp. *suseverit*, 58, 7.

35. **talentis**: ablative of price. A talent of silver was worth about £243 15s. **deduntur**: "gave themselves up," an instance of the reflexive use of the passive voice.

**Ch. 62-63.** ARGUMENT.—*Numerous portents being reported, the Senate decreed expiatory ceremonies. The public apprehension was heightened by the conduct of the consul-elect, C. Flaminius, who, aware that the Government detested him and therefore fancying that some excuse would be found to prevent his taking the field, neglected all the customary ceremonies and sacrifices, and left the city by stealth to assume his command, on March 15th, at Ariminum; where he took over an army of four legions from Sempronius and Atilius. His assumption of command was attended by disquieting omens.*

[See Index for Caere, Flaminius, Lanuvium.]

62. 3. **in quīs**: i.e. *in quibus*; the form is rare in Livy.

4. **foro olitorio**: "the vegetable market," lying on the bank of the Tiber, between the river and the Capitoline Hill. The *forum boarium* (l. 5), "cattle market," lay between the river and the Palatine Hill. **triumphum**: the vocative *triumphe* is treated as the internal object of *clamasse*.

9. **hastam . . . commovissæ**: one of the so-called sacred spears which hung in many temples.

10. †**pulvinari**: the sacred "couch" used at the ceremony of the *lectisternium*, for which see note on l. 22. The oldest MS. has *pulvinario*, but the form *pulvinarium* instead of *pulvinar* is not otherwise known.

11. **Amiternino**: "belonging to Amiternum," a Sabine town in the Apennines.

12. **visos**: the substantive is purposely omitted. Livy does not care to say *what* they were, "beings that looked like men." The phrase *hominum specie* stands as an ablative of description, the genitive *hominum* replacing the usual epithet (e.g. *humana*).

13. **lapidibus**: the ablative is instrumental. **Caere**: locative, as in l. 22. The word is indeclinable. There was a temple of Fortune here in which the future was foretold by means of slips of wood (*sortes*) inscribed with ancient sentences. These were shaken together by the priest, and the first to fall out contained, in its motto, the desired prophecy. If these "lots" swelled, it was a sign of good fortune; of the opposite, if they shrank.

14. **vigili**: "a sentinel." For the dative with *abstulisse*, cp. *robis adimit*, 13, 20.

15. **libros**: *i.e.* the Sibylline books, said to have been brought to Rome in the time of Tarquinius Superbus (534-510 B.C.). They were consulted whenever it was deemed necessary to propitiate the gods, and were in charge at this time of a Board of Ten (*decemviri*), in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

16. **pluvisset**: "because, as the decree stated, it had rained"; subjunctive of reported cause.

17. **procurandis**: for the meaning, see note on 46, 5. *Aliis procurandis* is dative of the indirect object with *operata fuit*.

20. **maiores**: "mature," in contrast with *lactentes*, "unweaned." **quibus editum est**: *sc. ut caederentur*, "to such divinities as it was prescribed that such sacrifices be offered." **donum . . . quadraginta**: literally "an offering (consisting) of forty (pounds) of gold by weight." With *quadraginta* *sc. libris* (*libra* = "a pound"). *Pondo* is the ablative of an absolute base *pondo-* (second declension). **Iunoni**: dative of advantage, "in honour of Juno."

21. **Aventino**: the Aventine Hill, the most southerly of the hills of Rome, on the bank of the Tiber below the *forum boarium* (l. 5).

22. **lectisternium**: a ceremonial parade of the most sacred images of gods and goddesses, which were draped and set out upon *pulvinaria* (l. 10), before tables loaded with food.

23. **Algido**: the *Mons Algidus*, fifteen miles south-east of Rome.

24. †**Iuventati**; the goddess *Iuventas*, the personification of youthful energy, and wife of Hercules. Some late MSS. have *iuventuti*, *i.e.* that portion of the population who were *iuvenes* (between seventeen and forty-five), as opposed to *universo populo*, the entire community.

25. **nominatim**: "specifically," as opposed to *omnia pulvinaria*.

26. **Genio**: *i.e.* the *Genius Populi Romani*, or Guardian Spirit of the Romans as a nation. As each individual was supposed to have his own *genius* (literally "birth-spirit," from the root of *gigno*, *genus*), so too had the community as a whole.

27. **praetor**: there were at this date four praetors elected annually, two to act as justices in Rome, two to govern the transmarine provinces of Sicily and Sardinia-Corsica. **suscipere**: *vota suscipere* means "to undertake (*i.e.* to pledge oneself to) vows." **si . . . stetisset**: subjunctive of reported condition; the praetor was to say *vota solvam, si res publica steterit* (future-perfect).

29. **Sibyllinis**: see note on l. 15. The books were so-called as being supposed to be the utterances of the "Sibyls" or "Wise-Women," of whom the Sibyl of Cumae was the most famous. **Ex** = "in accordance with."

63. 1. **designatorum**: "designated" for the ensuing year, which would commence March 15, 217 B.C.

2. **sorte evenerant**: *i.e.* he had obtained this "command" as his *provincia* by the usual *sortitio*, "ballot." See note on 17, 1. As both

consuls for 217 B.C. were to act in Cisalpine Gaul, the *sortitio* could only determine which of the two consular armies (of Scipio and of Sempronius) at present stationed in Cisalpine Gaul each of the *designati* should command.

5. **memori**: dative, agreeing with *Flaminio* understood with *consilium erat*.

6. **tribunus**: in 232 B.C.: see Index.

7. **consul prius**: 223 B.C. In that year Flaminius campaigned against the Insubrians, and in the ill success which attended his earlier operations his political enemies found an excuse for attempting to deprive him of his command, alleging that his election was invalid by reason of certain irregularities. They sent him a dispatch to that effect, which Flaminius ignored. The imperfect (*abrogabatur*) expresses attempted action. **de triumpho**: his campaign ended with a decisive victory, and Flaminius thereupon demanded a triumph, i.e. a state entry into Rome, with his troops, captives, and spoils. The Senate refused it, but the people in *comitia* decided that he was entitled to it.

8. **legem**: the *Lex Claudia Mercatoria*, which forbade members of the Senate and their sons to engage in trading. The object of the law was to prevent the moneyed interest from obtaining undue influence in the Senate, but it completely failed of its purpose.

9. **uno patrum**: "alone amongst the Senators."

12. **trecentarum amphorarum**: the Romans reckoned by *amphorae* as we reckon by tons. An *amphora* = 7 gallons, or somewhat less; 300 *amphorae* = roughly 2000 gallons = 8 tons burthen. A vessel of this tonnage was amply large enough for bringing the produce (mostly wine and oil) of the senators' estates (*agri*) to Rome for sale; but it was too small to be of service for over-sea trade. The genitive is one of quality. **habitus**: sc. *est*, "was accounted." *Id* means "that size," "that tonnage."

14. **indecorus**: with *patribus*, "unseemly for senators," not with *visus*.

15. **nobilitatem**: substituted for *patres* for the sake of variety. **suasori**: *suasor* is "one who supports" a proposal.

16. **alterum**: viz. in 217 B.C.

17. **ementiendis**: no matter of state was performed without preliminary sacrifices and observance of omens; and if the Augurs, whose duty it was to observe them, could be bribed to report them unfavourable, all action would at once be stopped. Flaminius feared that they would report the omens unfavourable when he wished to leave the city. **feriae Latinae**: an annual festival, six days in length, celebrated upon the Alban Mount by the consuls, in honour of *Iuppiter Latiaris* (l. 28), "Jupiter of the Latins," and in memory of the ancient league of the thirty Latin cities with Rome. The consuls were not allowed to leave Rome until the *Feriae* were completed, and it depended upon the Augurs to fix the date for the festival. It might therefore be postponed for weeks on the plea of adverse omens.

18. **consularibus . . . impedimentis**: "other means of hampering a consul." With *retenturos*, sc. *patres* as subject.

19. **privatus**: "as a private citizen. **clam**: without the formal entry upon office. This entailed: (i) assumption of the robe of office (*toga praetexta*); (ii) procession to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol; (iii) the *votorum nuncupatio* (l. 25), or registration of vows on behalf of the community, and the fulfilment by the sacrifice of white cattle of the similar vows made by his predecessor a year ago; (iv) formal meeting of the Senate on the Capitol to decide upon the date for the *Feriae Latinae*. After this came the further ceremonies attending the consul's departure for the front. These included: (i) assumption of the *pabulum* (the uniform of an *imperator*); (ii) taking of the auspices in the temple of Jupiter, and registration of further vows for success. It was only after all this had been done that the consul was held to go to the front *auspicato*, "with good omens." Otherwise he went *inauspicato*, and was foredoomed to failure. As the augurs might declare the *auspicia* unfavourable on this latter occasion also, Flaminius did not give them the opportunity.

21. **patribus**: dative.

23. **inauspicato**: see note on *inexplorato*, 25, 28; and cp. *auspicato*, l. 29 below.

24. **spretorum**: sc. *decorum*.

25. **sollemnem**: properly "annual," and so "customary." For the meaning of *nuncupatio*, see note on l. 19.

26. **optimi maximi**: "great (and) good," epithets of Jupiter Capitolinus.

28. **Latinas**: sc. *ferias*; see note on l. 17. *Indicere* was the technical term for "fixing the date." **Iovi Latini**: to Jupiter in his capacity of guardian of the Latin League.

29. **monte**: sc. *Albano*.

30. **lictoribus**: each consul was attended on all public occasions by twelve *lictores* carrying the fasces, or rods of office.

31. **modo**: "like." **insignibus**: "marks" of his rank.

33. **solum vertisset**: *solum vertere*, "to change one's soil," is to go into exile. **videlicet**: "obviously," strongly sarcastic.

35. **penates**: the tutelary gods of the house, and so the "home" itself. **praetextam**: sc. *togam*, the distinctive robe of the higher magistrates, characterised by its purple border.

41. **litterae . . . missae**: see note on l. 7.

43. **ei**: dative of disadvantage.

46. **ignaros, quid trepidaretur**: "persons who did not know what the excitement was about," the indirect question depending upon the verbal force in the adjective. *Quid* is an accusative of specification ("in reference to what"), and the verb is impersonal.

47. **in omen . . . acceptum**: "was taken to be an omen."

49. **in Etruriam**: Flaminius only got as far as Lake Trasimenus, where he was ambushed and slain and his army destroyed by Hannibal. Devout Romans believed this to be a divine visitation upon him for his neglect of the auspices.



## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

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The numbers in brackets refer to the chapters of the Latin text.

### A.

**Aegātes Insūlae. Aegatium Insularum, f. :** three small islands off the west promontory of Sicily. Off the most westerly of them, Hiēra, was fought the naval battle in which C. Lutatius Cātulus destroyed the Carthaginian fleet under Hanno, and so ended the First Punic War, 241 B.C. (10).

**Aemilius, -i, m. :** (1) M. Aemilius Lepidus. (2) L. Aemilius Papus. (3) L. Aemilius Paulus. See *Lepidus, Papus, Paulus*.

**Afrīca, -ae, f. :** used by the Roman writers as a general name for the continent of Africa with the exception of the eastern parts (Egypt and Cyrenaica). The native Africans, or Libyans, in the immediate vicinity had been reduced by Carthage to the condition of serfs who paid a tax of one-fourth on the produce of the soil. Beyond them lay the various Numidian and other wild tribes who were only nominally subject to Carthage. The harsh treatment alike of the serf population and of the nomad tribes led to continual revolts, and accounted for the success which attended the landing in Africa of Regulus in 255 B.C., and of Scipio in the Second Punic War.

**Albānus, -i, m. (sc. Mons) :** the Alban Mountain, east-south-east of Rome, about fifteen miles from the city. Specially *Mons Albanus* was the hill on which stood *Alba Longa*, the reputed mother-city of the Romans. More generally the same name included all the range of hills from Alba to Tusculum. Here were celebrated the *Feriae Latinae* in the temple of *Jupiter Latiaris* (63).

**Alimentus, -i, m. :** L. Cincius Alimentus, praetor in 211 B.C., and pro-praetor of Sicily, 210 B.C. He was taken prisoner by Hannibal, and treated by him with great distinction, unlike the rest of the Roman captives. He wrote a history (*Annales*) of Rome from the earliest times to the end of the Second Punic War, and is quoted by Livy. Much of his information was obtained directly from Hannibal, e.g. as to the number of men in the Carthaginian army who reached Italy, the route, etc. (38).

**Allobrōges, -um, m. (sing. Allobrox) :** one of the chief Gallic tribes, dwelling about the confluence of the Rhone and Isère, and

more particularly in the district known as the *Insula Allobrogum*. On Hannibal's arrival there, he found two brothers disputing for the headship. He restored to power the elder of them, by name *Brancois* (31).

**Antipāter, -tri, m.:** L. Coelius Antipater, a historian of the time of Gaius Gracchus, 123 B.C., who wrote a history of the Second Punic War. Livy differs from him in his account of Hannibal's route (38), in the manner of Scipio's rescue at Ticinus (46), and in the account of Mago and the cavalry crossing the Padus (47).

**Ardēa, -ae, f.:** one of the very earliest cities of Latium, eight miles from the sea, and the legendary capital of Turnus, chief of the Rutuli. It was conquered by the Romans 442 B.C., and colonised. Fugitives from here are said to have joined the Zacynthians in founding Saguntum (7).

## B.

**Baliāres, -ium:** (1) *sc.* Insulae, the three islands off the east coast of Spain, Majorca, Minorca, and Iviza (Baliaris Maior, Minor, and Pityussa). (2) The inhabitants of these islands, who were the most famous slingers of the ancient world (21, 22).

**Barcīnus, -a, -um:** belonging to Barca, *i.e.* Hamilcar (*q.v.*).

**Boii, -orum, m.:** a Gallic tribe which had crossed the Alps from Transalpine to Cisalpine Gaul, occupying part of the region south of the Padus. The Boii formed part of the Gallic army defeated at Telamon, 225 B.C., and the planting of the colony of Placentia in 219 B.C. produced a violent rising amongst them, in which L. Manlius Vulso was defeated and Mutina blockaded (25). See Introduction, § v. They promised Hannibal their support on his arrival.

## C.

**Caerē, n., indecl.:** a very ancient city of South Etruria, twenty-seven miles north-west of Rome. It was the native place of the Tarquins, and on the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus the Cacrites tried to restore him. They were admitted in 353 B.C. to a share in the citizenship of Rome known as the "Cacrite franchise," *i.e.* the private rights of citizens of Rome without the power to vote. The city had a famous oracle of Fortuna, and amongst the prodigies of 218 B.C. the lots (small wooden tablets) used there shrank (62).

**Carpētāni, -orum, m.:** the largest and most powerful tribe of central Spain, occupying a wide territory between the Tagus and Hiberus. They were reduced by Hannibal in 220 B.C., but made an effort to recover their independence in the same year (5). They were defeated in a battle on the Tagus (*ibid.*). During the siege of Saguntum they were chastised anew for threatening revolt (11), and 3,000 of them, serving in Hannibal's army, deserted during the passage of the Pyrenees.

**Carthāgo Nōva, Carthagīnis Novae, f.:** now Cartagena, at the south-east corner of Spain, founded as capital of the Spanish Empire

by Hasdrubal, 228 B.C.. It was the regular winter station of the Carthaginian troops, the best harbour on that coast, and in the richest part of Spain.

**Catūlus, -i, m.:** Gaius Iulius Catulus. (1) The consul of 242 B.C., who annihilated the Carthaginian fleet at the Aegates Insulae, and so forced Carthage to make peace. See Introduction, § iii. (2) Son of the above, a commissioner for distributing the lands of Placentia, attacked by the Boii, 218 B.C., and shut up in Mutina (25).

**Celtibēria, -ae, f.:** *i.e.* Celtic Spain (Iberia), the highland of central Spain, so called because the population consisted mainly of Celtic immigrants from Gaul. Reduced by Hannibal in 221-219 B.C., it was afterwards conquered by the Romans, but only after nearly two hundred years of intermittent warfare.

**Cenomāni, -orum, m.:** a tribe of Cisalpine Gaul, north of the Padus, between the Insubres and the Veneti. They sided with the Romans throughout their history; and the Brixiani, who assisted Vulso in 218 B.C., were of this tribe (25). They also fought for Scipio at the battle of the Trebia (55).

**Cincius:** *s.v.* Alimentus.

**Clastidium, -i, n.:** a corn-depôt of the Romans, fifteen miles due south of the confluence of the Ticinus with the Padus, and thirty miles west of the Trebia. Its commander, Dasius of Brundisium, betrayed it to Hannibal for four hundred pieces of gold (48).

**Coelius, -i, m.:** *s.v.* Antipater.

**Cornēlius, -i, m.:** *s.v.* Scipio. The *Cornelia gens* was one of Rome's most famous patrician *gentes*.

**Cremōna, -ae, f.:** a Roman colony on the north bank of the Padus, thirty miles east of Placentia and the Trebia, planted at the same time as Placentia, 219 B.C., to keep the Insubres in check. Its colonisation, and that of Placentia, roused the Boii to revolt, 218 B.C. (25). See Introduction, § v.

**Cremonis iugum, -i, n.:** possibly the Cramont, near the little St. Bernard (38).

#### D.

**Druentia, -ae, m.:** the Duranee, a tributary of the Rhone, which it joins forty miles from the mouth, below Avignon. It rises amongst the Cottian Alps. Hannibal crossed it high up, at a spot dangerous because of the shifting of the river-bed and the force of the stream (31).

#### E.

**Eryx, Erycis, m.:** a mountain and town on the west coast of Sicily, near Drepanum. It was famous for its temple of Aphrodite. The mountain was seized by the Romans at the close of the First Punic War, and here they were blockaded by Hamilcar for many months. A second Roman force then blockaded Hamilcar in his turn, but he held the position until the battle of the Aegates Insulae cut off his communications by sea, and he was forced to surrender (10).

There the terms of peace were ratified at the close of the First Punic War (41), and the ransom-money paid by Carthage.

**Etruria, -ae, f.:** the modern Tuscany, bounded on the north and east by the Apennines and Tiber; on the other side by the Mare Tyrrhenum. It was anciently the greatest power in Italy, and supplied Rome with kings. Later it became dependent on Rome, and was loyal to her throughout the Second Punic War.

## F.

**Fabius, -i, m.:** *s.v.* Maximus.

**Flaminius, -i, m.:** Gaius Flaminius, consul for the year 217 B.C. Hated by the nobles and senators because of an agrarian law carried by him in 232 B.C., by which the Picentine territory was distributed among the poorer citizens, he was very popular with the masses; and he was twice elected consul, 223 B.C. and 217 B.C. Fearing that his second election would be set aside, he left the city secretly and hurried to Ariminum to take over Sempronius' army, omitting to perform the customary sacrifices and vows. He declined to return when bidden to do so by the Senate, and in the following campaign he was surprised at Lake Trasimenus, in Etruria, and his army almost annihilated.

## G.

**Gādes, -ium, f. pl.:** the name of an island and town of Hispania Baetica, now Cadiz, between the Straits of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Baetis (Guadalquivir). Hannibal went thither in the early spring of 218 B.C. to redeem his old vows in the temple of Hercules (Melcarth), and to take new ones (21).

**Galli, -orum, m.:** Gauls, inhabitants of Gallia (*q.v.*). They were a Celtic people akin to the Highland Scots, Welsh, and Irish. From early times they were the dreaded enemies of Rome, having defeated her forces at the battle of the Allia, burned the city, and plundered the Capitol in 390 B.C. In 225 B.C. a fresh incursion was made at the invitation of the Boii (*q.v.*), but it was crushed at the battle of Telamon (see also Introduction, § v.) Large bodies of Gauls joined Hannibal, while others, as the Volcae on the Rhone and the mountaineers of the Alps, opposed him fiercely.

**Gallia, -ae, f.:** the country of the Gauls. The name of Gauls was applied to all Celtic tribes on either side of the Alps. Hence the greater part of north Italy was known as Gallia Cisalpina, and what is now known as France was called Gallia Transalpina. Cisalpine Gaul was again divided by the river Po (Padus) into Transpadane Gaul to the north, and Cispadane to the south. In the former dwelt the Cenomani, Insubres, and Taurini; in the latter, the Boii, extending into Northern Etruria. On the east, Cisalpine Gaul was bordered by the Veneti and other Illyrian tribes about the head of the Adriatic; on the west by the Ligures and the Alps.

## II.

Hamilcar, -āris, m.: 1. surnamed Barca, Hebrew, Barak, "Lightning"), was appointed to a command in Sicily during the First Punic War, 247 B.C. He seized Egesta, and held it for three years against the entire army of Rome; and then, suddenly passing to Eryx, blockaded one Roman army there, and was himself at the same time blockaded by another, for two years. His supplies being cut off after the defeat of Hanno at the Ægates Insulae, 241 B.C., he surrendered honourably, but swore undying vengeance against Rome. The Mercenary War of 241 to 238 prevented his putting his oath into execution at once; but after ending that war he passed into Spain, and commenced the conquest of that country as a base of operations against Italy. He died 229 B.C. in battle, and was succeeded by Hasdrubal. 2. Son of Gisco, commander of the island of Melita, which he surrendered to Sempronius 218 B.C., together with its garrison of 2000 men (51).

Hannibal, -ālis, m.: eldest son of Hamilcar Barca. He was born 246 B.C., and accompanied Hannibal to Spain in 256 B.C. Before leaving Carthage he swore to be the enemy of Rome for all his days (1). He served under Hamilcar and Hasdrubal throughout the Carthaginian operations in Spain, and Livy is mistaken when he makes Hasdrubal send for him, *ibid.* 229 B.C. (3). On the death of Hasdrubal, Hannibal was proclaimed General by the army and accepted by the Spanish tribes. He instantly began his career of conquest. The Olcades were subdued in 221 B.C. (5), and, after wintering at New Carthage, he moved against the Vaccæi. On his return, a coalition of the newly conquered tribes—Olcades, Carpetani, and Vaccæi—endeavoured to cut him off, but were completely routed on the Tagus, 220 B.C. (5). Saguntum now remained the only independent State south of the Ebro. Hannibal supported the Turdetani in a quarrel with the Saguntines, and laid siege to the town in the early part of 219 B.C. (6). The Saguntines appealed for help to Rome, and an embassy was sent to warn Hannibal off. He declined to receive the embassy (9), which then passed over to Carthage and found the home government prepared to defend Hannibal's conduct. War was declared at the end of the same year. Hannibal again wintered at New Carthage, and gave his men leave of absence for the winter (21). On reassembling in the spring of 218 B.C., they were reviewed; and Hannibal marched to the Ebro (*ibid.*), after first visiting Gades, where he sacrificed to the Phœnician Hercules, and renewed his vows. At Otausa Hannibal dreamed of his success in Italy, and at once moved across the Ebro with 102,000 men (22, 23). He spent some weeks in conquering the north-east corner of Spain, between the Ebro and the Pyrenees; and, leaving Hanno in command there, he passed into Gaul. At Iliberris he had a conference with some Gaulish chiefs, who permitted him to march unmolested to the Rhone (24). The passage of this river was forced in the teeth of a strong body of Gauls, who were taken in the rear by Hanno (27, 28). Thence Hannibal marched up the stream to the

junction of the Isère and Rhone, where of two brothers, chiefs of the *Allobroges*, he restored to power the elder, who had been ousted by the younger (31). In gratitude, the Allobrogian provided food and clothing for Hannibal's army, and he moved forward to the Durance. The stream was crossed with some difficulty, and the ascent begun (31). It lasted nine days, during the whole of which the natives harassed the army (31-35). The descent was even more disastrous, owing to the badness of the road, and a halt of four days was necessary at one spot in order to construct a road. Italy was at last reached with about 40,000 men. Here Hannibal rested a little, and exhibited some gladiatorial games to cheer his men (42), and made a long speech to them (43-45). The Ticinus was then crossed in the face of the Romans, who were defeated (46); and, though most escaped, Hannibal succeeded in cutting off a body of engineers at the bridge over the Po (47). He then crossed that stream higher up, and offered battle near Placentia, seizing the Roman supplies stored at Clastidium (48). Sempronius by this time joined Scipio, and at the battle of the Trebia the Romans were completely defeated (52-56). Hannibal now went into winter quarters, and in the very first days of 217 B.C. endeavoured to cross the Apennines. He was driven back by bad weather (58), and only crossed them at all with great loss. About this time he had lost an eye from ophthalmia. At Lake Trasimenus, in Etruria, he defeated Varro with a consular army, 217 B.C., and at Cannae, in Apulia, in the following year, routed the Romans with the loss to them of 50,000 men. Various Italian cities joined him, but there was no general revolt from Rome such as he had hoped for; and when the consul and dictator, Fabius Maximus, adopted the policy of wearing him out by waiting, fighting no great battles, the Italians gradually reverted to their old allegiance. Hannibal continued to be more or less successful until 207 B.C., when Hasdrubal, marching to join him from Spain, was defeated and slain on the Metaurus in Umbria. After this reverse he was reduced more and more to the defensive, until the action of Scipio in invading Africa forced him to quit Italy and defend his own country, 203 B.C. In the following year he was defeated disastrously at Zama by Scipio, and accepted the Roman terms of peace. In 198 B.C., Antiochus III., king of Syria, was at war with Rome, and Hannibal joined him. Defeated in 190 B.C. because he declined to follow Hannibal's advice, Antiochus agreed to surrender the latter to Rome. Hannibal fled to Prusias, King of Bithynia, where, being again in danger of betrayal, he poisoned himself in 183 B.C., being over sixty years of age.

**Hanno**, -ōnis, m. : (1) the admiral defeated at the Aegates Insulae by Catulus, 241 B.C. (2) Surnamed "the Great," leader of the pro-Roman or aristocratic party at Carthage, and the sworn foe of the family of Barea. His hostility arose from the preferment of Hamilcar Barea to the command in the Mercenary War. He opposed the presence of Hannibal in Spain (3), and recommended his surrender to Rome after the attack of Saguntum (10). He also opposed the war continually, and it was probably by his influence that no material aid

was sent to Hannibal during the years of his presence in Italy. (3) Left by Hannibal to protect the coast-road of the Pyrenees, with a force of 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse. He marched against Cn. Scipio on the latter's arrival, but was defeated at Cissis, his camp, his treasures, and himself captured 23. 60. 4. Son of Bomilear, despatched one day's march up the Rhone secretly, to cross the river and outflank the Gauls who were barring the passage of Hannibal (27, 28). The movement was completely successful. Hanno continued to occupy important commands in Italy, and in particular led the right wing of the Carthaginians in their victory at Cannae, 216 B.C.

Hasdrūbal, -ālis, m.: son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, whom he succeeded as commander in Spain, B.C. 229. 2. He was characterised rather by diplomacy than by generalship. He founded New Carthage 228 B.C., and conquered much of the interior of Spain. He was assassinated 221 B.C., by a slave who sought to avenge his master's death. With this Hasdrūbal was made the treaty of 228 B.C., by which the Hibērus was declared the limit of the Carthaginian advance in Spain, and Saguntum made neutral. 2. Brother of Hannibal, left as commander-in-chief in Spain, where he was engaged for seven years in conflict with the Scipios, Gnaeus and Publius, whom he at last defeated and killed in two battles at twenty-nine days' interval, 211 B.C. In 207 B.C. he marched across the Alps to bring reinforcements to his brother. The two Consuls for that year, Nero and Livius, effected a junction in Picenum by rapid marches, and forced Hasdrūbal to an engagement on the river Metaurus, where his army was cut to pieces and himself slain.

Hibērus, -i, m. (also Iberus): the Ebro, one of the largest of the rivers of Spain. It rises amongst the Cantabrian Mountains, in the north of Spain, and after a course of 310 miles, in a south-east direction, falls into the Mediterranean. It was fixed as the northern limit of Carthaginian power in the treaty between Rome and Hasdrūbal, 228 B.C. 2.

Hiero, -ōnis, m.: king of Syracuse in Sicily. His attempt to expel the Mamertines from Messina led to the First Punic War, but in 263 B.C. he made peace with the Romans, and remained their ally until his death, 216 B.C. During the year 218 B.C. he captured three Carthaginian ships of war when carried towards the Straits by the current, and gave information to the Roman praetor which prevented the surprise of Lilybaeum and enabled that officer to defeat the enemy's fleet (49). He also escorted Sempronius to Lilybaeum, and volunteered supplies of men, clothing, and provisions.

Hispania, -ae, f.: Spain. At the date of the outbreak of the Second Punic War all Spain was in the power of Carthage, though, beyond a number of trading-stations on the coast, she had no possessions there previous to 236 B.C. In that year Hamilcar Barca crossed into Spain and founded the Spanish Empire, which was extended by his son-in-law Hasdrūbal and by Hannibal. At this time the Romans had no influence in the peninsula; and therefore it was an insult that they should stipulate in the treaty with Hasdrūbal,

228 B.C., for the Hibernus (Ebro) to be the limit of the Carthaginian advance. To secure a footing they stipulated also for the neutrality of Saguntum (*q.v.*). Spain is one of the richest mineral countries in the world, fertile, and famous for its wool. These resources were productive of immense revenues to Carthage; and it was with a full perception of its value that Hamilcar selected Spain as a *point d'appui* against Rome. The march of Hannibal lay along the coast east of the Pyrenees; and it was to secure this road against the maritime power of Rome and her intrigues with the natives that he took Saguntum, and reduced the tribes of the Pyrenees and Catalonia.

## I.

**Ilergètes, -um, m. :** a mountain tribe of the Pyrenees around Lerida in north-east of Spain, subdued by Hannibal on his march (23). They afterwards joined Scipio, and were again reduced by Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal (61).

**Illÿrii, -orum, m. :** the Illyrians, occupying the east coast of the Adriatic down to the frontiers of Greece. They were a nation of pirates, and their aggressions brought them into conflict with Rome 229 B.C., when they were defeated and their queen, Teuta, mulcted of much of her territory. See Introduction, § v.

**Insübres, -ium, m. :** a Gallic tribe of Transpadane Gaul, about the Ticinus and modern Milan. They were amongst the tribes who invited Hannibal into Italy, and he chastised their enemies the Taurini as soon as he was able to move after crossing the Alps (39).

**Insüla, -ae, f. :** the name of a lowland district between the Rhone, where it curves south at Lyons, and the Isara (Isère), which joins it some way below. It was occupied by the Allobroges (*q.v.*), whose affairs Hannibal set in order (31).

**Isära, -ae, m. :** the Isère, a chief tributary of the Rhone, which it joins near Valence, after a south-west course from the Pennine Alps. It formed the south boundary of the country of the Allobroges.

## L.

**Länüvium, -i, n. :** one of the most important cities of old Latium, lying 20 miles south-east of Rome near the Alban Hills. It was famous for its worship of Juno Sospita (the Saviour), and her temple was annually visited by the Consuls (62).

**Libüi, -orum, m. :** also called Libici and Lebicii, a half Ligurian tribe of the western parts of Gallia Transpadana. Their capital was Vercellae, near the river Sessia. They were subjects of the Insübres (38).

**Ligüres, -um, m. :** a semi-savage and very ancient tribe of the Maritime Alps and Western Italy. They formed a regular contingent in all great Carthaginian forces, and joined Hannibal on his arrival in Italy. They were almost the last of the Italians to submit



to Rome (22). Hannibal wintered amongst them 218-217 B.C., and to him they gave up two Roman quaestors whom they had seized (59).

**Lilybaeum**, -i, n.: a famous fortress, situated on the westernmost point of Sicily, opposite to Cape Bon, and so commanding the approach to the island from Africa. It was founded by Carthaginians about 397 B.C., and was besieged for a year by Pyrrhus, 276 B.C., without success. Again in the First Punic War it held out for ten years against the Romans, and only surrendered upon the defeat at the Aegates Insulae. Off Lilybaeum the praetor Lepidus defeated a Carthaginian fleet early in 218 B.C. 49, 50.

**Longus**, -i, m.: Tiberius Sempronius Longus, consul 218 B.C. He was awarded Sicily and Africa as his province, with Lepidus as his praetor in Sicily. He reached Sicily just at the time of the defeat of the Carthaginians off Lilybaeum. He put Sicily in a state of defence, and cruised among the neighbouring islands, getting possession of Melita by surrender 57. Being suddenly recalled to unite with Scipio against Hannibal on the Po, he sent his army and fleet round by sea to Ariminum, and there joined them a few days later. His rashness brought on the battle of the Trebia and the defeat of the two armies. After this Sempronius returned to Rome for a space to hold the comitia (57). Three years later he was successful as a commander in Lucania, 215 B.C.

**Lusitania**, -ae, f.: in later times one of the divisions of Spain, corresponding to the modern Portugal. In Livy's time, however, there was no such division, and he speaks only of the country of the Lusitani, a warlike people of the west coast, north of the Tagus. It is spoken of as a bleak country that bred nothing but cattle (43).

**Lutätius**, -i, m., s.v. Catulus.

### M.

**Māgo**, -ōnis, m.: Hannibal's youngest brother: he came with him to Italy, and was said to have crossed the Padus with his cavalry by swimming (47). He commanded the ambuscade at Trebia 54, and also a part of the forces at Cannae. In 215 B.C. he was sent back to Spain to aid Hasdrubal: and died in 203 B.C., from a wound received in battle with the Romans in Cisalpine Gaul.

**Maharbal**, -ālis, m.: son of Himilco, left by Hannibal to besiege Saguntum, while he himself punished the rebellious Spanish tribes (12). His efforts were so vigorous that Hannibal on his return was able to order the final assault almost immediately. He commanded the cavalry that ravaged the valley of the Padus, and was present at the battle of Ticinus (45), and captured the 6000 Romans who had fought their way out of the defile by Lake Trasimene. He was in command of the right wing at Cannae, and after the battle begged to be allowed to push on to Rome at once, promising that Hannibal should within five days sup in the Capitol.

**Massilia**, -ae, f.: a very ancient Greek colony from Phocaea in Ionia, dating from about 600 B.C.; now Marseilles, on the coast of France,

east of the outfall of the Rhone. It formed an alliance with Rome (20), kept the Romans informed of Hannibal's movements, and provided Scipio with guides (26).

**Mauri, -orum, m. :** the Moors, inhabitants of Mauretania (Morocco), between Numidia and the Atlantic. They occupied all the north-west coast of Africa, and furnished a contingent to Hannibal's forces (22).

**Maxīmus, -i, m. :** Q. Fabius Maximus, one of the envoys to Carthage in 219 B.C. (18). In 217 B.C. he was made dictator, and from his refusing to fight a pitched battle, but incessantly harassing Hannibal, he got the name *Cunctator*, or "the Lingerer." His tactics saved Rome. He was five times consul.

**Messāna, -ae, f. :** now Messina, on the Sicilian coast of the strait of the same name. It was a Greek colony, and was seized by some Campanian mercenaries (Mamertines), against whom Hiero of Syracuse made war. They appealed to Carthage for help, and also to Rome; and these two Powers thus began the First Punic War. See Introduction, § iii.

**Mutīna, -ae, f. :** Modena, a chief town of the Gallic tribes south of the Padus, probably conquered by Rome in the Boian war, 225-222 B.C. It served as a shelter to the colonists of Placentia when attacked by the rebellious Boii, 218 B.C. (25).

## N.

**Numīdae, -arum, m. :** the Numidians, inhabitants of Numidia (Algeria). They were subjects of Carthage, and provided an admirable light cavalry, to whom were due the victories at the Ticinus (46) and the Trebia (53, 54). They rode without saddle or bridle.

## O.

**Olcādes, -um, m. :** a small tribe to the south-west of Saguntum, reduced by Hannibal (5) in 221 B.C.

**Oretāni, -orum, m. :** a powerful tribe of Hispania Tarraconensis, who joined the Carpetani in an attempted rising during the siege of Saguntum, but were at once crushed (11).

## P.

**Pādus, -i, m. :** also called the Eridānus, now the Po, the largest river of Italy, flowing from west to east across the whole of the plain of Cisalpine Gaul. The stream is very violent, and gives rise to inundations; hence it was for some time regarded as a frontier by the Romans, who planted on its banks the colonies of Cremona and Placentia. The Ticinus and the Trebia are amongst its tributaries.

**Paulus, -i, m. :** Lucius Aemilius Paulus, one of the envoys to Carthage in 219 B.C. (18). He was commander in the Illyrian War

(see Introduction, § v.), and was consul at the battle of Cannae, where he fell, 215 B.C.

**Picēnum, -i, n.:** the part of Italy between the Adriatic and the Apennines, north-east of Rome, bounded on the north by Umbria and on the south by Samnium (62).

**Pisae, -arum, f. pl.:** Pisa in Etruria, near the mouth of the Arnus (Arno). Here P. Scipio landed to march upon the Padus, after missing Hannibal on the Rhone (39).

**Placentia, -ae, f.:** on the Padus, a little east of the confluence of the Trebia. Colonised in 219 B.C., it was the cause of the Boian revolt, when the colonists were driven to Mutina (25).

**Poeninus Mons:** the Pennine Alps, by the Great St. Bernard.

**Poenus, -a, -um:** Carthaginian. Also as a substantive, **Poenus, -i, m.,** a Carthaginian.

**Pōlybius, -i, m.:** a Greek historian whose work included an account of the Second Punic War. He was one of the 1000 Achaean brought to Italy in 167 B.C., where he enjoyed the patronage and friendship of the younger Scipio. He returned to Greece in 151 B.C., but was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C., when he hurried back to Greece to obtain favourable terms for his countrymen after the capture of Corinth. He died in 122 B.C.

**Pyrenaei Montes:** the Pyrenees Mountains, dividing France from Spain.

## R.

**Rhōdānus, -i, m.:** the Rhone. It rises among the Lepontine Alps, west of the St. Gothard, and flows through the Lake of Geneva southward into the Gulf of Lyons, after a course of 500 miles. Its main tributaries are the Arar (Saône), which joins it at Lyons; the Isara (Isère), at Valence; and the Druentia (Durance), near its mouth. Hannibal crossed the river at Orange, between the Druentia and the Isara; the Volcae, who tried to bar the passage, being taken in the rear by Hanno, and the passage thus forced (27, 28). P. Scipio arrived too late to block the way, and after following Hannibal as far as the point of crossing he returned to Italy.

**Rūtūli, -orum, m.:** the people of Turnus, the antagonist of Aeneas in Vergil's *Aeneid*. See *s.v.* Ardea.

## S.

**Sāguntum, -i, n.:** now Murviedro in Valentia; it stood on the coast, due west of Majorca. It was made a neutral city by the treaty of Rome with Hasdrubal, 228 B.C. Attacked by Hannibal in 219 B.C. (6), on the plea of some insults offered by it to the Turdetani (*q.v.*), it sent envoys asking the Romans for help. A Roman embassy was dispatched to warn Hannibal to desist, but he declined to receive it, and took the town by storm, after a siege of eight months, at the end

of the same year. This event was the direct cause of the Second Punic War (7-15).

**Salassi, -orum, m. :** a tribe of robbers, half Celtic, half Ligurian, about the upper waters of the Padus, between the Graian and Pennine Alps, in the modern Val d'Aosta. The pass called *Cremonis iugum* debouched amongst them (38).

**Sardīnia, -ae, f. :** the modern island of the same name in the Mediterranean, between Sicily and Corsica. Being rich in minerals it was early occupied by Phoenicians and Carthaginians, and was garrisoned during the First Punic War by mercenary troops. These revolted at the end of the war; and, being defeated, offered themselves and the island to Rome. The latter at once took possession of it, 288 B.C., and the Carthaginians were then too weak to resist. The island was formed into a province governed by a praetor, but was not finally subdued for some years (1).

**Scipio, -ōnis, m. :** (1). P. Cornelius Scipio, consul 218 B.C. Spain was awarded him as his province, and he sailed thither in the middle of the year, hoping to prevent Hannibal's passage of the Rhone. He landed at Massilia, but did not start on his march up the river until Hannibal had already made three days' advance. A body of his cavalry, however, met and defeated an equal number of Hannibal's horse. Being unable to overtake Hannibal, Scipio sent on his brother Gnaeus with most of the troops to Spain, to hold Hasdrubal in check. He himself returned to Italy, landing at Pisae, and taking over the troops commanded by the praetors Vulso and Serranus (39). Advancing to the Ticinus, on the north side of the Padus, he there met Hannibal for the first time. The Numidian cavalry won the day, and the consul retreated to the south side of the Padus, to wait at Placentia for the arrival of Sempronius. In the battle of the Ticinus his life was saved either by his son or by a Ligurian (46). On the advent of Sempronius, the two armies gave battle at the river Trebia, and were utterly defeated (56). The next year Scipio joined his brother in Spain, where the two maintained the war until both fell within a few weeks in the year 212 B.C.

(2) Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, brother of the preceding, acted as his *legatus* in Spain, 218 B.C. He captured the Carthaginian camp at Cissis (60), and made Roman influence paramount again between the Pyrenees and the Hiberus. He also retook Saguntum, and defeated a fleet off the mouth of the Hiberus. Being joined by his brother in 217 B.C., the two kept Hasdrubal engaged until 212 B.C., when both fell in battle. Livy's account of these campaigns is probably much overdrawn, and it is more likely that the Romans barely maintained their footing in Spain.

(3) P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, the son of (1), saved his father's life at the battle of the Ticinus. He was then seventeen years old. At twenty-five he went out to Spain, where he carried all before him. In 202 B.C. he ended the war, and won his surname of Africanus, by crossing into Africa and defeating the last army of the Carthaginians at Zama.

**Sedūni, -orum, m. :** a small tribe on the north side of the Pennine Alps, about the Lake of Geneva, near the modern Sion (38).

**Sēmi-Galli, -orum :** an epithet of the Taurini (38), who were a mixed tribe of Ligurians and Gauls.

**Sempronius: -i, m. :** s.r. Longus.

**Sicilia, -ae, f. :** after Sardinia, the largest island in the Mediterranean. It was early occupied by Italian tribes, by the Carthaginians, and later again by the Greeks, who founded there the city of Syracuse in 734 B.C. It was the principal scene of the First Punic War, and at the end of that war was surrendered to Rome, 241 B.C., and became the first Roman province governed by an annually appointed praetor. Its fertility made it the granary of Rome, and the most valuable land in her possession.

**Syracūsae, -arum, f. :** the largest city of Sicily, on the east coast, between Catania on the north and Cape Pachynus on the south. In time of First Punic War, Hiero II. was its king, and his attack on the Mamertines of Messina led to the outbreak of the war. Afterwards he joined the Romans. He died 216 B.C., and a year later, after the death of his grandson, who allied himself with Carthage, a republican government was established. The town was besieged by Marcellus for two years, 214-212 B.C., and finally taken.

## T.

**Tāgus, -i, m. :** the Tagus rises in the Celtiberian highlands, and flowing west-south-west, falls into the Atlantic at Lisbon. On its banks Hannibal defeated a coalition of the Vaccaci, Olcades, and Carpetani 220 B.C. (5).

**Tārentum, -i, n. :** a famous Greek colony from Sparta, on the gulf of the same name in south Italy, now Taranto. It was suspected of having aroused the Samnites and Lucanians to war against Rome, and was besieged and captured in 272 B.C. Livy supposes that the Tarentine waters had been made inaccessible to Carthaginian vessels by a treaty of 279 B.C., but this Polybius declares to be false. At any rate the appearance of a Punic fleet there in 272 B.C. aroused Rome's jealousy, and was employed as an excuse for commencing the First Punic War (10). See also Introduction, § iii.

**Tarrāco, -ōnis, f. :** a populous commercial city of Spain, about fifty miles north of the mouth of the Hiberus (Ebro). It was fortified by Scipio against Hasdrubal (61); and in its neighbourhood the latter surprised a few Roman troops (*ibid.*), 218 B.C.

**Taurini, -orum, m. :** a Gallic tribe in the north-west corner of Transpadane Gaul, into whose territories Hannibal descended from the Alps, according to Livy (38). He found them at war with the Insubrians; and, siding with the latter, he sacked the chief town of the Taurini, Turin, 218 B.C.

**Tībēris, -is, m. :** the Tiber, upon which stood Rome. Rising in the Apennines near Tifernum, it flows south-west into the Mare Etruscum, forming the boundary between Latium and Etruria. Its course is

225 miles; its tributaries, the Nar, Velinus, Anio, Clanis, Allia, and Cremera; and its estuary port, Ostia.

**Ticīnus, -i, m.:** the Ticino, a tributary of the Padus, which it joins near Clastidium, some distance west of Placentia. It rises in the Alps of St. Gothard, and flows through the Lago Maggiore. On its west bank Scipio engaged with the Numidians in a cavalry skirmish, and was driven across the river 218 B.C. (46). This was really the first encounter in the Second Punic War.

**Trebia, -ae, m.:** now the Trebbia, a small tributary of the Padus, which it joins two miles to the west of Placentia. Here Sempronius was defeated by Hannibal, 218 B.C. (54-56).

**Turdētāni, -orum, m.:** the most powerful and cultivated people of southern Spain, occupying the coast between Gibraltar and Cape St. Vincent. Hannibal sided with them in a quarrel against the Saguntines, and so got an excuse for attacking the latter people. This is Livy's version, who says also that the Turdetani were neighbours of the Saguntines (6), which is impossible. Either the text is wrong, or there was another tribe of the same name on the east coast near Saguntum.

#### V.

**Vaccaei, -orum, m.:** a Spanish tribe reduced by Hannibal, 220 B.C. They occupied the country about Salamanca and Valladolid.

**Verāgri, -orum, m.:** an Alpine tribe on the south slope of the Great St. Bernard Pass.

**Victūmūlae, -arum, f. pl.:** the name of two small places in the neighbourhood of Placentia. One was an Insubrian village, where Hannibal encamped, on the north bank of the Padus (45); the other, a corn depôt of the Romans on the south bank of the Padus, sacked and destroyed by Hannibal on its surrender in 218 B.C. (57).

**Volcae, -arum, m.:** a Gallic tribe occupying both banks of the lower Rhone. On Hannibal's approach they mostly withdrew to the east bank, and there opposed his crossing, but were dispersed by Hanno, who crossed higher up and took them in the rear (26-28).

**Volcāni Insūla, -ae, f.:** now Volcano, one of the volcanic islands to the north of Sicily, where were wrecked some Carthaginian vessels in 218 B.C. (49).

TEST PAPERS  
ON  
LIVY, BOOK XXI.

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FIRST SERIES.

TEST PAPER 1. (Ch. 1-7.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 1, 14-23, *Fama est . . . interceptam.*  
(b) Ch. 5, 33-36, *Itaque et ingenio . . . ruunt.*
2. Parse and give the meaning of:—*professi, opertum, obtriti, adscitus, accersierat, percussae.*
3. Give the meaning of the following words and phrases:—(a) *hospitia regulorum*; (b) *praerogativa militaris*; (c) *rudimentum*; (d) *statio*; (e) *provincia*; (f) *stipendio praeterito cum fide exsolvendo*; (g) *cum adpendicibus Oleadum*; (h) *de re publica referre*; (i) *oriundi*; (k) *in planiorem quam cetera circa vallem vergens*; (l) *quadrato agmine*; (m) *stipendium.*
4. Classify the grammatical usages in:—(a) *obtruncati ira domini*; (b) *quod gerendis rebus superesset*; (c) *proelio abstinuit*; (d) *tantum roboris*; (e) *victoribus inferrent arma*; (f) *Poenis indignantibus quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum esse*; (g) *puerum annorum novem.*

TEST PAPER 2. (Ch. 8-15.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 8, 16-24, *Nihil tumultuariac . . . inmitteret.*  
(b) Ch. 14, 8-13, *Turris diu . . . interficerentur.*
2. Give the meaning of the following words and phrases:—(a) *phalarica*; (b) *tabulata*; (c) *calx*; (d) *conquisitor*; (e) *orator*; (f) *interpres*; (g) *de industria*; (h) *continentibus ruinis*; (i) *telum hastili abiegnō*; (k) *piaculum*; (l) *ius gentium.*
3. Translate, with notes on the syntax of the words in italics:—  
(a) *Hannibal . . . adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit.*  
(b) *Postulabatur . . . ibi habitarent, ubi Poenus iussisset.*  
(c) *Omnia victoris sunt.*  
(d) *Octavo mense quam coeptum oppugnari.*

4. Write out the following passage in *oratio obliqua*:—*Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendum ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem: nunc, cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem—sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus—ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni.*

### TEST PAPER 3. (Ch. 16-24.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 18, 11-16, *Præceps . . . repetuntur.*  
(b) Ch. 22, 23-29, *Pavidum primo . . . nimbium.*
2. Parse:—*adsuetum, perlicerent, socium, erexerunt, partitis.*
3. Translate:—(a) *foedus icere*; (b) *at enim*; (c) *derectus*; (d) *de-sciscere*; (e) *commectis*; (f) *stipendia facere*; (g) *caetrati*; (h) *celox.*
4. Translate, adding notes on the grammar of the words in italics:—  
(a) *Latum inde ad populum, vellent iaberent populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici.*  
(b) *Etsi priore foedere staretur.*  
(c) *Temperare oculis.*  
(d) *Numidae Maurique . . . ad mille octingenti.*

### TEST PAPER 4. (Ch. 25-31.)

1. Translate:—Ch. 26, 22-36, *Sed diffisi . . . faciebant.*
2. Give the meaning of the following words and phrases:—(a) *insirati*; (b) *utroque vim facere*; (c) *ad fidem pronius*; (d) *nec Scipioni stare poterat sententia*; (e) *manum conserere*; (f) *nusquam ante libatis viribus*; (g) *corpora curare*; (h) *mediterraneus*; (i) *quartis castris*; (k) *saxa glareosa volvens.*
3. Translate, commenting on the grammar of the words in italics:—(a) *cum opus facto sit*; (b) *memoria actae rei*; (c) *mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum*; (d) *regni certamen*; (e) *difficillimus transitu*; (f) *amplius ducenti.*
4. Retranslate:—(a) The march was then resumed, and so long as the road lay through open country nothing was seen of the enemy; (b) I believe that there were various plans for getting the elephants across; (c) While the elephants were being ferried across, Hannibal had sent 500 Numidian cavalry towards the Roman camp to learn where the troops lay.



## TEST PAPER 5. (Ch. 32-40.)

1. Translate:—Ch. 32, 29-42, *Tum per eosdem . . . consedit.*
2. Give the meaning of the following words and phrases:—(a) *eum bona pace incolentium*; (b) *via parte altera subiecta iugo*; (c) *stativa* (d) *tiro*; (e) *proclivis*; (f) *tabes.*
3. Write grammatical notes on the words in italics:—
  - (a) *Via* transire.
  - (b) *Aliquantum eo triduo viae confecit.*
  - (c) *Ipsē equitibus praesidio erat.*
  - (d) *Tactra ibi luctatio erat . . . ut seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuissent . . . iterum corruerent.*
4. Retranslate:—(a) The infantry turned and faced them, but left no doubt that, had not the rear been strengthened, a great disaster would have been sustained in that pass; (b) Soldiers, were I leading to battle the troops I had with me in Gaul, I should have refrained from addressing you.

## TEST PAPER 6. (Ch. 41-48.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 42, 6-14, *Cum ad unum . . . laudaretur.*  
(b) Ch. 47, 16-21, *Ea peritis . . . traduci posset.*
2. Give the meaning of:—(a) *vectigalis stipendiariusque*; (b) *identidem*; (c) *equites frenatos infrenatosque*; (d) *pro his impertitis*; (e) *Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt*; (f) *inimicus*; (g) *popularis*; (h) *mancipium*; (i) *procurare*; (k) *fama obtinuit*; (l) *vasa conligere.*
3. Translate and comment on the grammar of the words in italics:—
  - (a) *Vestri adhortandi causa.*
  - (b) *Duodevicenis denariis aestimatos.*
  - (c) *Tutelae nostrae duximus.*
  - (d) *(Alpes) vix integris vobis transitas.*
  - (e) *Omnia sui arbitrii facit.*
4. Turn into *oratio obliqua*:—(a) Non vereor, ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo; (b) tamen cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra.

## TEST PAPER 7. (Ch. 49-56.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 50, 1-10, Ubi in altum . . . ceterae ceperunt.  
(b) Ch. 52, 15-19, Egentes ope . . . laboranti orant.

2. Give the meaning of:—(a) cocta cibaria; (b) sublatis armamentis; (c) perforare; (d) res novae; (e) sub corona venire; (f) escensio; (g) navis longa; (h) iustum proelium; (i) contionabundus; (k) turnae manipulique; (l) bruma; (m) signum receptui; (n) in orbem pugnare. (o) What meanings has *praetorium* in this section of the Book?

3. Translate accurately, showing the construction:—

- (a) Nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lilybaeum classe peteret.  
(b) Recentis animi alter.  
(c) Populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit.  
(d) Audacia ingrediendi flumen.  
(e) Exercitum Ariminum mari supero misit.  
(f) Socium nominis Latini viginti milia.

4. Turn into *oratio recta*:—Restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter conlegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulens, quem alium exercitum expectari?

## TEST PAPER 8. (Ch. 57-63.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 63, 24-33, Nunc conscientia . . . vertisset.  
(b) Ch. 63, 42-46, Paucos post dies . . . concursatio fuit.

2. Parse:—perroxere, sivisset, paludium, potienda, quis.

3. Comment on the grammar of:—

- (a) Quas alias legiones esse quae arcessantur?  
(b) Nee magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit.  
(c) Donum ex auri pondo quadraginta.  
(d) Sese movere ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus.  
(e) Cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum.

4. Give the meaning of:—(a) populatio; (b) reciprocare animam; (c) ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto; (d) cum in praefectos navium animadvertisset; (e) Idibus Martiis; (f) suasor legis; (g) paludatus cum lictoribus in provinciam ire; (h) lixa; (i) solum vertere; (k) tramites.

## SECOND SERIES.

## TEST PAPER 9. (Ch. 1-7.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 4, 3-10, *Missus Hannibal . . . habilis fuit.*  
(b) Ch. 4, 17-23, *Caloris ac frigoris . . . conspexerunt.*
2. Write grammatical comments on the use of the words in italics :—  
(a) *Poenis indignantibus quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum esse.*  
(b) *Eo fuit habitu oris, ut . . . ridentis etiam speciem praeberit.*  
(c) *Neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset.*  
(d) *In Olcadum prius fines . . . induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos . . . videri posset.*
3. What do you know of the constitution of Carthage?
4. (a) How was the First Punic War brought to a close?  
OR  
(b) How did Rome acquire possession of Sardinia?

## TEST PAPER 10. (Ch. 8-15.)

1. Translate :—(a) Ch. 11, 29-33, *Nec erat . . . vadebant.*  
(b) Ch. 13, 5-13, *Nunc, cum ille . . . mentionem feci.*
2. Explain the following :—(a) *factio* Barcaea; (b) *in damno habere*; (c) *comitia*; (d) *pro contione*; (e) *supplicatio*; (f) *praetor*; (g) *senatum dare*.
3. *Aegates insulas ante oculos proponite, quae terra marique per XXIV annos passi sitis.* What are the allusions?
4. (a) What character does Livy give to Hannibal? How far are his *ingentia vitia* proved by evidence?  
OR  
(b) Define the position of Saguntum. What does Livy say as to the origin of its population?

**TEST PAPER 11.** (Ch. 16-24.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 20, 1-10, In his nova . . . obicere.  
(b) Ch. 21, 29-33, Pro eo supplementum . . . facerent.

2. What is meant by:—(a) ad arma consternati; (b) quinqueremes; (c) gravari militia; (d) daret utrum vellet subclamatum est; (e) si (id) defenderent publico concilio factum?

3. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyricos lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum. Explain the historical allusions.

4. What do you know of Q. Lutatius Catulus, Gades, Massilia?

**TEST PAPER 12.** (Ch. 25-31.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 28, 30-34, Tum elephantum . . . pertrahitur.  
(b) Ch. 29, 14-22, Ut re ita gesta . . . eessent.

3. Translate, with notes on the grammar of the words in italics:—  
(a) ratis longa *pedes* centuni; (b) equos uti extemplo egresso in ripam *equiti usui* essent, imposuerant in naves; (c) cognovit satis mitem gentem non fore ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens *est*, principum animi *concilicatur*; (d) ibi *quaeratis* socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est.

3. Explain the allusions in:—

- (a) Cepisse quondam Gallos ea quae adiri posse Poenus desperet.  
(b) Campus interiacens Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.  
(c) Circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas.

4. What has Livy to say about the chronology of the siege of Saguntum and of Hannibal's departure for Italy? Briefly criticise.

**TEST PAPER 13.** (Ch. 32-40.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 33, 5-10, Utraque simul . . . decurrunt.  
(b) Ch. 35, 32-36, Omnis enim . . . occiderent.  
(c) Ch. 38, 23-27, Neque herecule . . . appellat.

2. Write explanatory notes on:—

- (a) Ille exercitus meis auspiciis rem gerit.  
(b) Occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum.  
(c) Ad rupem muniendam.  
(d) Committere ac profligare bellum.  
(e) Exercitus Hispaniae provinciae scriptus.

3. What do you know of *L. Cincius Alimentus*, *Carthago Nova*, *Genua*, *Poeninus mons*, *Taurini*?

4. Mention the difficulties in *Livy's* account of *Hannibal's* passage of the Alps. What other writers give accounts of the passage, and which is the most probable theory? [*Answer concisely.*]

#### TEST PAPER 14. (Ch. 41-48.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 44, 25-30, *Illis timidis . . . oppetere.*  
(b) Ch. 45, 22-29, *Eaque ut rata . . . poscunt.*

2. Write short notes on the construction of the words in italics:—  
(a) *omnes*, *velut dis auctoribus* in *spem suam quisque* *acceptis*, *in morae*, *quod nondum pugnarent*, *ad potianda sperata rati*; (b) *prius Placentiam pervenere*, *quomodo satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectus*; (c) *ne transieris Hiberum*. Add a translation of (a).

3. What do you know of (a) *Coelius*, (b) *Mago*, (c) *Scipio Africanus Maior*?

4. Explain:—

- (a) *Tutelae nostrae duximus cum Africo bello urgerentur.*  
(b) *Siciliam ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas.*

OR

- (c) Draw a sketch map showing the march of *Hannibal* from *New Carthage* to the *Trebia*.

#### TEST PAPER 15. (Ch. 49-56.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 52, 1-9, *Iam ambo . . . spectantes.*  
(b) Ch. 52, 19-24, *Cornelio . . . censebat.*

2. Point out anything noticeable in the grammar of:—

- (a) *Romanus conscrere pugnam velle*; *contra eludere Poenus.*  
(b) *Qui dilatam dimicationem vellet.*  
(c) *Equites tegendo satis latebrosus locus.*  
(d) *Neque prae imبری satis decernere poterant, qua suis opem ferrent.*  
(e) *Quibusdam volentibus res novas fore.*  
(f) *Inde Pado traiectus (est exercitus) Cremonam.*

3. (a) What do you know of Hiero's politics?

Explain the allusions in:—

(b) *Patres nostri circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti.*

(c) *Memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum.*

4. Where are:—Ariminum, Lilybaeum, Melita, Messana, *Vibonensis ager*, and in what connection is each mentioned in this Book?

**TEST PAPER 16.** (Ch. 57-63.)

1. Translate:—(a) Ch. 61, 18-23, *Scipio relictam . . . recepit.*  
(b) Ch. 62, 3-10, *In quis . . . consedissee.*

2. Explain:—(a) *quaestor*; (b) *plutei*; (c) *forum olitorium*; (d) *consul designatus*; (e) *capti auribus et oculis*; (f) *navis quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset*; (g) *Latinae Feriae*; (h) *inauspicato*; (i) *votorum nuncupatio*; (k) *praetexta*; (l) *vertere solum*.

3. Put into *oratio obliqua*:—*Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis victoriam fore . . . Quid est, cur illi vobis comparandi sint? . . . Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me miliens donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.*

4. What do you know of C. Flaminius? How had he incurred the hostility of the Senate? What was the law of Q. Claudius?







## VOCABULARY.



1. 1. praefari .. . praefor, 1, *to preface, say to begin with.*  
 2. professi .. . profiteor, professus, 2, *to declare.*  
 plerique .. . plerisque, -a, -um, *very many, the most part.*  
 scriptores .. . scriptor, -oris, m., *writer, author.*  
 3. gesta sint .. . gero, gessi, gestum, 3, *to carry on, wage, manage.*  
 5. validiores .. . validus, -a, -um, *strong.*  
 6. opibus .. . [ops], opis, f., *wealth; pl., resources.*  
 7. virium .. . vis, f., *force; pl., vires, -ium, strength.*  
 roboris .. . robur, -oris, n., *strength.*  
 8. ignotas .. . ignotus, -a, -um, *unknown.*  
 ~10. anceps .. . anceps, -cipitis, (*two-headed, doubtful.*)  
 11. certarunt .. . (= certaverunt) certo, 1, *to strive.*  
 12. indignantibus .. indignor, 1, *to feel aggrieved.*  
 ultro .. . adv., *spontaneously, unprovoked.*  
 ✓13. avaro .. . adv., *greedily.*  
 14. imperitatum .. imperito, 1, *to rule, govern (with dat.).*  
 15. ferme .. . adv. (= fere), *almost.*  
 blandientem .. blandior, 4, *to cajole, coax.*  
 ✓17. admotum .. . admōveo, admōvi, admotum, 2, *to move up to, cause to approach.*  
 18. iure iurando .. ius (iuris) iurandum, -i, n., *an oath.*  
 ✓ adactum .. . adigo, adēgi, adactum, 3, (*to bring up to*), *to compel.*  
 ✓ ~~19. angebant .. . augeo, auxi, 2, *to rear.*~~  
 21. desperatione .. desperatio, -ois, f., *despair.*  
 concessam .. . concedo, concessi, concessum, 3, *to yield.*  
 22. fraude .. . fraus, fraudis, f., *guile, deceit.*  
 ✓ 2 3. augendo .. . augeo, auxi, auctum, 2, *to increase.*  
 5. diutius .. . adv., compar. of diu, *a long time.*  
 vixisset .. . vivo, vixi, victum, 3, *to live.*  
 6. inlaturos fuisse. infero, intuli, inlatum, inferre, *to bring against.*  
 7. peropportuna .. peropportunus, -a, -um, *highly convenient.*  
 pueritia .. . pueritia, -ae, f., *childhood.*  
 8. distulerunt .. . differo, distuli, dilatam, differre, *to put off, postpone.*  
 9. obtinuit .. . obtineo, obtinui, obtentum, 2, *to uphold, occupy.*  
 10. gener .. . gener, -eri, m., *son-in-law.*  
 ✓ indolem .. . indeles, -is, f., *capacity.*  
 profecto .. . adv., *assuredly.*  
 ✓ adscitus .. . adscisco, adscīvi, adscītum, 3, *to appropriate, adopt.*

2. 12. factionis ... factio, -onis, f., *a faction, party.*  
 13. modicae ..... modicus, -a, -um, *moderate.*  
 15. hospitiiis ..... hospitium, -ii, n., *entertainment.*  
 regulatorum ..... regulus, -i, m., *a petty chieftain.*  
 17. ceterum ..... conj., *but, however.*  
 18. barbarus ..... barbarus, -i, m., *a barbarian.*  
 palam ..... adv., *openly.*  
 obtruncati ..... obtrunco, 1, *to cut down, slay.*  
 19. comprehensus..... comprehendo (comprendo), comprehendi (compre-  
 prendi), comprehensum (compremsum), 3, *to*  
*lay hold of.*  
 circumstantibus circumsto, 1, *to stand around.*  
 20. evasisset ..... evado, evasi, evasum, 3, *to escape.*  
 tormentis..... tormentum, -i, n., *torture.*  
 laceraretur ..... laccro, 1, *to rend, tear.*  
 21. habitu ..... habitus, -ūs, m., *bearing, expression.*  
 superante ..... supero, 1, *to overcome.*  
 laetitia..... laetitia, -ae, f., *joy, gladness.*  
 dolores..... dōlor, -ōris, m., *pain, grief.*  
 22. ridentis ..... rideo, risi, risum, 2, *to laugh.*  
 23. sollicitandis ... sollicito, 1, *to stir up, incite.*  
 24. foedus ..... foedus, -ēris, n., *a treaty.*
3. 2. praerogativam... praerogativa, -ae, f., *(a division voting first),*  
*election by right of prior choice.*  
 extemplo ..... adv., *at once.*  
 3. praetorium ..... praetorium, -ii, n., *general's quarters.*  
 delatus ..... defero, detuli, delatum, deferre, *to bring down.*  
 4. adsensu ..... adsensus, -ūs, m., *assent.*  
 5. puberem ..... pūber, -ēris, adj., *of ripe age, adult.*  
 accersierat ..... arcesso (accerso), arcessivi, arcessitum, 3, *to*  
*summon.*  
 6. nitentibus ..... nitor, nisus and nixus, 3, *to strive.*  
 7. adsuesceret ..... adsuesco, adsuevi, adsuctum, 3, *to accustom.*  
 militiae ..... militia, -ae, f., *military service.*  
 8. aecum ..... aecus (aequus), -a, -um, *equal, just.*  
 9. ceuso ..... censeo, censui, census, 2, *to reckon, think.*  
 10. tribuendum..... tribuo, tribui, tribūtum, 3, *to give, grant.*  
 12. fruendum ..... fruor, fruitus, 3, *to enjoy.*  
 praebuit ..... praeeo, praebui, —, 2, *to offer, grant.*  
 14. rudimento ..... rudimentum, -i, n., *rudiments, elements.*  
 adsuefacere..... adsuefacio, adsuefecī, adsuefactum, 3, *to accustom.*  
 15. libidini ..... libido, -inis, f., *desire, caprice.*  
 praetorum ..... praetor, -ōris, m., *praetor, general.*  
 16. nimis ..... adv., *too, too much.*  
 sero ..... adv., *late.*  
 inmodica ..... inmodicus, -a, -um, *immoderate.*  
 speciem ..... species, -ei, f., *form, kind, nature.*  
 17. hereditarii ..... hereditarius, -a, -um, *hereditary, inherited.*  
 18. parum ..... adv., *too little.*  
 mature..... adv., *in good time, soon enough.*





3. 21. quandoque... adv., *at any time*.  
 incendium ..... incendium, -ii, n., *conflagration*.  
 exsuscitet ..... exsuscito, 1, *to arouse, raise*.
4. 1. adsentiebantur... adsentior, adsensus, 4, *to assent*.  
 2. plerumque ..... adv., *generally*.  
 5. veteres..... vetus, -eris, adj., *old, experienced*.  
 vigorem ..... vigor, ōris, m., *vigour, strength*.  
 6. vultu ..... vultus, -ūs, m., *face*.  
 lineamenta ..... lineamentum, -i, n., *features*.  
 intueri..... intueor, 2, *to observe*.  
 7. momentum ..... momentum, -i, n., *weight, importance*.  
 8. ingenium ..... ingenium, -ii, n., *natural abilities*.  
 10. habilis ..... habilis, -e, *capable, suited, able*.  
 11. carior ..... carus, -a, -um, *dear, loved*.  
 12. praeficere ..... praeficio, praefeci, praefectum, 3, *to appoint*.  
 15. capessenda ..... capesso, capessivi, capessitum, 3, *to undertake*.  
 17. caloris ..... calor, -ōris, m., *heat*.  
 frigoris ..... frigus, -ōris, n., *cold*.  
 cibi ..... cibus, -i, m., *food*.  
 potionis ..... potio, -onis, f., *drink*.  
 18. desiderio ..... desiderium, -ii, n., *natural desire, need*.  
 vigiliarum ..... vigiliae, -arum, f., *military watches*.  
 19. discriminata .. discrimino, 1, *to discriminate, treat differently*.  
 21. strato ..... stratum, -i, n., *couch*.  
 sagulo ..... sagulum, -i, n., *military cloak*.  
 22. humi ..... adv., *on the ground*.  
 iacentem ..... iaceo, iacui, —, 2, *to lie down*.  
 stationes ..... statio, -onis, f., *outpost, picket*.  
 23. conspexerunt ... conspicio, conspexi, conspectum, 3, *to notice*.  
 excellens ..... excellens, -ntis, *pre-eminent*.  
 26. conserto ..... consero, conserui, consertum, 3, (bellum), *to join*  
 (battle).  
 27. perfidia ..... perfidia, -ae, f., *treachery*.  
 29. metus ..... metus, -ūs, m., *fear*.  
 religio ..... religio, -onis, f., *religious scruple*.  
 30. indole ..... indoles, -is, f., *natural quality, character*.  
 triennio ..... triennium, -ii, n., *space of three years*.  
 31. meruit ..... mereo, 2, *to serve as a soldier*.
5. 3. prolatandum. prolato, 1, *to put off, delay*.  
 ratus ..... reor, ratus, 2, *to think, consider*.  
 4. cunctantem..... eunctor, 1, *to delay, procrastinate*.  
 casus ..... casus, -ūs, m., *misfortune, accident*.  
 8. dicione..... dicio, -onis, f., *sway, power*.  
 9. serie ..... series, -ei, f., *order, due course*.  
 10. domitis ..... domo, domui, domitum, 1, *to subdue*.  
 12. diripit ..... diripio, diripui, direptum, 3, (to tear in pieces), *to*  
*sack*.  
 percussae..... percello, pereūli, percussum, 3, *to overturn,*  
*upset*.

5. 14. hiberna..... hiberna, -orum, n., *winter quarters*.
15. large ..... adv., *bountifully*.  
partiendo ..... partior, 4, *to divide*.
16. exsolvendo ..... exsolvo, exsolvi, exsolutum, 3, *to pay off*.
20. exulibus ..... exul, -ūlis, e., *an exile*.
21. concitant..... concito, 1, *to rouse up*.
23. procul ..... prep., *far from*.
26. vado..... vadum, -i, n., *a ford*.  
vallo..... vallum, -i, n., *a rampart*.  
producto ..... produco, produxi, productum, 3, *to carry on, produce*.
28. praecepit..... praecipio, praecepi, praeceptum, 3, *to instruct (with dat.)*.
29. adorirentur..... adior, adortus, 4, *to attack*.  
inpeditum ..... inpedio, 4, *to encumber*.
31. adpendicibus ... adpendix, ĩcis, f., (*supplement*), pl., *auxiliaries*. ∪
32. invicta ..... invictus, -a, -um, *unconquered*.  
dimicaretur..... dimico, 1, *to fight, contend*.
33. freti ..... frētus, -a, -um, *relying*.
34. morari ..... moror, 1, *to delay*.
35. sublato ..... tollo, sustuli, sublatum, 3, *to raise*.  
passim ..... adv., *here and there*.
38. alveo ..... alveus, -i, m., *channel*. √  
haudquaquam .. adv., *by no means*.
39. quippe..... conj., *inasmuch as*.
40. inermi ..... inermis, -e, *unarmed*.  
temere ..... adv., *at random*.
41. gurgites ..... gurgēs, -ĭtis, m., *eddy*.  
stabili ..... stabilis, -e, *standing firm*.
42. comminus ..... adv., *hand to hand, at close quarters*.  
eminus ..... adv., *from a distance*.
43. verticoso ..... verticosus, -a, -um, *eddying*.
44. obtriti sunt..... obtero, obtrivi, obtritum, 3, *to crush*.
46. colligerentur ... colligo, collegi, collectum, 3, *to collect, gather*.  
pavore..... pavor, -ōris, m., *panic*.
47. quadrato ..... quadro, 1, *to make square, to marshal*.
49. deditionem ..... deditio, -onis, f., *surrender*.
6. 3. litis..... lis, litis, f., *a quarrel, strife*.  
4. sator..... sator, -oris, m., *sower*.  
certamen ..... certamen, -ĭnis, n., *struggle, dispute*.  
8. rettulissent ..... refero, rettuli, relatum, referre (legem), *to bring forward (a motion)*.
11. denuntiarent ... denuntio, 1, *to warn (with dat.)*.
13. querimonias ... querimonia, -ae, f., *grievance*.
14. decreta..... decerno, decrevi, decretum, 3, *to decree*.
15. de integro ..... adv., *afresh, anew*.
24. absisteretur..... absisto, abstiti, —, 3, *to abstain from*. ∪
25. deposedum ... depono, depono, —, 3, *to demand*.
7. 3. sita ..... situs, -a, -um, *situated*.







7. 4. oriundi ..... oriundus, -a, -um, *sprung from.*
8. socialem ..... socialis, -e, *amongst allies.*  
 perniciem ..... pernicies, -ei, f., *destruction.*  
 coluerunt..... colo, colui, cultum, 3, *to cultivate.*
9. infesto ..... infestus, -a, -um, *hostile.*
10. tripertito..... adv., *in three divisions or columns.*
11. planiorem ..... planus, -a, -um, *level.*  
 patientiorem ... patens, -ntis, *lying open.*  
 circa..... adv., *round about.*  
 vergens ..... vergeo, 2, *to slope.*
12. vineas ..... vinea, -ae, f., *military shed.*  
 aries..... aries, -ētis, m., *ram, battering ram.* ∪  
 moenibus..... moenia, -ium, n., *ramparts, town-walls.*
17. emunitus erat... emunio, 4, *to fortify (high).*
21. modo ..... adv., *only.*  
 tela ..... telum, -i, n., *weapon.*
22. micare ..... mīco, micui, —, 1, *to gleam.*  
 erumpendum ... erumpo, erūpi, eruptum, 3, *to burst out.*
23. tumultuariis ... tumultuarius, -a, -um, *unorganized.*
25. incautius ..... compar. of incaute, adv., *incautiously.*
26. femur ..... femur, -ōris (and -inis), n., *thigh.*  
 tragula ..... tragula, -ae, f., *lance.*  
 ictus..... ictus, -a, -um, *struck (used as p.p.p. of ferio).*
8. 1. obsidio ..... obsidium, -ii, n., *a blockade.*  
 oppugnatio ..... oppugnatio, -onis, f., *assault.*
4. coortum est..... coorior, coortus, 4, *(to arise), to begin.*
9. tuenda ..... tueor, 2, *to protect.*  
 obeunda ..... obōo, obii, obitum, obīre, *to meet.*  
 multifariam ... adv. *in many directions.*  
 distineri ..... distineo, distinui, distentum, 2, *to distract, draw away.*
10. feriebantur ..... ferio, (ici, ictum), 4, *to strike.*
11. quassatae ..... quasso, 1, *to shatter.*
12. nudaverat ..... nudo, 1, *to lay bare.*  
 deinceps ..... adv., *in succession.*
13. fragore ..... fragor, -ōris, m., *crash.*
15. texisset ..... tego, texi, tectum, 3, *to cover, protect.*
16. procursum est... procurro, proceurri and procurri, procursum, 3, *to run forward.*
17. occasionem ..... occasio, -onis, f., *opportunity.*
18. iustae .... iustus, -a, -um, *(according to law), formal, regular.*
20. irritat ..... irrito, 1, *to excite.*
21. paulum ..... adv., *a little.* ∪  
 admitatur..... adnitor, adnitus and adnixus, 3, *to strive, struggle.* ∪
24. confertim ..... adv., *(pressed together), at close quarters.*
26. vano..... vānus, -a, -um, *empty, inefficient, ineffective.*  
 intercedente..... intercēdo, intercēdi, —, 3, *to fall between.*  
 phalarica..... phalarica, -ae, f., *phalarica, a Saguntine missile.*
27. hastili ..... hastilis, -is, m., *a shaft.*  
 abiegno ..... abiegnus, -a, -um, *of pine wood.* ∪

8. 27. tereti ..... tērēs, -ētis, *smooth*.  
 28. exstabat ..... exsto, —, —, 1, *to project*.  
 29. pilo ..... pilum, -i, n., *a javelin*.  
   quadratum ..... quadro, 1, *to make square*.  
   stuppa ..... stuppa, -ae, f., *tow*.  
   circumligabant. circumligo, 1, *to bind round*.  
   linebant ..... lino, lēvi, lītum, 3, *to smear*.  
   pice ..... pix, picis, f., *pitch*.  
 33. conceptum ..... concipio, conceptum, 3, *to receive, perf.*  
       *to contain*.  
 34. motu ..... motus, -ūs, m., *motion*.  
   omitti ..... ōmitto, omisi, omīssum, 3, *to fling away, abandon*.  
 35. insequentes ..... insequor, insecutus, 3, *to follow on*.  
  
 9. 2. crevissent ... cresco, crevi, cretum, 3, *to increase*.  
   6. redigunt ..... redigo, redegī, redactum, 3, *to drive back*.  
   8. obviam ..... adv. (with dat.), *to meet*.  
   9. effrenatarum ... effrenatus, -a, -um, *unbridled, lawless*.  
 10. discrimine ..... discrimen, -inis, n., *decisive point, crisis*.  
   operae esse ..... *to be of value or use*.  
 11. protinus ..... adv., *forthwith*.  
 12. ituros ..... eo, ivi, itum, ire, *to go*.  
 14. gratificari ..... gratifico, 1, *to gratify, appease*.  
  
 10. 5. testes ..... testis, -is, c., *witness*.  
   obtestans ..... obtestor, 1, *to call to witness*.  
   6. suscitarent ..... suscito, 1, *to rouse up*.  
   7. progeniem ..... progenies, -ei, f., *offspring*.  
   8. manes ..... manes, -ium, m., *departed spirit*.  
   stirpem ..... stirps, -pis, f., *stock, race*.  
 12. succinctus ..... succingo, succinxi, succinctum, 3, *to gird about*.  
 13. aluistis ..... alo, alui, alitum, 3, *to nourish*.  
 14. ardetis ..... ardeo, arsi, —, 2, *to be on fire*.  
 15. arcentur ..... arceo, arcui, arctum, 2, *to shut out*.  
 20. gentium ..... gens, gentis, f., *a race, nation*.  
 23. lenius ..... compar. of leniter, adv., *gently*.  
   segnius ..... compar. of segniter, adv., *slowly*.  
 24. saeviant ..... saevio, 4, *to rage*.  
 30. ambigebatur ... ambigo, —, —, 3, *(to go around), to debate*.  
 33. quatit ..... quatio, quassi, quassum, 3, *to shake*.  
 40. facem ..... fax, făcis, f., *torch, firebrand*.  
 41. dedendum ..... dedo, dedidi, deditum, 3, *to surrender, give up*.  
 42. piaculum ..... piaculum, -i, n., *propitiation*.  
   deposcat ..... depono, deposci, —, 3, *to claim*.  
 43. ablegandum ... ablēgo, 1, *to deport*.  
 44. accidere ..... accido, accidi, —, *to happen, occur*.  
 46. extemplo ..... adv., *at once*.  
 47. abducat ..... abduco, abduxi, abductum, 3, *to lead away*.  
 49. legationem ..... legatio, -onis, f., *embassy*.  
   decerno ..... decerno, decrevi, decretum, 3, *to decree*.  
  
 11. 1. certare ..... certo, 1, *to strive*.





11. 3. infestius ... compar. of infeste, adv., *bitterly, with hatred.*  
 7. vetustissimae ... superl. of vetustus, -a, -um, *ancient.*  
 10. fessum ..... fessus, -a, -um, *wearied.*  
 14. contione ..... contio, ōnis, f., *a public meeting, harangue.*  
 21. aliquanto ..... adv., *somewhat.* ✓  
 22. potissimum ..... adv., *especially.*  
 23. streperent ..... strepo, strepui, strepitem, 3, *to make a noise.*  
 25. hortator ..... hortator, -ōris, m., *exhorter.*  
 26. catapultis ..... catapulta, -ae, f., *catapult, engine for flinging stones.*  
     ballistis ..... ballista, -ae, f., *another kind of engine for the same purpose.*  
     tabulata ..... tabulatum, -i, n., *storey.*  
 28. dolabris ..... dolabra, -ae, f., *mattock.*  
 30. caementa ..... caementum, -i, n., *large stone.*  
     calce ..... calx, calcis, f., *mortar.*  
     durata erant ... duro, 1, *to solidify, harden.*  
     interlita ..... interlino, interlevi, interlitum, 3, *to smear between.*  
 31. luto ..... lūtum, -i, n., *mud.*  
 32. patentia ..... pateo, patui, —, 2, *to lie open.*  
 34. castellum ..... castellum, -i, n., *a fort.*  
 35. iminentem ..... imineo, imminui, —, 2, *to overhang.*  
 40. minuitur ..... minuo, minui, minutum, 3, *to diminish.*  
 41. unica ..... ūnicus, -a, -um, *sole, only.*  
 42. paulisper ..... adv., *for a little while.*  
     repentina ..... repentinus, -a, -um, *sudden.*  
 43. profectio ..... profectio, -onis, f., *expedition.*  
 44. dilectus ..... dilectus, -ūs, m., *war-levy.*  
     acerbitate ..... acerbitas, -atis, f., *(bitterness), strictness.* ✓  
     conquisitoribus. conquisitor, -oris, m., *recruiting officer.*
12. 2. inpigre ..... adv., *energetically.* ✓  
 5. strata ..... sterno, stravi, stratum, 3, *to strew.*  
 13. transfuga ..... transfuga, -ae, m., *deserter.*  
 14. mansit ..... maneo, mansi, mansum, 2, *to remain.*  
 21. pollicetur ..... polliceor, 2, *to promise.*  
     ceterum ..... conj., *but, however.*
13. 3. supervacaneum... supervacaneus, -a, -um, *superfluous, unnecessary.*  
 6. metum ..... metus, -ūs, m., *fear.*  
     simulavit ..... simulo, 1, *to feign.*  
 18. damno ..... damnum, -i, n., *loss.*  
 20. dirutam ..... diruo, dirui, dirutum, 3, *to overturn.*  
 21. adimit ..... adimo, ademi, ademptum, 3, *to take away.*  
 24. coniugum ..... coniux (coniunx), coniūgis, c. (here f.), *husband, wife.*  
 25. inviolata ..... inviolatus, -a, -um, *unharmd.*  
     inermes ..... inermis, -e, *unarmed.*  
     binis ..... bini, -ae, -a, pl., *two apiece.*  
 28. equidem ..... adv., *indeed.*

14. 1. circumfusa... circumfundo, circumfusi, circumfusum, 3, *to pour round.*  
 3. primores ..... primores, -um, m. pl., *leading men.*  
 secessione ..... secessio, -onis, f., *departure.*  
 5. conlatum ..... confero, contuli, conlatum, conferre, *to bring together.*  
 raptim ..... adv., *hurriedly.*  
 concientes ..... conicio, conieci, coniectum, 3, *to fling together.*  
 6. praecipitaverunt... praecipito, 1, *to fling headlong.*  
 9. cohors ..... cohors, -ortis, f., *a troop, brigade.*  
 10. solitis ..... solitus, -a, -um (p.p. of soleo), *accustomed.*  
 16. concremaverunt concremo, 1, *to burn together.*
15. 1. industria ..... industria, -ae, f., *assiduity.*  
 2. discrimen ..... discrimen, -inis, n., *distinction.*  
 4. venditarum ..... vendo, vendidi, venditum, 3, *to sell.*  
 redactum esse... redigo, redegī, redactum, 3, *(to bring back), to get.*  
 5. pretiosam ..... pretiosus, -a, -um, *costly.*  
 suppellectilem ... supellex, suppellectilis, f., *furniture.*  
 9. concessisse ..... concedo, concessi, concessum, 3, *to withdraw.*  
 18. excessisse..... excedo, excessi, excessum, 3, *(to go out), to be delayed (until).*  
 22. comitiis ..... comitia, -orum, n. pl., *elections.*
16. 2. hostilia ..... hostilis, -e, *inimical.*  
 3. excidium ..... excidium, -ii, n., *destruction.*  
 4. maeror..... maeror, -oris, m., *grief.*  
 misericordia ... misericordia, -ae, f., *pity.*  
 peremptorum ... perimo, peremi, peremptum, 3, *to destroy.*  
 indigne ..... adv., [(i.) *unworthily*, (ii.)] *undeservedly.*  
 5. pudor ..... pudor, -ōris, m., *shame.*  
 7. trepidarent ..... trepido, 1, *to tremble, go in fear.*  
 8. consulerent..... consulo, consului, consultum, 3, *to consult, take counsel.*  
 9. bellicosiore[m] ... compar. of bellicosus, -a, -um, *warlike.*  
 congressum..... congredior, congressus, 3, *to meet.*  
 10. desidem ..... deses, desidīs, *slothful.*  
 inbellem ..... inbellis, -e, *unwarlike.*  
 12. tumultuatum ... impers. pass. of tumultuo (usually dep. tumultuor), 1, *to make a disturbance.*  
 13. belligeratum ... belligero, 1, *to conduct a war.*  
 veteranum ..... veteranus, -a, -um, *experienced.*  
 15. adsuetum ..... adsuesco, adsuevi, adsuetum, 3, *to accustom one's self to.*
17. 1. nominatae ... nomino, 1, *to name.*  
 2. sortiri ..... sortior, 4, *to draw lots.*  
 3. evenit ..... evēnio, evēni, eventum, 4, *(to come out, happen), to fall to one's lot.*  
 4. socium ..... (= sociorum) gen. pl. socius, -ii, m., *an ally.*  
 8. quinqueremes... quinqueremis, -is, f., *a ship with five banks of oars (properly adj., se. navis).*











17. 8. celoces..... eĉlox, -ōcis, f. (but here m.), a *light ship, cutter*.  
 deducti ..... deduco, deluxi, deductum, 3, to *put to sea*.  
 9. latum ..... fero, tuli, latum, ferre, (to *bring*); of legislation,  
 to *propose*.  
 10. indicii ..... indico, indixi, indictum, 3, to *declare (war)*.  
 supplicatio ..... supplicatio, -onis, f., *public prayer*.  
 11. feliciter ..... adv., *prosperously*.  
 15. sedecim ..... adj., indecl., *sixteen*.  
 16. longae ..... longus, -a, um., *long*; as applied to a ship, a  
*man-of-war*.  
 21. invalido ..... invalidus, -a, -um, *weakly*.  
 praesidio ..... praesidium, -ii, n., a *guard, garrison*.  
 22. deminutus ..... deminno, deminui, deminutum, 3, to *diminish*,  
*weaken*.  
 24. dimicaturum ... dimico, 1, to *fight*.  
 28. eodem ..... adv., in the *same direction*.  
 versa ..... verito, verti, versum, 3, to *turn*.
18. 2. natu ..... only in abl. sing., m., *birth*; maiores natu, *elder*. ✓  
 4. pereunctandos.. pereunctor, 1, to *question*.  
 6. faterentur ..... fateor, fassus, 2, to *confess*.  
 11. praeceps ..... praeceps, praecipitis, (*headlong*), *precipitate*.  
 14. asperior ..... asper, -era, -erum, *harsh*. ✓  
 insimulabatur... insimulo, 1, to *accuse*.  
 15. exprimitur ..... exprimo, expressi, expressum, 3, to *exact, force*  
*out*.  
 18. quaerendum ... quaero, quaesivi, quaesitum, 3, to *seek, inquire*.  
 19. quaestio ..... quaestio, -onis, f., *inquiry*.  
 animadversio ... animadversio, -onis, f., *punishment*.  
 20. arbitrio ..... arbitrium, -ii, n., *judgment, authority*. ✓  
 disceptatio ..... disceptatio, -onis, f., *dispute*.  
 24. ietum ..... [ico], ici, ictum, 3, (to *strike*), of treaties, to *make*;  
*ferio* is commonly used for the present stem  
 tenses.  
 caveretur..... eāveo, eāvi, cautum, 2, (to *beware*), to *stipulate*.  
 30. negastis ..... (= negavistis) nego, 1, to *deny*.  
 34. inscius ..... inscius, -a, -um, *unknowing, ignorant*.  
 obligare ..... obligo, 1, to *bind*.  
 proinde ..... adv., *accordingly*.  
 36. diu ..... adv., for a *long time*.  
 parturit ..... parturio, 4, to *be in labour with*.  
 aliquando ..... adv., at *some time or other, at last*. ✓  
 pariat ..... pario, peperit, partum, 3, to *bring forth, produce*.  
 37. sinu ..... sinus, -ūs, m., (*bosom*), a *fold*.  
 toga ..... toga, -ae, f., *civilian's robe*.  
 39. ferociter ..... adv., *haughtily*.  
 40. subelamatum est subclamo, 1, to *shout after or in reply*.  
 iterum ..... adv., *again*.  
 effuso ..... effundo, effudi, effusum, 3, (to *pour out*), to *unfold*.  
 19. 1. directa ..... directus, -a, -um, *straightforward*.  
 percunctatio ... percunctatio, -onis, f., *questioning*.

19. 1. denuntiatio... denuntiatio, -onis, f., *declaration*.  
 3. disceptare ..... discepto, 1, *to dispute*.  
 excisa ..... excido, excidi, excisum, 3, (*to cut off*), *to demolish*.  
 9. comprobatum sit conprobo, 1, *to approve, accept*.  
 13. adsumerentur... adsumo, adsumpsi, adsumptum, 3, *to receive*.  
 18. sponte ..... only in abl. sing., f., *free will*.  
 desciscentes..... descisco, descivi, descitum, 3, *to revolt*.  
 21. societatem ..... societas, -atis, f., *alliance*.  
 perlicerent ..... perlicio, perlexi, perlectum, 3, *to allure*.  
 24. erexerunt ..... erigo, erexi, erectum, 3, *to arouse*.  
 25. celebre..... celebrer, celebris, celebre, *renowned, famous*.  
 28. verecundia ..... verecundia, -ae, f., *modesty*.  
 29. praeponamus ... praepono, praeposui, praepositum, 3, *to prefer*.  
 32. clades ..... clades, -is, f., *overthrow, defeat*.  
 lugubre ..... lugubris, -e, *mournful*.  
 33. documentum ... documentum, -i, n., *warning*.  
 36. nequiquam ..... adv., *to no purpose, fruitlessly*.  
 peragrata ..... peragro, 1, *to traverse*.
20. 1. species ..... species, -ei, f., *sight*.  
 2. mos ..... mos, mōris, m., *custom*.  
 5. transitum ..... transitus, -ūs, m., *passage across*.  
 6. fremitu ..... fremitus, -ūs, m., *groaning, hooting*.  
 risus..... risus, -ūs, m., *laughter*.  
 7. sedaretur..... sedo, 1, *to settle, quiet down*.  
 stolidia ..... stolidus, -a, -um, *senseless, absurd*.  
 8. inprudens ..... inprudens, -ntis, adj., *unblinking*.  
 postulatio ..... postulatio, -onis, f., *demand*.  
 10. populandos ..... populo and populor, 1, *to ravage*.  
 obicere..... obicio, obieci, obiectum, 3, (*to throw out*), *to expose*.  
 15. stipendium ..... stipendium, -ii, n., *tribute*.  
 pendere ..... pendo, pependi, pensum, 3, (*to weigh*), *to pay*.  
 17. pacatum ..... paco, 1, *to pacify, reduce to submission*.  
 19. praeoccupatos... praeoccupo, 1, *to win beforehand*.  
 21. mitem ..... mitis, -e, *mild, gentle*.  
 indomita ..... indomitus, -a, -um, *untamed*.  
 22. ingenia ..... ingenium, -ii, n., *natural disposition*.  
 subinde ..... adv., *from time to time*.  
 27. transisse ..... transeo, transii, transitum, transire, *to cross*.
21. 2. concesserat... concedo, concessi, concessum, 3, (*to yield*), *to retire*.  
 4. partitis ..... p.p.p. of partior, 4, *to share out*.  
 dividendis ..... dividendo, —, dividendum, 3, *to sell off*.  
 5. differendum ... differo, distuli, dilatatum, differre, *to put off*.  
 10. floreant ..... floreo, florui, —, 2, *to flourish*.  
 12. longinqua ..... longinquus, -a, -um, *far off*.  
 14. invisere ..... inviso, in visi, invisum, 3, *to visit*.  
 commeatum ... commeatus, -ūs, m., *furlough*.  
 18. desiderantibus .. desidero, 1, *to yearn after*.  
 23. recensisset..... recenseo, recensui, recensum, 2, *to review*.





21. 30. iaculatorum iaculator, -oris, m., *a javelin-man.*  
 32. mutuis ..... mutuus, -a, -um, *on both sides, mutual.*  
 pigneribus ..... pignus, pigneris, n., *a pledge.*  
 33. facerent ..... facio, feci, factum, facere, *to do, make; stipendia*  
*facere = to serve for pay.*  
 34. caetratos ..... caetratus, -a, -um, *armed with a light shield*  
*(caetra).*  
 35. funditores ..... funditor, -ōris, m., *a slinger.*  
 39. conscripta ..... conscribo, conscripsi, conscriptum, 3, *to enrol.*  
 delectae ..... delectus, -a, -um, *picked, chosen.*
22. 2. ignarus ..... ignarus, -a, -um, *ignorant.*  
 9. aceolae ..... accola, -ae, m., *one who dwells beside), inhabitant.*  
 25. vetitus esset ... veto, vetui, vetitum, 1, *to forbid.*  
 26. temperare ..... tempero, 1, *to control (with dat.).*  
 nequivisse ..... nequeo, nequivi, nequitum, nequire, *to be unable.*  
 28. virgultorum ... virgultum, -i, n., *thicket, copse.*  
 strage ..... strages, -is, f., *overthrow, destruction.*  
 29. nimbium ..... nimbus, -i, m., *a thunder-cloud.*  
 moles ..... moles, -is, f., *(mass), monster.*
23. 3. specularentur specular, 1, *to reconnoitre.*  
 7. fauces ..... [faux], faucis, f. (usu. pl.), *throat, narrow passage.*  
 10. saltum ..... saltus, -ūs, m., *upland pasture.*  
 12. manavit ..... mano, 1, *to flow.*  
 11. inexsuperabili .. inexsuperabilis, -e, *insuperable.*  
 18. gravari ..... gravor, 1, *to feel aggrieved.*
24. 1. mora ..... mora, -ae, f., *delay.*  
 10. processurum ... procēdo, processi, processum, 3, *to advance.*  
 12. cunctanter ..... adv., *tardily.*  
 14. stricturum ..... stringo, strinxī, strictum, 3, *to draw (a sword).*  
 17. gravate ..... adv., *reluctantly.*
25. 4. defecerunt ... deficio, defēci, defectum, 3, *to fail.*  
 7. arreptis ..... arripio, arripui, arreptum, 3, *to snatch up.*  
 9. agrestis ..... agrestis, -e, *rustic.*  
 11. diffisi ..... diffido, diffisus, 3, *to mistrust.*  
 17. metantis ..... metor, 1, *to measure, share out.*  
 19. pigerrima ..... piger, -gra, -grum, *reluctant, slow.*  
 28. incultis ..... incultus, -a, -um, *uncultivated.*  
 insidias ..... insidiae, -arum, f. pl., *ambuscade.*  
 30. emersit ..... emergo, emersi, emersum, 3, *to come out.*  
 31. defuit ..... desum, defui, deesse, *to be wanting.*  
 refecti sunt ..... reficio, refeci, refectum, 3, *to refresh.*  
 35. intratae ..... intro, 1, *to enter.*  
 38. invio ..... invius, -a, -um, *pathless.*  
 39. tutantes ..... tutor, 1, *to protect.*  
 40. munimento ..... munimentum, -i, n., *fortification, earthworks.*  
 41. commatibus ... commeatus, -ūs, m., *provisions.*
26. 12. ostium ..... ostium, -ii, n., *river-mouth.*

26. 16. iactatione ... iactatio, -onis, f., *tossing*.  
 22. citeriore ..... citerior, -ius, adj., *hither, nearer*.  
 27. fabricandas ..... fabrico, 1, *to make*.  
 28. levari ..... levo, 1, *to lighten, relieve*.  
 30. lintrium ..... linter, -ris, m., *a wherry, skiff*.  
     vicinalem ..... vicinalis, -e, *local*.  
 31. inchoantes ..... inchoo, 1, *to commence*.  
 32. cavabant ..... cavo, 1, *to hollow*.  
 33. alveos ..... alveus, -i, m., (*cavity*), *tub, boat*.<sup>v</sup>  
 34. informes ..... informis, -e, *shapeless*.
27. 11. caesa ..... caedo, cecīdi, caesum, 3, *to cut down*.  
     materia ..... materia, -ae, f., *timber*.  
     rates ..... ratis, -is, f., *raft*.  
 13. utris ..... uter, -ris, m., *a skin, leather bottle*.  
     vestimentis ..... vestimentum, -ī, n., *garment*.  
     caetris ..... caetra, -ae, f., *a light shield*.  
 14. superpositis ... superpono, superposui, superpositum, 3, *to pile upon*.  
     incubantes ..... incubo, incubui, incubitum, 1, *to rest on*.  
     tranavere ..... trano, 1, *to swim across*.  
 18. edito ..... editus, -a, -um (p.p.p. of ēdo), *elevated*.  
     fumo ..... fumus, -i, m., *smoke*.  
 21. aptatas ..... apto, 1, *to fit for, adapt*. ✓  
 25. nantes ..... no, 1, *to swim*.  
     loris ..... lorum, -i, n., *a thong, strap*.  
     puppibus ..... puppis, -is, f., *stern*.  
     instratos ..... insterno, instravi, instratum, 3, *to spread upon*,  
     (*of horses*) *to saddle*.  
 26. frenatos ..... freno, 1, *to bridle*.  
     extemplo ..... adv., *forthwith*.  
 27. usui ..... usus, -ūs, m., *use, service*.
28. 1. occursant ... occurso, 1, *to run upon*.  
     ululatibus ..... ululatus, -ūs, m., *howling*.  
 2. cantu ..... cantus, -ūs, m., *song, chant*.  
     quatientes ..... quatio, quassi, quassum, 3, *to shake, brandish*.  
     scuta ..... scutum, -i, n., *shield*.  
     vibrantes ..... vibro, 1, *to shake, brandish*.  
 10. evadente ..... evado, evasi, evasum, 3, (*to emerge*), *to disembark*.  
 11. improvisa ..... improvisus, -a, -um, *unforeseen*.  
     premente ..... premo, pressi, pressum, 3, *to press (upon)*.  
 12. pellebantur ..... pello, pepuli, pulsum, 3, *to drive away*.  
 13. trepidi ..... trepidus, -a, -um, *trembling, fearful*.  
 14. spernens ..... sperno, sprevi, spretum, 3, *to despise*.  
 19. rectore ..... rector, -oris, m., *driver*.  
 24. pronius ..... compar. of pronus, -a, -um, (*forward*), *liable (to)*.  
 25. porrexerunt ... porrigo, porrexi, porrectum, 3, *to extend*.  
 26. retinaculis ..... retinaculum, -i, n., (*bond*), *rope*.  
 27. religatam ..... religo, 1, *to tie back, bind*.  
 28. beluae ..... belua, -ae, f., *a (wild) beast*.







28. 28. audacter ... adv., *boldly*.  
 solum ..... solum, -i, n., *the ground, soil*.
30. copulata est ... copulo, 1, *to bind, fasten together*.
31. praegredientibus... praegredior, praegressus, 3, *to progress, go forward*.
32. feminis..... femina, -ae, f., *a female*.
33. adnexa erat..... adnecto, adnexui, adnexum, 3, *to connect, attach*.
34. aetuariis ..... aetuarium, -a, -um, (of boats) *light*. ✓
38. raperentur ..... rapio, rapui, raptum, 3, *to snatch away*.
41. saevientes ..... saevio, 4, *to rage*.
42. pedetentim ..... adv., *step by step*.
29. 4. alae..... ala, -ae, f., (wing), *squadron*. ✓  
 7. utrinque ..... adv., *on both sides*.
12. eventum ..... eventus, -ūs, m., *issue, result*.  
 sane..... adv., *assuredly*.  
 incruentam ..... incruentus, -a, -um, *bloodless*.
17. intenderet ..... intendo, intendi, intentum, 3, *to press on*.
21. libatis ..... libo, 1, (*to take a taste of*), *to impair*.
24. oblitterata ..... oblittero, 1, *to wipe out*.
30. 2. pergere ..... pergo, perrexi, perrectum, 3, *to advance, continue*.  
 3. castigando ..... castigo, 1, *to rebuke, chastise*.  
 4. quinam ..... adv., *how indeed?*  
 impavida..... impavidus, -a, -um, *fearless*.  
 7. amplectantur ... amplector, amplexus, 3, *to embrace*. ✓  
 8. indignatos ..... indignor, 1, *to feel aggrieved*.  
 9. noxam ..... noxa, -ae, f., *offence, crime*.
20. fingerent ..... fingo, finxi, fictum, 3, (*to fashion*), *to feign, suppose*.  
 iugis ..... iugum, -i, n., (*a yoke*), *range of hills*.
21. profecto ..... adv., *assuredly*.  
 inxsuperabiles. inxsuperabilis, -e, *insuperable*.
22. gignere ..... gigno, genui, genitum, 3, (*to beget*), *to produce*.
23. pervias..... pervius, -a, -um, *passable*.
24. pinnis ..... pinna, -ae, f., (*feather*), *wing*.
26. indigenas ..... indigena, -ae, e., *a native*.  
 advenas ..... advena, -ae, e., *a settler*. ✓  
 cultores ..... cultor, -oris, m., *a cultivator*.
31. 10. inditum ... indo, indidi, inditum, 3, *to attach to, impose upon*.  
 11. opibus ..... [ops], opis, f., in pl., *resources*.  
 12. ambigebant..... ambigo, —, —, 3, *to debate, quarrel about*. ✓  
 13. imperitarat ..... (= imperitaverat), imperito, 1, *to hold sway*.  
 14. coetu ..... coetus, -ūs, m., *coalition*.  
 15. pellebatur ..... pello, pepuli, pulsum, 3, *to drive away*.  
 disceptatio ..... disceptatio, -onis, f., *dispute*.  
 16. arbiter..... arbiter, -tri, m., *arbitrator*. ✓  
 19. est adiutus ..... adiūvo, adiūvi, adiutum, 1, *to assist*. ✓  
 23. laevam..... laeva, -ae, f., *left hand*.  
 31. glareosa ..... glareosus, -a, -um, *gravelly*.  
 33. imbribus ..... imber, -bris, m., *a shower*.

32. 1. triduo ..... triduum, -i, n., *a period of three days.*  
 8. sortitus erat ... sortitor, 4, *to (assign or) obtain by lot.*  
 10. tantummodo ... adv., *only.*  
 12. exiguis ..... exiguus, -a, -um, *scanty.*  
 14. campestri ..... campestris, -e, *in the plains, low-lying.*  
 19. iumenta .. ..... iumentum, -i, n., *a beast of burden.*  
 torpida ..... torpidus, -a, -um, *sluggish (with cold).*  
 20. intonsi ..... intonsus, -a, -um, *unshorn, unkempt.*  
 inculti ..... incultus, -a, -um, *(uncultivated), wild.*  
 21. rigentia ..... rigeo, rigui, —, 2, *to be stark and stiff.*  
 gelu ..... gelu, ūs, n., *cold.*  
 foediora ..... foedus, -a, -um, *foul.*  
 22. erigentibus ..... crigo, erexi, erectum, 3, *(to raise), to lead up.*  
 24. occultiores ..... compar. of occultus, -a, -um, *hidden.*  
 27. conperit ..... conperio, conpēri, conpertum, 4, *to find.*  
 28. confragosa ..... confragosus, -a, -um, *rough, rocky.*  
 praerupta ..... praeruptus, -a, -um, *precipitous.*  
 30. abhorrentis ..... abhorreo, abhorruī, —, 2, *to differ (from).* ✓  
 inimiscuissent ... inimisceo, inimiscui, inimixtum or inmistum, 2, *to mingle, mix.*  
 31. conloquiis ..... conloquium, -ii, n., *a conversation.*  
 montanorum ... montanus, -i, m., *a mountaineer.*  
 edoctus ... edoceo, edocui, edoctum, 2, *to teach.*  
 interdiu ..... adv., *by day.*  
 tantum ..... adv., *only.*  
 32. dilabi ..... dilabor, dilapsus, 3, *to slip away.*  
 34. angustias ..... angustiae, -arum, f. pl., *a narrow pass.* ✓  
 37. laxatas ..... laxo, 1, *to relax.*
33. 2. relicum ..... reliquus, -a, -um, *remaining.*  
 6. parumper ..... adv., *for a little time.*  
 8. consternatis ... consterno, 1, *to terrify.*  
 11. iniquitate ..... iniquitas, -atis, f., *unwarrantableness.*  
 infestum ..... infestus, -a, -um, *endangered.*  
 15. dissonis ..... dissonus, -a, -um, *discordant.*  
 repercussae ..... repercussus, -a, -um, *echoing.*  
 17. sarcinarum ..... sarcina, -ae, f., *a satchel, package.*  
 18. praecipites ..... praeceps, -cipitis, *precipitous.*  
 25. exutum ..... exuo, exui, exutum, 3, *to strip.*  
 27. fudisset ..... fundo, fudi, fusum, 3, *(to pour), to rout.*  
 31. viculos ..... viculus, -i, m., *a hamlet.*  
 32. pecoribus ..... pecus, -oris, n., *a herd of cattle.*
34. 3. insidiis ..... insidiae, -arum, f. pl., *ambuscade.*  
 10. repudiati ..... repudio, 1, *to repel, reject.*  
 14. robore ..... robur, -ōris, n., *strength, strongest part.*  
 15. sollicitus ..... sollicitus, -a, -um, *anxious.*  
 20. urgebat ..... urgeo, ursi, —, 2, *to press on.*  
 26. occursantes ..... occurso, 1, *to rush to meet.*
35. 1. intercursantibus... intercurso, 1, *to charge between.*





35. 4. latrociuii ..... latrocinium, -ii, n., *brigandage*.  
 13. initae ..... inco, inii, initum, inire, *to enter*.  
 coniectantibus .. coniecto, 1, *to guess at*.  
 14. biduum ..... biduum, -ii, n., *a period of two days*.  
 stativa .. stativa, -orum, n. pl., *a stationary camp*.  
 17. taedio ..... taedium, -ii, n., *weariness*.  
 18. sidere ..... sidus, -eris, n., *a constellation*.  
 Vergiliarum ... Vergiliae, -arum, f. pl., *the Pleiades*.  
 19. oppleta ..... oppleo, opplevi, oppletum, 2, *to block up*.  
 20. segniter ..... adv., *slowly*.  
 pigritia ..... pigritia, -ae, f., *sluggishness*.  
 24. Circumpadanos. Circumpadanus, -a, -um, *in the valley of the Po*.  
 26. proclivia ..... proclivis, -e, *sloping*.  
 29. furta ..... furtum, -i, n., (*theft*), *stealthy attack*.  
 32. arrectiora ..... compar. of arrectus, -a, -um, *steep*.  
 33. lubrica ..... lubricus, -a, -um, *slippery*.  
 34. titubassent ..... titubo, 1, *to reel, stagger*.
36. 2. temptabundus... temptabundus, -a, -um, *feeling the way, groping*.  
 10. trita ..... tero, trivi, tritum, 3, *to wear away, use*.  
 ambitu..... ambitus, -ūs, m., *a detour*.  
 13. praealtae ..... praealtus, -a, -um, *very steep*.  
 15. dilapsa est ..... dilabor, dilapsus, 3, *to slip*.  
 glaciem ..... glacies, -ei, f., *ice*.  
 16. liquescentis..... liquesco, licui, —, 3, *to melt (intrans.)*  
 taetra ..... taeter, -tra, -trum, *horrible*.  
 luctatio ..... luctatio, -onis, f., *struggle*.  
 17. prono ..... pronus, -a, -um, *face foremost, headlong*.  
 18. adsurgendo ..... adsurgo, adsurrexi, adsurrectum, 3, *to rise*.  
 19. genu ..... genu, -ūs, n., *knee*.  
 adminiculis..... adminiculum, -i, n., *a support*.  
 20. radices..... radix, -icis, f., *a root*.  
 21. tabida ..... tabidus, -a, -um, *melting*.  
 22. volutabantur ... voluto, 1, *to roll*.  
 secabant ..... seco, secui, sectum, 1, *to cut*.  
 24. conitendo..... conitor, conisus and conixus, 3, *to struggle*.  
 ungulis ..... ungula, -ae, f., *hoof*.  
 penitus ..... adv., *deeply*.  
 perfringebant... perfringo, perfrégi, perfractum, 3, *to break up*.  
 25. pedica ..... pedica, -ae, f., *a trap*.  
 concreta ..... concretus, -a, -um, *solidified*.
37. 3. fodiendum ... fōdio, fōdi, fossum, 3, *to dig*.  
 egerendum ..... egero, egressi, egestum, 3, *to take away*.  
 6. inmanibus ..... inmanis, -e, *immense*.  
 detruncatis ..... detruncō, 1, *to lop clean*.  
 struem..... strues, -is, f., *pile*.  
 7. lignorum ..... lignum, -i, n., *wood*.  
 8. aceto ..... acētum, -i, n., *vinegar*.  
 9. putrefaciunt ... putrefacio, putrefeci, putrefactum, 3, *to soften*.  
 torridam ..... torridus, -a, -um, *hot, scorching*.

37. 9. pandunt ..... pando, pandi, passum, 3, *to lay open*.  
 10. anfractibus ..... anfractus, -ūs, m., *a winding path*. ✓  
 13. cacumina ..... cacumen, -inis, n., *summit*.  
     pabuli ..... pabulum, -i, n., *pasture, food*.  
 14. obruunt ..... obruo, obrui, obrutum, 3, *to cover up*.  
     apricos ..... apricus, -a, -um, *sunny*. ✓  
 16. pabulum ..... pabulum, -i, n., *fodder*.
38. 4. nequaquam .. adv., *by no means*.  
 8. confunderet ... confundo, confudi, confusum, 3, *to confuse*.  
 11. adfluxisse ..... adfluo, adfluxi, adfluxum, 3, *to flow to, flock in*.  
 17. vulgo ..... adv., *commonly*.  
 22. patuisse ..... pateo, patui, —, 2, *to lie open*.  
     obsaepta ..... obsaepio, obsaepsi, obsaeptum, 4, *to hedge in*.  
 23. semigermanis... semigermanus, -a, -um, *half-German*.  
     hercule ..... interj., *assuredly*.  
 26. sacratum ..... sacro, 1, (*to consecrate*), *to worship*.
39. 4. sentientem... sentio, sensi, sensum, 4, *to feel*.  
     contracta..... contraho, contraxi, contractum, 3, *to contract*.  
 5. cultus ..... cultus, -ūs, m., (*civilisation*), *comfort*.  
 6. inluvie..... inluvies, -ei, f., *filth*.  
     tabe ..... tabes, -is, f., *wasting away, emaciation*.  
     squalida ..... squalidus, -a, -um, *filthy*.  
     efferata ..... efferatus, -a, -um, *brutalized*.  
 8. tirone ..... tiro, -onis, m., *newly enlisted*.  
 9. festinandi ..... festino, 1, *to hasten (intrans.)*.  
 15. defectionis ..... defectio, -onis, f., *revolt*.  
 19. sicuti ..... conj., *as if*.  
 20. inbutus ..... inbuo, inbui, inbutum, 3, *to imbue*.  
 22. excidium ..... excidium, -ii, n., *destruction*.
40. 2. supersedissem... supersēdeo, supersēdi, supersessum, 2, (*to be superior to*), *to refrain from*.  
 6. detractantis ... detracto, 1, *to shirk, avoid*.  
 8. scriptus ..... scribo, scripsi, scriptum, 3, (*to write*), *to enrol*.  
 13. ignoretis ..... ignoro, 1, *to be ignorant of*.  
 15. exegistis ..... exigo, exegi, exactum, 3, *to exact*.  
 20. incolumi ..... incolumis, -e, *safe, unharmed*.  
 22. perierint ..... pereo, perii, —, *perire, to perish*.  
     nactus esse ..... nanciscor, nactus, 3, *to obtain*.  
 23. videntes ..... vigeo, vigui, —, 2, *to flourish, be sound*.  
 25. effigies..... effigies, -ei, f., *image, ghost*.  
     inmo ..... adv., *nay rather*.  
     umbrae ..... umbra, -ae, f., *shadow*.  
 26. squalore ..... squalor, -oris, m., *filth*.  
     enecti ..... eneco, enecui, enectum and enecatam, 1, *to kill*.  
     contusi..... contundo, contudi, contusum, 3, *to bruise*.  
     debilitati ..... debilito, 1, *to weaken*.  
 27. praeusti ..... praeustus, -a, -um, (*burnt at the extremity*),  
     *numbed, frozen*.



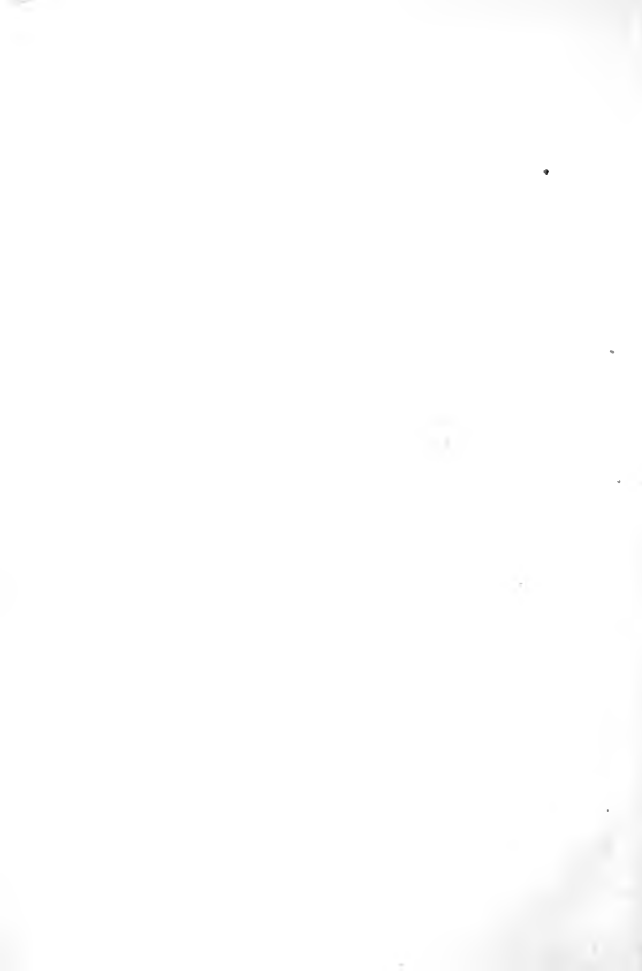




40. 27. artus ..... artus, -ūs, m., *limb.* ✓  
 nervi ..... nervus, -i, m., *sinew.*
28. claudi ..... claudus, -a, -um, *lame.*  
 debiles ..... debilis, -e, *weak.*
29. reliquias ..... reliquiae, -arum, f. pl., *relics.*
33. ruptore ..... ruptor, -oris, m., *breaker, violator.*
34. profligare ..... profligo, 1, (*to dash down*), *to bring almost to an end.*  
 secundum ..... *prep., next after.*
41. 2. magnifice ... adv., *grandiloquently.*  
 aliter ..... adv., *otherwise.* ✓  
 adfectum esse... adficio, adfeci, adfectum, 3, *to affect.*  
 5. participem ..... particeps, -cipis, m., *partner.*  
 7. praeterveherer . praetervehor, praetervectus, 3, (*to be carried past*),  
*to sail past.*
10. conserendi ..... consero, conserui, consertum, 3, *to join (with manum = to join battle).*
14. circuitu ..... circuitus, -ūs, m., *a circuit, détour.*
21. emisistis ..... emitto, emisi, emissum, 3, *to send forth.*  
 aemulus ..... aemulus, -a, -um, *envying, rival.*
22. vectigalis ..... vectigalis, -e, *paying taxes, subject.*  
 stipendiarius ... stipendiarius, -a, -um, *paying tribute, tributary.*
24. agitare ..... agito, 1, (*to agitate*), *drive mad.*
28. fremens ..... fremo, fremui, fremitum, 3, *to groan.*  
 maerens ..... maereo, maerui, —, 2, *to lament, mourn.*
29. pactus est ..... paciscor, pactus, 3, *to promise.*
33. clausos ..... claudo, clausi, clausum, 3, *to shut up.*  
 supplicio ..... supplicium, -ii, n., *punishment.*
34. victicem ..... victrix, -icis, f., *victorious.*
36. veniam ..... venia, -ae, f., *pardon.*
37. tutelae ..... tutela, -ae, f., *protection.*
39. inpertitis ..... inperior, 4, *to get by asking.*
40. utinam ..... interj., *would that!*  
 decore ..... decus, ōris, n., *glory.*
45. obsistat ..... obsisto, obstiti, obstitum, 3, *to resist.*  
 comparari ..... comparo, 1, *to prepare.*
50. identidem ..... adv., *again and again.*  
 reputet ..... reputo, 1, *to recall to mind.*  
 intueri ..... intueor, 2, *to watch.*
42. 3. statuit ..... statuo, statui, statutum, 3, *to set, place.*
5. vinculis ..... vinculum, -i, n., *chain, bond.*  
 levaretur ..... levo, 1, *to relieve.*
6. decertare ..... decerto, 1, *to fight it out.*
7. sors ..... sors, sortis, f., *lot.*
10. tripudiis ..... tripudium, -ii, n., *war-dance.*
43. 6. veluti ..... adv., *as it were.*  
 imago ..... imago, -inis, f., *likeness, image.*  
 condicionis ..... condicio, -onis, f., *state, condition.*
9. claudunt ..... claudo, clausi, clausum, 3, *to shut up.*

43. 12. vigentibus . vigo, vigui, —, 2, *to be in sound health.*  
 13. occurristis ..... occurro, occurri, occursum, 3, *to meet.*  
 17. ereptas ..... eripio, eripui, ereptum, 3, *to snatch away.*  
 18. recuperaturi ... recupero, 1, *to recover.*  
 19. partum ..... pario, peperit, partum, 3, *(to bring forth), to get, win.*  
     congestum ..... congero, congressi, congestum, 3, *to gather together.*  
 21. opimam ..... opimus, -a, -um, *rich.*  
     mercedem ..... merces, mercedis, f., *gain, payment.*  
 23. consectando ... consector, 1, *to chase.*  
     emolumentum .. emolumentum, -i, n., *reward.*  
 25. ditia ..... ditis, -e, *rich, wealthy.*  
 26. mereri ..... mereo, 2, *to earn.*  
 27. emensos ..... emētor, emensus, 4, *(to measure out), to traverse.*  
 32. cruentum ..... cruentus, -a, -um, *gory.*  
     incliti ..... iuclitus, -a, -um, *renowned.*  
     perlevi ..... perlēvis, -e, *very slight.*  
 33. momento ..... momentum, -i, n., *effort.*  
     fulgore ..... fulgor, fulgōris, m., *splendour.*  
 42. domitorem ..... domitor, -oris, m., *conqueror.*  
 44. semestri ..... semestris, -e, *of six months.*  
 52. alumnus ..... alumnus, -i, -m., *pupil.*
44. 2. generosissimarum... superl. of generosus, -a, -um, *well-born, noble.*  
 3. frenatos ..... frenatus, -a, -um, *with bridles, (of cavalry, "regular").*  
     infrenatos ..... infrenatus, -a, -um, *without bridles, (of cavalry, "irregular").*  
 8. arcentis ..... arceo, arcei, arctum, 2, *(to shut out), to withstand.* ✓  
 11. cruciatibus ..... cruciatus, -ūs, m., *torture.*  
 13. arbitrii..... arbitrium, -ii, n., *judgment.*  
 15. circumscribit ... circumscribo, circumscripsi, circumscriptum, 3, *to encircle.*  
     terminis ..... terminus, -i, m., *boundary.*  
 25. vindicamus ... (= vindicaverimus) vindico, 1, *to lay claim to, to support a claim.*  
     ignavis..... ignavus, -a, -um, *cowardly.*  
 26. respectum ..... respectus, -ūs, m., *(a looking back), a means of retreat.*  
 29. dubitabit ..... dubito, 1, *to doubt, hesitate, waver.*  
 30. oppetere ..... oppeto, oppetivi, oppetitum, 3, *to go to meet.*  
 31. destinatum ..... destino, 1, *to determine.*
45. 5. depopulandos depopulo, 1, *to ravage.*  
 10. propere ..... adv., *hastily.*  
 15. immunem..... immunis, -e, *(free from burdens), rent-free.*  
 22. mancipia ..... mancipium, -ii, n., *(property, esp. in slaves), a slave.*  
 25. mactasset ..... mactō, 1, *to kill (esp. in sacrifice).*  
     precationem ... precatio, -onis, f., *a prayer.*





45. 26. pecudis..... pecus, -ūdis, f., a *beast, animal*.  
 elisit..... elido, elisi, elisum, 3, to *crush, shatter*.
28. potienda ..... potior, 4, to *get possession of*.
46. 3. laniatis ..... lanio, 1, to *rend, tear*.  
 4. intactus ..... intactus, -a, -um, *untouched*.  
 evaserat ..... evado, evasi, evasum, 3, to *escape*.  
 examen ..... examen, -inis, n., a *swarm*.
5. consererat ..... consido, consēdi, consessum, 3, to *sit down, settle*.  
 procuratis ..... procuro, 1, to *expiate*.
8. speculandas ... speculor, 1, to *spy out, reconnoitre*.
10. densior..... compar. of densus, -a, -um, *thick, crowded*.  
 incessu..... incessus, -ūs, m., *approach*.
11. oriens ..... orior, ortus, 4, to *arise*.  
 pulvis ..... pulvis, -eris, m., *dust*.  
 propinquantium propinquo, 1, to *approach*.
19. labentibus ..... labor, lapsus, 3, to *slip*.
20. desilientibus ... desilio, desilui, desultum, 4, to *leap down*.
23. percult ..... percello, perculi, percultum, 3, to *overthrow, daunt*.
24. intercurso ..... intercursum, -ūs, m., *intervention*.
25. pubescentis ..... pubesco, pubui, —, 3, to *arrive at manhood*.  
 propulsatum ... propulso, 1, to *drive off, ward off*.
26. penes ..... prep., (in the *power of*), with.
29. confertus..... confercio, —, confertum, 4, to *pack closely, crowd up*.
31. nusquam ..... adv., *nowhere*.  
 effuse ..... adv., *in disorder*.
32. reduxit ..... reduco, reduxi, reductum, 3, to *lead back*.
33. delegat ..... delego, 1, to *assign*.
47. 5. vasa ..... vas, -is, n., *vessel*; pl., *baggage*. ✓  
 7. resolutis ..... resolvo, resolvi, resolutum, 3, to *cast loose*.  
 insectatione ... insectatio, -onis, f., *pursuit*.
10. moratorum ..... moror, 1, to *delay, straggle*.
19. inflati ..... inflo, 1, to *inflate*.
- travexerint ..... traveho, travexi, travectum, 3, to *carry across*.
21. potiores ..... potior, -ius, (more *powerful*), *preferable*. ✓
22. biduo ..... biduum, -i, n., *space of two days*. ✓
29. directa ..... derigo, derexi, directum, 3, to *set straight, deploy*. ✓
48. 1. insequenti ... insequor, insecutus, 3, to *follow*.  
 6. accensos ..... accendo, accendi, accensum, 3, to *kindle, excite*. ✓  
 8. defectionis ..... defectio, -onis, f., *desertion*.  
 contactos..... contingo, contigi, contactum, 3, to *touch, taint, defile*.  
 9. rabie ..... rabies, -ei, f., *madness*.
12. inpeditiores ... compar. of inpeditus, -a, -um, (obstructed), *inaccessible*.  
 13. fefellit..... fallo, fefelli, falsum, 3, to *escape notice*.  
 15. aviditate ..... aviditas, -atis, f., *greed*. ✓  
 vacua ..... vacuus, -a, -um, *vacant, empty*.

48. 16. perscrutantes. perscrutor, 1, *to investigate*.  
 18. emissus est ..... emitto, emisi, emissum, 3, (*to send away*), *to suffer to escape*.  
 22. collegam ..... collega, -ae, m., *colleague*.  
 28. vicum ..... vicus, -i, m., *village*.  
 30. proditionis ..... proditio, -onis, f., *treason, betrayal*.  
 32. horreum ..... horreum, -i, n., *granary*.  
 35. saevitum est ... saevio, 4, *to rage, act savagely*.
49. 1. terrestre ..... terrestris, -e, *by land*.  
 constitisset ..... consisto, constiti, constitum, 3, *to stand still, stop*.  
 6. tenuerunt ..... teneo, tenui, —, 2, *to hold (on one's course)*.  
 15. tempestate ..... tempestas, -atis, f., (*weather*), *storm*.  
 18. perscribit... .. perscribo, perscripsi, perscriptum, 3, *to report at length*.  
 22. cocta ..... coquo, coxi, coctum, 3, *to cook*.  
 cibaria ..... cibaria, -orum, n. pl., *provisions*.  
 24. conscendendi ... conscendo, conscendi, conscensum, 3, *to embark*.  
 speculis ..... specula, -ae, f., *watch-tower*.  
 25. prospicerent ... prospicio, prospexi, prospectum, 3, *to look out for*.  
 26. de industria ... adv. phrase, *of set purpose*.  
 cursum ..... cursus, -ūs, m., *course, passage*.  
 28. praesensum est. praesentio, praesensi, praesensum, 4, *to perceive beforehand*.  
 pernox .. ..... pernox, -ctis, adj., *all through the night*.  
 sublatis ..... tollo, sustuli, sublatum, 3, *to lift up, hoist*.  
 29. armamentis..... armamentum, -i, n., *tackle, rigging*.  
 35. inluxit ..... inlucesco, inluxi, —, 3, *to dawn*.  
 36. exitum..... exitus, -ūs, m., *passage out*.  
 50. 5. adfatim ..... adv., *sufficiently*.  
 6. sicubi ..... conj., *if anywhere*.  
 13. perforata ..... perforo, 1, *to pierce, (of ships) to ram*.  
 14. reduce ..... redux, -ūcis, adj., *brought back*.  
 15. gnaris .. ..... gnarus, -a, -um, *not ignorant, aware*.  
 19. sospitem ..... sospes, -ītis, *safe and sound*.  
 25. gratis ..... adv., *freely, without reward*.  
 27. novas res..... novae res, novarum rerum, f. pl., *a revolution*.
51. 14. escensio ... escensio, -onis, f., *landing*.
52. 4. declarabat ... declaro, 1, *to make clear, prove*.  
 5. minutus ..... minuo, minui, minutum, 3, (*to diminish*), *to dishearten*.  
 8. ambiguum ..... ambiguus, -a, -um, *doubtful*.  
 9. favorem ..... favor, -oris, m., *friendship*.  
 11. periniquo ..... periniquus, -a, -um, *very dissatisfied*.  
 13. aleret ..... alo, alui, —, 3, *to nourish, maintain*.  
 17. vindices ..... vindex, -īcis, c., *avenger*.  
 declinant..... declino, 1, *to turn*.  
 19. cultorum..... cultor, -oris, m., *cultivator, inhabitant*.  
 22. vetustate..... vetustas, -atis, f., *age, lapse of time*.











52. 22. *obsolevissent*. *obsolesco*, *obsolevi*. *obsoletum*, 3, *to become forgotten*.  
*inconpositos* ... *inconpositus*, -a, -um, *in disorder*.
28. *inopinato*..... *adv.*, *unexpectedly*.  
*invasissent* ..... *invado*, *invasi*, *invasum*, 3, *to attack*.
53. 1. *iustior*..... *compar.* of *iustus*, -a, -um, (*just*), *complete*.  
 7. *senescendum* ... *senesco*, *senui*, --, 3, (*to grow old*), *to be languid*.  
 13. *ingemiscant* ... *ingemisco*, *ingemui*, --, 3, *to groan*.  
 17. *adsidens* ..... *adsideo*, *adsēdi*, *adsestum*, 2, *to sit beside*, *tend*.  
 18. *contionabundus* *contionabundus*, -a, -um, *haranguing*, *addressing a meeting*.
27. *percitum* ..... .. *percicio*, *percivi*, *percitum*, 2, *to excite*.
54. 2. *palustribus*... *palustris*, -e, *marsh* (*adj.*).  
 3. *vestiuntur* ..... *vestio*, 4, *to clothe*, *cover*.  
*vepribus* .. ..... *vepres*, -is, m., *thorn-bush*, *bramble*.  
 4. *latebrosum* ..... *latebrosus*, -a, -um, *suitable for hiding in*.  
 5. *perlustravit*..... *perlustro*, 1, *to go all round*.  
 6. *delige* ..... *deligo*, *delēgi*, *delectum*, 3, *to choose out*, *select*.  
 8. *praetorium* ..... *praetorium*, -ii, n., (*general's tent*), *council of war*.  
 11. *novenos* ..... *noveni*, -ae, -a, *nine apiece*.  
*turmis* ... .. *turma*, -ae, f., *a squadron*.  
*manipulis* ..... *manipulus*, -i, m., *a company*.  
 12. *insideatis* ..... *insideo*, *insēdi*, *insessum*, 3, *to occupy*.  
 13. *caecum* ..... *caecus*, -a, -um, *blind*.  
 16. *obequitare* ..... *obequito*, 1, *to ride up*.  
 17. *iniecto* ..... *inicio*, *iniecī*, *iniectum*, 3, (*to throw in*), *to cause*.  
 18. *sensim* ..... *adv.*, *gradually*.  
 20. *prandere* ..... *prandeo*, *prandi*, *pransum*, 2, *to breakfast*.  
 21. *instratis* ..... *instravo*, *instravi*, *instratum*, 3, *to strew*, (*of horses*) *to saddle*.
25. *brumae* ..... *bruma*, -ae, f., (*the shortest day, mid-winter*), *winter*.  
 26. *nivalis* ..... *nivalis*, -e, *snowy*.  
 27. *paludium* ..... *palus*, -ūdis, f., *marsh*, *morass*.  
*praegelidis* ..... *praegelidus*, -a, -um, *very cold*.
30. *aurae* ..... *aura*, -ae, f., *a breeze*, *the air*.  
*adpropinquabant*... *adpropinquo*, 1, *to approach*.  
*adflabat* ..... *adflo*, 1, *to blow upon*.
32. *pectoribus* ..... *pectus*, -oris, n., *the breast*.  
 35. *lassitudine* ..... *lassitudo*, -inis, f., *weariness*.
55. 1. *tentoria* ..... *teutorium*, -ii, n., *a tent*.  
 2. *oleo* ..... *oleum*, -i, n., *oil*.  
*mollirent* ..... *mollio*, 4, *to soften*.  
 7. *cornibus* ..... *cornu*, -ūs, n., *horn*, (*of an army*) *wing*.  
 9. *effuse* ..... *adv.*, *in disorder*.
11. *receptui* ..... *receptus*, ūs, m., *retreat*.  
 16. *diducta* ..... *diduco*, *diduxi*, *diductum*, 3, *to lead apart*.  
 20. *obrutī sunt* ..... *obruo*, *obruī*, *obrutum*, 3, *to overwhelm*.  
 23. *insolito* ..... *insolitus*, -a, -um, *unaccustomed*.

55. 23. pedestris ... pedestris, -e, *on foot, infantry* (adj.).  
 26. ieiuna ..... ieiunus, -a, -um, *fasting, hungry*.  
 27. restitissent ..... resisto, restiti, restitum, 3, *to resist*.  
 28. iaculabantur ... iaculor, 1, *to hurl missiles*.  
 29. latera ..... latus, -ŕis, n., *side, flank*.  
 30. latebras ..... latebra, -ae, f., *hiding-place*.  
 improvida..... improvidus, -a, -um, *unawares*.  
 31. praeterlata est... praeterfero, praetertuli, praeterlatum, praeter-  
 ferre, *to carry past*; pass. *to pass*.  
 34. velites ..... vēlēs, vēlītis, m., *a light-armed soldier*.  
 35. verutis ..... verutum, -i, n., *a dart*.  
 36. caudis ..... cauda, -ae, f., *the tail*.  
 cute ..... cutis, -is, f., *the skin, hide*.  
 fodiebant..... fōdio, fōdi, fossum, 3, *to dig, stab*.
56. 11. perrexere ... pergo, perrexi, perrectum, 3, *to advance*.  
 19. iumenta ..... iumentum, -i, n., *a beast of burden*.  
 absumpsit ..... absumo, absumpsi, absumptum, 3, *to carry off*.  
 21. torpentes..... torpeo, torpui, —, 2, *to grow stiff with cold*.  
 25. obstrepente..... obstrepro, obstrepui, obstreptum, 3, *to make a noise*.  
 pluvia ..... pluvia, -ae, f., *rain*.  
 nequibant ..... nequeo, nequivi, nequĭtum, nequire, *to be unable*.
57. 15. vagantibus. vagor, 1, *to wander about*.  
 18. emporium ..... emporium, -ii, n., *a magazine, depôt*.  
 22. vigiles ..... vigil, -ilis, m., *sentry*.  
 26. saucius..... saucius, -a, um, *wounded*.  
 29. percurato..... percuro, 1, *to cure completely*.  
 31. frequentaverunt frequento, 1, *to throng, flock to*.  
 34. arreptis ..... arripio, arripui, arreptum, 3, *to snatch up*.  
 37. inconditam ..... inconditus, -a, -um, *disorderly*.  
 44. libidinis ..... libĭdo, -inis, f., *lust*.  
 superbiae..... superbia, -ae, f., *insolence*.
58. 6. foeditatem ... foeditas, -atis, f., *foulness, horror*.  
 9. vertice ..... vertex, -icis, f., *a whirlwind*.  
 intorti ..... intorqueo, intorsi, intortum, 2, *to twist round*.  
 adfligebantur ... adfligo, adflixi, adflictum, 3, *to dash down*.  
 10. spiritum ..... spiritus, -ūs, m., *the breath*.  
 includeret ..... includo, inclusi, inclusum, 3, *(to shut up), to stop*.  
 reciprocare ..... reciproco, 1, *to reciprocate, give and take, (of the breath) to draw*.  
 animam ..... anima, -ae, f., *the breath*.  
 aversi ..... averto, averti, aversum, 3, *to turn away*.  
 11. parumper ..... adv., *for a little while*.  
 12. micare ... ..... mico, micui, —, 1, *to flash out*.  
 16. de integro ... .. adv. phrase, *afresh, anew*.  
 18. perscindente ... perscindo, perscidi, perscissum, 3, *to rend in pieces*.  
 20. nivosae ..... nivosus, -a, -um, *snowy*.  
 grandinis ..... grando, -inis, f., *hail*.







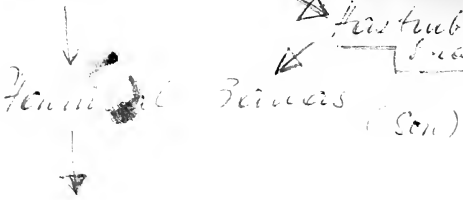
58. 21. *tegminibus*. *tegmen*, -inis, n., *covering*.  
 25. *flectere*..... *flecto*, *flexi*, *flexum*, 3, *to bend*.  
 27. *inops* ..... *inops*, -opis, adj., *needy*, *helpless*.  
     *tendere* ..... *tendo*, *tetendi*, *tentum* and *tensum*, 3, *to stretch*,  
     *to seek to obtain*.
59. 1. *degressus* ... *degredior*, *degressus*, 3, *to descend*.  
 11. *confertos* ..... p.p.p. of *confercio*, *in close order*.  
 15. *laxatam* ..... *laxo*, 1, *to relax*.  
 19. *pernicie* ..... *perniciēs*, -ei, f., *ruin*, *destruction*.
60. 4. *adpulisset* ... *adpello*, *adpuli*, *adpulsum*, 3, *to bring (a fleet) to land*.  
 19. *dimicatio*..... *dimicatio*, -onis, f., *fight*.  
 24. *vilium* ..... *vilis*, -e, *cheap*, *worthless*.  
     *ditavere* ..... *dito*, 1, *to enrich*.
61. 6. *classicos* ..... *classicus*, -a, -um, *pertaining to the fleet*.  
     *vagos* ..... *vagus*, -a, um, *wandering*.  
     *palantis* ..... *palor*, 1, *to wander up and down*.
12. *animadvertisset* *animadverto*, *animadverti*, *animadversum*, 3,  
     (with in and acc.) *to punish*.
20. *compulsis*..... *compello*, *compuli*, *compulsum*, 3, *to drive together*.  
 23. *multatos* ..... *multo* (*muleto*), 1, *to fine*.  
 27. *exuti* ..... *exuo*, *exui*, *exutum*, 3, *to strip*.  
 32. *pluteos* ..... *pluteus*, -i, m., *siege-shed*.  
     *operuerat* ..... *operio*, *operui*, *opertum*, 4, *to cover up*.
33. *aliquotiens* ..... adv., *often*.  
     *tutamentum* ... *tutamentum*, -i, n., *protection*.
35. *pacti* ..... *paciscor*, *pactus*, 3, *to bargain*, *agree to pay*.
62. 4. *ingenuum* ... *ingenuus*, -a, -um, *well-born*, *noble*.  
     *semenstrem*..... *semenstris*, -e, *six-months-old*.  
     *olitorio* ..... *olitorius*, -a, -um, *vegetable (adj.)*.  
     5. *boario* ..... *boarius*, -a, -um, *cattle (adj.)*.  
     *contignationem*. *contignatio*, -onis, f., *flooring*, *storey*.  
     6. *escendisse* ..... *escendo*, *escendi*, *escensum*, 3, *to climb*.  
     *habitorum* ... *habitor*, -oris, m., *dweller*, *tenant*.  
     7. *adfulsisse*..... *adfulgeo*, *adfulsi*, *adfulsum*, 2, *to shine forth*  
     *appear bright*.  
     8. *fulmine* ..... *fulmen*, -inis, n., *a thunderbolt*.  
     10. *devolasse*..... (= *devolavisse*) *devolō*, 1, *to fly down*.  
     *pulvinari*..... *pulvinar*, -is, n., *sacred couch*.  
     11. *procul* ..... adv., *at a distance*.  
     13. *extenuatas* ..... *extenuo*, 1, *to diminish*, *lessen*.  
     14. *vagina* ... .. *vagina*, -ae, f., *a sheath*, *scabbard*.  
     16. *novemdiale* ..... *novemdialis*, -e, *of nine days*.  
     21. *signum* ... .. *signum*, -i, n., *a statue*.  
     *aeneum* ... .. *aeneus*, -a, -um, *bronze (adj.)*  
     22. *lectisternium* ... *lectisternium*, -ii, n., *a sacred banquet*.  
     26. *indicta*..... *indico*, *indixi*, *indictum*, 3, *to decree*.

62. 26. *hostiae* ..... *hostia*, -ae, f., *a victim*.  
 29. *levaverant* ..... *levo*, 1, *to relieve*.
63. 1. *designatorum*... *designo*, 1, *to nominate*.  
 6. *patribus* ..... *patres*, -um, m. pl., *the senators*.  
 7. *abrogabatur* ... *abrogo*, 1, (*to annul*), *to take away* (an office).  
 12. *amphorarum* .. *amphora*, -ae, f., (*a pitcher*), as a measure, about *seven gallons*.  
 13. *vectandos* ..... *vecto*, 1, *to convey*.  
     *quaestus* ..... *quaestus*, -ūs, m., *profit*.  
 15. *suasori*..... *suasor*, -oris, m., *the supporter* (of a proposal).  
 17. *ementiendis* ... *ementior*, 4, *to falsify*.  
     *feriarum* ..... *fēriae*, -arum, f. pl., *a festival*.  
 19. *privatus* ..... *privatus*, -i, m., *a private person, civilian*.  
 23. *inauspicato*..... *adv.*, *without due auspices*.  
 24. *conscientia* ..... *conscientia*, -ae, f., (*guilty*) *knowledge*.  
 25. *sollemnem* ..... *sollemnis*, -e, *eustomary*.  
     *nuncupationem*. *nuncupatio*, -onis, f., (*nomination*), *public profession of vows*.  
 29. *auspicato*..... *adv.*, *with due auspices*.  
 30. *nuncupanda* ... *nuncupo*, 1, (*to name in public*), *to profess*.  
     *paludatus* ..... *paludatus*, -a, -um, *dressed in a general's cloak*.  
 31. *lixae*..... *lixa*, -ae, m., *a sutler*.  
     *insignibus* ..... *insignia*, -ium, u. pl., *the marks of rank*.  
 32. *furtim* ..... *adv.*, *stealthily, like a thief*.  
 35. *deversorio* ..... *deversorium*, -ii, n., *a tavern*.  
     *hospitali* ..... *hospitalis*, -e. *for the reception of guests*.  
 35. *penates* ..... *penates*, -ium, m. pl., *the hearth-gods*.  
     *praetextam* ... *praetexta*, -ae, f., *the robe of office*.  
 36. *sumpturum*... *sumo*, *sumpsi*, *sumptum*, 3, *to take up, assume*.  
 43. *innolanti* ..... *innolo*, 1, *to sacrifice*.  
     *vitulus*..... *vitulus*, -i, m., *a calf*.  
 45. *cruore* ..... *cruor*, -ōris, m., *gore*.  
     *respersit* ... *respergo*, *respersi*, *respersum*, 3, *to sprinkle*.  
 46. *conkursatio*..... *conkursatio*, -onis, f., (*a running together*), *excitement*.  
 49. *trannites* ..... *trames*, -ītis, m., (*a cross-road*), *a pass*.



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# LIVY XXI.

A TRANSLATION.

I MAY say at the outset of a section of my work, what many historians have declared at the commencement of their whole task, that I am about to write the story of the most memorable of all wars that have ever been waged--that, namely, which the Carthaginians, with Hannibal as their leader, waged with the people of Rome. For never did mightier states or nations <sup>CLASHED IN ARMES</sup> meet in battle, nor ever were these same peoples at a greater height of power and strength. They pitted one against another no strange tactics, but such as had been <sup>TRIED OUT</sup> put to proof in the first Punic War; and so various were the fortunes of the war, so doubtful the struggle, that the victors were nearer destruction than the vanquished. The animosity with which they fought was even greater than were their resources. While the Romans were furious that a conquered people should take up arms against their vanquishers without provocation, the Carthaginians were equally so in the belief that they had, as subjects, been ruled with insolence and rapacity. [There is a story, too, that when Hamilcar, at the close of the African War, was on the point of crossing over to Spain with his army, and was offering sacrifice, Hannibal, then about nine years old, coaxed his father in boyish fashion that he might be taken with him thither. Led up to the altar, with his hands upon the victims, he was bound by an oath to be the foe of the Romans when first he had the power. A man of high courage, Hannibal was vexed at the loss of Sicily and Sardinia, thinking the former to have been surrendered in premature despair, the latter to have been seized treacherously by the Romans during the confusion Africa, while an indemnity had been imposed, in ition, upon Carthage.] <sup>insuper</sup>

*His curis... anxius*

2.—These grievances rankled in his mind. For five years, during the African War, which followed immediately upon peace with Rome, and for the nine following years, while extending the Carthaginian power in Spain, his conduct was such that it was manifest that he was brooding over some more serious war than that upon which he was then engaged, and that, had he lived longer, the Carthaginians would have made, under Hamilcar's leadership, that attack upon Italy which they actually made under Hannibal. [The war was put off by the death of Hamilcar at the most fortunate moment, and by the tender years of his son. Hasdrubal maintained the command for about eight years between the father and the son. On account of his youthful good looks he had, as report goes, first become a favourite of Hamilcar's, and afterwards—undoubtedly for other qualities—he had been accepted as his son-in-law, and as his son-in-law had been established in the command in Spain, sorely against the will of the nobles, by the help of Barca's partisans, whose influence with the soldiery and populace was unbounded. He effected more by policy than by force of arms, and strengthened the power of Carthage by entertaining chieftains and by winning over new tribes through the goodwill of their leaders, rather than by war or arms. However, peace proved to be just as dangerous to him. A native killed him in broad daylight, in anger for his master, whom Hasdrubal had executed. When seized by the bystanders, he showed no more concern than if he had made his escape; and even while being torn to pieces by tortures, wore such an expression of countenance that he presented the appearance of a man actually smiling, his delight getting the better of his agony. As he had been a man of marvellous skill in stirring up the tribes and annexing them to his command, the Romans had renewed their treaty with this Hasdrubal, on the terms that the boundary of both empires should be the River Hiberus, and that their independence should be preserved to the Saguntines, who lay midway between the empires of the two nations.]

3.—For supplying Hasdrubal's place, there was no doubt

TULLINE IV

that the support of the populace would follow upon the decision of the army, by which the young Hannibal had at once been borne to the general's tent and hailed as commander with great applause and agreement of all. While yet scarcely of age, Hasdrubal had summoned him by letter to his side, and the matter had indeed been discussed in the Senate. Barca's partisans used every effort that Hannibal should accustom himself to service, and inherit his father's power. Hanno, the head of the other party, declared that Hasdrubal seemed to make a fair request, but for all that, he himself thought that what he asked ought not to be granted. Having drawn upon himself the attention of all in wonderment at so contradictory an opinion, he continued. "Hasdrubal considers that the prime of youth, which he himself devoted to the gratification of Hannibal's father, is with justice required by him from that man's son; yet it by no means befits us to subject our young men to the fancies of generals as a substitute for the rudiments of warfare. Are we afraid that the son of Hamilcar may too late set eyes upon unbridled power, and the pomp of that royalty that was his father's? Or that we may not soon enough become the servants of the son of that monarch to whose son-in-law our armies have been left as an inheritance? My vote is that this young man be retained at home beneath the law, be taught to live on equal terms with the rest of us, under the control of our magistrates, lest at any time this small spark excite a mighty conflagration." A few, and almost all the best-disposed, sided with Hanno; but, as often happens, the majority prevailed over the better party.

4.—Having been despatched into Spain, Hannibal instantly and upon his first arrival, won over the whole army. The veterans believed that Hamilcar was once more restored to them as a young man. They saw the same energy in his countenance, the same strength of character in his eye, the same expression of face, the same features. After a little he contrived that his likeness to his father should be but the smallest weight in winning men's goodwill. Never was the same mind more suitable for the most opposite ends, obedience and command. Thus, you could

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Barca's  
partisans

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hardly tell whether he was dearer to his general or to the soldiery. Hasdrubal preferred to appoint no one else to the command when anything had to be done with courage and determination. With no other leader did the army show more confidence and daring. He possessed the highest courage in grappling with danger, the highest sagacity in the midst of actual peril. By no toils could his frame be wearied or his spirit daunted. His endurance of heat and cold was the same. The limit of his eating and drinking was determined, not by pleasure, but by the needs of nature. His seasons of wakefulness and rest were not determined by the hours of day and night. Whatever time remained over from active work was given up to repose; and repose was sought neither by a soft couch nor by silence. Many a man often saw him sleeping on the ground, wrapped in his military cloak, amongst the guards and pickets of soldiers. His dress was nothing out of the way amongst those of his own age, though his accoutrements and horses were conspicuous. He was at once far the best of the cavalry and the foot. He was the first to rush into battle; he was the last to retire when the fight had once begun. But great faults balanced these great good qualities: heartless cruelty, faithlessness more than Carthaginian. He had no truthfulness, no sense of right, no fear of the gods, no regard for an oath, no religious scruples. With a character of such excellence and such failings, he served for three years under the command of Hasdrubal, omitting nothing which ought to be seen or done by one who was about to become a mighty leader.

5.—But from the day on which he was declared General, as though Italy had been decreed him as his province and a war with Rome entrusted to his charge, deeming that there ought to be no delay lest some mischance should overtake him too while hesitating, as it had overtaken both his father, Hamilcar, and afterwards Hasdrubal, he decided to make war upon the Saguntines. As there was no doubt that a war with Rome would be set on foot by his besieging the Saguntines, he first led his forces into the territories of the Olcades. That tribelay beyond the Hiberus, rather



in the district than in the power of the Carthaginians. He could thus seem not to have aimed at the Saguntines, but to have been drawn into this war by the course of events, after the conquest of the neighbouring tribes, and by ~~his~~ annexation. He stormed and sacked Cartala, a wealthy town, and the capital of the tribe; and terror-struck by fear ~~thereat~~, the lesser states accepted his government, an indemnity being laid upon them. His army, victorious, and enriched with spoils, was drawn off to New Carthage, into winter quarters. The goodwill of the citizens and his allies having been there assured by his liberally dividing his booty and by his paying off honourably all arrears, war was made at the beginning of the spring upon the Vaccaei. Their towns of Hermandica and Arbocala were stormed. Arbocala was long defended both by the heroism and numbers of its inhabitants. Some fugitives from Hermandica, allying themselves with some exiles of the Olcades (the tribe subdued in the preceding summer), roused the Carpetani to arms; and, attacking Hannibal not far from the Tagus, while returning from the Vaccaei, they threw into panic his column, laden ~~as it was~~ with plunder. Hannibal declined battle. He pitched his camp above the river banks; and, when the first respite and quietude occurred on the enemy's part, he crossed the river by a ford. His entrenchments he extended in such a way that the foe had room to cross in, and decided to attack them when fording the stream. He ordered his cavalry, when they saw that the enemy had entered the water, to attack their column when so embarrassed. His elephants—there were forty of them—he drew up upon the bank. Of the Carpetani (including the additional bodies of Olcades and Vaccaei) there were 100,000—an invincible force, if the battle were fought in the open plain. And thus, being both naturally courageous, and relying upon their numbers, and, as they believed the enemy had retreated in fear, deeming that the fact that the river lay between alone delayed their victory, they raised the war-cry and dashed into the river in all directions, with none to control them, by the way nearest to each.

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But on the other bank a large body of horse was sent into the river, and the combatants met in mid-stream in a struggle far from equal, for it was a place where a foot soldier, with no sure footing, and hardly trusting the shallow water, could be thrown down even by an unarmed horseman who spurred forward his horse at random, and where a horseman, with limbs and weapons alike unhampered, and with a steed that stood firm even in mid-depth, could fight both from a distance and hand-to-hand. A great number were swept away by the river. Some, being carried towards the enemy by the eddying stream, were trampled upon by the elephants. As those in the rear, who had a safer means of return to their own bank, were collecting into a body from their flight in different directions, Hannibal, before they could recover from so great a panic, entering the stream with his column in battle order, drove them from the bank, and, after harrying their lands, within a few days accepted the surrender of the Carpetani as well. By this time all that lay beyond the Hiberus, save the Saguntines, belonged to Carthage.

6.—With the Saguntines there was as yet no war; but already, with a view to war, contention was being sown with the neighbouring tribes, particularly with the Turdetani. As the very man who was the sower of contention supported these latter, and as it was clear that not arbitration, but violence, was his object, ambassadors were sent by the Saguntines to Rome, entreating aid for the war which was now no doubt impending. At that time the consuls at Rome were P. Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. After the embassy had been introduced, the consuls moved for a discussion of the situation, and it was decided to send ambassadors into Spain to inquire into the position of our allies, and, should there appear to be just cause, to warn Hannibal to keep his hands off the Saguntines, as allies of the Roman people; to cross over into Africa, to Carthage; and to state the grievances of the allies of the Roman people. When this embassy had been decreed, but was not yet sent off, sooner than any one expected it, the news was brought that Saguntum was being besieged. Thereupon

*Optimum ex ceteris*

the matter was again laid before the Senate. Some, decreeing Spain and Africa to the consuls as their provinces, were for voting that the war should be conducted both by land and sea. Others were for aiming the whole attack against Spain and Hannibal. There were some to vote that so great a matter ought not to be lightly undertaken, and that the return of the envoys from Spain ought to be waited for. This opinion, which seemed the safest, prevailed, and all the more quickly were P. Valerius Flaccus and Q. Bæbius Tamphilus sent as envoys to Saguntum, to Hannibal, and thence to Carthage, to demand their general in person as punishment for the broken treaty, if the war were not desisted from.

7.—While the Romans were making these preparations and consulting about these points, Saguntum was already being attacked with the greatest fury. This was by far the richest of the states beyond the Hiberus, situated about a mile from the sea. The Saguntines are said to have sprung from the island of Zacynthus, and some of the race of the Rutuli from Ardea are said to have been blended with them. But to such power as this had they shortly grown, be it by their maritime or land revenues, or by the increase of their population, or by the strict honesty of the policy by which they maintained good faith towards their allies, even to their own destruction. Invading their lands with a hostile army, and wasting their farms in all directions, Hannibal attacked the town in three divisions. There was one corner of the wall which sloped down to a valley wider and more level than the rest of the surrounding ground. Against this corner he began to move the sheds, under shelter of which a battering ram might be brought up to the walls. However, although the ground at some distance from the walls was level enough for advancing his sheds, nevertheless, when they came to the completion of their task, it went by no means well with the attempts. Both a lofty tower overhung them, and the wall, as might be expected at a weak spot, was fortified there beyond the measure of the rest of its height; and finally, a chosen body of young men barred the way with exceptional force at the very spot where the

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greatest danger and cause for fear was manifested. At first they drove back the enemy with missiles, and allowed his engineers no adequate security. Afterwards, not only did their weapons gleam upon the walls and upon the tower, but they actually had the courage to make sallies against the enemy's pickets and earthworks. In these skirmishes there fell scarcely more of the Saguntines than of the Carthaginians: and when Hannibal himself, while approaching the walls with too little caution, fell severely wounded in the front part of his thigh by a lance, there was such a flight and panic about him, that earthworks and sheds were almost abandoned.

8.—Then, for a few days, there was a blockade rather than a siege, whilst the general's wound might be seen to. During this time, though there was a <sup>resp</sup> respite from conflicts, yet there was no cessation from the construction of earthworks and entrenchments. Thus the fight began anew more fiercely than ever; and the sheds began to be brought forward and the rams to approach the walls on many sides, even though some places scarce admitted the erection of earthworks. The Carthaginian was abundantly supplied with numbers. He is commonly believed to have had 150,000 men under arms; and the townsmen, beginning to be split into small parties in all directions, were not sufficient to guard against and meet every attack. And so the walls already began to be battered by the rams, and already many portions had been shaken. One portion, in one continuous ruin, had laid open the town (by its fall); for three towers in succession, and all the wall between them, had fallen with a tremendous crash. The Carthaginians had believed the city captured by that downfall, and at this point there was a rush forward to battle on both sides, just as though the wall had protected both parties alike. This was nothing like such haphazard fights as are wont to be engaged in during the siege of towns when either party has an opportunity. Regular lines of men had taken their stand, as though in an open plain, between the ruins of the wall and the houses of the town, a little distance away. On the one side hope, on the other despair roused their courage; the

*Corpori Salut. Edmaceps*

Carthaginian believing that he had <sup>at last</sup> taken the town, if he struggled on but a little while; the Saguntines <sup>OPPOSE</sup> thrusting in the way their own persons in behalf of their home now stripped of its walls, and none withdrawing his foot lest he should admit a foe to the place deserted by himself. In proportion, therefore, as they were fighting more fiercely and more <sup>CRUELLY</sup>, more men were wounded, no <sup>FOR</sup> <sup>more</sup> falling without effect amongst their <sup>ARMY</sup> and <sup>BOOIES</sup>. The Saguntines had a missile weapon, the Phalarica, with a shaft of pinewood and smooth everywhere but at the end, from which projected a barb of iron. The shaft, which was squared as in a pike, they used to wrap with tow and smear with pitch; while it had an iron barb three feet in length so that it could transfix a man's body, armour and all. (But, even if it had merely stuck in one's shield without piercing the flesh, what used to cause terror in the highest degree, was the fact that, as it was thrown lighted in the middle and as the flames which were kindled upon it, and which it carried with it, grew fierce by its mere motion, it compelled a man's <sup>SHIELD</sup> to be thrown away, and exposed the soldier without protection to the blows that followed.

9.—The fight having long been <sup>DOUBTFUL</sup> indecisive, and the Saguntines' courage having risen because they were holding out beyond their hopes—the Carthaginians on the other hand being as good as vanquished because they had not conquered; the townsmen <sup>SUDDENLY</sup> on a sudden raised a cheer, drove their enemies out into the ruins of the wall, beat them thence in embarrassment and panic, and finally forced them back into their camp, scattered and dispersed.

Meanwhile it was announced that the envoys had arrived from Rome. Men were sent by Hannibal down to the sea to meet them, to tell them that they would not, with safety, approach him amongst the sword-points of so many lawless tribes, and also that it was not worth Hannibal's while to listen to embassies at so serious a crisis. It was found that they, if not admitted to an audience, would at once go to Carthage. Therefore he sent forward despatches and messages to the leading men of the Barcine faction to prepare the minds of those of his own party in

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 order that the other side might not be enabled to gratify the (wishes of) the Romans. (10) Thus, excepting that they were admitted to an audience and heard out, this embassy also was vain and fruitless. Hanno alone, in opposition to the Senate, pleaded the cause of the treaty in a deep silence ~~indeed~~, by reason of his influence; but not ~~by any means~~ with the assent of his hearers, calling the Senate to witness, by those gods who are the arbiters and witnesses of treaties, that he had warned them against rousing up a Roman, together with their Saguntine War; that he had warned them not to send out to the army a son of Hamilcar; that he had declared that neither the spirit of Hamilcar nor his descendants were growing restful, nor ever would treaties with Rome remain undisturbed so long as there should survive any one of the blood and name of Barca. "You have sent out," he said, "to our armies, yourselves supplying, as it were, food to the flames, a young man burning with the lust of empire, and seeing but one road to it, in living girt with arms and legions by means of sowing war after war. You have therefore fostered this firebrand by which you are now being burned. Your armies are blockading Saguntum, whence they are, by treaty, prohibited. Soon will the Roman legions blockade Carthage, their leaders being those same gods by whose aid the Romans avenged the breaking of a treaty in the last war. Do ye not know your enemy, or yourselves, or the luck of both nations? Your noble general has not admitted into his camp ambassadors coming from allies and on behalf of allies. He has done away with the rights of nations. And these ambassadors, driven from a place from which not even an enemy's envoys are prohibited, have now come to us. They demand satisfaction according to the treaty. As a proof that there is no national offence, they demand him who committed the <sup>WAR</sup> ~~crime~~, and is accused of the charge. The more gently they now act, and the more reluctantly they begin, so much the more <sup>EFFICACIOUSLY</sup> ~~obstinately~~ I fear they will <sup>RAGE</sup> ~~storm~~ when once they have made a beginning. Set before your eyes the Aegatian Isles and Eryx, and all that you suffered by sea and land for four and twenty years.

sacrament

signification

Our general was not this boy, but his father Hamilcar in person—a second God of War, as those friends of his will have it. But we had not kept our hands off Tarentum, that is off Italy, according to the treaty, just as now we are not keeping them off Saguntum. And so the gods prevailed over men; and as for the question over which men used to wrangle in argument—which of the two people had broken the treaty—the result of the war, like an impartial judge, gave victory to that people on whose side stood right. Even now, against Carthage Hannibal is advancing his sheds and towers; he is shaking the walls of Carthage with his rams; the ruins of Saguntum—~~would that I may be a false prophet~~—will fall upon our heads, and the war that was begun with the Saguntines must be waged with the Romans. Some one will say, ‘Are we then to give up to them) Hannibal?’ I know that my influence as regards him is slight, because of my quarrel with his father; but I am both glad that Hamilcar is dead, for the reason that if he were now alive we should already be at war with Rome; and I also hate and loathe this young son of his as an evil spirit, and as the kindling-torch of this war. And not only do I think that he ought to be given up in expiation of the treaty he has broken, but I think that, even if no one demands it, he ought to be carried away to the farthest margin of seas and lands, and ought to be exiled to some place whence neither can his name and fame reach to us, nor can he disturb the calm condition of a peaceful nation. My vote is as follows:—That envoys be sent to Rome at once to make satisfaction to the Senate; others to bid Hannibal draw off his army from Saguntum, and to give up Hannibal himself to the Romans, in accordance with the treaty; and I vote that a third embassy be sent to restore their possessions to the Saguntines.”

(11) When Hanno had ended, there was no need for anyone else to make a rival speech, to such a degree was almost the entire Senate on the side of Hannibal. They began to accuse Hanno of speaking with greater ~~virulence~~ <sup>vehement</sup> than ~~even~~ Valerius Flaccus, the envoy of Rome. Answer was

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then made to the Roman ambassadors, that the war began ~~by~~ the Saguntines, not ~~by~~ Hannibal; and that the Roman people would act unjustly if they preferred the Saguntines to the ancient alliance of the Carthaginians.

While the Romans were wasting time sending embassies, Hannibal, as he found his army worn out with fighting and siege works, gave them a rest of a few days, pickets having been set here and there for the protection of the sheds and other works. Meanwhile, by firing them at one time with anger against their enemies, at another with the hope of rewards, he roused their courage. Indeed, when he made proclamation in public that the spoils of the city, when captured, would belong to the soldiers, they were all so excited that if the signal for attack had been given at once, it seemed as if they could have been resisted by no efforts. The Saguntines, while they had had a respite from fighting, neither attacking nor being attacked for several days, nevertheless had desisted neither night nor day from fortification, so that they had built a new wall on the spot where the town was exposed by reason of the ruins. Then ~~there~~ <sup>the</sup> attack ~~was~~ <sup>RESUMED</sup> with a siege something more ~~terrible~~ <sup>with great fury</sup> than before, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> could they well tell in what direction to come to the rescue first, especially as the whole town rang with varied outcries. At the spot where a moveable tower, overtopping in height all the battlements of the town, stood Hannibal himself was the encourager of his men. When this tower had been brought close up, and had stripped the walls of their defenders by means of the catapults and engines disposed throughout every story, Hannibal, deeming it a favourable opportunity, despatched about 500 Africans to undermine the wall with axes from the bottom. Nor was this a difficult task, for the rubble had not been bound into a hard mass with mortar, but was smeared with interlayers of mud, after the fashion of old building. Thus the wall kept on falling down for a wider space than the actual place where it was being cut into, and bodies of armed men kept entering the town through the spaces exposed by the fall. They also occupied some high ground, and, their catapults and engines having been collected to that



spot, they surrounded it with a wall, in order to have a fort, like a commanding citadel, in the very city itself. The Saguntines constructed an inner wall on the side of the part of the town not yet captured. On both sides they built their fortifications, and battled on with all their might; but the Saguntines, in defending the inner area, day by day made their city smaller. At the same time the scarcity of everything increased, by reason of the lengthy blockade, and their hopes of help from ~~without~~ <sup>OUTSIDE</sup> grew less, because the Romans, their ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup> hope, were so far away, and all the country around belonged to the enemy. Nevertheless, the sudden departure of Hannibal against the Oretani and Carpetani restored their dejected spirits for a little while. Those two tribes, excited by the strictness of the war-levy, had given <sup>RISE TO FEARS</sup> apprehension of revolt by seizing the recruiting officers; but, <sup>COULD</sup> by the rapid movements of Hannibal, relinquished the arms they had taken up. <sup>(12)</sup> Nor was the siege of Saguntum any the ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> lax, for Maharbal, son of Himilco, whom Hannibal had put in command, acted so energetically that neither his own countrymen nor the enemy felt that the general himself was not there. Maharbal both fought several successful engagements and also battered down a large part of the wall with three rams, and showed to Hannibal, on his arrival, the whole place covered with fresh ruins. The army was, therefore, led at once to the very citadel; a fierce battle was engaged in, with the loss of many on both sides, and part of the citadel was taken.

Thereafter, the hope of peace, small as it was, was tried for by means of two persons, Alco, of Saguntum, and Alorcus, the Spaniard. Alco, ~~unknown to the~~ <sup>unknown to the</sup> Saguntines, thinking that he would affect something by his prayers, ~~passed~~ <sup>passed</sup> over to Hannibal in the night. After that his tears had no effect, and terms of peace, very stern, were offered him, as might be expected from a wrathful conqueror; he turned deserter instead of ambassador, and remained with the enemy. The man who talked of peace, he declared, on those conditions, would lose his life. It was demanded, indeed, that the Saguntines should restore to the Turdetani their property,

-cut in!

and, all their gold and silver surrendered, should come out of the town with one garment apiece, and dwell in the place where the Carthaginians had appointed them. Alco denied that the Saguntines would accept these terms of peace, but Alorçus declared that men's courage also was overcome when all else was overpowered, and he promised to be the negotiator of this peace. Now ~~Al~~ <sup>FRIEND</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>OPENLY</sup> was at that time a soldier of Hannibal, but, in a public capacity, the advocate and guest of the Saguntines. His arms having been ~~frankly~~ <sup>OPENLY</sup> surrendered to the guards, on crossing the enemies' lines, he was conducted to the Saguntine commander. Indeed, he himself gave orders to that effect. A rush of men of every class having been at once made to that point, the rest of the mob were driven back and (an audience of the) senate was granted to Alorçus. His speech was as follows:—

13.—“If your townsman, Alco, had brought back to you from Hannibal the terms of peace in like manner as he came to Hannibal to beg for it, then had this journey of mine been superfluous, upon which I should not have come either as Hannibal's ambassador or as a deserter to yourselves. But now, inasmuch as he has stayed amongst your enemies, either by fault of his own, or yours—by fault of his own, if he pretended there was any cause of fear; by fault of yours, if there be really danger amongst you to them that bring back to you true reports—out of regard to the ~~ancient~~ <sup>OLD</sup> friendship which I have with you, I have come to you myself, that you might not be ignorant that there are certain terms of safety and peace for you. And ~~even~~ <sup>take</sup> this ~~as a safety~~ <sup>AS A PROOF</sup> that what I now say before you, I say for your own sakes and for the sake of none other: namely, that I have never made mention of peace amongst you while you resisted by your own efforts, or while you hoped for help from the Romans. But now that you have no hope of help from the Romans, and neither your arms nor your battlements protect you sufficiently, I am bringing to you a peace which is rather necessary than fair. Of this peace there is some hope, on condition that you ~~give~~ <sup>take</sup> it as conquered men, even as Hannibal offers it to you as a conqueror; and that you hold not as

an injury that which is lost, seeing that everything belongs to your foes, but rather consider as a gift, whatever is left ~~unto~~ to you. He takes away from you your city, which, in ruins for the most part and almost all captured, he now holds in his grasp; but he leaves to you your lands, and will assign to you a spot in which to build a new town. All your gold and silver, whether public or private property, he orders to be handed over to him. The persons of yourselves, of your wives, and of your children, he preserves unharmed, if you will pass out of Saguntum without arms, and with two garments each. These are the orders of your enemy and your conqueror. These orders, though they be hard and bitter, your fortune commends to you. For my own part, I ~~think~~ <sup>have seen</sup> that he will remit somewhat of these points, since there has been given him complete power over you all. Yet I think that even these terms should be endured rather than that you should suffer your persons to be butchered, and your wives and children torn away and carried off before your eyes, according to the rights of war."

14.—The mob gathering round little by little to hear these words, and a popular assembly having thus become blended with the Senate, their leaders suddenly took their departure before any reply should be given; and throwing into a fire hurriedly kindled for the purpose, all their gold and silver, collected into the market-place from public and private places alike, threw themselves of their own accord in great numbers into the same flames. Panic and fear having thereupon run through the whole city, there was heard in addition another uproar from the citadel. A tower that had long been shaken, had fallen, and, a rush having been made through its ruins, a company of Carthaginians signalled to their general that the enemy's town was stripped of its customary outposts and guards. Thereupon Hannibal, deeming that there ought on such an opportunity to be no delay, attacking the town with his whole force, took it in an instant, the signal having been given that all the adults should be put to the sword. The ~~mandate~~ <sup>command</sup> was cruel, but was found by the actual issue to have been almost necessary; for who could be spared

(15) of men who either having shut themselves in with their wives and children burnt their homes over themselves, or, in full armour, made not an end of fighting until they died? (15) The town was taken together with an enormous booty. Although much had been purposely spoiled by its owners; although in the massacre anger had made scarce any distinction of age; and although the captives were the spoil of the soldiers; yet it is certain that a large sum of money was realised from the price of the property sold, and that much valuable furniture and clothing was sent to Carthage.

Some have written that Saguntum was taken eight months after the siege began; that Hannibal retired from thence to New Carthage into winter quarters; and that afterwards he reached Italy five months after he left Carthage. If this be the case it cannot have happened that Ti. Sempronius and P. Cornelius were the consuls to whom both the Saguntine envoys were sent at the beginning of the siege, and who also did battle with Hannibal in the year of their office, the one at the River Ticinus, and both together much later at the Trebia. Either the whole affair was much shorter, or Saguntum was not begun to be besieged, but was actually taken in the beginning of the year in which P. Cornelius and Ti. Sempronius were consuls. For the battle on the Trebia cannot have been delayed to the year of office of Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius, because C. Flaminius entered upon his consulate at Ariminum, having been appointed by the consul Ti. Sempronius, who, having come to Rome after the battle of the Trebia to appoint consuls, returned when the elections were over to his army, into winter quarters.

16.—At almost the same time, the envoys who had returned from Carthage, brought back the news that everything was hostile, and the fall of Saguntum was announced. Simultaneously, [there seized upon the senators such sorrow and pity for the unmerited destruction of their allies, and such shame for the aid that had not been sent, and such anger against the Carthaginians, and fear for the safety of the State, as though the foe were already at their gates; that their minds, being disturbed

by so many emotions at one and the same time, were rather in consternation than in consultation. For they thought that no fiercer and more warlike foe had ever met them, and that the Roman nation had never been so slothful and unwarlike. Sardinians, Corsicans, Istrians and Illyrians, they thought, had rather teased than tried the arms of Rome: and with the Gauls there had been a rising rather than a war. But the Carthaginian, their veteran enemy, for three and twenty years ever victorious in a most trying service amid the tribes of Spain, grown accustomed to a most active leader, and fresh from the sack of a city of exceeding wealth, was now crossing the Hiberus. With him he was dragging so many nations of the Spaniards, summoned to arms. He would arouse the Gallic tribes, ever eager for war. In Italy, and before the very walls of Rome, battle had to be done with the whole world.

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17.—Already had provinces been named for the consuls. They were now ordered to draw lots for them. To Cornelius fell Spain, to Sempronius fell Africa together with Sicily. For that year there were decreed six legions, and of the allies as large a force as seemed good to the consuls themselves, and as large a fleet as could be fitted out. Four and twenty thousand Roman infantry were levied and eighteen hundred horse; of the allies, forty thousand foot and four thousand four hundred horse. Two hundred and twenty vessels of five banks of oars, and twenty-eight galleys were put to sea. The question was then put to the people, whether it was their wish and order that war be declared against the people of Carthage; while a special supplication was held throughout the city with a view to this war, and the gods were entreated that the war which the Roman people had ordered might turn out well and successfully. Between the consuls the forces were divided as follows:—To Sempronius were given two legions—they were of 4,000 foot and 300 horse apiece—16,000 infantry of the allies, 1,800 horse, 160 ships of war, and 12 galleys. With these land and sea forces Tiberius Sempronius was despatched to Sicily, so to cross over to Africa, if the other consul should suffice for keeping the Carthaginians out of

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as large a fleet as could be fitted out  
auxiliary classis

Italy. Less forces were assigned to Cornelius, because L. Manlius, the prætor, was himself also being despatched into Gaul with a very strong force. In particular, the number of vessels assigned to Cornelius was diminished. There were given him 60 five-banked vessels (for the Romans did not believe that the enemy would come by sea, or that he would fight with that arm of the service); also two Roman legions with their full force of cavalry, 14,000 allied infantry, and 1,600 horse. The province of Gaul held two legions of Romans, 10,000 allied infantry, 1,000 allied cavalry, and 600 Roman horse, all sent in the same direction, with a view to war with the Carthaginians.

18.—These arrangements having been completed, in order that all due formalities might be carried out before war began, the Romans sent Q. Fabius, M. Livius, L. Aemilius, C. Licinius, and Q. Bæbius, elderly men, as envoys to Africa, to question the Carthaginians whether Hannibal had besieged Saguntum by resolve of the State, and to declare war against the people of Carthage if they should own it, as they seemed likely to do, and should maintain that it had been done by resolve of the State. After the Romans had reached Carthage, an audience of the Senate having been granted to them, and Q. Fabius having asked nothing beyond the one question which had been commanded; one of the Carthaginians made a speech—"Even your earlier embassy was precipitate, Romans, when you were demanding Hannibal as though he were besieging Saguntum on his own account; but this present embassy is, so far, milder in its language, but in effect more violent. For at that time Hannibal alone was being both accused and demanded; but now you seek to wring from us all an acknowledgment of wrong, and moreover satisfaction is immediately demanded, as though from men who confess their guilt. But I would advise that it be asked not whether Saguntum has been besieged by private or public resolve, but whether rightly or wrongly. For this trial and punishment of a citizen of our own in regard to what he has done on

ASTIC  
 M. Livius  
 C. Licinius  
 Q. Bæbius

his own authority or upon ours is our affair; while with you we have but one dispute, whether it was lawful to do it in accordance with our treaty. And therefore as it pleases you that a distinction should be made between what our commanders do on their own account and what they do on the authority of the State, we reply that a treaty was made for us with you by C. Lutatius, the consul, in which, though precaution was taken for the allies of each of us, no provision was made with regard to the Saguntines, for they were not yet at that time allies of yours. But, you will say, the Saguntines are excepted in the treaty which was made with Hasdrubal. Against that I shall say nothing save what I have learnt from yourselves. For, because the treaty which C. Lutatius, the consul, made with us at first had been made neither on the authority of the Senators nor by command of the people, you said that you were not bound by it. Therefore another treaty was made anew by resolve of the State. If treaties of yours do not bind you save when made by authority or by your commands, neither can Hasdrubal's treaty, which he made without our knowledge, bind us. Therefore cease to make mention of the Saguntum and the Hiberus; and let your mind at last bring forth what it has long been labouring with."

Thereupon the Roman, making a fold with his gown, said, "Here we carry for you war and peace. Take which of the two pleases you." After that speech, and just as haughtily, there was an immediate cry, "Give us which you please." And as he, throwing the fold loose again, said in reply that he gave them war, all rejoined that they welcomed it, and would wage it with the same courage wherewith they welcomed it.

19.—This straightforward question and declaration of war seemed more in keeping with the dignity of the Roman people than to dispute verbally about the obligations of treaties, as well on the earlier occasion, but now that Saguntum had been destroyed, particularly so. For if it had been a matter of verbal dispute, how was Hasdrubal's treaty to be compared with the former treaty of C. Lutatius

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which had been modified? Though in Lutatius' treaty it had been expressly provided that it was to be ratified only on the condition that the people had approved it; yet in Hasdrubal's treaty there was no such exception made, and during his lifetime the treaty was, by so many years' silence, so far endorsed that nothing whatever was changed, even when its author was dead. (Still, even if they should stand by the former treaty, provision enough had been made for the Saguntines by the words "excepting the allies of either of the two peoples." There was no addition of "those namely who are now allies," nor of "not such as may hereafter be taken as allies." And therefore as it was lawful to take new allies, who would hold it fair that no one, whatever his deserts, should be received into friendship, or that they who had been taken into alliance should not be defended, provided only that the allies of the Carthaginians should not be urged to revolt nor welcomed when revolting of their own accord?

From Carthage the Roman envoys, as they had been commanded in Rome, crossed over into Spain to make advances to the tribes in order to win them over to an alliance, or to alienate them from the Carthaginians. They reached the Bargusii first. Having been kindly received by them, as they were weary of the sovereignty of Carthage, they roused numbers of the Trans-Hiberic tribes to the thirst for a change of fortune. Hence they came to the Volciani, whose reply, becoming famous throughout Spain, deterred the remainder of the states from alliance with Rome. For the eldest of them, in the debate, answered the Romans as follows:—

"What modesty is this, Romans, that you should ask us to prefer to that of the Carthaginians the friendship of yourselves, who have, as allies, betrayed those who did so—the Saguntines—more heartlessly than the Carthaginians have destroyed them! I advise you to seek for allies in a land where the fall of Saguntum is unknown. To the people of Spain the ruins of Saguntum will be a warning, as notable as mournful, that none shall put faith in the pledges and alliance of a Roman."

Immediately after this, they were ordered to quit the



territories of the Volciani, and from that date they won no words more favourable from any Spanish assembly. They crossed, therefore, to Gaul, after traversing Spain to no purpose.

20.—Amongst the Gauls was seen a strange sight and one which aroused alarm, in that they came to debate in full armour; for such is the nation's custom. Upon the envoys extolling in their speech the fame and the valour of the Roman people and the magnitude of their sway, and upon their having begged that the Gauls should not give passage through their towns and lands to the Carthaginian, now bringing war upon Italy, it is said that so much noise and laughter arose, that the younger men could scarcely be calmed down by their magistrates and elders. It seemed so stupid and so impudent a request, to expect that the Gauls should, of their own accord, turn this war upon themselves, that they might not transmit it to Italy, and should expose their own territories to be ravaged on behalf of the lands of others. The uproar having at last been allayed, answer was made to the envoys that "there were no kindnesses of Roman and no insults of Carthaginian done to Gauls, such that for them they should take up arms, either for Roman or against Carthaginian. On the other hand, they heard that men of their nation were being driven from Italy's soil and territories by Romans, and were paying taxes, and suffering the other usual indignities." Much the same things were said and heard in the remaining councils of Gaul. Indeed, no hospitable invitation or ~~moderately amicable expression~~ was heard until they came to Massilia. At that place was learnt from our allies everything that had been by them carefully and faithfully investigated; namely, that the favour of the Gauls had been already for some time previously forestalled by Hannibal, but that so fierce and untamed was their character that not even to him were the tribes likely to be tractable enough, unless the favour of their chiefs were from time to time propitiated by bribes, of which that nation are most greedy. Thus the Roman envoys, after going the round of the peoples of Spain and Gaul, returned to Rome not so very

long after the consuls had started for their provinces. They found the whole nation on tip-toe in the expectation of war, there being a sufficiently consistent rumour that the Carthaginians had already crossed the Hiberus.

[21.—On the fall of Saguntum, Hannibal had retired to New Carthage, into winter quarters. There, having heard what had been done and decreed both at Rome and at Carthage, and that himself was not merely the leader, but the reason of the war; deeming that there should be no further delay, after dividing or selling off the remainder of the booty, he called together his soldiers of Spanish race. "I believe," he said, "that you, my allies, see for yourselves that either our campaigning must be ended by us and our armies dismissed, now that all the people of Spain have been reduced to peace, or our warfare must be transferred to other lands. For on this condition will these tribes flourish with the blessings, not of peace alone, but of victory also, if, namely, we shall seek our plunder and glory from other tribes. And therefore, as a campaign far from our homes is imminent, and as it is doubtful when you will see your homes again and all that is dear there to each one; if any of you desires to visit his family, I give him furlough. I command you to be here at the beginning of spring, that we may commence a war that will result in great glory and great spoils, if the gods assist us kindly." The liberty to visit their homes, offered without asking, was welcome to almost all, feeling a longing as they now did for their relatives, and foreseeing a still more extended separation for the future. A respite for the whole winter, between the toils they had already endured or were shortly to endure, recruited their bodies and their courage to face once more all dangers. At the beginning of spring they assembled according to command.

Having reviewed the contingents of all the tribes, Hannibal, starting for Gades, there paid in full his vows to Hercules, and bound himself with new vows, should the rest of his undertakings turn out successfully. Thereafter, dividing his attention at the same time between making war and guarding against it, he decided to strengthen Africa with a strong force, in order that it

might not be exposed and open to the Romans on the side of Sicily, while himself was making for Italy by an overland march through Spain and the two Gauls. In place of this force he himself sought an additional levy from Africa, mostly *lançes*, light-armed troops; so that Africans should serve in Spain and Spaniards in Africa, both being likely to prove better soldiers at a distance from their own homes, when bound, as it were, by mutual pledges. He despatched to Africa 13,850 light infantry and 870 Balearic slingers, and 1,200 mixed cavalry of many nations. These forces he ordered to be in part a garrison for Carthage, in part to be distributed throughout Africa. Recruiting officers being sent at the same time to the states, he ordered 4,000 men, picked young warriors, who had been enrolled, to be led to Carthage, to serve at once as garrison and hostages.

22.—Thinking, too, that Spain ought not to be neglected (and this all the less because he was not unaware that the Romans had sent envoys all over it to stir up the minds of the chieftains), he appointed it, as his province, to his energetic brother Hasdrubal, and strengthened it mainly with African garrisons, 11,850 African infantry, 300 Ligurians, and 500 Balearic troops. To these contingents of infantry were added 450 Liby-Phœnician cavalry—a Carthaginian race blended with Africans—and some Numidians and Moors, dwellers by the ocean, to the number of 1,800, together with a small body of *Ilergetes* from Spain, 300 horse, and finally 21 elephants, so that no form of land defence might be wanting. There was further provided a fleet to protect the sea coast, because it might be supposed that the Romans would on this occasion also carry on war in that branch of the service in which they had formerly conquered. The fleet consisted of 50 vessels of five banks each, 2 of four banks, and 5 of three banks; but only 32 five-bank vessels, and 5 of three banks, were fitted out and equipped with oarsmen.

From Gades the army returned to Carthage to its winter camp, and, starting from thence, Hannibal led them past the town of Onussa, by the sea coast, to the Hiberus. There the story goes that there appeared to him in his

sleep a youth of godlike aspect, who said that he was sent by Jove as a guide for Hannibal to Italy. He bade him follow at once, nor ever turn his eyes from him. At first he followed trembling, never gazing about him or looking back. Afterwards, with the curiosity of man's heart, while pondering in mind what this might be which he was forbidden to look back upon, he was unable to control his eyes. Thereupon he saw behind him a dragon of wondrous size rushing on amid a mighty overthrow of trees and bushes, and a storm-cloud following after, with roaring of the heavens. Then, when asking what was this monster, and what manner of portent it was, he heard that it was the desolation of Italy. Let him go on, nor ask further questions, but suffer destiny to remain hidden.

23.—Overjoyed at this vision, Hannibal put his army across the Hiberus in three divisions, after sending forward men to reconnoitre the passes of the Alps, and to win over with presents the affections of the Gauls on the road by which the army was to be led over. He threw across the Hiberus 90,000 foot and 12,000 Spanish horse. He then reduced the Iltergetes, the Bargusii, the Ausetani, and Lacetania, the latter a district lying at the foot of the Pyrenees. Over all this coast line he put Hanno in command, so that in his power might be the defiles which connect Spain with the two Gauls. To kids - garrison the country which he was to occupy there were given to Hanno 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse. After the army commenced its march through the Pyrenean highlands, and there passed through the barbarians a more definite rumour about war with Rome, 3,000 Carpetanian infantry turned back. It was agreed they were not influenced so much by the struggle as by the length of the journey and the insurmountable passage of the Alps. Hannibal, as it was dangerous to recall them, or to retain them by force, lest the haughty spirit of the rest also should be offended, sent back to their homes more than 7,000 men whom he had perceived also to be dissatisfied with the campaign, pretending that the Carpetani as well had been sent away by himself.

24.—After this, that delay and ease might not cause his soldiers to become mutinous, he crossed the Pyrenees with his remaining forces and established a camp at the town of Iliberris. The Gauls, although they heard that war was being made upon Italy, nevertheless, being driven to arms by the fear of slavery, as there was a story that the Spaniards beyond the Pyrenees had been forcibly reduced and heavy imposts laid upon them, collected, a few tribes, to Ruscino. When Hannibal heard of it, dreading delay rather than warfare, he sent ambassadors to their chiefs, saying that he wished to confer with them in person. Either let them come nearer to Iliberris, or he would advance to Ruscino, that the conference might be more easy from their nearness to one another; for he would gladly welcome them into his camp, or would himself come to them without delay. He had come as a friend, not as an enemy, to Gaul; nor, if he were allowed to do so by the Gauls, would he draw the sword before he had reached Italy. And thus much he said by his messengers. The Gallic chieftains came without reluctance to the Carthaginians, breaking up their camp for Iliberri at once; and, won over by presents, they despatched the army through their territories, past the town of Ruscino, with kind permission.

25.—Meanwhile there had been brought to Rome by envoys of the Massilians no news beyond that Hannibal had crossed the Hiberus, when the Boii, just as if he had already crossed the Alps, after tampering with the Insubres, revolted, not so much on the score of their old grudges against the Roman people, as because they did not like the colonies of Placentia and Cremona, lately planted about the Padus, in the Gallic lands. Suddenly taking up arms, therefore, and making an inroad upon that very region, they created so much alarm and confusion, that not merely the crowd of country people, but the very Roman Triumvirs themselves, who had arrived to apportion the territory, mistrusting the defences of Placentia, fled to Mutina. Their names were C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, and M. Annius. The name of Lutatius is quite certain: but in place of Annius and Servilius some histories have

Manius Acilius and C. Herennius, others P. Cornelius Asina and C. Papirius Maso. This, too, is doubtful, whether, namely, the envoys sent to the Boii to expostulate with them were outraged, or whether an attack was made upon the Triumvirs while surveying the territory. As they were being blockaded at Mutina, and the Boii, a nation unskilled in the art of besieging towns, as well as exceedingly loth to undertaking military operations, were sitting down in a leisurely way before the untouched walls, a pretence began to be made of treating for peace; and some envoys summoned out of the town by the Gallic chiefs for a conference, were arrested, not only in defiance of the rights of nations, but the pledge that had been given for the time being, having also been broken; the Gauls declaring that they would not let them go unless their hostages were given back to them. This news being brought about the envoys, and Mutina, with its garrison being in danger, the Prætor, L. Manlius, fired with anger, marched his army in loose order towards Mutina. There were at that time woods about the road, much of the land being unreclaimed. Here, hurrying on without reconnoitring, he rushed into an ambush, and with difficulty got out into the open plains with heavy losses to his men. There a camp was well fortified, and, though it was well enough known that upwards of 600 had fallen, the courage of his men was restored, as the Gauls had no hope for attacking the camp. Then the march was recommenced; nor did the enemy come in sight so long as the column was being led across open country. When the woods were entered again, thereupon the Gauls, attacking the rearmost amid great panic and terror of the whole force, slew 700 soldiers and took away six standards. To the Gauls came an end of their terrorizing, and to the Romans an end of their fears, when they made their way out of a pathless and difficult dale. Thence, protecting their column with ease in the open ground, the Romans reached Tannetum, a village near the Padus. There they secured themselves by temporary earthworks and supplies brought by river, and even by help of the Gauls of Brixia, against the daily increasing swarm of enemies.

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26.—After that news of this sudden outbreak had reached Rome, and the Senate heard that the war with Carthage was additionally swelled by a Gallic war, they gave orders that C. Atilius, the prætor, should carry help to Manlius with one Roman legion and 5,000 of the allies enrolled in a new levy by the consul. Manlius reached Tannetum without a battle, for the enemy had retired in fear.

A new legion having been enrolled in place of that which had been sent with the prætor, P. Cornelius, leaving the city with 60 ships of war, arrived at Massilia, by way of the shores of Etruria and the Ligures, and from thence by the highlands of the Salluves. Scarcely yet believing that Hannibal had come to the Pyrenees, he pitched his camp by the nearest mouth of the Rhone, for that river runs down into the sea divided by several mouths. When he saw that Hannibal was actually busying himself with the passage of the Rhone, he was uncertain in what place to meet him, while his troops, too, were as yet insufficiently recruited from their tossing about at sea; but he sent forward, meanwhile, 300 picked horse, with Massiliots as guides and some Gauls as auxiliaries, to reconnoitre the whole region, and to scout the enemy from a safe distance.

Hannibal had already reached the territories of the Volcæ, a powerful people, after reducing the remaining tribes to quiet by fear or bribery. The Volcæ dwell about both banks of the Rhone; but not being confident that the Carthaginians could be kept out of the district nearest to them, they were now occupying the further bank of the river in arms, so as to have the stream for a bulwark, and almost all their belongings had been carried across the Rhone. The rest of the dwellers by the river, and also as many of the Volcæ themselves as had not abandoned their settlements, Hannibal induced by bribes to collect from all sides, and to build boats, while at the same time they were themselves eager that the army should be put across, and their lands relieved, as soon as possible, from the enormous multitude of men that were burdening it. Thus there was got together a very large number of boats and of coracles, constructed offhand for local use. The Gauls commencing first, began to hollow out other new boats from a single tree

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each: and the soldiery themselves, afterwards, led on by the abundance of materials and by the ease of the task, began hurriedly to construct shapeless hulks in which to ferry themselves and their belongings across the river, caring for nothing so long as the boats could float upon the water and carry cargoes.

27.—When everything was at last satisfactorily got ready for the passage, the enemy opposite, both horse and foot, occupying the whole bank, kept the Carthaginians in a state of alarm. To drive them away, Hannibal bade Hanno, the son of Bomilear, with part of the forces, mostly Spaniards, march in the first watch of the night, a day's journey up stream; and, on the first opportunity, crossing the river as secretly as possible, lead his column round so as to attack the enemy in the rear, when there should be need of action. The Gauls, who were appointed his guides for the purpose, informed him that about five and twenty miles higher up, the river, surrounding a small island, offered in the place where it divided a ford with wider, and therefore all the less deep bed. On that spot materials were hurriedly cut down, and rafts constructed, on which men and horses and the other baggage might be ferried across. The Spaniards swam across without any trouble themselves, resting upon their clothing, which was piled together upon inflated skins, and upon their shields laid on the top of the whole. The remainder of the force crossing upon rafts of jointed timber, and wearied out by their night march and the difficulties of their task, was recruited by one day's rest, and a camp was pitched by the river, (their leader being bent upon fulfilling his plan at the right moment. Starting upon the following day, they signalled by smoke from some high ground, that they had crossed the stream, and were not far off. When Hannibal heard this, not to miss his opportunity, he gave the order to cross. The infantry had coracles already made and fitted out: the cavalry for the most part had boats, on account of their horses. The flotilla of boats, crossing on the upper side so as to intercept the full force of the stream, left smooth water for the coracles which crossed lower down. Many of the horses were towed along, swimming, by ropes

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from the sterns of the boats, excepting those which they had embarked saddled and bridled, to be ready for use by the cavalry at once on getting ashore.

28.—The Gauls met them upon the banks, <sup>Latent</sup> waving their shields above their heads and brandishing their lances in their right hands, with various howlings and war-chants of their own sort; although so large a number of boats before them, together with the mighty roar of the river, and the varied shouts of soldiers and sailors (both of those who were trying to stem the force of the stream and of those who were encouraging their friends in crossing from the other bank) alarmed them. But when the camp had been captured by Hanno, a still more fearful commotion fell upon them from the rear, although already frightened enough at the uproar in front. Soon Hanno was on the spot in person, and panic surrounded them on both sides, such a number of warriors landing from the ships, and a force they had not expected pressing upon them from the rear. After being driven off in attempting to show fight in either direction, the Gauls broke through where the road seemed to lie most open, and fled in panic in all directions to their villages. The remainder of his forces having been put across at leisure, Hannibal pitched a camp, no longer regarding the attacks of the Gauls.

There were, I believe, various plans for conveying the elephants across. At any rate, the account of the proceeding varies. Some relate that after the elephants had been collected to the river bank, the most savage of them was goaded by its rider, and drew after it, swimming, the whole herd, as it followed its retreating driver into the water, the mere force of the current carrying them to the other bank, according as each, though frightened at the deep water, lost its footing. It is, however, more generally agreed that they were put over on rafts. This plan, while it would be safer before it was actually done, is also easier to believe now that the affair is past. They stretched from the shore into the river a single raft 200 feet long and 50 feet wide. Bound on the upper side of the bank by a number of strong hawsers, that it might not be carried down stream, they covered this, like a

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bridge, with earth heaped upon it, so that the animals might step upon it boldly, as though upon solid earth. A second raft, equally wide and 100 feet long, and suitable for crossing the stream, was coupled to this. Then the elephants were driven along the fixed raft, as though along a road, some females leading the way; and when they crossed to the smaller annexed raft, the ropes by which it was slightly fastened being at once cast loose, it was towed over to the opposite bank by some light vessels. The first lot having been thus set ashore, others were then fetched and ferried over. Of course, they felt no fear so long as they were driven, as it were, over a continuous bridge. The first fright arose whenever they were hurried off into the open water, on the raft being cast off from the others. Then, pressing upon one another, as those on the outside drew back from the water, they created a good deal of confusion, until their very terror made them quiet as they gazed round upon the water. Some, even, in their fury fell into the stream; but, standing firm by their mere weight, even though their riders had been thrown off, they got to land by feeling out the shallow waters step by step.

29.—Meantime, while the elephants were being put over, Hannibal had sent 500 Numidian horse to the Roman camp to spy out where they were, and what were their forces, and what they were preparing for. As has already been stated, 300 Roman horse, despatched from the mouth of the Rhone, fell in with this squadron of cavalry. There followed a fight more furious than was proportionate to the numbers of the combatants, for, besides the number of wounds, the slaughter too on either side was almost equal; but the panic and flight of the Numidians gave victory to the Romans, by now quite worn out. There fell 160 of the victors, not all Romans, but part of them Gauls; of the defeated there fell more than 200. This, at once the commencement and an omen of the war, while it portended to the Romans a successful issue of the whole matter, also portended a victory by no means bloodless in a varying struggle. When each party returned to their own

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leader, the matter having gone thus, no resolve could be taken by Scipio except to make his efforts himself in accordance with the plans and proceedings of his enemy; while Hannibal was doubtful whether to press forward the march he had commenced upon Italy, or to join battle with that Roman army which had first put itself in his way. The arrival of envoys from the Boii and of the chieftain Magalus, dissuaded him from an immediate battle. These men, declaring that they would be the guides of his journey and the sharers of his perils, advised that Italy ought to be attacked, with the war still unopened, and with forces as yet unimpaired. The mass of the soldiers, indeed, were afraid of their enemy, for the memory of the earlier war was as yet unerased; but they were still more afraid of the endless march and the Alps, an undertaking formidable by report, at least, to the inexperienced.

30.—So Hannibal, after that his mind was made up to continue to advance and make for Italy, summoned an assembly and swayed the feelings of his soldiers in various ways by words of rebuke and of encouragement. "He marvelled," he said, "what sudden panic had entered hearts always ~~heretofore~~ fearless. For so many years had they been campaigning victoriously, and no sooner had they stepped out of Spain than all lands and nations, embraced by two different seas, belonged to Carthage. Then, wroth because the Roman people were demanding that there should be surrendered to them, as though for a crime, whosoever had besieged Saguntum, they had crossed the Hiberus to blot out the name of the Romans, and to set the wide world free. At that time, to none of them had the way seemed long, though they were setting out upon a journey from the going down of the sun to its rising. But now, now when they saw far the larger part of their journey accomplished, and the Pyrenean highlands crossed through the heart of the wildest tribes; now, when the Rhone, great river as it was, and though so many thousands of Gauls barred the way, was crossed, and its very stream's fury curbed; now, when they had the Alps in sight—those Alps whose other slope was part

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of Italy—they were halting wearied at the very gates of their enemies! In what way did they believe the Alps to be different from mere lofty mountains? Let them imagine they were higher than the ridges of the Pyrenees. What then? At any rate, no part of the earth reached up to heaven, no part was impassable to man. Nay, the Alps were inhabited and populated: they produced and nurtured living creatures; they were passable for small companies, passable, ~~too~~ for armies. These very envoys, whom they saw there, had not crossed the Alps borne aloft on wings. Not even the ancestors of those envoys were natives of their soil, but, themselves stranger-settlers in Italy, they had crossed these very Alps in safety, very often in numerous bands with their wives and children, in the fashion of emigrants. What was impassable, what was insurmountable to a soldier in arms, who carried with him no baggage but the paraphernalia of war? What toils, what dangers had been endured for eight months, that Saguntum might be captured? And did anything at all seem so toilsome and difficult to men who were striking at Rome—Rome, the capital of the world—as to delay their purpose? The very Gauls had once captured what the Carthaginians were in despair of being able to reach! Let them then either yield in valour and pluck to the nation, so often defeated by themselves in bygone days, or let them, as the bourne of their march, look only for the plain that lies between Tiber and the walls of Rome."

31.—To his men, fired by this address, he gave orders to refresh themselves and prepare for marching. Starting upon the following day he made for the midlands of Gaul, up the Rhone bank, not because he thought it was the more direct route to the Alps, but in the belief that the farther he withdrew from the sea, the less likely would he be to meet the Romans, with whom he was not minded to exchange blows before reaching Italy. In four days' march he came to the Island. At this spot the rivers Isara and Rhone, running down from different parts of the Alps, unite into one stream, embracing a considerable area of country. To the levels between, was given the name of

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the Island. (Close by dwell the Allobroges, a tribe, even at that date, second to no tribe of Gaul in power and in prestige. At this period it was disturbed, (for) two brothers were quarrelling for the headship. The elder, Braneus by name, the one who had formerly been in power, was being ousted by the younger brother, and a coalition of the younger men, who had indeed less influence in point of right, but more in point of force. On the decision of this feud, exceedingly opportune as it was, being referred to Hannibal, who was appointed to decide the question of the headship, he restored the throne to the elder brother, because this had been the wish of the Council and of the chieftains. In return for this benefit, he was assisted with provisions and supplies of all kinds, particularly of clothing, which the Alps, notorious for cold, made it necessary to prepare beforehand. The dissensions of the Allobroges quieted, Hannibal, though he was by this time making for the Alps, nevertheless did not direct his march by the straight road, but turned aside to the left towards the Tricastini. From thence he hurried along the very outskirts of the lands of the Vocontii, as far as the Tricorii, his journey having been nowhere hindered until he reached the river Druentia. This, being itself also an Alpine river, is far the most difficult to cross of all the streams of Gaul, inasmuch as, although it carries a very large volume of water, it is nevertheless unnavigable for boats, because, being confined by no banks, and flowing through several channels at once and these not always the same, it is continually producing new shallows and new eddies. And for the same reason the passage is uncertain for men on foot; and in addition, rolling down stones mixed with gravel, it offers no firmness or security to a man stepping into it. By chance, too, at that season, being swollen by rains, it created terrible confusion amongst those crossing, since, over and above everything else, they were confused by their own fears, and by their own indistinct cries.)

32.—P. Cornelius, the consul, came to the enemy's camp in fighting order about three days after Hannibal moved from the bank of the Rhone, intending to do battle without delay; but when he saw that the intrenchments were

deserted, and that he would not easily follow up men so far ahead, he returned to the sea and to his fleet, intending thus to encounter Hannibal, when descending from the Alps, with greater safety and ease. However; lest Spain, which he had obtained by lot as his province, should be destitute of Roman troops, he sent his brother, Cn. Scipio, with the majority of his forces against Hasdrubal, not only to protect Rome's old allies, and win over new ones, but also to drive Hasdrubal out of Spain. Himself, with a very scanty force, sailed back to Genoa, intending to defend Italy with the army on the Po.

From the Druentia Hannibal made his way to the Alps by marches mostly through the lowlands, without molestation from the Gauls inhabiting that region. At this point, although the state of the case had already been learnt by rumour (by which what is doubtful is usually exaggerated beyond the truth); nevertheless, the altitude of the mountains when seen from anear, their snows almost mingled with the sky, the rude huts perched upon the cliffs, cattle and horses numbed with cold, men unshorn and unkempt, all things, alive or lifeless, stiff with frost, and everything else more dreadful to see than to tell of, renewed the army's fears. There appeared to them, as they led their column up the first slopes, occupying the overhanging hills, mountaineers who, if they had occupied the more secluded valleys, would, when rushing to battle, have on an instant caused a terrible panic and slaughter. Hannibal ordered a halt; and when, on some Gauls being sent forward to reconnoitre the district, he discovered that there was not a passage by that route, he pitched his camp in the widest possible valley amidst places all rocky and precipitous. Thereafter, by means of these same Gauls, who did not indeed differ much in language and manners, after they had intermingled in conversation with the mountaineers, he learnt that the pass was beset only by day, but that at night they slipped away each to his own hut. At early dawn he approached the hills, as though intending to charge through the defile openly and by daylight. The day having then been spent in feigning something other than what was being arranged, having

encamped on the same spot upon which they had halted, as soon as ever he learnt that the mountaineers had left the hills, and that their sentries were reduced in number, he made up for a show, a larger number of camp-fires than was proportionate to the numbers of those who remained behind. He left behind also the baggage with the cavalry and the greater part of the infantry. Then in person, with some light-armed troops, all the bravest of his warriors, he hurriedly traversed the pass, and halted upon the hills which the enemy had occupied.

33.—Afterwards the camp was broken up at early dawn, and the remainder of the column began to advance. By this time the mountaineers, on a given signal, were collecting from their strongholds towards their accustomed position, when they suddenly saw some of the enemy above their heads, their own fortress seized, and others crossing over by the road. Both facts being presented to their eyes and minds at the same instant, kept them for a little time rooted to the spot. When, when they perceived the confusion in the defile and that the Carthaginian column was being thrown into disorder by its own panic, the horses being especially terrified; deeming that the terror they themselves caused in addition would be sufficient for the destruction of the Carthaginians, they rushed down from the rocks on all sides, being equally accustomed to paths and to places where there was no path. And then the Carthaginians were beset at the same instant by the enemy and by the roughness of the ground; and there was a struggle more of one with another (each striving for himself to be the first to get out of danger), than with the foe. Particularly did the horses throw the column into danger. They rushed hither and thither, terrified by the discordant cries which the forests and echoing valleys magnified; and being accidentally struck, or being wounded, they were so alarmed that they caused terrible havoc alike amongst the soldiery and amongst baggage of all kinds. As the defile was precipitous and broken away on either side, the pressure of the crowd threw down many, some even in full armour, to an immense depth: but especially the sumpter beasts with

their burdens rolled down just like falling ruins. ¶ Though this was terrible to see, Hannibal nevertheless held his ground for a space and kept back his men that he might not add to the panic and confusion. Afterwards, when he saw the column was divided, and that there was a danger that he might have brought his army through in safety to no purpose, if stripped of its baggage, he charged from the higher ground, and though he routed the foe by the mere onset, ¶ he increased the confusion amongst his own men. However, the panic subsided in a moment, after the road had been cleared by the flight of the mountaineers, ¶ and the whole force was soon brought through not only at leisure, but almost in silence. He then captured the stronghold which was the capital of that district, and the surrounding hamlets, and provisioned his army for three days with the food and cattle captured. And, as they were not opposed either at first by the terrified enemy, or to any great extent by the nature of the ground, he accomplished in these three days a considerable part of his journey.

34.—They next reached another canton, thickly populated, considering it was a mountainous region. There he was almost entrapped, not in open warfare, but by his own artifices—craft and treachery. There came as ambassadors to the Carthaginian the oldest chiefs of the fortresses, saying that, taught by the disasters of others, and by wholesome example, they preferred to make trial rather of the friendship than of the strength of the Carthaginians. They would therefore do his commands obediently. ¶ Let him accept supplies and guides for his march, and hostages to be a guarantee of what was promised. Hannibal thought that he must neither believe nor decline rashly, lest, if repulsed, they might openly become hostile. He therefore replied kindly, and, accepting the hostages which they offered, and making use of the supplies which they had on their own accord provided for his march, he followed their guides with his column not at all arranged as if among peaceable people. The elephants and cavalry ¶ formed the van: he himself marched after with the flower of the infantry, scrutinising everything, and watchful. On



arriving at a narrower path, lying on one side beneath an overhanging ridge, the barbarians, starting up on all hands from their ambuscades in front and rear, attacked him both at close quarters and from a distance, and rolled down immense stones upon the column. The largest body of men was pressing on in the rear. Wheeling towards them, the line of infantry put it beyond question that a terrible disaster would have been sustained in this pass had not the rear of the column been consolidated. Even then they came to the very extreme of peril and almost to destruction. For while Hannibal hesitated to send his column into the defile because, while he himself was protecting the cavalry in the van, there was left in the rear nothing to defend the infantry; the mountaineers, charging in flank, and breaking the centre of the column, occupied the path, and one night was passed by Hannibal without cavalry or baggage.

35. [On the following day, the barbarians, now charging across with less spirit, the forces were united and the pass traversed, not indeed, without disaster, but with greater loss of sumpter beasts than of men. Thereafter the barbarians, now in fewer numbers, and rather in the fashion of brigandage than of warfare, kept on attacking at one time the van, at another the rear-guard, whenever either the position gave them an opportunity, or stragglers advancing (beyond the main force) or loitering behind, offered a chance. The elephants, while they were led with great loss of time along the narrow and steep paths, nevertheless kept the column, wherever they advanced, safe from the enemy, because the latter being unaccustomed (to elephants), feared to approach nearer.]

[On the ninth day they reached the summit of the Alps over ground for the most part trackless and by many roundabout ways, which either the treachery of their guides caused or, when the latter were not relied on, the rash entering of valleys by men guessing at the route.] For two days a stationary camp was occupied upon the summit, and a rest given to the soldiers, who were worn out with fighting and toil. A considerable number of sumpter beasts also which had fallen amongst the rocks made their

way to the camp by following the track of the column. To men wearied with the fatigue of so many misfortunes a fall of snow (the constellation of the Pleiades being now setting) brought terrible apprehensions. The colours having been moved at dawn, as the line advanced over ground all blocked with snow, and as listlessness and desperation were prominent in the looks of all, Hannibal moved on before, and ordered his soldiers to halt on a certain height, whence was a far-reaching view. Then he pointed out to his army Italy and the plains about the Padus, lying at the foot of the Alpine mountains, and said that they were then climbing the walls, not of Italy alone, but of the City of Rome as well. The rest of their path would be smooth and down hill. In one, or, at the most, in two battles, they would hold in their grasp and their power the citadel and capital of Italy. Then the column began to move forward, not even the enemy by this time attempting anything beyond insignificant and stealthy attacks, as opportunity offered. The remainder of the march was far more difficult than it had been in the ascent; for, while most of the Alps are much shorter on the Italian side, they are more steep. Almost all the way was precipitous, narrow, and slippery, so that they could neither prevent themselves from falling, nor could such as had stumbled a little cling to their own track when thrown down, but fell one over another, and sumpter beasts over men.

— 36.—Next they reached a rocky path much narrower still, and with cliffs so steep that scarcely could a light-armed soldier let himself down, even when feeling his way and clinging with his hands to the shrubs and roots which projected on all sides. The spot, already precipitous by nature, had been broken away by a recent landslip to a depth of quite a thousand feet. The cavalry having halted at this point as though at the end of their journey, news was brought to Hannibal while wondering what was delaying his column, that the cliff was impassable. He then went away to view the spot in person. It seemed unquestionable that he must lead round his army, no matter by how long a circuit, over the pathless and

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hitherto untrodden ground in the neighbourhood. This road, at any rate, was impassable; for wherever there was fresh snow of slight depth on the top of the old unmelted snow, the feet of those who stepped upon it easily got a firm foothold, soft as it was, and not very deep. But when it thawed away under the tread of so many sumpter-beasts and men, they stepped upon the naked ice beneath, and the liquid slush of the now melting snow. Then followed a horrible struggle, the slippery ice not retaining their foothold, and tripping up their feet all the more speedily (as it was) on a slope; so that, whether they assisted themselves in rising with the hands or with the knee, their very supports slipped also, and they fell a second time. There were no stumps or roots about, upon which anyone could support himself by foot or hand, and so they kept falling about upon what was merely smooth ice and melted snow. At times the sumpter-beasts broke through even the snow at the bottom as they trod upon it, and, falling forward, smashed it up deeply by kicking out their hoofs more violently in their struggles, so that most of them stuck in the hard and deeply frozen ice, as though caught in a trap.

37.—At last, cattle and men having been wearied out to no purpose, a camp was pitched upon the ridge, a spot having been, with very great difficulty, cleared for this very purpose, such a quantity of snow had to be dug up and carted away. The soldiery were then brought up to make a way through the rock, through which alone their path could lie. As the cliff had to be cut away, they built up an immense pile of logs, the gigantic trees which stood around being felled and lopped. To this they set fire on there rising a high wind suitable for spreading the flames; and they caused the red hot rocks to crumble with vinegar poured over them. In this way they laid open the cliff with tools, now that it was heated from the fire: and they lessened the (steepness of the) slopes by gradual rounding paths, in such a way that not only the sumpter beasts, but even the elephants could be led down them. Four days were spent in the neighbourhood of the cliff, the animals being well-nigh killed by hunger, for the peaks are for the most part

bare, and, if there is any fodder, the snows cover it up. The lower regions have valleys and sunny hills, and streams amidst woods, and spots at last more fitted for human habitation. There the sumpter beasts were sent out to grass, and a rest was allowed to the soldiers, worn out with road-making. In three days from that point, they came down to the plains, both the ground and the character of its inhabitants being now less wild.

38.—Very much in this way did they reach Italy, in five months, as some authorities have it, from leaving New Carthage, the Alps having been crossed on the fifteenth day. It is not at all agreed amongst the historians what number of troops Hannibal had when he got across into Italy. Those who give the greatest figure, write that there were 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse; those who give the least number, say that there were 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse. L. Cincius Alimentus, who records that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, would have the most weight as an authority, did he not confound the total by the addition of the Gauls and Ligurians. Including these latter, there were conducted to Italy 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse. (It is more probable that they flocked to Hannibal when actually in Italy, and so some authorities have it.) And Alimentus also says that he heard from Hannibal, in person, that after he had crossed the Rhone, the latter lost 36,000 men and an enormous number of horses and other sumpter beasts.

The Taurinian Semigalli were the tribe nearest to him when descended into Italy: and as this point is agreed upon by all, I wonder the more that it is disputed by what road he crossed the Alps, and that men commonly believe the passage was over the Pennine Alps (whence its name was given to that Alpine ridge), and that Caelius should say that he crossed by the ridge of Cremona. Both these passes, however, would have brought him down, not amongst the Taurini, but through the Salassian mountaineers to the Gallic Libui. Nor is it likely that those routes with Gaul were then open. In any case, those which lead towards the Pennine Alps would have been beset by semi-German tribes. And, most certainly, the

Seduni Veragri, the inhabitants of that region, could not know that their name (if this affects anyone's judgment) was given to these mountains from any passage of the Carthaginians, but from that god whom, worshipped on the very summit, the mountaineers call Pœninus. ✓

39.—Most opportunely for the opening of the war, a struggle had been commenced by the Taurini, the nearest tribe, against the Insubres. But Hannibal was unable to prepare his army for action, so as to assist either party; for it felt the ills it had previously suffered most keenly when refreshing itself; and rest in exchange for toil, abundance instead of want, comfort in place of filth and emaciation, affected in various ways their unkempt and almost ensavaged frames. This was why P. Cornelius—the consul—hurried to the Po, on reaching Pisæ by ship, and took over from Manlius and Atilius an army of raw recruits, dispirited by their recent disgrace, in order that he might do battle with the foe while not yet refreshed. However, when the consul arrived at Placentia, Hannibal had already moved from his stationary camp and stormed one city of the Taurini, the capital of the tribe, because it did not voluntarily make alliance with him; and he would have won over to himself, not by fear alone, but by free will also, the Gauls bordering on the Po, had not the consul, by his sudden arrival, surprised them while still looking about for an opportunity to revolt. Indeed, Hannibal moved on from the Taurini, thinking that the Gauls, now doubtful as to which side ought to be taken, would join the first comer. By this time the armies were all but in sight of each other, and there had met two generals, each of whom felt already a certain esteem for the other, although not yet sufficiently known to each other. For Hannibal's name was already very famous even amongst the Romans, even before the fall of Saguntum; while Hannibal believed Scipio to be a man of mark for the very reason that he, above all men, had been elected general against himself. Moreover, each had heightened the estimate of the other; Scipio, because although left behind in Gaul, he had now met Hannibal on his crossing into Italy; Hannibal, by the daring of his

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attempt to cross the Alps and by its success. Scipio, however, was the first to cross the Po: and, his camp being moved on to the river Ticinus, to encourage his troops before he should lead them out to battle, he began such a speech as follows:—

40—“ If, my men, I were leading out to battle that army which I had with me in Gaul, I should have thought it needless to make a speech before you. For how could it concern me to encourage either those cavalry who conquered gloriously the enemy's horse at the River Rhone, or those legions with which, when pursuing this very foe-man in his flight, I regarded as a victory the confession (of inferiority) of one who gave way and declined a battle. But now, since that army, enrolled for the Province of Spain, is warring under my auspices with my brother, Cn. Scipio, in the land where the Senate and people of Rome has willed it to war, and since I have offered myself for this voluntary struggle here, that you might have a consul as your leader against Hannibal and his Carthaginians, a few words must be said by your new commander amongst his new soldiery. That you may not be unaware of the nature of the war or of your foe, you have to fight, soldiers, with those whom you defeated on land and sea in the former war—those from whom you exacted tribute for twenty years—captured from whom you hold Sicily and Sardinia as the prize of war. Thus, in this conflict, you and they will have the feelings which conquerors and conquered are wont to have. Nor are they now going to fight because they have confidence, but because they must do so; unless, indeed, you believe that those who declined a battle with forces unimpaired have got greater hopes now, two-thirds of their foot and horse having been lost in the passage of the Alps—for almost more have perished than now survive. But (you will say) they are few indeed in numbers, but strong in heart and frame; men whose endurance and strength scarce any power could withstand. Nay, they are rather phantoms, shadows of men, half killed with famine, frost, filth, and misery: bruised and shattered amidst those rocks and crags. Moreover, their limbs are frost-bitten, their sinews

stiffened by the snow, their members numbed with cold, their weapons damaged and broken, their horses lame and weak. With this cavalry, with this infantry, you are about to do battle. You have no enemy but the last remnants of your enemies, and there is nothing that I fear more than that when you have fought the battle, the Alps may seem to have conquered Hannibal (and not you yourselves). Yet haply it is fitting that the very gods themselves, without any human aid, should have begun and virtually decided a war with a leader and a nation that break their treaties, and that we, who have been sinned against next to the gods, should have finished it when already begun, and almost ended."

41.—"I am not afraid that anyone believes that I say this boastfully, on purpose to encourage you, but that I am myself differently affected at heart. I might have gone on with my army to Spain, my Province, whither I had already started, where I should have my brother to share my councils and divide my dangers; and Hasdrubal rather than Hannibal as my foe; and, doubtless, a less serious war. Nevertheless, while coasting along the shores of Gaul, on the news of this enemy I disembarked; and, sending forward my cavalry, I moved my camp to the Rhone. I routed the foe in a cavalry fight,—the portion of my forces with which there was given me the chance of doing battle. And because I could not overtake upon land his infantry column, which was being led on hurriedly after the fashion of fugitives, returning to my ships, by so great a circuit of land and sea, I have come with all the speed I could to meet this formidable foe almost at the feet of the Alps. Do I seem, declining a battle, to have stumbled upon him unawares, or to be meeting him upon his march, to be harassing him, and to be drawing him on to do battle? I wish to try whether earth has produced suddenly in twenty years Carthaginians of another sort, or whether they are the same as they who fought at the Ægatian Isles, and those whom you let go from Eryx priced at eighteen *denarii* apiece; and whether this Hannibal be jealous of the journeys of Hercules, as he himself asserts, or whether he was left by his sire as the taxpayer and tributary and

slave of the people of Rome. If that crime at Saguntum were not driving him to madness, he would surely look back, if not on his conquered country, at least on his own home and his father and the treaties written by Hamilcar's hand, who led out his garrison from Eryx at the bidding of our consul; who accepted with chafing and sorrow the heavy conditions imposed upon the vanquished Carthaginians; who promised on leaving Sicily to pay tribute to the people of Rome. Wherefore, my men, I would wish you to fight not with that courage only with which you are wont to fight against other foes, but with some indignation and anger, as though you saw slaves of your own suddenly bearing arms against you. We might have killed them, shut up in Eryx, by hunger, that extremest of human punishments. We might have carried over to Africa our triumphant fleet, and blotted out Carthage without a struggle in a few days. We gave them quarter when supplicating: we let them go from the blockade: we made peace with the vanquished: and afterwards, as they were hard pressed by their African war, we held them to be under our protection: and in return for these benefits they are coming to attack our fatherland, following a frenzied boy. Would that this struggle might be for your glory only and not for your safety! You must fight, not for the possession of Sicily and Sardinia, about which the question was of old, but on behalf of Italy. There is no other army in our rear that can withstand the foe unless we conquer him: there are no other Alps, so that fresh armies can be prepared, while the enemy are crossing them. Here you must withstand the foe, my men, as though you fight before the walls of Rome. Let each one of you think that he is screening with his weapons, not his own body, but his wife and his little children: nor let him think of his family cares alone, but let him again and again consider this in his heart, that the Senate and people of Rome are at this moment watching our hands; and that as our might and valour shall have been, so will be hereafter the fortunes of our city yonder and of the empire of Rome."

This much said the consul amidst the Romans.



(42.—Hannibal, deeming that soldiers ought to be encouraged by deeds before he used words, after his army had been ranged round to witness the show, placed in the middle the captured mountaineers in chains; then when Gallic weapons had been thrown at their feet, he bade an interpreter ask them whether any one was willing to fight to the death with steel, if he were set free from his chains, and if he should receive a steed, and arms for victory. All, to a man, clamoured for a sword and combat, and when lots were cast for the purpose, each of them was desirous that himself might be the one whom Fortune chose for the struggle; and he whose lot had fallen out snatched up the weapons in delight and exultation, with war-dances after their fashion, eager for the fray, amongst his congratulating friends. But whenever they fought, such was the state of feeling, not only amongst the men in the same plight as themselves, but even, as a rule, among the on-lookers, that the fortune of them that won was not more praised than was that of them that nobly died.

43.—Several pairs having been viewed, Hannibal, after dismissing the soldiery in this frame of mind, and an assembly having been afterwards called, is said to have spoken before them as follows:—

“If you have the same feelings in future in calculating your own fortunes, my men, as you had but a little while ago at the example of the fate of others, we have already conquered; for that was not merely a show, but as it were, a sort of picture of your own condition. And I almost think that Fortune has laid greater chains and greater straits upon you than upon your prisoners. On right and left two seas shut us in, and we have not a ship, not even for our escape. About us is the river Padus—the Padus larger and more rapid than the Rhone. In our rear the Alps hem us in, scarce crossed by you when sound and vigorous. Here, soldiers, where first you have met your foe, you must conquer or die. And the same fortune which has laid upon you the need of fighting, lays before you, if victorious, rewards than which men are wont to ask no greater even from the immortal gods. Were we but to have recovered by our valour Sicily and Sardinia that were torn from

our fathers, still the reward would be sufficiently great. But now, whatever the Romans possess that has been won and hoarded up by so many triumphs, all will be yours, together with its masters themselves. On then, to this prize so rich. Take arms, with the gracious help of the gods. Long enough have you chased herds of cattle amongst the desolate highlands of Lusitania and Celtiberia, without seeing any reward for so many toils and perils of your own. Now is the time for you to make rich and profitable campaigns, and to earn substantial payment for your labours, now that you have accomplished so vast a journey, across so many mountains and rivers, through so many a tribe in arms. Here has Fortune given to you the end of your toils: here will she give you, when your campaigns are over, a worthy reward.

“Nor think the victory will be as difficult as the war is mighty of name. Often a despised foe has afforded a bloody struggle, and famous nations and kings have been vanquished by a very slight effort. For, if this mere glitter of the Roman name is done away with, what reason is there why they should be compared with you? To be silent about your service of twenty years with your valour, your good fortune; you have made your way as conquerors to this spot from the pillars of Hercules, from the ocean, and from the farthest limits of the world, through so many of the most warlike nations of Spain and Gaul. You will do battle with an untried army; an army which this very summer has been cut to pieces, beaten, blockaded by the Gauls; an army as yet unknown to its leader and itself ignorant of him. Shall I compare myself with this general of six months, this runaway from his own army?—I, that was born almost in the tent of my father, that glorious commander, and of a certainty was brought up therein, the tamer of Spain and of Gaul, the conqueror too not merely of the Alpine tribes, but—a far greater thing—of the very Alps themselves! If any one should this day show to *him* the Carthaginians and the Romans, their colours taken away, sure am I that he would not know of which of the two armies he is consul. I count it not of little value, soldiers, that there is none of you before whose eyes I have

not myself many a time performed some deed of warfare, and to whom I cannot, myself the observer and witness of his valour, recount his own honourable deeds, distinguished by their dates and their places. With the men a thousand times complimented and rewarded by myself, I will advance, the nurseling of you all before I became your general, to battle against men neither known to their fellows nor knowing them."

44.—"Wherever I turn my eyes I see all things brimming with enthusiasm and valour—a veteran infantry; the cavalry of the proudest nations, regular and irregular; and you my most trusty and valiant allies, you, men of Carthage, about to do battle both for your fatherland and because of a most righteous indignation. We are making war, we are descending upon Italy, with hostile standards, likely to fight all the more boldly and bravely than the enemy, as the courage and the hopes of him that makes war are greater than those of him that wards it off. Moreover wrath and wrong and unworthy treatment inflame and excite our hearts. They demanded for punishment, first of all, myself, your leader; next, all of you who had besieged Saguntum; and when surrendered they would have visited us with extremest tortures. This most heartless, most insolent nation, is making all things her own and subject to her decision. She thinks it fair for her to prescribe with whom we are to have war, and with whom peace. She is encircling and shutting us in by the boundaries of mountains and rivers, which we are not to transgress; and yet she regards not those boundaries which she herself laid down. 'Cross not the Hiberus! Have nought to do with the Saguntines!' 'But Saguntum is free.' 'Move not anywhere from thy footing!' 'Is it too little that you are taking from me my oldest provinces of Sicily and Sardinia? Will you even cross to the Spains, and, if I depart thence, to Africa?' 'Will you cross?' indeed! I say that she has already crossed. The two consuls of this year the Romans have despatched, the one to Africa, the other to Spain. There is left us nothing anywhere, save what we maintain by our arms. Let them be timid and cowardly who have a retreat: whom their own land and their own ter-

ritories will receive, when fleeing along safe and peaceful paths. But *you* must be brave men, and must either conquer or, if Fortune should waver, seek death rather in battle than in flight, now that every alternative to death and victory has been cut off by a despair inevitable. If this is resolved by you all, if this is determined in your heart, again I say you have already conquered. There has been given to man by the immortal gods no keener weapon for victory than is contempt of death."

(45).—The courage of the troops on either side having been fired for the struggle by these addresses, the Romans bridged the Ticinus, and, for the purpose of protecting the bridge, established a guard-house near it as well. The Carthaginian, while the enemy was busy with his fortifications, despatched Maharbal with a squadron of Numidians, 500 horsemen, to harry the lands of the allies of the Roman people. He gave orders that mercy should as far as possible be shown to the Gauls, and that the feelings of their chieftains should be sounded in regard to revolting. The bridge completed, the Roman army, led across into the territories of the Insubres, encamped five miles from Victumulæ. There Hannibal had his camp. Maharbal and the cavalry having been hurriedly recalled, as he saw an engagement was imminent, deeming that nothing sufficient had ever yet been said or predicted for encouraging his soldiery, he offered to them, when called to an assembly, definite rewards in the hope of which they should fight. He would give lands in Italy, Africa, or Spain—wherever each desired it—tax-free to him who had received it and to his children. He would satisfy with money him who preferred money to land. To such of the allies as wished to become citizens of Carthage he would give the opportunity of becoming so. As to those who preferred to go back to their own homes, he would take care that they should not desire the lot of any of their countrymen to be exchanged for their own. To slaves accompanying their lords he promised freedom, (and said) he would give to their masters in exchange for them, two slaves apiece. And that they might know all this would be fulfilled, grasping in his left hand a lamb, and in his right a flint-

stone, and adjuring Jove and the rest of the gods to slay him in like manner as he had himself slain the lamb if he foreswore himself, he crushed the animal's head with the stone immediately after his prayer. And thereupon all with one will and one voice clamoured for battle, as though the gods were accepted as sureties for the hopes of each, and deeming the fact that they were not yet actually fighting as a hindrance to their obtaining what they hoped for.

46.—Amongst the Romans there was by no means so great eagerness, terrified as they were by even fresh portents over and above the rest. For a wolf had made its way into their camp, and had got off itself untouched, after tearing them that met it; and also a swarm of bees had settled upon a tree overhanging the general's tent. After these portents had been expiated, Scipio, starting with his cavalry and such of his infantry as were dartmen, to reconnoitre the enemy's camp from the near vicinity, and the number and kind of his forces, fell in with Hannibal, who was also riding forward in person with his cavalry to explore the ground in the neighbourhood. Neither party saw the other at first. Later, the dust, rising more thickly from the tramp of so many men and horses, served as a signal that foes were approaching. Both columns halted and began to prepare themselves for battle. In the front Scipio stationed his lancers and his Gallic horse; the Romans and the flower of the allies he stationed in reserve. Hannibal took into the centre his regular cavalry, and strengthened the flanks with Numidian horse. Though the war-cry had scarce yet been raised, the dartmen fled amongst the reserves towards the second line. After that, there was a cavalry struggle, for some time indecisive. Next, as the infantry, blended with them, threw the horses into disorder, many falling or leaping from their steeds, wherever they saw their own men hard pressed and surrounded, the fight had by this time become for the most part a struggle on foot, until the Numidians, who were on the wings, having wheeled round a little, showed themselves in the rear. This alarm cowed the Romans; and the wound and danger of the consul, only warded off by the intervention of his son, then just coming of age, increased

their panic. It will be this youth with whom is the credit of the finishing of this war, and who was surnamed Africanus for his famous victory over the Carthaginians and Hannibal. Nevertheless, the flight of the dartmen, whom the Numidians had first attacked was most disorderly. Another body of cavalry, closely packed, received the consul into the centre and, protecting him not only by their arms but with their persons, led him back to the camp, retiring in no place in alarm or in disorder. Coelius awards the honour of saving the consul to a slave, a Ligurian by race. Myself, I should prefer that it should be true of the son, because both the majority of writers have handed it down so, and the tale has prevailed generally.

47.—This was the first conflict with Hannibal, by which it was plainly evident that the Carthaginian was superior in cavalry, and that, for this reason, open plains, such as those between the Padus and the Alps, were not suitable to the Romans for carrying on the war. Therefore, on the next night, after the soldiers had been ordered to get ready their baggage in silence, the camp was broken up from the neighbourhood of the Ticinus, and a hurried march was made to the Padus, so that Scipio might throw across his troops without confusion or pursuit of the enemy, by means of the pontoons with which he had bridged the stream, before they had been cast off from their moorings. They reached Placentia before Hannibal was quite sure that they had left the Ticinus. However, he captured on the nearer bank of the Padus some 600 stragglers, as they were slowly cutting adrift the pontoons. The bridge he could not cross, as the extremities had now been unfastened, the whole pontoon floating down stream. Coelius declares that Mago swam across the river at once together with the horse and the Spanish infantry; and that Hannibal, in person, led over his main army by the upper fords of the Padus, after drawing up the elephants into a line, to withstand the force of the stream. These things would hardly gain credence with those who are acquainted with that river; for neither is it likely that cavalry crossed such a torrent of water with arms and

horses safe, even though inflated skins should have carried across all the Spaniards; and, moreover, the shallows of the Padus, by which an army, encumbered with baggage, could be led across, would have had to be sought for by a circuitous march of many days. Those authorities have greater weight with me, who relate that a spot for bridging the river with a pontoon was with difficulty found in two days; and that, with Mago, there were sent forward by that route the cavalry and light-armed Spaniards. While Hannibal, lingering near the river to give ear to the embassies of the Gauls, was still leading across the heavier column of infantry, Mago in the meanwhile and the cavalry hurried towards the enemy to Placentia, by a march of one day from the crossing of the river. A few days later, Hannibal strongly fortified a camp six miles from Placentia, and on the day following, after deploying his lines in full view of the enemy, gave them opportunity for battle.

48.—In the following night some loss was caused in the Roman camp by the Gallic auxiliaries, a loss more important from the tumult it caused than in actual fact. About 2,000 foot and 200 horse cut down the guard at the gates, and deserted to Hannibal. The Carthaginian addressed them graciously, and sent them away, fired with the hope of immense rewards, each to his own State, to try the feelings of their countrymen. Scipio deemed that this deed of bloodshed was the signal for disaffection on the part of all the Gauls, and that, defiled by this crime, they would rush to arms as though attacked by madness. Therefore, although he was still sick by reason of his wound, nevertheless, in the fourth watch of the following night, starting with his column in silence towards the river Trebia, he moved his camp to what was now higher ground, and to some hills more inaccessible to cavalry. He eluded Hannibal in a less degree than at the Ticinus: and the latter, after despatching at first the Numidians, and later the whole of his cavalry, would have thrown into confusion at any rate the hindmost ranks, had not the Numidians, in their greed of spoil, turned aside to the deserted Roman camp. There, while they were wasting time and prying into every part of the camp, with no adequate reward for their delay, the enemy

escaped from their grasp ; and on seeing that the Romans had already crossed the Trebia and were marking out their camp, they killed only a few of the stragglers, who were surprised on the nearer side of the river. Scipio, no longer able to bear the pain of his wound, irritated as it was by the journey, and thinking that his colleague ought to be waited for (for he had already heard that the latter had been actually recalled from Sicily), fortified strongly a chosen position by the river, which seemed the safest for a permanent camp. Hannibal, on encamping not far off, was as much harassed by lack of provisions as he was elated by his cavalry-triumph ; for this lack of provisions came upon him more heavily every day while marching through the enemy's country, through no supplies having been collected anywhere beforehand. He sent, therefore, to the village of Clastidium, to which place the Romans had collected a large quantity of corn. There, as his men were preparing for an assault, the hope of a surrender arose ; and Dasius of Brundisium, præfect of the garrison, being bribed—by no great price, indeed : 400 gold pieces—Clastidium was surrendered to Hannibal. This served as a granary for the Carthaginians while camping by the Trebia. No violence was shown to the captives from the surrendered garrison, in order that a reputation for clemency might be attained at the very outset of matters.

49.—Though the land war had come to a stop at the Trebia, still about Sicily and the islands adjacent to Italy war was meanwhile carried on by land and sea, both by the Consul Sempronius and also before his arrival. Twenty five-banked vessels, with 1,000 armed troops, were sent by the Carthaginians to harry the coast of Italy. Nine reached Liparæ, eight reached the Island of Vulcan, three the current carried away to the straits. Against these, when sighted from Messana, 12 ships, despatched by the king of the Syracusans, Hiero (who was then by chance at Messana, waiting for the Roman consul), brought the captured vessels to shore to Messana to harbour, no one making any resistance. It was learnt from the prisoners that, besides the 20 ships



despatched to Italy, of which fleet they themselves were a part, 35 other five-banked vessels were making for Sicily to tamper with their old allies there; that their chief aim was to seize Lilybæum, and that they believed this fleet also had been driven out of its course upon the Ægatian Isles by the same storm by which they themselves had been scattered. The king forwarded this news, exactly as it had been received, to M. Æmilius, prætor, whose province Sicily was, and advised him to hold Lilybæum with a strong garrison. Instantly both envoys were sent round the States by the prætor, and the tribunes began to urge their own men to care in watching, and Lilybæum before everything was engaged in preparations of war. An edict was issued that the naval allies should provide for the ships cooked provisions for ten days, so that when the signal was given, nothing could cause delay in embarking; and men were despatched along the whole coast, to descry from watch-towers the approaching fleet of the enemy. And thus, although the Carthaginians had purposely delayed the passage of their vessels so as to approach Lilybæum before daylight, intelligence had already been received, both because the moon was at the full, and because they were approaching with all canvas set. At once the signal was given from the watch-towers, and an alarm was raised in the town, and an embarkation on ship-board was made. Part of the troops were upon the walls and at the picket-stations of the gates, part in the vessels. And the Carthaginians, as they saw that their struggle would be with men who were by no means unprepared, held off from the harbour until dawn, the time being spent in shortening sail and preparing the fleet for action. When day dawned, they drew off their fleet to the open sea, in order that there might be room for action, and that the enemy's fleet might have free egress from the harbour. Nor did the Romans decline battle, relying both upon the memory of deeds done in the neighbourhood of that very spot, and upon the number and valour of their soldiery.

50.—When they had put out to the open sea, the

Romans wished to bring the fight to close quarters, and to measure their strength hand to hand. On the other hand, the Carthaginians avoided them, and fought by skill, not by main force; and preferred to make it a struggle of ships rather than of men and weapons; for while they had a fleet sufficiently manned with naval allies, they had one ill-supplied with soldiers; and if a vessel was anywhere grappled with, a force of armed men by no means equal to that of the enemy fought from its deck. When this was observed, their numbers increased the courage of the Romans, while their fewness lessened that of the Carthaginians. On a sudden, seven Carthaginian vessels were surrounded. The rest took to flight. In the captured vessels were 1,700 soldiers and sailors, and amongst them three Carthaginian nobles. The Roman fleet returned unharmed into port, one ship only being rammed, but this too, able to return of itself.

Immediately after this battle, and when those who were at Messana were not yet aware of it, Ti. Sempronius, the consul, arrived at Messana. To meet him as he entered the straits, King Hiero led a fleet fully manned and equipped; and having crossed from the royal vessel to that of the consul, he congratulated him that he had arrived safe with his army and his fleet, and prayed that his passage to Sicily might be successful and fortunate. Then he explained the condition of the island and the aims of the Carthaginians; and promised that he would support the Roman people, now that he was an old man, with the same enthusiasm with which he had, when a young man, supported them in the former war. He promised that he would himself provide without charge corn and clothing for the consul's legions, and for their naval allies. There was, he said, great danger to Lilybæum and the States upon the coast, and revolution would be welcome to some of them. For these reasons it seemed to the consul that no delay ought to be made in making for Lilybæum with his fleet. With him went the king and the royal fleet. Afterwards, while sailing on, they learnt that there had been a battle off Lilybæum, and that the enemy's vessels had been routed and captured.

51.—Hiero and the royal fleet were now dismissed from Lilybæum, and the prætor was left behind to guard the coast of Sicily; the consul himself crossed to the island of Melita, which was occupied by the Carthaginians. Hamilcar, son of Gisco, commander of the garrison, with little short of 2,000 soldiers, and the town together with the island, were all betrayed to him on his arrival. From thence, after a few days, they returned to Lilybæum, and their captives were sold in public auction, both by the consul and by the prætor, excepting the persons distinguished by high rank. After the consul deemed Sicily to be sufficiently safe in that quarter, he crossed to the Island of Vulcan, as there was a rumour that a Carthaginian fleet was lying there: but no enemy was found in the neighbourhood of these islands. They had by chance just crossed over to ravage the coast of Italy; and after harrying the district round Vibo, were even alarming that town. This descent of the enemy upon the lands of Vibo was announced to the consul when returning to Sicily; and there was also given to him a despatch, sent by the senate, about Hannibal's crossing into Italy, and bidding him, at the very first opportunity, carry help to his colleague. Disturbed at once by many anxieties, he immediately embarked his army in transports, and despatched it to Ariminum by way of the upper sea. To Sextus Pomponius, his lieutenant, with five-and-twenty ships of war, he assigned the protection of the Viboniensian lands and the sea-coasts of Italy. For M. Æmilius, the prætor, he completed a fleet of 50 sail. On the affairs of Sicily being set in good order, he himself coasting along the shore of Italy with 10 vessels, made his way to Ariminum. Starting thence with his army, he joined his colleague at the river Trebia.

52.—By this time the fact that both consuls, and the entire strength of the Romans, were opposed to Hannibal, proved clearly enough that the Roman Empire could either be defended by those forces or that there was no other hope. Nevertheless, one of the two consuls, dispirited by a single cavalry engagement, and by his wound, preferred that the matter should be deferred. The other with fresh enthusiasm,

and therefore the more daring, was for allowing no delay. At that time Gauls inhabited all the lands between the Trebia and the Padus, undeniably looking, by their vacillating friendship, for the favour of the victor in this struggle of two mighty peoples. Provided the Gauls made no movement, the Romans bore it with feelings calm enough; but the Carthaginian bore it with very dissatisfied feelings, declaring that he had come at the summons of the Gauls to liberate them. On the ground of these feelings of anger, and at the same time to maintain his troops by means of the booty, he ordered 2,000 foot, and 1,000 horse—mostly Numidians, a few Gauls also intermixed with them—to lay waste the whole region from thence up to the banks of the Padus. The Gauls, in need of help, though they had kept their minds up to that time undecided, were compelled to turn from the authors of their wrongs to those who would be their avengers. Ambassadors being sent to the consuls, they implored the help of the Romans for their land that was suffering because of its inhabitants' too great loyalty towards the Romans. Neither the reason nor the moment for the action pleased Cornelius. The tribe, moreover, was suspected by him, both because of its numerous deeds of treachery and (even supposing that other things had been forgotten by reason of length of time), because of the recent faithlessness of the Boii. On the other hand, Sempronius thought the greatest bond in keeping allies to their loyalty was the defence of those who first needed help. His colleague delaying, he sent his own cavalry, about 1,000 dartmen of the infantry being intermixed with them, across the Trebia to protect the Gallic territories. Suddenly attacking the enemy, who were scattered and in disorder, and moreover mostly burdened with spoil, they caused a great panic and slaughter and flight up to the very camp and pickets of the enemy. A large number pouring out of the camp, the Romans, after being driven back, again renewed the battle with a reinforcement of their own men. Afterwards, though, in a wavering battle between pursuers and fugitives, they had at last equalized the struggle, the loss of the enemy was nevertheless the greater, and the fame of victory rested with the Romans.

53. But to no one of them all seemed the victory greater and more complete than to the consul himself. He was carried away with delight that *he* had conquered with that arm of his forces in which the other consul had been vanquished. The courage of the troops was restored and repaired, he said; nor was there, excepting his colleague, any one who desired the engagement postponed. He, sick at heart rather than in body, shuddered through the recollection of his wound, at war and weapons. But they must not grow old with a sick man. For why was the time being put off and wasted any longer? What third consul, what other army was being waited for? The camp of the Carthaginians was in Italy, and almost in sight of the city. It was not confiscated Sicily or Sardinia, not Spain on the nearer side of the Hiberus that was being attacked; but the Romans were being ousted from their native soil, and from the land in which they had been born. "How our fathers," he said, "accustomed to make war about the very walls of Carthage, would groan if they should see us, their children, two consuls and two consular armies, trembling within our camps in the heart of Italy, and that the Carthaginian has brought under his sway all the land between the Alps and the Apennines!" This he kept repeating when tending his sick colleague. This he kept repeating, almost as if haranguing an assembly in the general's tent. Moreover, the near date of the elections urged him on, lest the war should be postponed until the time of the new consuls, and also the opportunity of conferring glory upon himself alone, while his colleague was ill. And so, Cornelius to no purpose dissenting, he ordered the troops to be got ready for the approaching struggle.

Hannibal, although he saw what would be best for an enemy, yet had scarce any hope that the consuls would do anything rashly and carelessly. But on learning that the character of the other consul, known previously by report and afterwards by experience, was impetuous and headstrong, and believing that it was made more headstrong still by the successful engagement with his own freebooters, he did not doubt that an opportunity for action

was at hand. And while the army of the enemy was untrained, while his wound made the more able of the two generals useless, while the courage of the Gauls was fresh (whose mighty multitude he knew would follow more tardily in proportion as they were drawn farther away from home), he was anxious and careful not to lose the opportunity of action. As, for these and similar reasons, he hoped for a speedy battle, and wished to force it on if the Romans showed any hesitation; and as Gaulish spies, who were safer for finding out what he wished because they were serving in both camps alike, had brought back word that the Romans were ready for battle; the Carthaginian began to look about for a place for an ambush.

54.—In the midst was a stream enclosed on either side by very high banks, and overgrown all about with marsh plants and with the thickets and thorns with which wild places are mostly covered. When, on riding round it, he saw with his own eyes that it was a place sufficiently full of cover to conceal even cavalry, "This," said he to his brother Mago, "will be the spot for you to occupy; choose out from all the infantry and horse 100 men of each, and come to me with them about the first watch. Now it is time (for the men) to attend to their persons." So the council was dismissed. Shortly after Mago came with his picked men. "I see," said Hannibal, "that you are the flower of my men; but that you may be strong in numbers, and not in courage alone, choose for each of you nine men apiece like yourselves from the squadrons and companies. Mago will show you the spot which you are to occupy. Ye have a foe that is blind to these tricks of war." Thus after Mago had been despatched with 1,000 horse and 1,000 foot, at early dawn Hannibal ordered the Numidian cavalry, crossing the River Trebia, to ride up to the gates of the enemy, and to draw out the foe to battle by hurling their lances at the pickets, and then when the conflict was begun, to draw them this side the stream by retiring gradually. These orders were given to the Numidians. To the remaining captains of horse and foot it was ordered that they should command all to breakfast,

and then await the signal, armed, and with horses saddled.

Against the attack of the Numidians, Sempronius led out first all his cavalry, for he placed much confidence in that branch of his forces; next, 6,000 infantry; and finally, eager for the fray, he led out his whole force, according to what had been already resolved beforehand in his plan. It was by chance just about midwinter, and in the regions lying between the Alps and the Apennines, the day was snowy, the district being exceedingly cold by reason also of the neighbourhood of rivers and marshes. In addition to this, as his men and horses had been led out in a hurry, and as no food had been previously taken, nor any means provided for keeping off the cold, there was no warmth in them; and the nearer they came to the atmosphere of the river, so much the more keenly did the sting of the cold strike them. When, however, they entered the water, following up the retreating Numidians—and the water, increased by rain in the night was up to their breasts—the frames of all as they came out began to grow numb, so that they had scarce power to hold their weapons, and at the same time they began to faint with weariness and even with hunger, for the day was now getting on.

55.—Meanwhile Hannibal's soldiery had made fires before the tents; oil had been distributed throughout the companies, that they might make supple their limbs, food also having had been taken at leisure. Thus they snatched up their arms and advanced to battle, eager in courage and in body, on the announcement that the foe had crossed the river. Hannibal placed his Balearians, light-armed troops, about 8,000 men, in advance of the colours; next the more heavily-armed infantry, the flower and strength of his army; on the wings he stationed about them 10,000 horse; and, extending from the wings he stationed his elephants in two divisions. The consul sounded the retreat, and recalled his cavalry who were following up the Numidians in disorder, and surrounded them with infantry; for they had been taken unawares by a sudden rally of the Numidians. There were 18,000

Romans, 20,000 of the allies of the Latin name, and, in addition, auxiliary bodies of Cenomani. That Gaulish tribe alone had continued in its loyalty. With these forces the charge was made. The battle was commenced by the Balearians, and as the legions withstood them with superior weight, the light troops were hurriedly deployed towards the wings—a movement which caused the Roman horse to be at once hard pressed; for though they were scarcely by themselves making resistance—4,000 horse against 10,000, and weary men against enemies mostly fresh—they were now in addition overwhelmed by the cloud, as it were, of darts discharged by the Balearians. Moreover, the elephants, standing out from the extreme wings, caused a route far and wide, the horses specially being alarmed, not only by a sight but by a scent that was unusual. The fighting of the infantry was equal rather in courage than in force; for the Carthaginians had come into battle fresh, with their bodily necessaries recently attended to, but on the other hand, the frames of the Romans, hungry and weary, and stiff with frost, were benumbed. Nevertheless they would have held their own by their courage, had the battle been fought with infantry alone. But both the Balearians (on their cavalry being driven back), began to throw darts upon their flanks, and the elephants had by this time charged into the centre of the line of their infantry; and Mago and his Numidians rose up in the rear as soon as the line had been unawares borne past their hiding-places, causing a terrible uproar and panic. Still, amidst so many besetting troubles, their line remained unshaken for a long time, particularly against the elephants—a circumstance contrary to the expectation of all. Light troops stationed for this very purpose turned them back by hurling their darts; and also, following them up when turned back, kept stabbing them under the tail, where they particularly admit wounds, owing to the tenderness of the hide.

56.—Hannibal ordered them, now panic-stricken and by this time almost driven in terror against their own side, to be led from the centre to the furthest of the line, to the left wing, against the Gaulish auxiliaries. There they at



once caused an unmistakable rout; and new fear was brought upon the Romans when they saw their auxiliaries routed. Therefore, as they were now fighting in a circle, about 10,000 men, being unable to escape elsewhere, broke through by the centre of the line of Africans, which had been strengthened by Gaulish auxiliaries, with immense slaughter of the enemy; and, as there was for them neither any return to their camp, being cut off by the river, nor could they see sufficiently well, owing to the rain, in what direction to carry help to their own side, they pushed on by direct march to Placentia. After that, attempts were made on all sides to get away. Those who made for the river were either swallowed up by the eddies or were caught by the enemy in their delay to enter it. Those who were scattered broadcast over the fields in flight, following the footsteps of the retreating column, made for Placentia. To others, fear of their foes gave courage to enter the stream, and, having crossed, they arrived at their camp. The rain, mingled with snow, and the intolerable severity of the cold, carried off many men and sumpter-beasts, and almost all the elephants. The river Trebia was, for the Carthaginians, the limit of their pursuit of the enemy; and they returned to camp so stiff with cold that they scarce felt the delight of victory. And so, on the following night, when the Romans were putting across the Trebia on rafts the garrison of their camp, and all that was left of their soldiers, for the most part wounded, the Carthaginians either perceived nothing through the beating rain, or pretended that they did not perceive anything, because by this time they could not move, owing to their weariness and wounds. Whilst the Carthaginians remained quiet, the army was conducted by a noiseless march to Placentia by the Consul Scipio, and from thence put across the Padus to Cremona, lest one colony should be burdened with the winter camps of two armies.

57.—To Rome there was conveyed such panic from this disaster, that men believed their enemy would at once come to the capital with hostile standards, and that there was no hope or help by which they might ward off attack

from their gates and walls. One consul had been vanquished at the Ticinus; the second had been recalled, they said, from Sicily. Now that two consuls, and two consular armies had been vanquished, what other leaders and what other legions were there which they could call out? The Consul Sempronius came to them in this state of panic. He crossed over at immense risk through the enemy's cavalry, scattered in all directions to plunder, more by his boldness than by caution or with the hope of eluding them, or of resisting them if he did not elude them. Then, the consular elections having been held—the one thing which was most desired for the present—he returned to his winter camp. Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius were created consuls.

However, not even their winter quarters were undisturbed, for the Romans, the Numidian cavalry scouring the country in all directions, and Celtiberians and Lusitanians also, wherever the ground was too rough for the former. Thus supplies on all sides had been cut off save such as vessels brought up by way of the Padus. There was a magazine near Placentia, strongly fortified, and protected by a stout garrison. Hannibal, starting with his cavalry and light-armed troops in the hope of storming that fortress, attacked it in the night, since in concealing his attempt he mainly placed his hopes of success. He did not, however, elude them, as they were on their guard, and so great an alarm was suddenly raised that it was heard even at Placentia. Thus the consul appeared at dawn with his cavalry, the legions being ordered to follow in battle order. Meanwhile a cavalry fight was commenced; and a panic having fallen upon the enemy, because during the fight Hannibal retired wounded from the battle, the fortress was nobly defended. Afterwards, with a rest of a few days, though his wound was scarcely yet thoroughly healed, he started to go and storm Victumulæ. This had been a magazine for the Romans in the Gallic war. Afterwards the half-breed neighbouring peoples, from the bordering tribes on every side, had thronged to the place when fortified; and at that time the dread of forays had driven many thither from the

country. A multitude of this sort, fired with the tale of the brave defence of the fortress near Placentia, snatched up their arms, and went forth to meet Hannibal. They met rather as marching columns than as lines of battle; and since on the one side there was nothing but a disorderly mob, and on the other a general confident in his troops, and troops confident in their general, about 35,000 men were put to rout by a few. A surrender was made on the following day, and they received a garrison within their walls; and though they obeyed the order when bidden to lay down their arms, a signal was suddenly given to the conquerors to sack the town, as though taken by storm. Nor was there omitted any outrage which is wont, under such circumstances, to appear noteworthy to writers; to such a degree was there manifested against those miserable men an example of every kind of lust and cruelty and inhuman insolence. These were Hannibal's winter expeditions.

58.—A rest of no long time from thence was granted to the soldiery, while the cold was intolerable; and setting out upon the earliest and doubtful signs of spring, Hannibal led his army out of its winter quarters into Etruria, intending to win over that nation also, like the Gauls and Ligurians, either by force or by their free will. But so fierce a tempest attacked him while crossing the Apennines as surpassed almost the horror of the Alps. At first the men began to halt, because, as rain mingled with wind was driven right into their very faces, either their arms must be thrown away, or, being twisted round by the whirlwind, they were thrown down while struggling against it. Next, as it stopped their respiration, and did not suffer them to draw breath, they sat down for a little while, turning their backs to the wind. And then the heavens began to bellow with a horrible uproar, and the lightning to flash amidst appalling crashes. Paralysed in ears and eyes, all began to grow stupid with terror. At length, the rain having been spent, since the fury of the wind was so much the more increased, it seemed necessary to pitch their camp on that very spot in which they had been caught by the storm. But this was, as it were, the

beginning of their toils afresh. For neither could they unfold or set up anything, nor did what had been set up remain in its place, the wind tearing everything to pieces and carrying it away; and soon, as the moisture, lifted up by the wind above the cold peaks of the mountains, was frozen, it hurled down so much snow and hail that everything was thrown aside, and the men lay down rather buried than sheltered by their tents. And there followed such severity of cold, that whenever each wished to lift himself up, and raise himself from that pitiable heap of men and beasts, he was for a long time unable, because, their muscles being numb with cold, they could scarcely bend their limbs. Afterwards, when at length by bestirring themselves, they began to move and to recover spirits, and when fires began to be made in a few places, helpless himself, each began to struggle for the help of others. Two days they remained at that spot, as if besieged. Many men, many sumpter beasts were carried off, and seven elephants also of those which had survived from the fight at the Trebia.

59.—Retiring backwards from the Apennines, Hannibal moved his camp towards Placentia; and having advanced about ten miles, he encamped there. On the next day he led 12,000 foot and 5,000 horse against the enemy; nor did Sempronius the Consul—for he had already returned from Rome—decline battle. On that day there were three miles between the two camps. On the following day a battle was fought with great courage and varying result. At the first charge, so far superior was the Romans' case that they conquered not only on the field, but followed the defeated foe to their camp, and soon attacked the camp also. A few defenders having been stationed on the rampart and by the gates, Hannibal withdrew the rest, in close order, to the centre of the camp, and bade them wait watchful for the signal for making a sally. It was now about the ninth hour of the day, when the Roman, after that there was no hope of capturing the camp, gave the signal for retreat, his men having been wearied to no purpose. When Hannibal heard this, and saw that the fight had slackened and that

there had been a retreat from the camp, he suddenly made a sally in person with the flower of his infantry from the centre of the camp, his cavalry having been let loose from right and left upon the enemy. Rarely would any battle have been more even or more remarkable for the losses of each party, had daylight allowed it to be protracted for a lengthy space. Night ended a battle begun with great spirit; and so the charge was more furious than the carnage; and as the battle had been almost equally balanced, so they retired with equal loss. On neither side fell more than 600 foot, and half of that number of horse: but the loss of the Romans was out of proportion to their numbers, because many of knightly rank, five tribunes of the soldiers, and three captains of allies were slain. Immediately after that battle, Hannibal retired to the Ligurians, and Sempronius to Luca. To Hannibal, on reaching the Ligures, there were surrendered two Roman Quæstors, C. Fulvius, and L. Lucretius, who had been captured in an ambuscade, together with two tribunes of the soldiers, and five men of knightly rank, mostly sons of senators, in order that he might believe that his peace and alliance with the Ligurians would be more assured.

60.—While these things were being done in Italy, Cn. Cornelius Scipio, who had been sent into Spain with a fleet and army, had started from the mouth of the Rhone, and sailed round the Pyrenees mountains. Then, after he had brought his fleet to shore at Emporiæ, and had there disembarked his army, partly by renewing old alliances, and partly by establishing new ones, he brought under Roman sway the whole coast as far as the river Hiberus, beginning from the Lacetani. The reputation for clemency thence acquired, now reached not only to the coast tribes, but to the wilder tribes in the central and mountainous regions. And not only was a peace attained with them, but also an alliance of arms; and several stout companies of auxiliaries were enrolled from them. The province on the near side of the Hiberus was Hanno's: Hannibal had left him for the protection of that district. Therefore, deeming that he must go to

meet the foe before everything was lost, he pitched his camp in sight of the enemy, and led out his men to battle. Nor did it seem to the Roman that the conflict ought to be delayed, inasmuch as he knew that battle must be done by him with both Hanno and Hasdrubal, and he preferred to fight against each separately, rather than against both at once. And this was a fight which involved no great struggle. Six thousand of the enemy were cut to pieces; two thousand were taken prisoners, together with the garrison of their camp. For the camp too was stormed, and the general himself with some of the chieftains were captured; and Cissis, a town near the camp, was stormed. Still the plunder of the town consisted of things of small value—barbarian furniture—and of worthless slaves. But the camp enriched the soldiers, for almost all the valuable property not only of the army which had been conquered, but also of that which was serving with Hannibal in Italy, had been left on the near side of the Pyrenees, lest baggage should be burdensome to them while carrying it about.

61.—Before a certain report of this disaster could reach him, Hasdrubal crossed the Hiberus with 8,000 foot and 1,000 cavalry, as though intending to confront the Romans on their first arrival. But, after he heard of the catastrophe at Cissis and of the loss of the camp, he turned his march seaward. Not far from Tarraco, after sending out his cavalry in all directions, he drove to their ships with great slaughter and still greater rout the marines and naval allies, as they were dispersed and roaming over the country; for it usually happens that success produces carelessness. Then, not daring to linger longer about that neighbourhood, lest he should be overtaken by Scipio, he withdrew himself across the Hiberus. Scipio too, hurriedly brought up his column on the news of new enemies, and after reprimanding some of the ships' captains, returned with his fleet to Emporiæ, leaving a small garrison at Tarraco. He had scarcely departed, when Hasdrubal appeared, and the tribe of the Ilergetes, who had given hostages to Scipio, being induced to revolt, Hasdrubal, with the young warriors of that people, laid waste the lands of

the allies faithful to the Romans. Scipio being thereupon aroused from his winter-camp, Hasdrubal again retired from the whole region on the near side of the Hiberus. Scipio having invaded with a hostile force the tribe of the Iltergetes, now deserted by the author of their revolt, drove them all into the town of Atanagrum, which was the capital of that tribe, and laid siege to it; and within a few days again received into his power and authority the Iltergetes, now fined also in money, and more hostages having been demanded than before. Thence he marched against the Ausetani, near the Hiberus, also allies of the Carthaginians; and their city being besieged, he surprised by an ambuscade the Lacetani bringing aid to their neighbours by night and not now far from the town, as they wished to enter it. About 12,000 were cut to pieces; and almost all, being stripped of their arms, fled wandering in all directions over the country to their homes. Nothing but the winter weather, inimical to the besiegers, protected the besieged. The siege lasted for 30 days, during which rarely did the snow ever lie less than four feet deep, and to such an extent had it covered up the siege-engines and sheds of the Romans, that this alone was actually a protection from the firebrands often thrown upon them by the enemy. At last, on Amusicus, their chieftain, fleeing to Hasdrubal, they made terms for 20 silver talents, and surrendered themselves. The Romans returned to Tarraco to their winter camp.

62.—At Rome, and in the neighbourhood of the city, in that winter many prodigies happened; or (what is wont to occur, when men's minds have once been aroused to superstition), many were reported and rashly accredited.

Amongst them, it was said that a noble child of six months old had shouted "Triumph!" in the vegetable-market; that in the cattle-market an ox had climbed of its own accord up to the third story (of a house), and being terrified by the confusion of the inhabitants, had thrown itself down from thence; that there had gleamed from the heavens the semblance of ships; that the Temple of Hope, which is in the vegetable-market, had been struck by lightning; that at Lanuvium a spear had stirred itself, and a raven had flown down into the Temple of Juno and

perched upon the sacred couch itself; that in the lands of Amiternum in many places there had appeared some afar off in the shape of men in white garments, and had accosted no man; that in Picenum it had rained stones; at Caere the lots had dwindled, and in Gaul a wolf had carried off from a watchman his sword, after snatching it from its sheath. On account of the other prodigies, the Decemvirs were ordered to refer to the books, but a nine days' feast was decreed because it had rained stones in Picenum. And thereafter almost all the State was busied with expiating other prodigies. First of all the city was purified, and greater victims were sacrificed to the gods to whom it was (so) bidden: and an offering, made of 40 pounds' weight of gold, was carried to Lanuvium in honour of Juno, and the matrons dedicated to Juno a brazen statue, on the Aventine. A sacred banquet was ordered at Caere, where the lots had dwindled, and a service of prayer to Fortune on Mount Algidus. At Rome also there was both a sacred banquet to Juventas, and a service of prayer was ordained at the Temple of Hercules by name, and thereafter at all the temples for the whole people. To the Genius were offered five greater victims; and C. Atilius Serranus, the prætor, was ordered to undertake vows if the state should have remained for ten years in the same condition. These expiations and vows, in accordance with the Sibylline books, had in great measure relieved men's minds from superstitious fear.

63.—Flaminius, one of the consuls designate, to whom had fallen by lot those legions which were wintering at Placentia, sent an edict and despatches to the consul (commanding) that that army should appear in camp at Ariminum on the 15th of March. It was his plan to enter upon his consulate at this place in his province, being mindful of the old quarrels which he had had with the senators, as tribune of the people, and afterwards, when consul for the first time, on the score of his consulship, which was being made null, and finally on the score of his triumph. He was detested also by the senators, because of a new law which Q. Claudius, tribune of the people, had passed in defiance of the senate, and



with C. Flaminius alone of the senators supporting him, to the effect that no senator, nor anyone whose father had been a senator, should own a sea-going vessel which was of more than 300 *amphoræ* in burden. This was considered sufficient for conveying their crops from the country; and all traffic seemed to be improper to senators. The matter, being pushed on amid extreme bitterness, produced for Flaminius, the seconder of the law, hatred amongst the nobles, and amongst the people popularity, and thence a second consulship. For these reasons, believing that they would keep him in the city by falsifying the auspices, by the delay of the Latin Festival, and by other consular trammels, he went away secretly as a private citizen to his province, alleging a journey as an excuse. When this affair became public, it stirred up new anger in addition, the senators having already before this been indignant. They said that C. Flaminius was warring not with the senate alone, but with the immortal gods as well. Previously, when made consul without due auspices, he had not obeyed gods and men calling him back from the very field of battle. Now, with the guilty knowledge of his contempt towards them, he had fled from both the capitol and customary offering of the vows, that he might not approach the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the day of entering upon his office, and that he might not, himself detested, see and consult the senate detested by himself alone; that he might not proclaim the Latin Festival, and make the customary sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris upon the Mount; that he might not, after starting for the Capitol with due auspices to offer the vows, go thence to his province in the generals' cloak and with his lictors. He had set out like a camp-follower, without badge of office, without lictors, secretly, like a thief, just as if he had left the land by reason of exile. Of course it was more in accordance with the majesty of his authority that he should enter upon his office at Ariminum than at Rome, and should assume the brodered gown in a wayside inn, rather than amidst his own hearth-gods. All voted that he ought to be recalled and brought back, and com-

pelled to perform all his duties towards gods and men upon the spot, before starting for his army and his province. For this embassy—for it was decided that an embassy should be sent—Q. Terentius, and M. Antistius set out; but they influenced him no more than despatches sent by the senate had influenced him in his former consulship. A few days after, he entered upon his office; and as the steer, when he was sacrificing, escaped, already wounded, from the hands of the sacrificers, it spattered many bystanders with blood. The confusion at a distance was still greater amongst those who did not know why there was an alarm, and there was a rush to the spot. This was received by most men for an omen of great dread. After this, when two legions had been taken over from Sempronius, consul of the previous year, and two others from C. Atilius, the prætor, the army began its march by the passes of the Apennines into Etruria.





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