



LIVY

BOOK VI.

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LIVY
...
BOOK VI.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PREFACE.

THIS edition has been prepared on the same plan as that of the other books of Livy edited by me in this series. I have not for the reason given in the preface to Book ix. inserted any maps. The object of the Introduction, as of those to the other books, is to put young students on their guard against accepting all Livy's statements as true, and to offer them some means of estimating the historical value of the contents of individual books. A writer in the *Guardian* criticising my edition of Book ix. was good enough to say that 'I failed to bring out the interest of *my* subject.' I never intended to 'bring out the interest of the subject.' I should have supposed that that was for Livy to do, not for the editor of a school edition of a fragment of his work.

The text is that of Madvig and Ussing, second edition, with a few variations mentioned in the notes on the Text.

H. M. S.

BOURN,
August, 1892.

INTRODUCTION.

LIVY opens this book with a cheering promise that the subsequent history is to be more trustworthy than the preceding. He soon however belies his promise. The main facts of the history of these years may perhaps be extracted from the statements of Annalists and family historians out of which Livy has woven his dramatic narrative. But as regards anything like accuracy of detail it is perfectly true, as Dr Arnold said, that 'no period of Roman history since the first institution of the tribunes of the Commons is really more obscure than the thirty years immediately following the retreat of the Gauls.' We find all the same exaggerations, inconsistencies, repetitions and even falsifications, that we find in the previous books. It may be useful to briefly consider Livy's history of this period under three heads, (1) the foreign wars, (2) the story of M. Manlius, (3) the civil agitations terminating in the passing of the Licinian Rogations.

THE FOREIGN WARS.

The hero of these is Camillus, who wins marvellous victories with marvellous rapidity over enemies already completely subdued, whose destroyed armies are reproduced for his glory and the glory of Rome in a way that caused even Livy some uneasiness (c. 12 § 2). To particularise, we find in cc. 2 and 3 an account of three brilliant victories won by Camillus. He first attacked the Volscians and reduced them to submission,

thus bringing to a close a war of seventy years duration (§ 13). He then turned on the Aequians, defeated them and captured Bolae. Meanwhile 'almost the whole of Etruria' (a favourite phrase when Livy is talking of that people) had been besieging Sutrium, an ally of the Romans. The besieged had surrendered and were leaving Sutrium, when Camillus appeared on the scene. He found of course everything prepared for a brilliant victory, and proceeded to win it, re-capturing Sutrium with all the soldiers of 'almost all Etruria' inside it.

Such is the account of these victories. But, three years afterwards, we are surprised to find an almost exact repetition of these Volscian and Etruscan campaigns. The Volscians of Antium had renewed war in spite of their reduction to submission three years before. They are now said to be assisted by Latins. Camillus, again appointed to the command, again divides his forces into three divisions. He himself takes the field against the Volscians who, deserted by the Latins and Hernicans, take refuge in Satricum. This town Camillus takes by storm, receiving the submission of the Volscians. From there he returns to Rome to make preparations for the siege of Antium, when news of an Etruscan war diverts him from his purpose. He then again finds Sutrium captured (though only partially this time) by the Etruscans, recaptures it with great slaughter of the enemy, and advancing on Nepete captures that town also. Now, anyone comparing these two sets of transactions will find it difficult to believe that the latter is not a repetition of the former, with some varieties of detail. If we ask the question, which of the two accounts of the capture and re-capture of Sutrium is historical, the most probable answer is, neither. That Sutrium was secured by the Romans about this time is highly probable, because a colony appears to have been planted there in B. C. 383. The founding of the colonies of Satricum, Nepete and Setia in 385, 383, and 382 also testifies to considerable Roman successes against the Volscians. But when it comes to the question of detailed and circumstantial accounts of these events, we must be content with ignorance and decline Livy's picturesque narrative, sacred bowls notwithstanding (c. 4).

Another example of Livy's historical method in this book, connected with wars of the period, will perhaps be sufficient to show how little we can trust his most circumstantial narrative. In c. 29 § 9 we are told that T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, having received the surrender of Praeneste, brought from that city to Rome a statue of Jupiter Imperator, which he placed *inter cellam Iovis ac Minervae* on the Capitolium. A tablet fixed at the foot of it as a monument of his achievements recorded that 'the gods had allowed the dictator T. Quinctius to capture nine towns.' Now, Cicero¹ also mentions a statue of Jupiter Imperator dedicated on the Capitolium. But he says that that statue was brought by T. Quinctius Flaminius from Macedonia. Now, setting aside the antecedent improbability (pointed out by Dr Ihne) that the statue of the supreme deity should be carried away from a town not taken by force, but surrendered on condition of retaining its liberty (c. 29 § 7), it is in the highest degree improbable that there should have been two imported statues of Jupiter Imperator dedicated on the Capitolium, or that Cicero should be mistaken about the origin of a statue brought to Rome after the second Macedonian War.

These two examples are sufficient to show the value of Livy's narrative as a detailed history. It is clear then that we must be content with a very meagre outline of events as the only trustworthy facts of this period. That outline amounts to this: (1) that hostilities with the Volscians, which had been carried on at intervals from the earliest times of Rome, were renewed after the Gallic capture of Rome; that the Volscians were assisted by the Etruscans, and later by the members of the Latin League, especially by Praeneste; that in this war the Romans were successful, and after thirteen years of it had gained possession of the Pomptine territory, which they secured by the founding of Satricum and Setia. (2) That in this period begins the resistance of the members of the Latin League which culminated in the great Latin War, B. C. 340—338, resulting in the dissolution of the League. A history of that League would be more in

¹ Verr. 11. iv. 58. See Long's note on the passage.

place in an Introduction to the VIIIth book. Here we are concerned only with the fact that several Latin cities directly or indirectly made war on Rome, either by aiding the Volscians, or rebelling on their own account, as in the case of Lanuvium and Praeneste. These towns had to be subdued by force of arms, while Tusculum and Satricum were compelled to accept Roman citizenship, and to be incorporated in the Roman state, evidently more as a precaution against their hostility than as a reward for their fidelity or good services. The hostile feeling of the Latins against Rome was due no doubt partly to the conduct of Rome as head of the League, of which conduct the Ardeatine decision¹ is probably an extreme instance. But the main cause was (as Dr Mommsen says) the subjugation of their common foe; 'forbearance ceased on one side, devotedness ceased on the other, from the time when they thought they had no longer need of each other².'

THE STORY OF M. MANLIUS.

Niebuhr accepts this story practically as Livy gives it. Ihne regards it as in the main historical, but takes exception to the statement that it was the tribunes who instituted proceedings against Manlius, holding that his trial and death was wholly the action of patricians. 'One thing,' he says, 'is certain, that Manlius was an advocate of the liberties of the plebs.' He goes on to explain (adopting on this point the view of Niebuhr and Schwegler) that the *concilium populi*, mentioned c. 20 § 11, must have been 'the patrician assembly of the *curiae*,' and to draw inferences in favour of his view from that assumption. But Mommsen has shown conclusively that no such assembly as a purely patrician assembly of the *curiae* existed, so that if Manlius was put to death by act of the *comitia* it must have been the combined action of patricians and plebeians. As regards his motive, Dr Ihne acquits Manlius of all attempt to aspire to absolute power. He considers that he fell a victim to the hatred

¹ Livy III. 71.

² Vol. I. p. 356.

of his patrician enemies for befriending the debtors and, possibly, attempting to divide the consulate between the two orders.

But Dr Mommsen in an exhaustive examination of the story has shown reason to regard it as an invention of later times. The results of his examination briefly stated are as follows: (1) M. Manlius, the people's friend, is not satisfactorily identified with the saviour of the Capitol. Capitolinus was a *cognomen* before the saving of the Capitol (c. 17 § 5*u.*) and, though Livy and Dionysius identify the consul of B. C. 392 with the saviour of the Capitol, Diodorus does not. He calls that consul Aulus Manlius, and speaks of the saviour of the Capitol simply as *Μάρκος τις Μάλλιος ἔνδοξος ἀνὴρ*. (2) The antecedents of the Manlius of Livy's narrative, his achievements, crowns &c., are incredible and can only be regarded as the ornamental inventions of family records. (3) As regards the trial, Mommsen points out that Livy's account does not agree with what are simpler and evidently older versions of the story, such for example as that given by Diodorus. The latter places the death of Manlius in B. C. 385. Livy postpones the execution from B. C. 385 to B. C. 384. He incarcerates Manlius in B. C. 385 by Cossus, dictator, but sets him free to be executed next year, when Camillus, the hated rival of Manlius, was consular tribune. This looks suspiciously dramatic, and the division of the story into the two acts of incarceration and execution like a later development.

Diodorus' simple and brief account, *ἐπιβαλόμενος τῇ τυραννίδι κρατηθεὶς ἀνῆρέθη*, seems to imply that Manlius having actually levied war against the state was overpowered, and put to death. This is quite at variance with Livy's (the later) account, which represents a formal trial as taking place, Livy going into full details, repeated after him by Plutarch and Dio Cassius. It is a question, considering the account given by Diodorus, whether any formal trial took place at all. But the oldest account of the trial is pretty evidently given incidentally by Livy (c. 20 § 12) and is entirely at variance with the later one.

As regards the reasons for the trial given by Livy, there is no earlier authority for them than Livy himself and Dionysius. In alluding to the older account of the trial Livy states no ac-

cusation made against Manlius. Judging from the form of that trial, all probably that would have been stated in connexion with it would have been that Manlius was arraigned on a charge of treason.

There is the further difficulty of the want of connexion between the acts ascribed to Manlius in connexion with his patronage of the plebs and the charge of aiming at monarchy. Livy sees the difficulty, but makes no attempt to solve it. Mommsen's conclusion is that the story of Manlius as 'a people's friend' put to death on a trumped up charge by greedy and jealous patricians is an invention of the democrat party in the last century of the republic, and is a 'quasi-historic model' of what took place in B. C. 89 during the Social war, when the clamour for *novae tabulae* began to be serious, of what took place later when under Cinna the Valerian laws reduced all debts by 75 p.c., and later still in the Catilinarian time. The story of a M. Manlius put to death for insurrection or treason of some kind was possibly found in the history of the times after the Gallic capture, and on this the inventive fancy of democrat annalists exercised itself. The result was the story of M. Manlius as Livy gives it to us, a development of later times, the old story clothed in the ideas, fears and hopes of the latter days of the republic.

THE AGITATIONS TERMINATING IN THE LICINIAN ROGATIONS.

Livy's account of the causes and motives at work which resulted in the Licinian legislation is probably in the main historical. Even the story of the sisters Fabia, which may perhaps be described truly as 'an old wives' fable,' points to a fact in exhibiting the social as the strong motive in the minds of the richer plebeians for insisting on the passing of the Licinian proposals. The refusal of Licinius and Sextius to divide their proposals points to the same fact. The richer plebeians after the passing of the Canuleian law, and the institution of consular

tribunes, were in the position of people suffering from a social and sentimental grievance, which they could only get redressed with the assistance of their poorer brethren who were suffering from substantial grievances¹. Hence the alliance between the two, so clearly indicated in the terms of the Licinian legislation. The richer plebeians², sharing the substantial advantages possessed by the patricians, were not probably most of them very eager to listen to the clamour of their poorer brethren for equal division of the domain lands, and relief to debtors. But the jealous social exclusiveness of the patricians, shown especially in the struggle against opening the consulship, and the extreme difficulty which plebeians experienced in getting elected even to those offices of state to which they were eligible, made it apparent that only in such an alliance could the well-to-do plebeians hope for the social and titular equality which they desired. For a full account of the causes of this revolution the student must be referred to Mommsen's history, Book II. c. 3.

The actual means by which the struggle was maintained and the legislation so long deferred are not at all clear. This is due mainly to our want of positive information about the *concilium plebis*, in which the proposals were ultimately carried. This assembly was identified apparently in the minds of Roman historians with the *comitia tributa*, from which it was entirely distinct; consequently all our knowledge about it is gained by inference only. But it seems pretty certain that the *plebiscita* of the *concilium plebis* only became laws, if sanctioned by the senate. It would seem then that the refusal of such sanction would indefinitely postpone legislation by that assembly. But probably it was nearly as difficult at this time for the senate to refuse its sanction against the wishes of the united plebs as it is now in England for the house of Lords to resist a consensus of the Commons of England. Livy represents the contest as being

¹ The distress among these was due partly to the hardship of long military service, only partially relieved by the institution of military pay, and partly to losses and expenses consequent on the Gallic invasion.

² Mommsen, I. 296.

maintained by means of tribunes secured to interpose their veto. That is probably true, but not the whole truth. The probability is that the senate used all the weapons of tribunician interpellation, divisions between the plebeians, and partial concessions, before employing their last resource and refusing sanction to the proposals when passed in the assembly. In the end they would be beaten back to this last necessity (as in fact Livy's words, c. 42 § 9, seem to indicate) and then, confronted by the two alternatives of full concession or civil war, would choose the former.

TITI LIVII

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER VI.

B.C. 390. *Short preface in which Livy points out that with the rebuilding of the city the records become more trustworthy. Q. Fabius is impeached for a violation of the ius gentium (cf. v. 35, 36).*

QUAE ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem
5 Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dicta-
toribus decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere, foris
bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui, res cum 2
vetustate nimia obscuras, velut quae magno ex intervallo
loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rarae per eadem
10 tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum
gestarum, et quod, etiamsi quae in commentariis pontificum
aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe
pleraeque interiere. clariora deinceps certioraque ab se 3
sunda origine velut ab stirpibus laetius feraciusque renatae
15 urbis gesta domi militiaeque exponentur. ceterum primo, 4
quo adminiculo erecta erat, eodem innixa, M. Furio
principe, stetit, neque eum abdicare se dictatura nisi anno
circumacto passi sunt. comitia in insequentem annum 5
tribunos habere, quorum in magistratu capta urbs esset,

6 non placuit; res ad interregnum rediit. cum civitas in opere ac labore assiduo reficiendae urbis teneretur, interim Q. Fabio, simul primum magistratu abiit, ab Cn. Marcio tribuno plebis dicta dies est, quod [legatus] in Gallos, ad
7 quos missus erat orator, contra ius gentium pugnasset; cui iudicio eum mors adeo opportuna, ut voluntariam magna pars crederet, subtraxit.

B.C. 389. *After one interregnum, Camillus as interrex procures the election of military tribunes, six in number. Surviving documents are collected and certain days, marked by disaster, are included among* 10 *dies nefasti. The Volscians and Etruscans take advantage of the condition of Rome to begin war. The Latins and Hernicans also threaten to rebel. Camillus named dictator divides the army raised into three divisions. He himself takes the field against the Volscians and Aequians, and defeats both.* 15

8 Interregnum initum; P. Cornelius Scipio interrex, et post eum M. Furius Camillus. is tribunos militum consulari potestate creat L. Valerium Publicolam iterum, L. Verginium, P. Cornelium, A. Manlium, L. Aemilium, L. Postumium. 20

9 Hi ex interregno cum extemplo magistratum inissent, nulla de re prius quam de religionibus senatum consuluere. 10 in primis foedera ac leges, (erant autem eae duodecim tabulae et quaedam regiae leges) conquiri, quae comparerent, iusserunt; alia ex eis edita etiam in vulgus; quae 25 autem ad sacra pertinebant, a pontificibus maxime, ut religione obstrictos haberent multitudinis animos, suppressa. 11 tum de diebus religiosis agitari coeptum, diemque a. d. xv Kal. Sextiles, duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii caesi, quo deinde ad Aliam cum exitio 30 urbis foede pugnatum, a posteriore clade Aliensem appellarunt, insignemque rei nulli publice privatimque agenda

fecerunt. quidam, quod postridie idus Quintiles non 12
litasset Sulpicius tribunus militum, neque inventa pace
deum post diem tertium obiectus hosti exercitus Romanus
esset, etiam postridie idus rebus divinis supersederi iussum,
5 inde, ut postridie calendas quoque ac nonas eadem religio
esset, traditum putant.

Nec diu licuit quietis consilia erigendae ex tam gravi 2
casu rei publicae secum agitare. hinc Volsci, veteres 2
hostes, ad extinguendum nomen Romanum arma cepe-
10 rant; hinc Etruriae principum ex omnibus populis con-
iurationem de bello ad fanum Voltumnae factam mercatores
afferebant. novus quoque terror accesserat defectionis 3
Latinorum Hernicorumque, qui post pugnam ad lacum
Regillum factam per annos prope centum nunquam ambigua
15 fide in amicitia populi Romani fuerant. itaque cum tanti 4
undique terrores circumstarent appareretque omnibus, non
odio solum apud hostes, sed contemptu etiam inter socios
nomen Romanum laborare, placuit, eiusdem auspiciis 5
defendi rem publicam, cuius recuperata esset, dictatoremque
20 dici M. Furium Camillum. is dictator C. Servilium Aham 6
magistrum equitum dixit; iustitioque indicto dilectum
iuniorum habuit, ita ut seniores quoque, quibus aliquid
roboris superesset, in verba sua iuratos centuriaret. exer- 7
citusum conscriptum armatumque trifariam divisit. partem
25 unam in agro Veiente Etruriae opposuit, alteram ante
urbem castra locare iussit; tribuni militum his A. Manlius, 8
illis, qui adversus Etruscos mittebantur; L. Aemilius prae-
positus. tertiam partem ipse ad Volscos duxit, nec procul
a Lanuvio (ad Mecium is locus dicitur) castra oppugnare
30 est adortus. quibus ab contemptu, quod prope omnem 9
deletam a Gallis Romanam iuventutem crederent, ad
bellum profectis tantum Camillus auditis imperator terroris
intulerat, ut vallo se ipsi, vallum congestis arboribus

saepirent, ne qua intrare ad munimenta hostis posset.
 10 quod ubi animadvertit Camillus, ignem in obiectam saepem
 conici iussit; et forte erat vis magna venti versa in hostem;
 11 itaque non aperuit solum incendio viam, sed, flammis in
 castra tendentibus, vapore etiam ac fumo crepituque viridis 5
 materiae flagrantis ita consternavit hostes, ut minor moles
 superantibus vallum militibus munitum in castra Volscorum
 Romanis fuerit, quam transcendentibus saepem incendio
 12 absumptam fuerat. fuis hostibus caesisque cum castra
 impetu cepisset dictator, praedam militi dedit, quo minus 10
 13 speratam minime largitore duce, eo militi gratiorem. per-
 secutus deinde fugientes, cum omnem Volscum agrum
 depopulatus esset, ad deditionem Volscos septuagesimo
 14 demum anno subegit. victor ex Volscis in Aequos
 transiit, et ipsos bellum molientes; exercitum eorum ad 15
 Bolsas oppressit, nec castra modo, sed urbem etiam ag-
 gressus impetu primo cepit.

3 *Sutrium is besieged by the Etruscans and forced to surrender. But on the very day of its capture Camillus appears on the scene and recovers it.*

20

Cum in ea parte, in qua caput rei Romanae Camillus
 erat, ea fortuna esset, aliam in partem terror ingens
 2 ingruerat. Etruria prope omnis armata Sutrium, socios
 populi Romani, obsidebat; quorum legati, opem rebus
 affectis orantes, cum senatum adissent, decretum tulere, ut 25
 dictator primo quoque tempore auxilium Sutrinis ferret.
 3 cuius spei moram cum pati fortunam obsessorum non
 potuisset, confectaue paucitas oppidanorum opere, vigiliis,
 vulneribus, quae semper eosdem urgebant, per pactionem
 urbe hostibus tradita, inermis cum singulis emissa vesti- 30
 4 mentis miserabili agmine penates relinqueret, eo forte
 tempore Camillus cum exercitu Romano intervenit. cui

cum se maesta turba ad pedes provolvisset, principumque orationem necessitate ultima expressam fletus mulierum ac puerorum, qui exsilii comites trahebantur, excepisset, parcere lamentis Sutrinis iussit: Etruscis se luctum lacrimasque 5 ferre. sarcinas inde deponi Sutrinisque ibi considerare 5 modico praesidio relicto, arma secum militem ferre iubet. ita expedito exercitu profectus ad Sutrium, id quod rebatur, soluta omnia rebus, ut fit, secundis invenit, nullam stationem ante moenia, patentes portas, victorem vagum praedam ex 10 hostium tectis egerentem. iterum igitur eodem die Sutrium 6 capitur; victores Etrusci passim trucidantur ab novo hoste, neque se conglobandi coeundique in unum aut arma capiendi datur spatium. cum pro se quisque tenderent ad 7 portas, si qua forte se in agros eicere possent, clausas (id 15 enim primum dictator imperaverat) portas inveniunt. inde 8 alii arma capere, alii, quos forte armatos tumultus occupaverat, convocare suos, ut proelium inirent; quod accensum ab desperatione hostium fuisset, ni praecones per urbem dimissi poni arma et parci inermi iussissent nec 20 praeter armatos quemquam violari. tum etiam quibus 9 animi ^{in spee despo} in spe ^{camp.} ultima obstinati ad decertandum fuerant, postquam data spes vitae est, iactare passim arma inermesque, quod tutius fortuna fecerat, se hosti offerre. magna multitudo in custodias divisa; oppidum ante noctem 10 25 redditum Sutrinis inviolatum integrumque ab omni clade belli, quia non vi captum, sed traditum per condiciones ✓ fuerat.

Camillus celebrates a triumph. The remainder of his spoils, after repay- 4
ing the matrons (cf. v. 50), is dedicated in the form of three golden
 30 *paterae to Jupiter of the Capitol. Such Veientes, Capenatians, and*
Faliscans as had assisted Rome receive citizenship and land. The
emigrants are recalled from Veii.

Camillus in urbem triumphans rediit, trium simul bel-
 2 lorum victor. longe plurimos captivos ex Etruscis ante
 currum duxit, quibus sub hasta venundatis tantum aeris
 redactum est, ut, pretio pro auro matronis persoluto, ex eo,
 3 quod supererat, tres paterae aureae factae sint, quas cum 5
 | titulo nominis Camilli ante Capitolium incensum in Iovis
 cella constat ante pedes Iunonis positas fuisse.

4 Eo anno in civitatem accepti, qui Veientium Cape-
 natiumque ac Faliscorum per ea bella transfugerant ad
 5 Romanos, agerque his novis civibus assignatus. revocati 10
 quoque in urbem senatus consulto a Veiiis, qui aedificandi
 Romae pigritia, occupatis ibi vacuis tectis, Veios se con-
 tulerant. et primo fremitus fuit aspernantium imperium:
 dies deinde praestituta capitalisque poena, qui non remi-
 grasset Romam, ex fetocibus universis singulos, metu suo 15
 6 quemque, obediētes fecit; et Roma cum frequentia
 crescere, tum tota simul exurgere aedificiis, et re publica
 impensas adiuvante et aedilibus velut publicum exigentibus
 1 opus et ipsis privatis (admonēbat enim desiderium usus)
 festinantibus ad effectum operis; intraque annum nova urbs 20
 stetit.

B.C. 388. *Military tribunes are elected, six in number. One army is
 occupied in ravaging the lands of the Aequians. A second enters
 Etruria, where the towns Cortuosa and Contenebra are taken. The
 Capitol is strengthened with a massive stone substruction. The 25
 tribunes agitate for the distribution of the Pomptine land, but without
 success.*

7 Exitu anni comitia tribunorum militum consulari potes-
 tate habita. creati T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q. Servilius
 Fidenas quintum, L. Iulius Iulus, L. Aquilius Corvus, L. 30
 8 Luc etius Tricipitinus, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus exercitum alte-
 rum in Aequos, non ad bellum (victos namque se fateban-

tur), sed ab odio ad pervastandos fines, ne quid ad nova
 consilia relinquerent virium, duxere, alterum. in agrum
 Tarquiniensem. ibi oppida Etruscorum Cortuosa et Con- 9
 tenebra vi capta. ad Cortuosam nihil certaminis fuit:
 5 improvise adorti primo clamore atque impetu cepere;
 direptum oppidum atque incensum est. Contenebra paucos 10
 dies oppugnationem sustinuit, laborque continuus, non die,
 non nocte remissus, subegit eos. cum in sex partes divisus
 exercitus Romanus senis horis in orbem succederet proelio,
 10 oppidanos eosdem integro semper certamini paucitas fessos
 obiiceret, cessere tandem, locusque invadendi urbem Ro-
 manis datus est. publicari praedam tribunis placebat; sed 11
 imperium quam consilium segnius fuit; dum cunctantur,
 iam militum praeda erat, nec nisi per invidiam adimi po-
 15 terat.

Eodem anno, ne privatis tantum operibus cresceret urbs, 12
 Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est, opus vel
 in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum. iam et tribuni 5
 plebis, civitate aedificando occupata, contiones suas frequen-
 20 tare legibus agrariis conabantur. ostentabatur in spem 2
 Pomptinus ager, tum primum post accisas a Camillo
 Volscorum res ^{De re. Serv.} possessionis haud ambiguae. criminaban- 3
 tur, multo eum infestiorum agrum ab nobilitate esse, quam
 a Volscis fuerit; ab illis enim tantum, quoad vires et arma
 25 habuerint, incursiones eo factas; nobiles homines in pos- 4
 sessionem agri publici grassari, nec, nisi, antequam omnia
 praecipiant, divisus sit, locum ibi plebi fore. haud magno 5
 opere plebem moverunt, et infrequentem in foro propter
 aedificandi curam et eodem exhaustam impensis, ^{wherefore} eoque agri
 30 immemorem, ad quem instruendum vires non essent.

B.C. 387. *After more than one interregnum military tribunes are elected, six in number. Four new tribes are formed. Renewed agitation about the Pomptine land.*

6 In civitate plena religionum, tunc etiam ab recenti
 clade superstitionis principibus, ut renovarentur auspicia,
 res ad interregnum rediit. interreges deinceps M. Manlius
 Capitolinus, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus, L. Valerius Potitus;
 7 hic demum tribunorum militum consulari potestate comitia 5
 habuit. L. Papirium, C. Cornelium, C. Sergium, L. Aemi-
 lium iterum, L. Menenium, L. Valerium Publicolam tertium
 8 creat; ii ex interregno magistratum ocepere. eo anno
 aedes Martis Gallico bello vota dedicata est a T. Quinctio
 duumviro sacris faciendis. tribus quattuor ex novis civibus 10
 additae, Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, Arniensis; eaeque
 6 viginti quinque tribuum numerum explevere. de agro Pomp-
 tino ab L. Sicinio tribuno plebis actum ad frequentiore
 iam populum mobilioremque, ad cupiditatem agri, quam
 2 fuerat. et de Latino Hernicoque bello mentio facta in 15
 senatu maioris belli cura, quod Etruria in armis erat, dilata
 est. /

B.C. 386. *Camillus military tribune, with five colleagues. News arrives that Antium assisted by the Latins is in arms against Rome. Camillus at the desire of his colleagues takes general 20 command of all the forces, which he divides into three divisions, one to act against Antium, the second to watch the Etruscans, Latins, and Hernicans, the third to guard Rome.*

3 Res ad Camillum tribunum militum consulari potestate
 rediit; collegae additi quinque, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, 25
 Q. Servilius Fidenas sextum, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, L.
 4 Horatius Pulvillus, P. Valerius. principio anni aversae
 curae hominum sunt a bello Etrusco, quod fugientium ex
 agro Pomptino agmen repente illatum in urbem attulit,
 Antiates in armis esse Latinorumque populos iuventutem 30
 5 suam misisse ad id bellum, eo abnuentes publicum fuisse
 consilium, quod non prohibitos tantummodo [voluntarios]

dicerent militare, ubi vellent. desierant iam ulla contemni 6
 bella. itaque senatus dis agere gratias, quod Camillus in
 magistratu esset: dictatorem quippe dicendum cum fuisse,
 si privatus esset; et collegae fateri, regimen omnium rerum,
 5 ubi quid bellici terroris ingruat, in viro uno esse, sibi que 7
 destinatum [in] animo esse Camillo summittere imperium,
 nec quicquam de maiestate sua detractum credere, quod
 maiestati eius viri concessissent. collaudatis ab senatu
 tribunis et ipse Camillus, confusus animo, gratias egit.
 10 ingens inde ait onus a populo Romano sibi, qui se [dicta- 8
 torem] iam quartum creasset, magnum a senatu talibus de
 se iudiciis eius ordinis, maximum tam honorato collegarum
 obsequio iniungi. itaque si quid laboris vigiliarumque 9
 adiici possit, certantem secum ipsum annisurum, ut tanto
 15 de se consensu civitatis opinionem, quae maxima sit, etiam
 constantem efficiat. quod ad bellum atque Antiates atti- 10
 neat, plus ibi minarum quam periculi esse; se tamen, ut
 nihil timendi, sic nihil contemnendi auctorem esse. cir- 11
 cumsederi urbem Romanam ab invidia et odio finitimorum;
 20 itaque et ducibus pluribus et exercitibus administrandam
 rem publicam esse. “te” inquit, “L. Valeri, socium 12
 imperii consiliique legiones mecum adversus Antiatem
 hostem ducere placet; te, Q. Servili, altero exercitu in- 13
 structo paratoque ad urbem castra habere, intentum, sive
 25 Etruria se interim, ut nuper, sive nova haec cura, Latini
 atque Hernici moverint; pro certo habeo, ita rem gesturum,
 ut patre, avo teque ipso ac sex tribunatibus dignum est.
 tertius exercitus ex causariis senioribusque a L. Quinctio 14
 scribatur, qui urbi moenibusque praesidio sit. L. Horatius
 30 arma, tela, frumentum, quaeque alia belli tempora poscent,
 provideat. te, Ser. Corneli, praesidem huius publici consilii, 15
 custodem religionum, comitorum, legum, rerum omnium
 urbanarum, collegae facimus.” cunctis in partem ^{ter.} muneris 16

sui benigne pollicentibus operam, Valerius, socius imperii lectus, adiecit, M. Furium sibi pro dictatore seque ei pro
 17 magistro equitum futurum; proinde, quam opinionem de unico imperatore, eam spem de bello haberent. se vero bene sperare patres et de bello et de pace universaque re
 18 publica erecti gaudio fremunt, nec dictatore unquam opus fore rei publicae, si tales viros in magistratu habeat, tam concordibus iunctos animis, parere atque imperare iuxta paratos laudemque conferentes potius in medium quam ex communi ad se trahentes. 10

7 *Camillus and Valerius set out for Satricum where a large force of Volscians, Latins, and Hernicans is collected. The soldiers being disheartened by news of the overwhelming force of the enemy, Camillus addresses them.*

Iustitio indicto dilectuque habito, Furius ac Valerius ad 15 Satricum profecti, quo non Volscorum modo iuventutem Antiates ex nova subole lectam, sed ingentem Latinorum Hernicorumque vim conciverant ex integerrimis diutina pace populis. itaque novus hostis veteri adiunctus com-
 2 movit animos militis Romani. quod ubi aciem iam instruenti Camillo centuriones renuntiaverunt, turbatas mili- 20 tum mentes esse, segniter arma capta, cunctabundosque et restitantes egressos castris esse, quin voces quoque auditas, cum centenis hostibus singulos pugnatu-
 3 ros, et aegre inermem tantam multitudinem, nedum armatam, sustineri posse; 25 in equum insilit et ante signa, obversus in aciem, ordines interequitans: "quae tristitia, milites, haec, quae insolita cunctatio est? hostem an me an vos ignoratis? hostis est quid aliud quam perpetua materia virtutis gloriaeque ves-
 4 trae? vos contra me duce, ut Faleros Veiosque captos et 30 in capta patria Gallorum legiones caesas taceam, modo trigeminae victoriae triplicem triumphum ex his ipsis Volscis

et Aequis et ex Etruria egistis. an me, quod non dictator 5
 vobis, sed tribunus signum dedi, non agnoscitis ducem?
 neque ego maxima imperia in vos desidero, et vos in me
 nihil praeter me ipsum intueri decet; neque enim dictatura
 5 mihi unquam animos fecit, ut ne exsilium quidem ademit.
 iidem igitur omnes sumus, et cum eadem omnia in hoc 6
 bellum afferamus, quae in priora attulimus, eundem even-
 tum belli exspectemus. simul concurreritis, quod quisque
 didicit ac consuevit, faciet: vos vincetis, illi fugient.” ☉

10 *An engagement follows in which Camillus wins a decisive victory. The 8*
Latins and Hernicans return to their homes. The Volscians retire
into Satricum, but Camillus storms the city.

Dato deinde signo ex equo desilit et proximum signiferum
 manu arreptum secum in hostem rapit, “infer, miles” cla-
 15 mitans, “signum.” quod ubi videre ipsum Camillum, iam 2
 ad munera corporis senecta invalidum, vadentem in hostes,
 procurrant pariter omnes clamore sublato, “sequere impera-
 torem” pro se quisque clamantes. emissum etiam signum 3
 { Camilli iussu in hostium aciem ferunt, idque ut repeteretur,
 20 concitatos antesignanos; ibi primum pulsum Antiatem, 4
 terroremque non in primam tantum aciem, sed etiam ad
 subsidiarios perlatum. nec vis tantum militum movebat, 5
 excitata praesentia ducis, sed quod Volscorum animis nihil
 terribilius erat quam ipsius Camilli forte oblata species; ita, 6
 25 quocumque se intulisset, victoriam secum haud dubiam
 trahebat. maxime id evidens fuit, cum in laevum cornu
 prope iam pulsum arrepto repente equo cum scuto pedestri
 advectus conspectu suo proelium restituit, ostentans vincen-
 tem ceteram aciem. iam inclinata res erat, sed turba 7
 30 hostium et fugam impediabat, et longa caede conficienda
 multitudo tanta fesso militi erat, cum repente ingentibus
 procellis fusus imber certam magis victoriam quam proelium

8 diremit. signo deinde receptui dato, nox insecuta quietis
 Romanis perfecit bellum. Latini namque et Hernici relictis
 Volscis domos profecti sunt, malis consiliis pares adepti
 9 eventus; Volsci ubi se desertos ab eis videre, quorum
 fiducia rebellaverant, relictis castris moenibus Satrici se
 5 includunt. quos primo Camillus vallo circumdare et aggere
 10 atque operibus oppugnare est adortus. quae postquam
 nulla eruptione impediri videt, minus esse animi ratus in
 hoste, quam ut in eo tam lentae spei victoriam exspectaret,
 cohortatus milites, ne tanquam Veios oppugnantes in opere
 10 longinquo sese tererent: victoriam in manibus esse, ingenti
 militum alacritate moenia undique aggressus scalis oppidum
 cepit. Volsci abiectis armis sese dediderunt.

9 *Camillus returns to Rome to urge the Senate to provide means for the
 destruction of Antium. While he is speaking, ambassadors from
 15 Nepete arrive imploring assistance. Camillus and Valerius proceed
 to Sutrium, recapture the portion of it captured by the Etruscans,
 and disperse the enemy. They then march to Nepete which is entirely
 in the hands of the Etruscans.*

Ceterum animus ducis rei maiori, Antio, imminebat: id
 20 caput Volscorum, eam fuisse originem proximi belli. sed
 quia nisi magno apparatu, tormentis machinisque, tam
 valida urbs capi non poterat, relicto ad exercitum collega,
 Romam est profectus, ut senatum ad excidendum Antium
 3 hortaretur. inter sermonem eius (credo rem Antiatem
 25 diuturniorem manere dis cordi fuisse) legati ab Nepete
 ac Sutrio auxilium adversus Etruscos petentes veniunt,
 } brevem occasionem esse ferendi auxilii memorantes. eo
 4 vim Camilli ab Antio fortuna avertit. namque cum ea
 loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaque
 30 essent, et illis occupandi ea, cum quid novi molirentur,
 } et Romanis recuperandi tuendique cura erat. igitur senatui

cum Camillo agi placuit, ut omisso Antio bellum Etruscum suscipere; legiones urbanae, quibus Quinctius praefuerat, ei decernuntur. quanquam expertum exercitum assuetumque imperio, qui in Volscis erat, mallet, nihil recusavit; 5 Valerium tantummodo imperii socium depoposcit. Quinctius Horatiusque successores Valerio in Volscos missi.

Profecti ab urbe Sutrium Furius et Valerius partem 7 oppidi iam captam ab Etruscis invenere, ex parte altera, intersaeptis itineribus, aegre oppidanos vim hostium ab se 10 arcentes. cum Romani auxilii adventus, tum Camilli nomen 8 celeberrimum apud hostes sociosque et in praesentia rem inclinatum sustinuit et spatium ad opem ferendam dedit. itaque diviso exercitu Camillus collegam, in eam partem 9 circumductis copiis, quam hostes tenebant, moenia aggredi 15 iubet, non tanta spe, scilicet capi urbem posse, quam ut, aversis eo hostibus, et oppidanis iam pugnando fessis laxaretur labor et ipse spatium intrandi sine certamine moenia haberet. quod cum simul utrinque factum esset 10 ancepsque terror Etruscos circumstaret, et moenia summa 20 vi oppugnari et intra moenia esse hostem viderent, porta se, quae una forte non obsidebatur, trepidi uno agmine eiecere. magna caedes fugientium et in urbe et per agros est facta; 11 plures a Furianis intra moenia caesi; Valeriani expeditores ad persequendos fuere nec ante noctem, quae conspectum 25 ademit, finem caedendi fecere. Sutrio recepto restitutoque 12 sociis, Nepete exercitus ductus, quod per deditionem acceptum iam totum Etrusci habebant.

In answer to a summons to surrender the city, the citizens declare their 10 inability to do so; thereupon the Romans first try to frighten them into surrender, and, failing in this, take the city by storm. The 30 citizens who have been guilty of betraying the city to the Etruscans, and all the Etruscans, are put to death. The Latins and Hernicans

in reply to a demand to account for their late conduct disclaim connexion with their citizens, who served with the Volscians, and explain that fear of the Volscians has been their only reason for not supplying their contingent of soldiers.

Videbatur plus in ea urbe recipienda laboris fore, non eo 5
 solum, quod tota hostium erat, sed etiam quod parte Nepe-
 2 sinorum prodente civitatem facta erat deditio; mitti tamen
 ad principes eorum placuit, ut secernerent se ab Etruscis
 fidemque, quam implorassent ab Romanis, ipsi praestarent.
 3 unde cum responsum allatum esset, nihil suae potestatis 10
 esse, Etruscos moenia custodiasque portarum tenere, primo
 4 populationibus agri terror est oppidanis admotus; deinde,
 postquam deditio quam societatis fides sanctor erat,
 fascibus sarmentorum ex agro collatis, ductus ad moenia
 exercitus, completisque fossis scalae admotae, et clamore 15
 5 primo impetuque oppidum capitur. Nepesinis inde edictum,
 ut arma ponant, parciue iussum inermi; Etrusci pariter
 armati atque inermes caesi. Nepesinorum quoque auctores
 deditio securi percussi; innoxiae multitudini redditae
 6 res, oppidumque cum praesidio relictum. ita duabus 20
 sociis urbibus ex hoste receptis, victorem exercitum tribuni
 cum magna gloria Romam reduxerunt.

Eodem anno ab Latinis Hernicisque res repetitae
 quaesitumque, cur per eos annos militem ex instituto non
 7 dedissent. responsum frequenti utriusque gentis concilio 25
 est, nec culpam in eo publicam nec consilium fuisse, quod
 8 suae iuventutis aliqui apud Volscos militaverint; eos tamen
 ipsos pravi consilii poenam habere, nec quemquam ex iis
 reducem esse; militis autem non dati causam terrorem
 assiduum a Volscis fuisse, quam pestem adhaerentem lateri 30
 9 suo tot super alia aliis bellis exhauriri nequisse. Quae
 relata patribus magis tempus quam causam non visa belli
 habere.

B.C. 385. *Revolt of the Latins and Hernicans, who assist the Volscians.* 11
Popular agitations of M. Manlius Capitolinus. A. Cornelius Cos-
sus is created dictator in consequence.

Insequenti anno, A. Manlio, P. Cornelio, T. et L.
 5 Quinctiis Capitolinis, L. Papirio Cursore iterum, C. Sergio
iterum tribunis consulari potestate, grave bellum foris,
 gravior domi seditio exorta, bellum a Volscis, adiuncta 2
 Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, seditio, unde
 minime timeri potuit, a patriciae gentis viro et inclitae
 10 famae, M. Manlio Capitolino. qui nimius animi cum alios 3-
 principes sperneret, uni invideret eximio simul honoribus
 atque virtutibus, M. Furio, aegre ferebat, solum eum in
 magistratibus, solum apud exercitus [esse] tantum iam
 eminere, ut iisdem auspiciis creatos non pro collegis, sed 4
 15 pro ministris habeat, cum interim, si quis vere aestimare
 velit, a M. Furio recuperari patria ex obsidione hostium non
 potuerit, nisi a se prius Capitolium atque arx servata esset,
 et ille inter aurum accipiendum et in spem pacis solutis 5
 animis Gallos aggressus sit, ipse armatos capientesque
 20 arcem depulerit, illius gloriae pars virilis apud omnes
 milites sit, qui simul vicerint, suae victoriae neminem
 omnium mortalium socium esse. his opinionibus inflato 6
 animo, ad hoc vitio quoque ingenii vehemens et impotens,
 postquam inter patres non, quantum aequum censebat,
 25 excellere suas opes animadvertit, primus omnium ex 7
 patribus popularis factus cum plebeiis magistratibus consilia
 communicare; criminando patres, alliciendo ad se plebem,
 iam aura, non consilio ferri famaeque magnae malle quam
 bonae esse. et non contentus agrariis legibus, quae materia 8
 30 semper tribunis plebi seditionum fuisset, fidem moliri
 coepit: acriores quippe aeris alieni stimulos esse, qui non
 egestatem modo atque ignominiam minentur, sed nervo ac
 vinclis corpus liberum territent. et erat aeris alieni magna 9

vis re damnosissima etiam divitibus, aedificando, contracta. bellum itaque Volscum, grave per se, oneratum Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, in speciem causae iactatum, ut maior potestas quaereretur; sed nova consilia Manlii magis compulere senatum ad dictatorem creandum. creatus A. Cornelius Cossus magistrum equitum dixit T. Quinctium Capitolinum.

12 *The dictator postponing the home contest marches into the Pomptine territory to meet the Volscians. The question how the Volscians procured the vast number of men required for their wars discussed. The address of Cossus to his soldiers before the battle.*

Dictator etsi maiorem dimicationem propositam domi quam foris cernebat, tamen, seu quia celeritate ad bellum opus erat, seu victoria triumphoque dictaturae ipsi vires se additurum ratus, dilectu habito in agrum Pomptinum, quo a Volscis exercitum inductum audierat, perguit. non dubito, praeter satietatem, tot iam libris assidua bella cum Volscis gesta legentibus illud quoque succursurum, quod mihi percensenti propiores temporibus harum rerum auctores miraculo fuit, unde toties victis Volscis et Aequis suffecerint milites. quod cum ab antiquis tacitum praetermissum sit, cuius tandem ego rei praeter opinionem, quae sua cuique coniectanti esse potest, auctor sim? simile veri est, aut intervallis bellorum, sicut nunc in dilectibus fit Romanis, alia atque alia subole iuniorum ad bella instauranda toties usos esse, aut non ex iisdem semper populis exercitus scriptos, quanquam eadem semper gens bellum intulerit, aut innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quae nunc, vix seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant. ingens certe, quod inter omnes auctores conveniat, quanquam nuper Camilli ductu atque auspicio accisae res erant, Volscorum

exercitus fuit; ad hoc Latini Hernicique accesserant et
 Circeiensiū quidam et coloni etiam a Velitris Romani.
 Dictator, castris eo die positis, postero quum auspicato 7
 prodisset hostiaque caesa pacem deum adorasset, laetus ad
 5 milites iam arma ad propositum pugnae signum, sicut
 edictum erat, luce prima capientes processit. “nostra 8
 victoria est, milites” inquit, “si quid di vatesque eorum in
 futurum vident. itaque, ut decet certae spei plenos et cum
 imparibus manus conserturos, pilis ante pedes positis,
 10 gladiis tantum dextras armemus. ne procurri quidem ab
 acie velim, sed obnixos vos stabili gradu impetum hostium
 excipere. ubi illi vana iniecerint missilia et effusi stantibus 9
 vobis se intulerint, tum micent gladii, et veniat in mentem
 unicuique, deos esse, qui Romanum adiuvent, deos, qui
 15 secundis avibus in proelium miserint. tu, T. Quincti, 10
 equitem intentus ad primum initium moti certaminis tene;
 at ubi haerere iam aciem collato pede videris, tum terrorem
 equestrem occupatis alio labore infer, invectusque ordines
 pugnantium dissipa.” sic eques, sic pedes, ut praeceperat, 11
 20 pugnant; nec dux legiones nec fortuna fefellit ducem.

*The enemy trusting in their numbers are easily defeated. The pursuit 13
 lasts till nightfall. A very large number of prisoners are taken and
 vast spoil. From the number of Latin and Hernican prisoners
 taken, and the social position of some of them, it is clearly proved
 25 that those two peoples have publicly assisted the enemy.*

Multitudo hostium, nulli rei praeterquam numero freta et
 oculis utramque metiens aciem, temere proelium iniit,
 temere omisit; clamore tantum missilibusque telis et primo 2
 pugnae impetu ferox, gladios et collatum pedem et vultum
 30 hostis ardore animi micantem ferre non potuit. impulsa 3
 frons prima et trepidatio subsidiis illata; et suum terrorem
 intulit eques; rupti inde multis locis ordines motaque

omnia, et fluctuanti similis acies erat. dein postquam
 cadentibus primis iam ad se quisque perventuram caedem
 4 cernebat, terga vertunt. instare Romanus; et donec armati
 confertique abibant, peditum labor in persequendo fuit;
 postquam iactari arma passim fugaque per agros spargi 5
 aciem hostium animadversum est, tum equitum turmae
 emissae, dato signo, ne in singulorum morando caede
 5 spatium ad evadendum interim multitudini darent: satis
 esse missilibus ac terrore impediri cursum obequitandoque
 agmen teneri, dum assequi pedes et iusta caede conficere 10
 6 hostem posset. fugae sequendique non ante noctem finis
 fuit. capta quoque ac direpta eodem die castra Volscorum,
 praedaeque omnis praeter libera corpora militi concessa est.
 7 pars maxima captivorum ex Latinis atque Hernicis fuit, nec
 omnium de plebe, ut credi posset mercede militasse, sed 15
 principes quidam iuventutis inventi, manifesta fides, publica
 8 ope Volscos hostes adiutos. Circeiensiū quoque quidam
 cogniti et coloni a Velitris; Romamque omnes missi
 percontantibus primoribus patrum eadem, quae dictatori,
 defectionem sui quisque populi, haud perplexe indicavere. 20

14 *Continued agitations at Rome. Manlius releases a centurion, condemned to servitude for debt. Violent emotion of the people roused by the centurion's account of his services and sufferings. Manlius sells his estate for the benefit of the people. He attacks the patricians accusing them of appropriating the gold recovered from the Gauls.* 25

Dictator exercitum in stativis tenebat, minime dubius,
 bellum cum iis populis patres iussuros, cum maior domi
 exorta moles coegit acciri Romam eum, gliscente in dies
 seditione, quam solito magis metuendam auctor faciebat.
 2 non enim iam orationes modo M. Manlii, sed facta popularia 30
 in speciem, tumultuosa eadem, qua mente fierent, intuenti
 3 erant. centurionem, nobilem militaribus factis, iudicatum

pecuniae cum duci vidisset, medio foro cum caterva sua
 accurrit et manum iniecit, vociferatusque de superbia patrum
 ac crudelitate feneratorum et miseris plebis, virtutibus eius
 viri fortunaque, “tum vero ego” inquit “nequicquam hac 4
 5 dextra Capitolium arcemque servaverim, si civem com-
 militonemque meum, tanquam Gallis victoribus captum, in
 servitutum ac vincla duci videam.” inde rem creditori 5
 palam populo solvit, libraque et aere liberatum emittit, deos
 atque homines obtestantem, ut M. Manlio, liberatori suo,
 10 parenti plebis Romanae, gratiam referant. acceptus ex- 6
 templo in tumultuosam turbam et ipse tumultum augebat,
 cicatrices acceptas Veienti, Gallico aliisque deinceps bellis
 ostentans: se militantem, se restituentem eversos penates, 7
 multiplici iam sorte exsoluta, mergentibus semper sortem
 15 usuris, obrutum fenore esse; videre lucem, forum, civium
 ora M. Manlii opera; omnia parentium beneficia ab illo se 8
 habere; illi devovere corporis vitaeque ac sanguinis quod
 supersit; quodcunque sibi cum patria, penatibus publicis ac
 privatis iuris fuerit, id cum uno homine esse. his vocibus 9
 20 instincta plebes cum iam unius hominis esset, addita alia
 commodioris ad omnia turbanda consilii res. fundum in 10
 Veienti, caput patrimonii, subiecit praeconi, “ne quem
 vestrum” inquit, “Quirites, donec quicquam in re mea
 supererit, iudicatum addictumve duci patiar.” id vero ita
 25 accendit animos, ut per omne fas ac nefas secuturi vindicem
 libertatis viderentur. ad hoc domi, contionantis in modum, 11
 sermones pleni criminum in patres; inter quos, [cum]
 30 omisso discrimine, vera an vana iaceret, thesauros Gallici
 auri occultari a patribus iecit, nec iam possidendis publicis
 agris contentos esse, nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avert-
 ant; ea res si palam fiat, exsolvi plebem aere alieno posse.
 quae ubi obiecta spes est, enimvero indignum facinus videri, 12
 cum conferendum ad redimendam civitatem a Gallis aurum

fuerit, tributo collationem factam, idem aurum ex hostibus
 13 captum in paucorum praedam cessisse. itaque exseque-
 bantur quaerendo, ubi tantae rei furtum occultaretur;
 differentique et tempore suo se indicaturum dicenti, ceteris
 omissis eo versae erant omnium curae, apparebatque, nec 5
 veri indicii gratiam mediam nec falsi offensionem fore.

15 *The Dictator is recalled to Rome. He summons Manlius before him, and orders him on pain of arrest to make good his accusations and his promises. The reply of Manlius.*

Ita suspensis rebus, dictator accitus ab exercitu in urbem 10
 venit. postero die senatu habito, cum satis periclitatus
 voluntates hominum discedere senatum ab se vetuisset,
 2 stipatus ea multitudine, sella in comitio posita, viatorem
 ad M. Manlium misit; qui dictatoris iussu vocatus, cum
 signum suis dedisset, adesse certamen, agmine ingenti ad 15
 3 tribunal venit. hinc senatus, hinc plebs, suum quisque
 4 intuentes ducem, velut in acie constiterant. tum dictator,
 silentio facto, "utinam" inquit "mihi patribusque Romanis
 ita de ceteris rebus cum plebe conveniat, quemadmodum,
 quod ad te attinet eamque rem, quam de te sum quaesiturus, 20
 5 conventurum satis confido. spem factam a te civitati video,
fide incolumi ex thesauris Gallicis, quos primores patrum
 occultent, creditum solvi posse. cui ego rei tantum abest
 ut impedimento sim, ut contra te, M. Manli, adhorter,
 liberes fenore plebem Romanam et istos incubantes publicis 25
 6 thesauris ex praeda clandestina evolvas. quod nisi facis,
 sive ut et ipse in parte praedae sis, sive quia vanum
 indicium est, in vincla te duci iubebo nec diutius patiar, a
 7 te multitudinem fallaci spe concitari." ad ea Manlius nec
 se fefellisse ait, non adversus Volscos, toties hostes, quoties 30
 patribus expediat, nec adversus Latinos Hernicosque, quos
 falsis criminibus in arma agant, sed adversus se ac plebem

Romanam dictatorem creatum esse; iam omisso bello, 8
 quod simulatum sit, in se impetum fieri; iam dictatorem
 profiteri patrocinium feneratorum adversus plebem; iam
 sibi ex favore multitudinis crimen et perniciem quaeri.
 5 "offendit" inquit "te, A. Corneli, vosque, patres conscripti, 9
 circumfusa turba lateri meo? quin eam diducitis a me
 singuli vestris beneficiis, intercedendo, eximendo de nervo
 cives vestros, prohibendo iudicatos addictosque duci, ex eo,
 quod afluit opibus vestris, sustinendo necessitates aliorum?
 10 sed quid ego vos, de vestro impendatis, hortor? sortem 10
 reliquam ferte; de capite deducite, quod usuris pernumera-
 tum est; iam nihilo mea turba quam ullius conspectior erit.
 at enim quid ita solus ego civium curam ago? nihilo 11
 magis, quod respondeam, habeo, quam si quaeras, quid ita
 15 solus Capitolium arcemque servaverim. et tum universis,
 quam potui, opem tuli et nunc singulis feram. nam quod 12
 ad thesauros Gallicos attinet, rem suapte natura facilem
 difficilem interrogatio facit. cur enim quaeritis, quod scitis?
 cur, quod in sinu vestro est, excuti iubetis potius, quam
 20 ponatis, nisi aliqua fraus subest? quo magis argui prae- 13
 stigias iubetis vestras, eo plus vereor, ne abstuleritis obser-
 vantibus etiam oculos. itaque non ego vobis, ut indicem
 praedas vestras, sed vos id cogendi estis, ut in medium
 proferatis."

25 *Manlius is arrested and thrown into prison. The people though indignant 16*
dare not resist the authority of the dictator. Many however put on
mourning, and show other signs of grief. The general indignation is
stimulated by the dictator's triumph. To quiet the people a colony is
despatched to Satricum, but it makes matters rather worse than better.
 30 *The dictator resigns.*

Cum mittere ambages dictator iuberet et aut peragere
 verum indicium cogeret aut fateri facinus insimulati falso

crimine senatus oblataeque vani furti invidiae, negantem
 arbitrio inimicorum se locuturum in vincla duci iussit.
 2 arreptus a viatore "Iuppiter" inquit "optime maxime
 Iunoque regina ac Minerva ceterique di deaque, qui
 Capitolium arcemque incolitis, sicine vestrum militem ac 5
 praesidem sinitis vexari ab inimicis? haec dextra, qua
 Gallos fudi a delubris vestris, iam in vinclis et catenis erit?"
 3 nullius nec oculi nec aures indignitatem ferebant; sed
 invicta sibi quaedam patientissima iusti imperii civitas
 fecerat, nec adversus dictatoriam vim aut tribuni plebis aut 10
 4 ipsa plebs attollere oculos aut hiscere audebant. coniecto
 in carcerem Manlio, satis constat magnam partem plebis
 vestem mutasse, multos mortales capillum ac barbam
 promisisse, obversatamque vestibulo carceris maestam tur-
 5 bam. dictator de Volscis triumphavit, invidiaeque magis 15
 triumphus quam gloriae fuit; quippe domi, non militiae
 partum eum actumque de cive, non de hoste fremebant;
 unum defuisse tantum superbiae, quod non M. Manlius
 6 ante currum sit ductus. iamque haud procul seditione res
 erat; cuius leniendae causa, postulante nullo, largitor 20
 voluntarius repente senatus factus Satricum coloniam duo
 millia civium Romanorum deduci iussit. bina iugera et
 7 semisses agri assignati; quod cum et parvum et paucis
 datum et mercedem esse prodendi M. Manlii interpreta-
 8 rentur, remedio irritatur seditio. et iam magis insignis 25
 sordibus et facie reorum turba Manliana erat, amotusque
 post triumphum abdicatione dictaturae terror et linguam
 et animos liberaverat hominum.

- 17 *Reproaches hurled against the people (Livy does not say by whom) for
 deserting their champions. Manlius is released by the Senate only 30
 in time to prevent his liberation by force. Ambassadors from the
 Hernicans, from Circeii and Velitiae demanding the surrender of*

their prisoners, in order that they may deal with their offence before their own tribunals, receive a stern reply, warning them to leave the city at once.

Audiebantur itaque propalam voces exprobrantium
 5 multitudini, quod defensores suos semper in praecipitem
 locum favore tollat, deinde in ipso discrimine periculi
 destituat: sic Sp. Cassium in agros plebem vocantem, sic 2
 Sp. Maelium ab ore civium famem suis impensis propul-
 santem oppressos; sic M. Manlium, mersam et obrutam
 10 fenore partem civitatis in libertatem ac lucem extrahentem,
 proditum inimicis. saginare plebem [populares] suos, ut 3
 iugulentur. hocine patiendum fuisse, si ad nutum dictatoris
 non responderit vir consularis? fingerent, mentitum ante,
 atque ideo non habuisse, quod tum responderet; cui servo
 15 unquam mendacii poenam vincla fuisse? non obversatam 4
 esse memoriam noctis illius, quae paene ultima atque
 aeterna nomini Romano fuerit? non speciem agminis Gal-
 lorum per Tarpeiam rupem scandentis? non ipsius M.
 Manlii, qualem eum armatum, plenum sudoris ac sanguinis,
 20 ipso paene Iove erepto ex hostium manibus, vidissent?
 selibrisne farris gratiam servatori patriae relatam? et quem 5
 prope caelestem, cognomine certe Capitolino Iovi parem
 fecerint, eum pati vinctum in carcere, in tenebris obnoxiam
 carnificis arbitrio ducere animam? adeo in uno omnibus
 25 satis auxilii fuisse, nullam opem in tam multis uni esse?
 iam ne nocte quidem turba ex eo loco dilabebatur, re- 6
 fracturosque carcerem minabantur, cum remisso, quod
 erepturi erant, ex senatus consulto Manlius vinclis libe-
 ratur; quo facto non seditio finita, sed dux seditioni datus
 30 est.

Per eosdem dies Latinis et Hernicis, simul colonis 7
 Circeiensibus et a Velitris, purgantibus se Volsci crimine
 belli captivosque repentibus, ut suis legibus in eos anim-

adverterent, tristia responsa reddita, tristiora colonis, quod
 cives Romani patriae oppugnandae nefanda consilia inissent.
 8 non negatum itaque tantum de captivis, sed, in quo ab
 sociis tamen temperaverant, denuntiatum senatus verbis,
 facerent propere ex urbe ab ore atque oculis populi 5
 Romani, ne nihil eos legationis ius, externo, non civi com-
 paratum, tegetet.

18 B.C. 384. *Military tribunes elected, six in number. With peace abroad
 the struggle at home gains strength. Manlius inviting the plebs to
 his house urges them to use their power as the army of the State 10
 to free themselves from the tyranny of the patricians. For the first
 time now Manlius is accused of aiming at royalty.*

Recrudescente Manliana seditione, sub exitum anni
 comitia habita, creatique tribuni militum consulari potestate
 Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis iterum, P. Valerius Potitus 15
 iterum, M. Furius Camillus quintum, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus
 iterum, C. Papirius Crassus, T. Quinctius Cincinnatus
 2 iterum. cuius principio anni et patribus et plebi perop-
 portune externa pax data, plebi, quod non avocata dilectu
 spem cepit, dum tam potentem haberet ducem, fenoris 20
 expugnandi, patribus, ne quo externo terrore avocarentur
 3 animi ab sanandis domesticis malis. igitur cum pars
 utraque acrior aliquanto coorta esset, iam propinquum
 certamen aderat. et Manlius, advocata domum plebe, cum
 principibus novandarum rerum interdium noctuque consilia 25
 agit, plenior aliquanto animorum irarumque, quam antea
 4 fuerat. iram accenderat ignominia recens in animo ad
 contumeliam inexperto; spiritus dabat, quod nec ausus
 esset idem in se dictator, quod in Sp. Maelio Cincinnatus
 Quinctius fecisset, et vinclorum suorum invidiam non 30
 dictator modo abdicando dictaturam fugisset, sed ne senatus
 5 quidem sustinere potuisset. his simul inflatus exacerbatus-

que iam per se accensos incitabat plebis animos. "quous-
 que tandem ignorabitis vires vestras, quas natura ne beluas
 quidem ignorare voluit? numerate saltem, quot ipsi sitis,
 quot adversarios habeatis. si singuli singulos aggressuri 6
 5 essetis, tamen acrius crederem vos pro libertate quam illos
 pro dominatione certaturos; quoteni clientes circa singulos
 fuistis patronos, tot nunc adversus unum hostem eritis.
 ostendite modo bellum; pacem habebitis. videant vos 7
 paratos ad vim; ius ipsi remittent. audendum est aliquid
 10 universis, aut omnia singulis patienda. quousque me circum- 8
 spectabitis? ego quidem nulli vestrum deero; ne fortuna
 mea desit, videte. ipse vindex vester, ubi visum inimicis
 est, nullus repente fui, et vidistis in vincla duci universi
 eum, qui a singulis vobis vincla depuleram. quid sperem, 9
 15 si plus in me audeant inimici? an exitum Cassii Maellique
 exspectem? bene facitis, quod abominamini. di prohibe-
 bunt haec; sed nunquam propter me de caelo descendent;
 vobis dent mentem oportet, ut prohibeatis, sicut mihi
 dederunt armato togatoque, ut vos a barbaris hostibus, a
 20 superbis defenderem civibus. tam parvus animus tanti 10
 populi est, ut semper vobis auxilium adversus inimicos satis
 sit, nec ullum, nisi quatenus imperari vobis sinatis, certa-
 men adversus patres noritis? nec hoc natura insitum vobis
 est, sed usu possidemini. cur enim adversus externos 11
 25 tantum animorum geritis, ut imperare illis aequum cense-
 atis? quia consuestis cum eis pro imperio certare, adversus
 hos tentare magis quam tueri libertatem. tamen, qualescun- 12
 que duces habuistis, qualescunque ipsi fuistis, omnia adhuc,
 quantacunque petistis, obtinuistis seu vi seu fortuna vestra.
 30 tempus est [et]iam maiora conari. experimini modo et 13
 vestram felicitatem et me, ut spero, feliciter expertum;
 minore negotio, qui imperet patribus imponetis quam, qui
 resisterent imperantibus, imposuistis. solo aequandae sunt 14

dictaturae consulatusque, ut caput attollere Romana plebes possit. proinde adeste; prohibete ius de pecuniis dici; ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura mea et
 15 fides nomen induit; vos si quo insigni magis imperii honorisve nomine vestrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini
 16 potentiore ad obtinenda ea, quae vultis.” inde de regno agendi ortum initium dicitur; sed nec cum quibus nec quem ad finem consilia pervenerint, satis planum traditur.

19 *The Senate pass a decree ordering the magistrates to protect the commonwealth from the fatal designs of M. Manlius. The military tribunes, assisted by the tribunes of the plebs, who are convinced of Manlius' criminal ambition, determine to impeach him.*

At in parte altera senatus de secessione in domum privatam plebis, forte etiam in arce positam, et imminente
 2 mole libertati agitat. magna pars vociferantur, Servilio
 Ahala opus esse, qui non in vincla duci iubendo irretet
 publicum hostem, sed unius iactura civis finiat intestinum
 3 bellum. decurritur ad leniorem verbis sententiam, vim tamen eandem habentem, ut videant magistratus, ne quid ex perniciosis consiliis M. Manlii res publica detrimenti
 4 capiat. tum tribuni consulari potestate tribunique plebi (nam et ei, quia eundem et suae potestatis, quem libertatis omnium, finem cernebant, patrum auctoritati se dediderant)
 5 hi tum omnes, quid opus facto sit, consultant. cum praeter vim et caedem nihil cuiquam occurreret, eam autem
 ingentis dimicationis fore appareret, tum M. Menenius et
 6 Q. Publilius tribuni plebis: “quid patrum et plebis certamen facimus, quod civitatis esse adversus unum pestiferum civem debet? quid cum plebe aggredimur cum, quem per ipsam plebem tutius aggredi est, ut suis ipse
 7 oneratus viribus ruat? diem dicere ei nobis in animo est. nihil minus populare quam regnum est. simul multitudo

illa non secum certari viderint et ex advocatis iudices facti erunt et accusatores de plebe, patricium reum intuebuntur et regni crimen in medio, nulli magis quam libertati favebunt suae."

5 *Manlius is put on his trial. He is deserted by all his friends and relations. 20*

His moving appeal to the people, which could not counterbalance the prejudice against him. However, in the Campus Martius in full sight of the Capitol it is clear that the citizens cannot bring themselves to condemn him. The trial is therefore adjourned to another place and time. He is condemned and executed. A pestilence follows, ascribed by some to the anger of the gods at the execution of the preserver of the Capitoline temple.

Approbantibus cunctis diem Manlio dicunt. quod ubi est factum, primo commota plebs est, utique postquam
 15 sordidatum reum viderunt nec cum eo non modo patrum 2
 quemquam, sed ne cognatos quidem aut affines, postremo
 ne fratres quidem A. et T. Manlios, quod ad eum diem
 nunquam usu venisset, ut in tanto discrimine non et
 proximi vestem mutarent: App. Claudio in vincla ducto 3
 20 C. Claudium inimicum Claudiamque omnem gentem sordi-
 datam fuisse; consensu opprimi popularem virum, quod
 primus a patribus ad plebem defecisset. cum dies venit, 4
 quae praeter coetus multitudinis seditiosasque voces et
 largitionem et fallax indicium pertinentia proprie ad regni
 25 crimen ab accusatoribus obiecta sint reo, apud neminem
 auctorem invenio; nec dubito, haud parva fuisse, cum 5
 damnandi mora plebi non in causa, sed in loco fuerit.
 illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines, quae et quanta
 decora foeda cupiditas regni non ingrata solum, sed invis
 30 etiam reddiderit: homines prope quadringentos produxisse 6
 dicitur, quibus sine fenore expensas pecunias tulisset,
 quorum bona venire, quos duci addictos prohibuisset; ad 7
 haec decora quoque belli non commemorasse tantum, sed

protulisse etiam conspicienda, spolia hostium caesorum
 ad triginta, dona imperatorum ad quadraginta, in quibus
 8 insignes duas murales coronas, civicas octo; ad hoc servatos
 ex hostibus cives [próduxit], inter quos C. Servilium
 magistrum equitum absentem nominatim; et cum ea 5
 quoque, quae bello gesta essent, pro fastigio rerum oratione
 etiam magnifica, facta dictis aequando, memorasset, nudasse
 9 pectus insigne cicatricibus bello acceptis et identidem
 Capitolium spectans Iovem deosque alios devocasse ad
 auxilium fortunarum suarum precatusque esse, ut, quam 10
 mentem sibi Capitolinam arcem protegenti ad salutem
 populi Romani dedissent, eam populo Romano in suo
 discrimine darent, et orasse singulos universosque, ut
 Capitolium atque arcem intuentes, ut ad deos immortales
 10 versi de se iudicarent. in campo Martio cum centuriatim 15
 populus citaretur, et reus ad Capitolium manus tendens ab
 hominibus ad deos preces avertisset, apparuit tribunis, nisi
 oculos quoque hominum liberassent tanti memoria decoris,
 nunquam fore in praeoccupatis beneficio animis vero
 11 crimini locum. ita producta die, in Petelinum lucum 20
 extra portam Flumentanam, unde conspectus in Capitolium
 non esset, concilium populi indictum est. ibi crimen
 valuit, et obstinatis animis triste iudicium invisumque etiam
 12 iudicibus factum. sunt, qui per duumviros, qui de per-
 duellione anquirent, creatos auctores sint damnatum. 25
 tribuni de saxo Tarpeio deiecerunt, locusque idem in uno
 homine et eximiae gloriae monumentum et poenae ultimae
 13 fuit. adiectae mortuo notae sunt, publica una, quod, cum
 domus eius fuisset, ubi nunc aedes atque officina Monetae
 est, latum ad populum est, ne quis patricius in arce aut 30
 14 Capitolio habitaret, gentilicia altera, quod gentis Manliae
 decreto cautum est, ne quis deinde M. Manlius vocaretur,
 hunc exitum habuit vir, nisi in libera civitate natus esset, |

memorabilis. populum brevi, postquam periculum ab eo 15
 nullum erat, per se ipsas recordantem virtutes desiderium
 eius tenuit. pestilentia etiam brevi consecuta, nullis occur-
 rentibus tantae cladis causis, ex Manliano supplicio magnae
 5 parti videri orta: violatum Capitolium esse sanguine ser- 16
 vatoris, nec dis cordi fuisse, poenam eius oblatam prope
 oculis suis, a quo sua templa erepta e manibus hostium
 essent.

B.C. 383. *The burden of foreign war is aggravated by the defection of the* 21
 10 *Lanuvini. The senate, in order to conciliate the plebs and induce*
them to consent to war with the Lanuvini, appoint commissioners to
distribute the Pomptine land, and to plant a colony at Nepete. Mili-
tary operations are delayed by the pestilence. Rumoured defection of
Praeneste.

15 Pestilentiam inopia frugum et vulgatam utriusque mali
 famam anno insequente multiplex bellum excepit, L.
 Valerio quartum, A. Manlio tertium, Ser. Sulpicio tertium,
 L. Lucretio, L. Aemilio tertium, M. Trebonio tribunis
 militum consulari potestate. hostes novi, praeter Volscos, 2
 20 velut sorte quadam prope in aeternum exercendo Romano
 militi datos, Circeiosque et Velitras colonias, iam diu
 molientes defectionem, et suspectum Latium, Lanuvini
 etiam, quae fidelissima urbs fuerat, subito exorti. id patres 3
 rati contemptu accidere, quod Veliternis civibus suis tam
 25 diu impunita defectio esset, decreverunt, ut primo quoque
 tempore ad populum ferretur de bello eis indicendo. ad 4
 quam militiam quo paratior plebes esset, quinqueviros
 Pomptino agro dividendo et triumviros Nepete coloniae
 deducendae creaverunt. tum, ut bellum iuberent, latum ad 5
 30 populum est, et nequicquam dissuadentibus tribunis plebis
 omnes tribus bellum iusserunt. apparatus eo anno bellum 6
 est, exercitus propter pestilentiam non eductus; eaque

cunctatio colonis spatium dederat deprecandi senatum; et magna hominum pars eo, ut legatio supplex Romam 7 mitteretur, inclinabat, ni privato, ut fit, periculo publicum implicitum esset auctoresque defectionis ab Romanis metu, ne soli crimini subiecti piacula irae Romanorum dederentur, 5 8 avertissent colonias a consiliis pacis. neque in senatu solum per eos legatio impedita est, sed magna pars plebis incitata, ut praedatum in agrum Romanum exirent. haec 9 nova iniuria exturbavit omnem spem pacis. de Praenestinatorum quoque defectione eo anno primum fama exorta; 10 arguentibusque eos Tusculanis et Gabinis et Lavicanis, quorum in fines incursatum erat, ita placide ab senatu responsum est, ut minus credi de criminibus, quia nollent ea vera esse, appareret.

22 B.C. 382. *Two of the six military tribunes of this year lead an army 15 against Velitrae. The Veliterni assisted by a force of Praenestines outnumbering their own are defeated. War is declared against the Praenestines, who in the following year in conjunction with the Volscians capture Satricum, and cruelly ill-treat the inhabitants.*

Insequenti anno Sp. et L. Papirii novi tribuni militum 20 consulari potestate Velitras legiones duxere, quattuor collegis, Ser. Cornelio Maluginensi tertium, Q. Servilio, C. Sulpicio, L. Aemilio quartum [tribunis], ad praesidium urbis et si qui ex Etruria novi motus nuntiarentur (omnia enim 2 inde suspecta erant), relicti. Ad Velitras adversus maiora 25 paene auxilia Praenestinatorum quam ipsam colonorum multitudinem secundo proelio pugnatum est ita, ut propinquitas urbis hosti et causa maturioris fugae et unum ex 3 fuga receptaculum esset. oppidi oppugnatione tribuni abstinuere, quia et anceps erat nec in perniciem coloniae 30 pugnandum censebant. litterae Romam ad senatum cum victoriae nuntiis aciores in Praenestinum quam in Veliter-

num hostem missae. itaque ex senatus consulto populiq[ue] 4
 iussu bellum Praenestinis indictum; qui coniuncti Volscis
 anno insequente Satricum, coloniam populi Romani, per-
 tinaciter a colonis defensam, vi expugnarunt foedeque in
 5 captis exercuere victoriam.

B.C. 381. *Camillus, elected military tribune for the sixth time, is
 appointed to the command of the Volscian war, and leads his army
 against Satricum. The enemy are prepared for them, and anxious
 to fight. L. Furius, colleague of Camillus, in spite of the latter's
 10 advice, determines to give battle at once.*

Eam rem aegre passi Romani M. Furium Camillum 5
 sextum tribunum militum creavere. additi collegae A. et
 L. Postumii Regillenses ac L. Furius cum L. Lucretio et
 M. Fabio Ambusto. Volscum bellum M. Furio extra 6
 15 ordinem decretum; adiutor ex tribunis sorte L. Furius
 datur, non tam e re publica, quam ut collegae materia ad
 omnem laudem esset, et publice, quod rem temeritate eius
 prolapsam restituit, et privatim, quod ex errore gratiam
 potius eius sibi quam suam gloriam petiit. exactae iam 7
 20 aetatis Camillus erat, comitiisque iurare parato in verba
 excusandae valetudini solita consensus populi restiterat;
 sed vegetum ingenium in vivido pectore vigebat, virebat-
 que integris sensibus, et civiles iam res haud magnopere
 obeuntem bella excitabant. quattuor legionibus quaternum 8
 25 millium scriptis, exercitu indicto ad portam Esquilinam
 in posteram diem, ad Satricum profectus. ibi cum expug- 9
 natores coloniae haudquaquam percussi, fidentes militum
 numero, quo aliquantum praestabant, opperiebantur. post-
 quam appropinquare Romanos senserunt, extemplo in
 30 aciem procedunt, nihil dilatari, quin periculum summae
 rerum facerent: ita paucitati hostium nihil artes imperatoris
 unici, quibus solis confiderent, profuturas esse. idem ardor 23

et in Romano exercitu erat et in altero duce, nec praesentis
 dimicationis fortunam ulla res praeterquam unius viri
 consilium atque imperium morabatur, qui occasionem
 2 iuvandarum ratione virium trahendo bello quaerebat. \vee eo
 magis hostis instare, nec iam pro castris tantum suis 5
 explicare aciem, sed procedere in medium campi et vallo
 prope hostium signa inferendo superbam fiduciam virium
 3 ostentare. id aegre patiebatur Romanus miles, multo
 aegrius alter ex tribunis militum, L. Furius, ferox cum aetate
 et ingenio, tum multitudinis ex incertissimo sumentis animos 10
 4 spe inflatus. hic per se iam milites incitatos insuper
 instigabat elevando, qua una poterat, aetate auctoritatem
 collegae, iuvenibus bella data dictitans, et cum corporibus
 5 vigere et deflorescere animos; cunctatorem ex acerrimo
 bellatore factum, et, qui adveniens castra urbèsque primo 15
 impetu rapere sit solitus, eum residem intra vallum tempus
 terere, quid accessurum suis decessurumve hostium viribus
 6 sperantem? quam occasionem, quòd tempus, quem insidiis
 7 instruendis locum? frigere ac torpere senis consilia. sed
 Camillo cum vitae satis, tum gloriae esse; quid attinere 20
 cum mortali corpore uno civitatis, quam immortalem esse
 8 deceat, pati consenescere vires? his sermonibus tota in se
 averterat castra; et cum omnibus locis posceretur pugna,
 “sustinere,” inquit, “M. Furi, non possumus impetum
 militum, et hostis, cuius animos cunctando auximus, iam 25
 minime toleranda superbia insultat; cede unus omnibus et
 9 patere te vinci consilio, ut maturius bello vincas.” ad ea
 Camillus, quae bella suo unius auspicio gesta ad eam diem
 essent, negare in eis neque se neque populum Romanum
 aut consilii sui aut fortunae paenituisse; nunc scire se, 30
 collegam habere iure imperioque parem, vigore aetatis
 10 praestantem; itaque se, quod ad exercitum attineat, regere
 consuesse, non regi; collegae imperium se non posse

impedire. dis bene iuantibus ageret, quod e re publica
 duceret; aetati suae se veniam eam petere, ne in prima acie 11
 esset; quae senis munia in bello sint, iis se non defuturum.
 id a dis immortalibus precari, ne qui casus suum consilium
 5 laudabile efficiat. nec ab hominibus salutaris sententia nec 12
 a dis tam piaae preces auditaee sunt. primam aciem auctor
 pugnae instruit, subsidia Camillus firmat validamque
 stationem pro castris opponit; ipse edito loco spectator
 intentus in eventum alieni consilii constitit.

10 *The Romans are outmanœuvred, and retreat in disorder. Camillus 24*
rallies them, and gains a splendid victory.

Simul primo concursu concrepuere arma, hostis dolo,
 non metu pedem rettulit. lenis ab tergo clivus erat inter 2
 aciem et castra; et, quod multitudo suppeditabat, aliquot
 15 validas cohortes in castris armatas instructasque reliquerant,
 quae inter commissum iam certamen, ubi vallo appropin-
 quasset hostis, erumperent. Romanus cedentem hostem 3
 effuse sequendo in locum iniquum pertractus opportunus
 huic eruptioni fuit; versus itaque in victorem terror et
 20 novo hoste et supina valle Romanam inclinavit aciem.
 instant Volsci recentes, qui e castris impetum fecerant; 4
 integrant et illi pugnam, qui simulata cesserant fuga. iam
 non recipiebat se Romanus miles, sed immemor recentis
 ferociae veterisque decoris terga passim dabat atque effuso
 25 cursu castra repetebat, cum Camillus, subiectus ab circum- 5
 stantibus in equum et raptim subsidiis oppositis, "haec
 est" inquit, "milites, pugna, quam poposcistis? quis homo,
 quis deus est, quem accusare possitis? vestra illa temeritas,
 vestra ignavia haec est. secuti alium ducem sequimini 6
 30 nunc Camillum et, quod ductu meo soletis, vincite. quid
 vallum et castra spectatis? neminem vestrum illa nisi
 victorem receptura sunt." pudor primo tenuit effusos; 7

inde, ut circumagi signa obvertique aciem viderunt in
 hostem, et dux, praeterquam quod tot insignis triumphis,
 etiam aetate venerabilis inter prima signa, ubi plurimus
 labor periculumque erat, se offerebat, increpare singuli se
 quisque et alios, et adhortatio in vicem totam alacri clamore
 8 pervasit aciem. neque alter tribunus rei defuit, sed missus
 a collega restituente peditum aciem ad equites, non casti-
 gando, ad quam rem leviolem auctorem eum culpae
 societas fecerat, sed ab imperio totus ad preces versus orare
 singulos universosque, ut se reum fortunae eius diei crimine
 9 eximerent: "Abnuente ac prohibente collega, temeritati
 me omnium potius socium quam unius prudentiae dedi.
 Camillus in utraque vestra fortuna suam gloriam videt; ego,
 ni restituitur pugna, quod miserrimum est, fortunam cum
 10 omnibus, infamiam solus sentiam." optimum visum est in
 fluctuante acie †tradi equos et pedestri pugna invadere
 hostem. Eunt insignes armis animisque, qua premi parte
 maxime peditum copias vident. nihil neque apud duces
 neque apud milites remittitur a summo certamine animi.
 11 sensit ergo eventus virtutis enixae opem, et Volsci, qua
 modo simulato metu cesserant, ea in veram fugam effusi,
 magna pars et in ipso certamine et post in fuga caesi,
 ceteri in castris, quae capta eodem impetu sunt; plures
 tamen capti quam occisi.

25 *Some Tusculans being discovered among the captives, war is declared
 against Tusculum. Camillus and L. Furius proceed thither, but
 find no signs of warlike intentions on the part of the Tusculans, who
 persistently refuse to offer resistance.*

Ubi in recensendis captivis cum Tusculani aliquot
 noscitantur, secreti ab aliis ad tribunos adducuntur,
 2 percontantibusque fassi, publico consilio se militasse. cuius
 tam vicini belli metu Camillus motus extemplo se Romam

captivos ducturum ait, ne patres ignari sint, Tusculanos ab
 societate descisse: castris exercituique interim, si videatur,
 praesit collega. documento unus dies fuerat, ne sua 3
 consilia melioribus praeferret; nec tamen aut ipsi aut in
 5 exercitu cuiquam satis placato animo Camillus laturus
 culpam eius videbatur, qua data in tam praecipitem casum
 res publica esset; et cum in exercitu, tum Romae constans 4
 omnium fama erat, cum varia fortuna in Volscis gesta res
 esset, adversae pugnae fugaeque in L. Furio culpam,
 10 secundae decus omne penes M. Furium esse. introductis 5
 in senatum captivis, cum bello persequendos Tusculanos
 patres censuissent Camilloque id bellum mandassent, adiu-
 torem sibi ad eam rem unum petit, permissoque, ut ex
 collegis optaret, quem vellet, contra spem omnium L.
 15 Furium optavit, qua moderatione animi cum collegae 6
 levavit infamiam, tum sibi gloriam ingentem peperit. nec
 fuit cum Tusculanis bellum; pace constanti vim Romanam
 arcuerunt, quam armis non poterant. intransibus fines 7
 Romanis non demigratum ex propinquis itineri locis, non
 20 cultus agrorum intermissus; patentibus portis urbis togati
 obviam frequentes imperatoribus processere; commeatus
 exercitui comiter in castra ex urbe et ex agris devehitur.
 Camillus, castris ante portas positus, eademne forma pacis, 8
 quae in agris ostentaretur, etiam intra moenia esset, scire
 25 cupiens, ingressus urbem, ubi patentibus ianuas et tabernis 9
 apertis proposita omnia in medio vidit, intentosque opifices
 suo quemque operi, et ludos litterarum strepere discentium
 vocibus, ac repletas semitas inter vulgus aliud puerorum et
 mulierum huc atque illuc euntium, qua quemque suorum
 30 usuum causae ferrent, nihil usquam non pavidis modo, sed 10
 ne mirantibus quidem simile, circumspiciebat omnia, in-
 quirens oculis, ubinam bellum fuisset; adeo nec amotae rei 11
 usquam nec oblatae ad tempus vestigium ullum erat, sed ita

omnia constanti tranquilla pace, ut eo vix fama belli perlata videri posset.

- 26 *Camillus sends the Tusculan senate to Rome, where they declare their resolution to abstain from war, whatever the Romans do. They obtain peace, and shortly afterwards receive the Roman franchise.* 5

Victus igitur patientia hostium senatum eorum vocari iussit. "soli adhuc" inquit, "Tusculani, vera arma verasque vires, quibus ab ira Romanorum vestra tutaremini, invenistis. ite Romam ad senatum; aestimabunt patres, utrum plus ante poenae an nunc veniae meritisitis. non praecipiam gratiam publici beneficii; deprecandi potestatem a me habueritis; precibus eventum vestris 2 senatus, quem videbitur, dabit." postquam Romam Tusculani venerunt senatusque paulo ante fidelium sociorum maestus in vestibulo curiae est conspectus, moti extemplo 15 patres vocari eos iam tum hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter 4 iusserunt. dictator Tusculanus ita verba fecit: "quibus bellum indixistis intulistisque, patres conscripti, sicut nunc videtis nos stantes in vestibulo curiae vestrae, ita armati paratique obviam imperatoribus legionibusque vestris pro- 20 cessimus. hic noster, hic plebis nostrae habitus fuit, eritque semper, nisi si quando a vobis proque vobis arma acceperimus. gratias agimus et ducibus vestris et exercitibus, quod oculis magis quam auribus crediderunt et, ubi 6 nihil hostile erat, ne ipsi quidem fecerunt. pacem, quam 25 nos praestitimus, eam a vobis petimus; bellum eo, sicubi est, avertatis precamur; in nos quid arma polleant vestra, si patiendo experiundum est, inermes experiemur. haec mens 7 nostra est, di immortales faciant, tam felix, quam pia. quod ad crimina attinet, quibus moti bellum indixistis, etsi 30 revicta rebus verbis confutare nihil attinet, tamen, etiamsi vera sint, vel fateri nobis ea, cum tam evidenter paenituerit,

tutum censemus. peccetur in vos, dum digni sitis, quibus ita satisfiat." tantum fere verborum ab Tusculanis factum. 8
 pacem in praesentia, nec ita multo post civitatem etiam impetraverunt. ab Tusculo legiones reductae.

5 B.C. 380. *Censors are created on account of a 'vague rumour about 27
 debts'. But no census is taken, one of the censors first elected dying,
 and the election of two fresh ones having been vitiated. Tribunician
 agitations. On news of war from Praeneste the tribunes forbid the
 arrest of debtors, and the citizens refuse to serve.*

10 Camillus, consilio et virtute in Volscis bello, felicitate in
 Tusculana expeditione, utrobique singulari adversus collegam
 patientia et moderatione insignis, magistratu abiit, creatis 2
 tribunis militaribus in insequentem annum L. et P. Valerius,
 Lucio quintum, Publio tertium, et C. Sergio tertium,
 15 L. Menenio iterum, P. Papirio, Ser. Cornelio Maluginense.
 censoribus quoque eguit annus, maxime propter incertam 3
 famam aeris alieni, aggravantibus summam etiam invidiosius
 tribunis plebis, cum ab iis elevaretur, quibus fide magis
 quam fortuna debentium laborare creditum videri expedie-
 20 bat. creati censores C. Sulpicius Camerinus, Sp. Postumius 4
 Regillensis, coeptaque iam res morte Postumii, quia col-
 legam suffici censori religio erat, interpellata est. igitur 5
 cum Sulpicius abdicasset se magistratu, censores alii vitio
 creati non gesserunt magistratum; tertios creari, velut dis
 25 non accipientibus in eum annum censuram, religiosum fuit.
 eam vero ludificationem plebis tribuni ferendam negabant: 6
 fugere senatum testes tabulas publicas censuum cuiusque, quia
 nolint conspici summam aeris alieni, quae indicatura sit,
 demersam partem a parte civitatis, cum interim obaeratam
 30 plebem obiectari aliis atque aliis hostibus. passim iam sine 7
 ullo discrimine bella quaeri: ab Antio Satricum, ab Satrico
 Velitras, inde Tusculum legiones ductas; Latinis, Hernicis,

Praenestinis iam intentari arma, civium magis quam hostium
 odio, ut in armis terant plebem nec respirare in urbe aut
 per otium libertatis meminisse sinant aut consistere in
 contione, ubi aliquando audiant vocem tribuniciam de
 8 levando fenore et fine aliarum iniuriarum agentem. quod 5
 si sit animus plebi memor patrum libertatis, se nec addici
 quemquam civem Romanum ob creditam pecuniam pas-
 suros neque dilectum haberi, donec, inspecto aere alieno
 initaque ratione minuendi eius, sciat unusquisque, quid sui,
 quid alieni sit, supersit sibi liberum corpus an id quoque 10
 9 nervo debeatur. merces seditionis proposita confestim
 seditionem excitavit. nam et addicebantur multi, et ad
 Praenestini famam belli novas legiones scribendas patres
 censuerant; quae utraque simul auxilio tribunicio et con-
 10 sensu plebis impediri coepta; nam neque duci addictos 15
 tribuni sinebant, neque iuniores nomina dabant. cum
 patribus minor *in* praesens cura creditae pecuniae iuris
 exsequendi quam dilectus esset (quippe iam a Praeneste
 profectos hostes in agro Gabino consedissee nuntiabatur),
 11 interim tribunos plebis fama ea ipsa irritaverat magis ad 20
 susceptum certamen quam deterruerat, neque aliud ad
 seditionem extinguendam in urbe quam prope illatum
 moenibus ipsis bellum valuit.

28 *The Praenestines hearing what was going on, advance as far as the
 Colline gate. Trepidation in the city. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus 25
 is named dictator; and the citizens give in their names for military
 service readily. The Praenestines fall back upon the Alia.*

Nam cum esset Praenestinis nuntiatum, nullum exer-
 citum conscriptum Romae, nullum ducem certum esse,
 2 patres ac plebem in semet ipsos versos, occasionem rati 30
 duces eorum, raptim agmine acto, pervastatis protinus agris,
 3 ad portam Collinam signa intulere. ingens in urbe trepi-

datio fuit. conclamatum "ad arma," concursumque in
 muros atque portas est; tandemque ab seditione ad bellum
 versi dictatorem T. Quinctium Cincinnatum creavere. is 4
 magistrum equitum A. Sempronium Atratinum dixit. quod
 5 ubi auditum est, (tantus eius magistratus terror erat) simul
 hostes a moenibus recessere et iuniores Romani ad edictum
 sine retractatione convenere. dum conscribitur Romae 5
 exercitus, castra interim hostium haud procul Alia flumine
 posita; inde agrum late populates, fatalem se urbi
 10 Romanae locum cepisse, inter se iactabant; similem 6
 pavorem inde ac fugam fore, ac bello Gallico fuerit;
 etenim si diem contactum religione insignemque nomine
 eius loci timeant Romani, quanto magis Aliensi die Aliam
 ipsam, monumentum tantae cladis, reformidaturos? species
 15 profecto iis ibi truces Gallorum sonumque vocis in oculis
 atque auribus fore. has inanum rerum inanes ipsas vol- 7
 vententes cogitationes, fortunae loci delegaverant spes suas.
 Romani contra, ubicunque esset Latinus hostis, satis scire,
 eum esse, quem ad Regillum lacum devictum centum
 20 annorum pace obnoxia tenuerint: locum insignem memoria 8
 cladis irritaturum se potius ad delendam memoriam dede-
 coris, quam ut timorem faciat, ne qua terra sit nefasta
 victoriae suae; quin ipsi sibi Galli si offerantur illo loco, se 9
 ita pugnuros, ut Romae pugnauerint in repetenda patria,
 25 ut postero die ad Gabios, tunc cum effecerint, ne quis
 hostis, qui moenia Romana intrasset, nuntium secundae
 adversaeque fortunae domum perferret.

A battle is fought on the Alia, in which Cincinnatus defeats the Praenes- 29
tines. Eight cities subject to Praeneste are captured. Then Velitrac
 30 *is stormed. Lastly Praeneste surrenders. Triumph of Cincinnatus.*

His utrinque animis ad Aliam ventum est. dictator
 Romanus, postquam in conspectu hostes erant instructi

intentique, "videsne tu" inquit, "A. Semproni, loci fortuna illos fretos ad Aliam constitisse? nec illis di immortales certioris quicquam fiduciae, maiorisve quod sit auxilii, 2 dederint. at tu, fretus armis animisque, concitatis equis invade mediam aciem; ego cum legionibus in turbatos 5 trepidantesque inferam signa. adeste, di testes foederis, et expetite poenas debitas simul vobis violatis nobisque per 3 vestrum numen deceptis." non equitem, non peditem sustinere Praenestini. primo impetu ac clamore dissipati ordines sunt; dein postquam nullo loco constabat acies, 10 terga vertunt, consternatique et praeter castra etiam sua pavore praelati non prius se ab effuso cursu sistunt, quam 4 in conspectu Praeneste fuit. ibi ex fuga dissipata locum, quem tumultuario opere communirent, capiunt, ne, si intra moenia se recepissent, extemplo ureretur ager depopulatis- 15 que omnibus obsidio urbi inferretur. sed postquam, direptis ad Aliam castris, victor Romanus aderat, id quoque munimentum relictum, et vix moenia tuta rati oppido se 6 Praeneste includunt. octo praeterea oppida erant sub ditione Praenestinorum; ad ea circumlatum bellum, dein- 20 cepsque haud magno certamine captis, Velitras exercitus 7 ductus. eae quoque expugnatae. tum ad caput belli Praeneste ventum. id non vi, sed per deditionem receptum 8 est. T. Quinctius, semel acie victor, binis castris hostium, novem oppidis vi captis, Praeneste in deditionem accepto, 25 Romam revertit, triumphansque signum Praeneste devectum 9 Iovis imperatoris in Capitolium tulit. dedicatum est inter cellam Iovis ac Minervae, tabulaque sub eo fixa, monumentum rerum gestarum, his ferme incisa litteris fuit: 10 "Iuppiter atque divi omnes hoc dederunt, ut T. Quinctius 30 dictator oppida novem caperet." die vicesimo, quam creatus erat, dictatura se abdicavit.

B.C. 379. *Six military tribunes elected, three of them plebeians. The two Manlii, acting against the Volscians, are inveigled into an ambushade. A dictator is appointed. The Volscians however take no advantage of their victory. The Praenestines rouse the Latins to assist them in renewing war. Fresh colonists sent to Setia.* 30

Comitia inde habita tribunorum militum consulari potestate, quibus aequatus patriciorum plebeiorumque numerus. ex patribus creati P. et C. Manlii cum L. Iulio; 2 plebes C. Sextilium, M. Albinium, L. Antistium dedit. 10 Manliis, quod genere plebeios, gratia Iulium anteibant, 3 Volsci provincia sine sorte, sine comparatione extra ordinem data; cuius et ipsos postmodo et patres, qui dederant, paenituit. inexplorato pabulatum cohortes misere; quibus 4 velut circumventis, cum id falso nuntiatum esset, dum, 15 praesidio ut essent, citati feruntur, ne auctore quidem asservato, qui eos hostis Latinus pro milite Romano frustratus erat, ipsi in insidias praecipitavere. ibi dum 5 iniquo loco, sola virtute militum restantes, caedunt caedunturque, castra interim Romana, iacentia in campo, ab 20 altera parte hostes invasere. ab ducibus utrobique proditae 6 temeritate atque inscitia res; quicquid superfuit, fortunae populi Romani, id militum etiam sine rectore stabilis virtus tutata est. quae ubi Romam sunt relata, primum dicta- 7 torem dici placebat; deinde, postquam quietae res ex 25 Volscis afferebantur et apparuit, nescire eos victoria et tempore uti, revocati etiam inde exercitus ac duces, otium- 8 que inde, quantum a Volscis, fuit; id modo extremo anno tumultuatum, quod Praenestini, concitatis Latinorum populis, rebellarunt. eodem anno Setiam, ipsis querentibus 9 30 penuriam hominum, novi coloni adscripti; rebusque haud prosperis bello domestica quies, quam tribunorum militum ex plebe gratia maiestasque inter suos obtinuit, solatium fuit.

- 31 B.C. 378. *Renewed disturbances at home owing to the prevalence of debt. Invasion by the Volscians. The senate are obliged to suspend the tributum, and forbid proceedings to be taken against debtors during the continuance of the war, before an army can be raised. The Roman army, unable to bring the Volscians to an engagement, 5 thoroughly devastate their land. Proceedings against debtors begin again, and the tributum is again levied.*

Insequentis anni principia statim seditione ingenti
 arsere, tribunis militum consulari potestate Sp. Furio,
 Q. Servilio iterum, L. Menenio tertium, P. Cloelio, M. 10
 2 Horatio, L. Geganio. erat autem et materia et causa
 seditionis aes alienum; cuius noscendi gratia Sp. Servilius
 Priscus, Q. Cloelius Siculus censores facti, ne rem agerent,
 3 bello impediti sunt; namque trepidi nuntii primo, fuga
 deinde ex agris legiones Volscorum ingressas fines populari- 15
 4 que passim Romanum agrum attulere. in qua trepidatione
 tantum a fuit, ut civilia certamina terror externus cohiberet,
 ut contra eo violentior potestas tribunicia impediendo
 dilectu esset, donec condiciones impositae patribus, ne
 quis, quoad debellatum esset, tributum daret aut ius de 20
 5 pecunia credita diceretur. eo laxamento plebi sumpto, mora
 dilectui non est facta. legionibus novis scriptis, placuit
 duos exercitus in agrum Volscum legionibus divisus duci.
 Sp. Furius, M. Horatius dextrorsus in maritimam oram
 atque Antium, Q. Servilius et L. Geganius laeva ad montes 25
 6 Ecetram pergunt. neutra parte hostis obvius fuit. popu-
 latio itaque non illi vagae similis, quam Volscus latrocinii
 more, discordiae hostium fretus et virtutem metuens, per
 trepidationem raptim fecerat, sed ab iusto exercitu iusta ira
 7 facta, spatio quoque temporis gravior. quippe a Volscis, 30
 timentibus, ne interim exercitus ab Roma exiret, incursiones
 in extrema finium factae erant; Romano contra etiam in

hostico morandi causa erat, ut hostem ad certamen eliceret. itaque omnibus passim tectis agrorum vicisque etiam 8 quibusdam exustis, non arbore frugifera, non satis in spem frugum relictis, omni, quae extra moenia fuit, hominum 5 pecudumque praeda abacta, Romam utrinque exercitus reducti.

Parvo intervallo ad respirandum debitoribus dato, postquam 32 quietae res ab hostibus erant, celebrari de integro iurisdictio, et tantum abesse spes veteris levandi feneratoris, ut 10 tributo novum fenus contraheretur in murum a censoribus locatum saxo quadrato faciendum; cui succumbere oneri 2 coacta plebes, quia, quem dilectum impedirent, non habebant tribuni plebis.

15 B.C. 377—371. *The next military tribunes elected, six in number, are all patricians. Three armies are raised without opposition for war against the Volscians and Latins. A battle is fought before Satricum, where the Latins and Volscians are encamped, in which after a severe struggle the Romans are successful. The enemy retreat first to Satricum, and thence to Antium.*

20 Tribunos etiam militares patricios omnes coacta principum opibus fecit, L. Aemilium, P. Valerium quartum, C. Veturium, Ser. Sulpicium, L. et C. Quinctios Cincinnatos. iisdem opibus obtinere, ut adversus Latinos 4 Volscosque, qui coniunctis legionibus ad Satricum castra 25 habebant, nullo impediante omnibus iunioribus sacramento adactis, tres exercitus scriberent, unum ad praesidium urbis, 5 alterum, qui, si qui alibi motus exstitisset, ad subita belli mitti posset; tertium longe validissimum P. Valerius et L. Aemilius ad Satricum duxere. ubi cum aciem instructam 6 30 hostium loco aequo invenissent, extemplo pugnatum; et ut nondum satis certam victoriam, sic prosperae spei pugnam imber ingentibus procellis fusus diremit. postero die iterata 7

pugna, et aliquamdiu aequa virtute fortunaque Latinae maxime legiones, longa societate militiam Romanam edoctae, restabant. eques immissus ordines turbavit; turbatis signa peditum illata, quantumque Romana se invexit acies, tantum hostes gradu demoti; et ut semel inclinavit pugna, iam intolerabilis Romana vis erat. fusi hostes cum Satricum, quod duo millia inde aberat, non castra peterent, ab equite maxime caesi; castra capta direptaque. ab Satrico nocte, quae proelio proxima fuit, fugae simili agmine petunt Antium; et cum Romanus exercitus prope vestigiiis sequetur, plus tamen timor quam ira celeritatis habuit. prius itaque moenia intravere hostes, quam Romanus extrema agminis carpere aut morari posset. inde aliquot dies vastando agro absumpti, nec Romanis satis instructis apparatu bellico ad moenia aggredienda nec illis ad subeundum pugnae casum.

33 *The Latins and Antiates quarrel, and the latter surrender to Rome. The Latins in a rage burn Satricum, and surprise and capture Tusculum. The inhabitants however hold the citadel, and the Romans coming to their assistance recover the city and massacre the Latins.*

Seditio tum inter Antiates Latinosque coorta, cum Antiates victi malis subactique bello, in quo et nati erant et consenuerant, deditionem spectarent, Latinos ex diutina pace nova defectio recentibus adhuc animis ferociores ad perseverandum in bello faceret. finis certaminis fuit, postquam utrisque apparuit, nihil per alteros stare, quo minus incepta persequerentur. Latini profecti a societate pacis, ut rebantur, inhonestae sese vindicaverunt; Antiates, in commodis arbitris salutarium consiliorum remotis, urbem agrosque Romanis dedunt. ira et rabies Latinorum, quia nec Romanos bello laedere nec Volscos in armis retinere

potuerant, eo erupit, ut Satricum urbem, quae receptaculum
 primum eis adversae pugnae fuerat, igni concremarent.
 nec aliud tectum eius superfuit urbis, cum faces pariter
 sacris profanisque iniicerent, quam matris Matutae tem-
 5 plum; inde eos nec sua religio nec verecundia deum
 arcuisse dicitur, sed vox horrenda edita templo cum
 tristibus minis, ni nefandos ignes procul delubris amovis-
 sent. incensos ea rabie impetus Tusculum tulit ob iram, 6
 quod deserto communi concilio Latinorum non in socie-
 10 tatem modo Romanam, sed etiam in civitatem se dedissent.
 patentibus portis cum improvise incidissent, primo clamore 7
 oppidum praeter arcem captum est. in arcem oppidani
 refugere cum coniugibus ac liberis, nuntiosque Romam, qui
 certiores de suo casu senatum facerent, misere. haud 8
 15 segnius, quam fide populi Romani dignum fuit, exercitus
 Tusculum ductus; L. Quinctius et Ser. Sulpicius tribuni
 militum duxere. clausas portas [Tusculi], Latinosque simul 9
 obsidentium atque obsessorum animo hinc moenia Tusculi
 tueri vident, illinc arcem oppugnare, terrere una ac pavere.
 20 adventus Romanorum mutaverat utriusque partis animos: 10
 Tusculanos ex ingenti metu in summam alacritatem, Latinos
 ex prope certa fiducia mox capiendae arcis, quoniam oppido
 potirentur, in exiguam de se ipsis spem verterat. tollitur 11
 ex arce clamor ab Tusculanis; excipit aliquanto maior ab
 25 exercitu Romano. utrinque urgentur Latini; nec impetus
 Tusculanorum decurrentium ex superiore loco sustinent nec
 Romanos subeuntes moenia molientesque obices portarum
 arcere possunt. scalis prius moenia capta, inde effracta 12
 30 claustra portarum; et cum anceps hostis et a fronte et a
 tergo urgeret, nec ad pugnam ulla vis nec ad fugam loci
 quicquam superesset, in medio caesi ad unum omnes.
 recuperato ab hostibus Tusculo, exercitus Romam est
 reductus.

- 34 *Increasing misery of debtors at Rome. The story of the younger Fabia and her sister. The plans of her father M. Fabius and her husband C. Licinius Stolo.*

Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia
 foris erant, tantum in urbe vis patrum in dies miseriaeque
 plebis crescebant, cum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi,
 facultas solvendi impediretur. itaque cum iam ex re nihil
 dari posset, fama et corpore, iudicati atque addicti, credi-
 toribus satisfaciebant, poenaeque in vicem fidei cesserat.
 adeo ergo obnoxios summiserant animos non infimi solum,
 sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad tribunatum
 militum inter patricios petendum, quod tanta vi ut liceret
 tetenderant, sed ne ad plebeios quidem magistratus capes-
 sendos petendosque ulli viro acri experientique animus
 esset, possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per
 paucos annos recuperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur.
 ne id nimis laetum parti alteri esset, parva, ut plerumque
 solet, rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit. M. Fabii
 Ambusti, potentis viri cum inter sui corporis homines, tum
 etiam ad plebem, quod haudquaquam inter id genus con-
 temptor eius habebatur, filiae duae nuptae, Ser. Sulpicio
 maior, minor C. Licinio Stoloni erat, illustri quidem viro,
 tamen plebeio; eaque ipsa affinitas haud sprete gratiam
 Fabio ad vulgum quaesierat. forte ita incidit, ut in Ser.
 Sulpicii tribuni militum domo sorores Fabiae cum inter se,
 ut fit, sermonibus tempus tererent, lictor Sulpicii, cum is de
 foro se domum reciperet, forem, ut mos est, virga percu-
 teret. cum ad id, moris eius insueta, expavisset minor
 Fabia, risu sorori fuit, miranti ignorare id sororem; cete-
 rum is risus stimulos parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri
 subdidit. frequentia quoque prosequentium rogantiumque,
 num quid vellet, credo fortunatum matrimonium ei sororis

visum, suique ipsam malo arbitrio, quo a proximis quisque minime anteiri vult, paenituisse. confusam eam ex recenti 8
 morsu animi cum pater forte vidisset, percontatus "satin' salve?" avertentem causam doloris, quippe nec satis piam
 5 adversus sororem nec admodum in virum honorificam, elicuit comiter sciscitando, ut fateretur, eam esse causam 9
 doloris, quod iuncta impari esset, nupta in domo, quam nec honos nec gratia intrare posset. consolans inde filiam 10
 Ambustus bonum animum habere iussit: eosdem prope-
 10 diem domi visuram honores, quos apud sororem videat. inde consilia inire cum genero coepit, adhibito L. Sextio, 11
 strenuo adolescente et cuius spei nihil praeter genus patri-
 cium deesset.

C. Licinius and L. Sextius elected tribunes of the plebs. They promulgate 35
 15 *three bills (1) to relieve debtors (2) to limit occupation of domain land (3) to abolish military tribunes and provide that one consul at least should be a plebeian. Other tribunes are engaged by the patricians to veto the proposals. Licinius and Sextius veto all, except plebeian, elections.*

20 *Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes, nisi suis in summo imperio locatis, nullum speraret: accingendum ad 2*
eam cogitationem esse; conando agendoque iam eo gradum fecisse plebeios, unde si porro annitantur, pervenire ad
 25 *summa et patribus aequari tam honore quam virtute pos-*
sent. in praesentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, quo in 3
magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad ceteros honores aperirent. creatique tribuni C. Licinius et L. Sextius promulgavere 4
leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis
 30 *plebis, unam de aere alieno, ut, deducto eo de capite, quod usuris pernumeratum esset, id, quod superesset, triennio*
aequis pensionibus persolveretur; alteram de modo agro- 5

rum, ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret, tertiam, ne tribunorum militum comitia fierent, consulumque utique alter ex plebe crearetur; cuncta ingentia et quae sine certamine maximo obtineri non possent. omnium igitur simul rerum, quarum immodica cupido inter mortales est, agri, pecuniae, honorum, discrimine proposito, conterriti patres cum trepidassent publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem invento, collegas adversus tribunicias rogationes comparaverunt. qui ubi tribus ad suffragium ineundum citari a Licinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praesidiis nec recitari rogationes nec sollemne quicquam aliud ad sciscendum plebi fieri passi sunt. iamque frustra saepe concilio advocato, cum pro antiquatis rogationes essent, "bene habet" inquit Sextius; "quando quidem tantum intercessionem pollere placet, isto ipso telo tutabimur plebem. agite dum, comitia indicite, patres, tribunis militum creandis; faxo, ne iuвет vox ista 'veto,' quam nunc concinentes collegas nostros tam laeti auditis." haud irritae cecidere minae; comitia, praeter aedilium tribunorumque plebi, nulla sunt habita.

Licinius and Sextius are re-elected for five years in succession. An attack of the Veliternians on Tusculum forces the tribunes to give way, and military tribunes are elected for B.C. 370.

Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis relecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt, eaque solitudo magistratum, et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus, per quinquennium urbem tenuit. <

36 Alia bella opportune quiescere; Veliterni coloni gestientes otio, quod nullus exercitus Romanus esset, et agrum Romanum aliquoties incursavere et Tusculum oppugnare adorti sunt; eaque res, Tusculanis veteribus sociis, novis civibus

opem orantibus, verecundia maxime non patres modo, sed etiam plebem movit.

B.C. 370. *Great difficulty is experienced in levying an army. Tusculum is relieved and Velitrae besieged but not taken.*

5 Remittentibus tribunis plebis comitia per interregem 3
sunt habita; creatique tribuni militum L. Furius, A. Man-
lius, Ser. Sulpicius, Ser. Cornelius, P. et C. Valerii haud-
quaquam tam obedientem in dilectu quam in comitiis
plebem habuere; ingentique contentione exercitu scripto, 4
10 profecti non ab Tusculo modo summovere hostem, sed
intra suamet ipsum moenia compulere, obsidebanturque 5
haud paulo vi maiore Velitrae, quam Tusculum obsessum
fuerat. nec tamen ab eis, a quibus obsideri coeptae erant,
expugnari potuere; ante novi creati sunt tribuni militum, 6
15 Q. Servilius, C. Veturius, A. et M. Cornelii, Q. Quinctius,
M. Fabius. ☉

B.C. 369. *The new military tribunes succeed no better at Velitrae. The tribunes re-elected for the eighth time renew their agitation under more favorable circumstances, M. Fabius Ambustus being one of the*
20 *six military tribunes this year. They add to their previous proposals a bill to appoint ten instead of two commissioners sacris faciundis, five of them to be plebeians.*

↙ Nihil ne ab iis quidem tribunis ad Velitras memorabile
factum. in maiore discrimine domi res vertebantur. nam 7
25 praeter Sextium Liciniumque latores legum, iam octavum
tribunos plebis relectos, Fabius quoque tribunus militum,
Stolonis socer, quarum legum auctor fuerat, earum suasorem
se haud dubium ferebat, et cum octo ex collegio tribunorum 8
plebi primo intercessores legum fuissent, quinque soli erant,
30 et, ut ferme solent, qui a suis desciscunt, capti et stupentes,
animis a voce alienis, id modo, quod domi praeceptum erat,

9 intercessioni suae praetendebant : Velitris in exercitu plebis
 magnam partem abesse; in adventum militum comitia
 differri debere, ut universa plebes de suis commodis
 10 suffragium ferret. Sextius Liciniusque cum parte collega-
 rum et uno ex tribunis militum Fabio, artifices iam tot 5
 annorum usu tractandi animos plebis, primores patrum
 productos interrogando de singulis, quae ferebantur ad
 11 populum, fatigabant : auderentne postulare, ut, cum bina
 iugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta iugera
 habere liceret, ut singuli prope trecentorum civium posside- 10
 rent agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum necessarium aut
 12 locum sepulturae suus pateret ager? an placeret, fenore
 circumventam plebem, potius quam sorte creditum solvat,
 corpus in nervum ac supplicia dare, et gregatim quotidie de
 foro addictos duci, et repleti vinctis nobiles domus et, 15
 ubicunque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse?
 37 haec indigna miserandaque auditu cum apud timentes
 sibimet ipsos, maiore audientium indignatione quam sua,
 2 increpuissent, atqui nec agros occupandi modum nec fenore
 trucidandi plebem alium patribus unquam fore affirmabant, 20
 nisi alterum ex plebe consulem, custodem suae libertatis,
 3 plebes fecisset. contemni iam tribunos plebis, quippe
 quae potestas iam suam ipsa vim frangat intercedendo.
 4 non posse aequo iure agi, ubi imperium penes illos, penes
 se auxilium tantum sit; nisi imperio communicato, nun- 25
 quam plebem in parte pari rei publicae fore. nec esse,
 quod quisquam satis putet, si plebeiorum ratio comitiis
 consularibus habeatur; nisi, alterum consulem utique ex
 5 plebe fieri necesse sit, neminem fore. an iam memoria
 exisse, cum tribunos militum idcirco potius quam consules 30
 creati placuisset, ut et plebeiis pateret summus honos,
 quattuor et quadraginta annis neminem ex plebe tribunum
 6 militum creatum esse? quid crederent? duobusne in locis

sua voluntate impertituros plebi honorem, qui octona loca tribunis militum creandis occupare soliti sint, et ad consulum viam fieri passuros, qui tribunatum saeptum tam diu habuerint? lege obtinendum esse, quod comitiis per gratiam nequeat, et seponendum extra certamen alterum consulatum, ad quem plebi sit aditus, quoniam in certamine relictus praemium semper potentioris futurus sit. nec iam posse dici id, quod antea iactare soliti sint, non esse in plebeiis idoneos viros ad curules magistratus. numquid enim socordius aut segnius rem publicam administrari post P. Licinii Calvi tribunatum, qui primus ex plebe creatus sit, quam per eos annos gesta sit, quibus praeter patricios nemo tribunus militum fuerit? quoniam contra patricios aliquot damnatos post tribunatum, neminem plebeium. quaestores quoque, sicut tribunos militum, paucis ante annis ex plebe coeptos creari, nec ullius eorum populum Romanum paenituisse. consulatum superesse plebeiis; eam esse arcem libertatis, id columen. si eo perventum sit, tum populum Romanum vere exactos ex urbe reges et stabilem libertatem suam existimaturum; quippe ex illa die in plebem ventura omnia, quibus patricii excellant, imperium atque honorem, gloriam belli, genus, nobilitatem, magna ipsis fruenda, maiora liberis relinquenda. huius generis orationes ubi accipi videre, novam rogationem promulgant, ut pro duumviris sacris faciundis decemviri creentur, ita ut pars ex plebe, pars ex patribus fiat; omniumque earum rogationum comitia in adventum eius exercitus differunt, qui Velitras obsidebat.

B.C. 368. *The struggle over the Licinian laws continues: Camillus is appointed dictator. Licinius and Sextius refuse to recognise their colleagues' veto. Camillus threatens to administer the military oath to all the iuniores, and lead them out of the city, but presently resigns, his reason for doing so being uncertain.*

Prius circumactus est annus, quam a Velitris reduce-

rentur legiones; ita suspensa de legibus res ad novos
 tribunos militum dilata; nam plebis tribunos eosdem, duos
 2 utique, qui legum latores erant, plebes reficiebat. tribuni
 militum creati T. Quinctius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius,
 3 Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius. principio statim 5
 anni ad ultimam dimicationem de legibus ventum; et cum
 tribus vocarentur nec intercessio collegarum latoribus ob-
 stare, trepidi patres ad duo ultima auxilia, summum
 4 imperium summumque [ad] civem decurrunt. dictatorem
 dici placet; dicitur M. Furius Camillus, qui magistrum 10
 equitum L. Aemilium cooptat. legum quoque latores
 adversus tantum apparatus adversariorum et ipsi causam
 plebis ingentibus animis armant, concilioque plebis indicto,
 5 tribus ad suffragium vocant. cum dictator, stipatus agmine
 patriciorum, plenus irae minarumque consedisset, atque 15
 ageretur res solito primum certamine inter se tribunorum
 plebi ferentium legem intercedentiumque, et, quanto iure
 potentior intercessio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum
 ipsarum latorumque, et "uti rogas" primae tribus dicerent,
 6 tum Camillus "quando quidem" inquit, "Quirites, iam vos 20
 tribunicia libido, non potestas regit, et intercessionem,
 secessione quondam plebis partam, vobis eadem vi facitis
 irritam, qua peperistis, non rei publicae magis universae
 quam vestra causa dictator intercessioni adero eversumque
 7 vestrum auxilium imperio tutabor. itaque si C. Licinius et 25
 L. Sextius intercessioni collegarum cedunt, nihil patricium
 magistratum inseram concilio plebis; si adversus inter-
 cessionem tanquam captae civitati leges imponere tendent,
 8 vim tribuniciam a se ipsa dissolvi non patiar." adversus ea
 cum contemptim tribuni plebis rem nihilo segnus perage- 30
 rent, tum percitus ira Camillus lictores, qui de medio
 plebem emoverent, misit et addidit minas, si pergerent,
 sacramento omnes iuniores adacturum exercitumque extem-

plo ex urbe educturum. terrorem ingentem incusserat 9
 plebi; ducibus plebis accendit magis certamine animos
 quam minuit. sed re neutro inclinata magistratu se abdi-
 cavit, seu quia vitio creatus erat, ut scripsere quidam, seu
 5 quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad plebem idque plebs scivit,
 ut, si M. Furius pro dictatore quid legisset, quingentum
 millium ei multa esset; sed auspiciis magis quam novi 10
 exempli rogatione deterritum ut potius credam, cum ipsius
 viri facit ingenium, tum quod ei suffectus est extemplo
 10 P. Manlius dictator, quem quid creari attinebat ad id 11
 certamen, quo M. Furius victus esset? et quod eundem
 M. Furium dictatorem insequens annus habuit, haud sine
 pudore certe fractum priore anno in se imperium repeti-
 turum; simul quod eo tempore, quo promulgatum de multa 12
 15 eius traditur, aut et huic rogationi, qua se in ordinem cogi
 videbat, obsistere potuit aut ne illas quidem, propter quas 13
 et haec lata erat, impedire, et quod usque ad memoriam
 nostram tribuniciiis consularibusque certatum viribus est,
 dictaturae semper altius fastigium fuit.

20 *Manlius is named dictator. In the interval between the two dictatorships, 39*
the tribunes bring their proposals before the concilium plebis. The
plebeians vote for the debt and agrarian proposals, but reject the one
touching the consulship. Licinius and Sextius declare that they will
not stand for the tribuneship again, unless the plebs accept and
 25 *support all the proposals. Appius Claudius Crassus delivers a*
violent speech against the tribunician proposals. Licinius and
Sextius are re-elected for the tenth time, and carry their bill touching
the commissioners sacris faciundis (c. 36).

Inter priorem dictaturam abdicatam novamque a Manlio
 30 initam ab tribunis velut per interregnum concilio plebis
 habito, apparuit, quae ex promulgatis plebi, quae latoribus
 gratiora essent. nam de fenore atque agro rogationes 2
 iubebant, de plebeio consule antiquabant; et perfecta utra-

que res esset, ni tribuni se in omnia simul consulere plebem
 3 dixissent. P. Manlius deinde dictator rem in causam plebis
 inclinavit, C. Licinio, qui tribunus militum fuerat, magistro
 4 equitum de plebe dicto. id aegre patres passos accipio;
 | dictatorem propinqua cognatione Licinii se apud patres 5
 excusare solitum, simul negantem, magistri equitum maius
 5 quam tribuni consularis imperium esse. Licinius Sextiusque,
 cum tribunorum plebi creandorum indicta comitia essent,
 ita se gerere, ut negando, iam sibi velle continuari honorem,
 acerrime accenderent ad id, quod dissimulando petebant, 10
 6 plebem. nonum se annum iam velut in acie adversus
 optimates maximo privatim periculo, nullo publice emolu-
 mento stare. consensisse iam secum et rogationes promul-
 7 gatas et vim omnem tribuniciae potestatis. primo interces-
 sione collegarum in leges suas pugnatum esse, deinde 15
 ablegatione iuventutis ad Veliternum bellum; postremo
 8 dictatorium fulmen in se intentatum. iam nec collegas
 nec bellum nec dictatorem obstare, quippe qui etiam omen
 plebeio consuli magistro equitum ex plebe dicendo dederit;
 9 se ipsam plebem et commoda morari sua. liberam urbem 20
 ac forum a creditoribus, liberos agros ab iniustis possessori-
 10 bus extemplo, si velit, habere posse. quae munera quando
 tandem satis grato animo aestimatos, si inter accipiendas
 de suis commodis rogationes spem honoris latoribus earum
 incidant? non esse modestiae populi Romani id postulare, 25
 ut ipse fenore levetur et in agrum, iniuria possessum a
 potentibus inducatur, per quos ea consecutus sit, senes
 tribunicios non sine honore tantum, sed etiam sine spe
 11 honoris relinquat. proinde ipsi primum statuerent apud
 animos, quid vellent, deinde comitiis tribunicis declararent 30
 voluntatem. si coniuncte ferri ab se promulgatas roga-
 tiones vellent, esse, quod eosdem reficerent tribunos plebis;
 12 perluros enim, quae promulgaverint; sin, quod cuique

privatim opus sit, id modo accipi velint, opus esse nihil invidiosa continuatione honoris; nec se tribunatum nec illos ea, quae promulgata sint, habituros.

Adversus tam obstinatam orationem tribunorum cum 40
 5 prae indignitate rerum stupor silentiumque inde ceteros
 patrum defixisset, App. Claudius Crassus, nepos decemviri, 2
 dicitur odio magis iraque quam spe ad dissuadendum pro-
 cessisse et locutus in hanc fere sententiam esse. “neque 3
 novum neque inopinatum mihi sit, Quirites, si, quod unum
 10 familiae nostrae semper obiectum est ab seditiosis tribunis,
 id nunc ego quoque audiam, Claudiae genti iam inde ab
 initio nihil antiquius in re publica patrum maiestate fuisse,
 semper plebis commodis adversatos esse. quorum alterum 4
 neque nego neque infitias eo, nos, ex quo adsciti sumus
 15 simul in civitatem et patres, enixe operam dedisse, ut per
 nos aucta potius quam imminuta maiestas earum gentium,
 inter quas nos esse voluistis, dici vere posset; illud alterum 5
 pro me maioribusque meis contendere ausim, Quirites, nisi,
 quae pro universa re publica fiant, ea plebi tanquam aliam
 20 incolenti urbem adversa quis putet, nihil nos neque privatos
 neque in magistratibus, quod incommodum plebi esset,
 scientes fecisse, nec ullum factum dictumve nostrum contra
 utilitatem vestram, etsi quaedam contra voluntatem fuerint,
 vere referri posse. an hoc, si Claudiae familiae non sim 6
 25 nec ex patricio sanguine ortus, sed unus Quiritium quilibet,
 qui modo me duobus ingenuis ortum et vivere in libera
 civitate sciam, reticere possim, L. illum Sextium et C. 7
 Licinium, perpetuos, si dis placet, tribunos, tantum licentiae
 novem annis, quibus regnant, sumpsisse, ut vobis negent
 30 potestatem liberam suffragii, non in comitiis, non in legibus
 iubendis, se permissuros esse? ‘sub condicione’ inquit 8
 ‘nos reficietis decimum tribunos.’ quid est aliud dicere:
 ‘quod petunt alii, nos adeo fastidimus, ut sine mercede

9 magna non accipiamus? sed quae tandem ista merces
 est, qua vos semper tribunos plebis habeamus? ‘ut roga-
 tiones’ inquit ‘nostras, seu placent seu displicent, seu utiles
 10 seu inutiles sunt, omnes coniunctim accipiatis.’ obsecro vos,
 Tarquinius tribuni plebis, putate me ex media contione unum 5
 civem succlamare: ‘bona venia vestra liceat ex his rogatio-
 nibus legere, quas salubres nobis censemus esse, antiquare
 11 alias.’ ‘non’ inquit ‘licebit, ut de fenore atque agris,
 quod ad vos omnes pertinet, iubeas, et hoc portentum non
 fiat in urbe Romana, uti L. Sextium atque hunc C. Licinium 10
 consules, quod indignaris, quod abominaris, videas; aut
 12 omnia accipe, aut nihil fero.’ ut si quis ei, quem urgeat
 fames, venenum ponat cum cibo et aut abstinere eo, quod
 vitale sit, iubeat aut mortiferum vitali admisceat. ergo si
 esset libera haec civitas, non tibi frequentes succlamassent: 15
 ‘abi hinc cum tribunatibus ac rogationibus tuis?’ quid?
 si tu non tuleris, quod commodum est populo accipere,
 13 nemo erit, qui ferat? illud si quis patricius, si quis, quod
 illi volunt invidiosius esse, Claudius diceret: ‘aut omnia
 accipite, aut nihil fero,’ quis vestrum, Quirites, ferret? 20
 14 nunquamne vos res potius quam auctores spectabitis, sed
 omnia semper, quae magistratus ille dicet, secundis auribus,
 15 quae ab nostrum quo dicentur, adversis accipietis? at
 hercule sermo est minime civilis; quid? rogatio qualis est,
 quam a vobis antiquatam indignantur? sermoni, Quirites, 25
 simillima. ‘consules’ inquit, ‘rogo, ne vobis, quos velitis,
 16 facere liceat.’ an aliter rogat, qui utique alterum ex plebe
 fieri consulem iubet nec duos patricios creandi potestatem
 17 vobis permittit? si hodie bella sint, quale Etruscum fuit,
 cum Porsinna Ianiculum insedit, quale Gallicum modo, 30
 cum praeter Capitolium atque arcem omnia haec hostium
 e ant, et consulatum cum hoc M. Furio et quolibet alio ex
 patribus L. ille Sextius peteret, possetisne ferre, Sextium

haud pro dubio consule esse, Camillum de repulsa dimicare?
 hocine est in commune honores vocare, ut duos plebeios 18
 fieri consules liceat, duos patricios non liceat? et alterum ex
 plebe creari necesse sit, utrumque ex patribus praeterire
 5 liceat? quaeenam ista societas, quaeenam consortio est? parum
 est, si, cuius pars tua nulla adhuc fuit, in partem eius venis,
 nisi partem petendo totum traxeris? ‘timeo’ inquit, ‘ne, 19
 si duos licebit creari patricios, neminem creētis plebeium.’
 quid est dicere aliud: ‘quia indignos vestra voluntate crea-
 10 turi non estis, necessitatem vobis creandi, quos non vultis,
 imponam?’ quid sequitur, nisi ut ne beneficium quidem 20
 debeat populo, si cum duobus patriciis unus petierit plebeius,
 et lege se, non suffragio creatum dicat? quomodo extor- 41
 queant, non quomodo petant honores, quaerunt; et ita
 15 maxima sunt adepturi, ut nihil ne pro minimis quidem
 debeant; et occasionibus potius quam virtute petere honores
 malunt. est aliquis, qui se inspici, aestimari fastidiat, qui 2
 certos sibi, uni honores inter dimicantes competitores aequum
 censeat esse, qui se arbitrio vestro eximat, qui vestra neces-
 20 saria suffragia pro voluntariis et serva pro liberis faciat.
 omitto Licinium Sextiumque, quorum annos in perpetua 3
 potestate tanquam regum in Capitolio numeratis; quis est
 hodie in civitate tam humilis, cui non via ad consulatum
 facilius per istius legis occasionem quam nobis ac liberis
 25 nostris fiat? si quidem nos ne cum volueritis quidem creare
 interdum poteritis, istos, etiamsi nolueritis, necesse erit. de 4
 indignitate satis dictum est. at enim dignitas ad homines
 pertinet; quid de religionibus atque auspiciis, quae propria
 deorum immortalium contemptio atque iniuria est, loquar?
 30 auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace,
 domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est, qui ignoret? penes 5
 quos igitur sunt auspicia more maiorum? nempe penes
 patres; nam plebeius quidem magistratus nullus auspicato

6 creatur; nobis adeo propria sunt auspicia, ut non solum,
 quos populus creat patricios magistratus, non aliter quam
 auspicato creet, sed nos quoque ipsi sine suffragio populi
 auspicato interregem prodamus, et privati auspicia habea-
 7 mus, quae isti ne in magistratibus quidem habent. quid 5
 igitur aliud quam tollit ex civitate auspicia, qui plebeios
 consules creando a patribus, qui soli ea habere possunt,
 8 aufert? eludant nunc licet religiones: quid enim esse, si
 pulli non pascantur, si ex cavea tardius exierint, si occeci-
 nerit avis? parva sunt haec; sed parva ista non contem- 10
 9 nendo maiores nostri maximam hanc rem fecerunt; nunc
 nos, tanquam iam nihil pace deorum opus sit, omnes
 caerimonias polluimus. vulgo ergo pontifices, augures,
 sacrificuli reges creentur; cuilibet apicem Dialectem, dum-
 modo homo sit, imponamus; tradamus ancilia, penetralia, 15
 10 deos deorumque curam, quibus nefas est; non leges auspi-
 cato ferantur, non magistratus creentur; nec centuriatis nec
 curiatis comitiis patres auctores fiant; Sextius et Licinius
 tanquam Romulus ac Tatius in urbe Romana regnent, quia
 11 pecunias alienas, quia agros dono dant. tanta dulcedo est 20
 ex alienis fortunis praedandi, nec in mentem venit, altera
 lege solitudines vastas in agris fieri pellendo finibus dominos,
 altera fidem abrogari, cum qua omnis humana societas
 12 tollitur? omnium rerum causa vobis antiquandas censeo
 istas rogationes. quod faxitis, deos velim fortunare.” 25

42 Oratio Appii ad id modo valuit, ut tempus rogationum
 2 iubendarum proferretur. refectioni decemvirum iidem tribuni,
 Sextius et Licinius, de decemviris sacrorum ex parte de
 plebe creandis legem pertulere. creati quinque patrum,
 quinque plebis, graduque eo iam via facta ad consulatum 30
 3 videbatur. hac victoria contenta plebes cessit patribus, ut
 in praesentia consulum mentione omissa tribuni militum
 crearentur.

B. C. 367. *On news of a Gallic war Camillus is appointed dictator. After the Gauls are defeated, the struggle over the Licinian rogations is renewed, and ends in their becoming law. L. Sextius is elected first plebeian consul. The praetorship, confined to patricians, is*
 5 *instituted.*

Creati A. et M. Cornelii iterum, M. Geganius, P. Manlius, L. Veturius, P. Valerius sextum.

Cum praeter Velitrarum obsidionem, tardi magis rem
 exitus quam dubii, quietae externae res Romanis essent,
 10 fama repens belli Gallici allata perpulit civitatem, ut M. Furius dictator quintum diceretur. is T. Quinctium Poenum magistrum equitum dixit. bellatum cum Gallis eo
 anno circa Anienem flumen, auctor est Claudius, inclitamque in ponte pugnam, qua T. Manlius Gallum, cum quo
 15 provocatus manus conseruit, in conspectu duorum exercituum caesum torque spoliavit, tum pugnatam. pluribus
 auctoribus magis adducor ut credam, decem haud minus post annos ea acta, hoc autem anno in Albano agro cum
 Gallis dictatore M. Furio signa collata. nec dubia nec
 20 difficilis Romanis, quanquam ingentem Galli terrorem memoria pristinae cladis attulerant, victoria fuit. multa millia barbarorum in acie, multa captis castris caesa; palati alii,
 Apuliam maxime petentes, cum fuga se longinqua, tum quod passim eos simul pavor terrorque distulerant, ab
 25 hoste [sese] tutati sunt. dictatori consensu patrum plebisque triumphus decretus.

Vixdum perfunctum eum bello atrocior domi seditio ex
 cepit, et per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut rogationes tribuniciae acciperentur; et comitia consu-
 30 lum adversa nobilitate habita, quibus L. Sextius de plebe primus consul factus. et ne is quidem finis certaminum
 fuit. quia patricii se auctores futuros negabant, prope

secessionem plebis res terribilesque alias minas civilium
11 certaminum venit, cum tandem per dictatorem condicioni-
bus sedatae discordiae sunt, concessumque ab nobilitate
plebi de consule plebeio, a plebe nobilitati de praetore uno,
12 qui ius in urbe diceret, ex patribus creando. ita ab diutina 5
ira tandem in concordiam redactis ordinibus, cum dignam
eam rem senatus censeret esse, meritoque id, si quando
unquam alias, deum immortalium fore, ut ludi maximi
13 fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiiceretur, recusantibus id
munus aedilibus plebis, conclamatum a patriciis est iuveni- 10
bus, se id honoris deum immortalium causa libenter facturos
14 ut aediles fierent. quibus cum ab universis gratiae actae
essent, factum senatus consultum, ut duo viros aediles ex
patribus dictator populum rogaret, patres auctores omnibus
eius anni comitiis fierent.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

p. 1. 4 *condita...captam*] the use of the pf. part. pass. with a substantive as equivalent to a verbal substantive and a genitive case; much more common in Livy than in any other Latin author. See Appendix.

urbe...urbem] the repetition is probably, as Weissenb. says, intended to mark distinctly the beginning and end of the period alluded to.

5 *consulibus* &c.] governed by *sub*, which would more usually be repeated, as the two groups of ablatives are divided by *primum* and *deinde*.

The history of the decemvirate is given in Book III., the institution of Consular tribunes, officers who from B.C. 444 to 367 were substituted for consuls (though consuls especially in the earlier years of this period were occasionally elected), is described in Book IV.

6 *ac*] on Livy's use of the copulative conjunctions see Appendix.

8 § 2. *velut*] 'being scarcely discernible, as one may say, in the far distance,' *lit.* 'like things which in consequence of a long interval of space are hardly described.'

ex] either causal, as, *ex vulnere moritur*, or local, meaning, 'from the other end of the intervening space.'

9 *quod...fuere, quod...interire*] two causal sentences corresponding to the causal ablative *vetustate*.

parvae...raræ] 'meagre and few.' Livy probably is thinking of the numerous and voluminous annals of later times.

10 *litteræ*] 'writings.'

una &c.] 'the one means of securing a trustworthy record of past events;' the rhythm of the phrase seems to connect *fidelis* with *memoriæ*, but it may of course qualify *custodia*.

11 *ctiamsi quae*] sc. *litterae* 'even any written history that was contained.'

commentariis] these were strictly speaking only the records of the decisions and official replies of the *pontifices* on matters of religious ceremonial, cf. Cic. *de domo* c. 53 § 136. These would of course contain indirectly and incidentally some historical information, but it would seem as if both here and in iv. 3. 9 Livy must have mentally included in the term the other pontifical records, the *Fasti*, and the *Annales maximi*.

12 *publicis*] laws, treaties, registers of censors and such like.

privatis] family records, pedigrees, funeral orations &c.

13 § 3. *clariora* &c.] 'Better founded as well as more brilliant will be the story of the period next succeeding, beginning with the second foundation, with the new growth (as it were) of the city, now rising on the relics of the old, with richer vigour and more fruitful promise.' I have here taken *clariora* in the secondary sense. It may be literal, 'clearer,' 'less obscure.'

Weissenb. understands *deinceps* to mean 'continuously,' *in fortlaufender reihenfolge*. The metaphor is confused, *ab stirpibus urbis renatae* signifying both the roots of the old tree (city) and the shoots of the new, unless (which seems impossible) *ab stirpibus* is to be taken *after renatae*.

15 *domi militiacque*] hardly need rendering in English, *gesta d. m.que* being really covered by our word 'history.'

§ 4. *ceterum*] dismisses what is of the nature of a digression, and resumes the main narrative, cf. ix. 15. 9.

primo] adverb, without *deinde* or any similar word corresponding to it, cf. x. 15. 9.

16 *admiculo*] the prop of the young tree, carries on the metaphor in *ab stirpibus* &c.

17 *principe*] the foremost citizen, cf. v. 30. 4 (of Camillus), 41. 7 (in the plural). The word here is used in quite a general sense, not as equivalent to *princeps senatus*.

anno] the magisterial year, beginning at this time on July 1, cf. v. 32.

1. Livy does not mean, as Weissenborn has pointed out, that Camillus held his dictatorship for a full year, but that he continued to hold it after his triumph ('at the earnest request of the Senate' v. 49. 9) and laid it down at the end of the official year, when the consular tribunes laid down their office. The siege, towards the end of which Camillus was appointed dictator, began in July and lasted seven months.

- 19 § 5. *tribunos*] that is, the consular tribunes; it was considered that these tribunes must have offended the gods, hence the resolution, cf. v. 17. 3. The dictator probably, as Weissenb. suggests, did not hold the *comitia* (which would have been the usual course) because he was named by these tribunes.
- esset*] subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*. This was the reason stated in the resolution, or in the minds of the senators; the relative in a causal sentence does not require the subjunctive when the cause is a matter of fact pure and simple, see Roby II. 311 for examples.
- p. 2. 3 § 6. *Q. Fabio*] cf. v. 36. 7. All the ambassadors were guilty of the offence, but Fabius had taken the most prominent part, and therefore was selected for impeachment.
- simul primum*] 'on the very day that'—an unusual combination in Livy.
- 4 *dies*] the first step in a *iudicium populi* was for the prosecutor to give public notice of the day on which he proposed to summon the *Comitia* for the purpose.
- 5 *orator*] an ambassador, as II. 32. 8, v. 15. 3, Vergil, *Aen.* VII. 153, an archaistic use of the word apparently.
- ius gentium*] the law common to all nations, that is practically, the law observed by the Romans in dealing with other tribes of Italy. It might be called international law, but in a sense much more limited than the phrase conveys now. See Maine, *Ancient Law*, pp. 46—50.
- 18 § 8. *creat*] 'procures the election of,' so III. 8. 3, &c.
- Valerium*] v. 26. 2.
- 21 § 9. *ex*] at the expiration of the *interregnum*, therefore at least six days after July 1. For the use of *ex* of immediate succession (here assisted by *extemplo*) cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* c. 36 § 102, *ex ipsa caede nuntium misit*.
- 23 § 10. *foedera*] reckoned among religious documents on account of the religious sanctions attached to them. Religion entered also largely of course into the old laws. See below. It was generally believed by the Romans that several such treaties survived; see for example Cic. *pro Balbo* § 53 and compare Livy II. 33.
- duodecim tabulae*] the original ones engraved on copper or bronze (III. 57. 10) would no doubt, as Weissenb. says, have been plundered by the Gauls, but there may have been copies on less valuable materials.
- 24 *regiae leges*] 'what seems to have been the only collection of regal law known to Romans of the literary period was mythical in its origin

and perhaps also limited in its scope,' E. C. Clark, *Early Roman Law*, p. 1.

quae comparerent] the subjunctive because the clause is hypothetical, 'if any were forthcoming.'

25 *quae autem* &c.] In the regal laws there would be a large number of regulations bearing on public worship. A list of *dies fasti* and *nefasti* &c. seems to have formed a portion of the Twelve Tables.

28 § 11. *religiosis*] 'religious' days are thus defined by Aulus Gellius (quoted by Weissenb.); 'they are days which are dishonoured and disqualified for use (*impediti*) by some evil omen; on which one must refrain from performing any divine service, or beginning any new undertaking; the ignorant multitude wrongly call them *nefasti*.'

29 *a. d. quintum decimum*] July 18th, the traditional date according to the best authorities.

30 *Cremeram*] II. 48—50.

32 *insignemque* &c.] see note on Text.

p. 3. 1 § 12. *quod postridie* &c.] The account given by Aulus Gellius, who quotes Verrius Flaccus as his authority, is as follows: after the recovery of the city L. Atilius in a speech before the senate mentioned that before the battle on the Alia Q. Sulpicius had sacrificed as the regular preliminary to fighting on the day after the Ides of July; that two days after that, the battle was fought, and two days after the battle, the city was taken. On this several senators stated that they recollected that, whenever sacrifice had been performed on the day after kalends, nones, or ides, a disaster had followed. Thereupon the Pontifices decreed *nullum his diebus sacrificium recte futurum*.

non litasset...neque &c.] 'had sacrificed without obtaining favorable omens and without securing the favour of heaven &c.' This seems to imply that Sulpicius had fought in spite of unfavorable sacrifice, of which offence Verrius Flaccus' account gives no hint. He implies rather that the sacrifice had been misleading. For the sense of *pax* in this connexion cf. c. 12 § 7.

3 *post diem tertium*] = *die tertio post* by the well known attraction due to the position of the words, regularly exemplified in the calendar use *ante diem tertium* &c. *kalendas* &c. = *die tertio* &c. *ante kalendas* &c.

4 *postridie idus, kalendas* &c.] = *dies post idus* &c., is used as an indeclinable subst. of any case that the construction requires.

CHAPTER II.

- 7 *erigendae...rei publicae*] probably descriptive genitive qualifying, and expressing the aim or destination of *consilia*, cf. c. 18 § 3, IX. 45. 18 *oratores pacis petendae*, III. 24. 1 *frustrationem legis tollendae* &c., a Livian usage; but it may possibly be the dative of the gerundive expressing the purpose of the action of the predicate, cf. I. 24 *ducem me bello gerendo creavere*. Cicero uses the dative of the gerund in this sense, but only with the verb *sum*, and practically only in the phrase *non solvendo esse*.
- 10 § 2. *populis*] 'representing all the twelve peoples,' cf. IV. 23. 5 *cum legatis circa duodecim populos missis impetrassent, ut ad Voltumnæ fanum indiceretur omni Etruriæ concilium*. The shrine of Voltumna, the tutelary goddess of the Etruscan Confederation, was in the neighbourhood of Volsinii.
- 12 § 3. *defectionis*] descriptive genitive expressing the occasion of the alarm.
- 13 *lacum Regillum*] cf. II. 19. 3.
- 15 *fide*] abl. of circumstance.
- in amicitia*] a common use of *in* with ablative to express state or position, 'in the position of friends;' *amicitia* in such connexion implies the active friendship of allied states.
- 21 § 6. *iustitio*] the cessation of all civil jurisdiction, and by consequence practically of all public business. Except in the case of a dictator it could only be proclaimed by decree of the senate. In the latter case, the dictator having been nominated by the senate, the proclamation of a *iustitium* seems to have been regarded as a natural consequence of the appointment.
- 22 *ita ut*] a modification of the preceding proposition by way of an additional circumstance (more usually a limitation of the main statement is expressed by *ita...ut*), 'even enrolling men past the military age as well,' implying apparently that they were enlisted for service in the field, whereas usually the *seniores* were only called upon when occasion demanded to serve on garrison duty, cf. c. 6 § 14.
- 23 *iuratos* &c.] 'sworn to obey him,' *lit.* 'having sworn after his words,' i.e., 'taken an oath prescribed by him;' *iuratos* is a perfect middle participle. The *sacramentum* was generally repeated by one man in each legion, and accepted by the rest by the formula *idem in me*.

centuriaret] cf. X. 21. 4 *nec ingenui modo aut iuniores sacramento adacti sed seniorum etiam cohortes factae libertinique centuriati; non modo sed etiam* in that passage seems to be the equivalent of *ita...ut* here; comparing these two passages, we are led to suppose that by *centuriaret* here Livy means not 'enrolled in the centuries,' but 'formed centuries of.'

- 29 § 8. *ad Mecium*] 'By-the-Mecius.' Diodorus says ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Μαρκίῳ, Plutarch *Camillus*, περὶ τὸ Μάρκιον ὄρος. Mecius was probably a hill near Lanuvium. For the form of the name of the locality compare *Ad Murcim*, the name of the hollow between the Palatine and Aventine hills.
- 30 § 9. *ab contemptu*] the internal cause or ground of the action in *perfectis*. This causal use of *ab* expresses (1) an external fact of which another external fact is the consequence, e.g., *ab simili clade profugum*; this occurs twice in Cicero and is rare in Livy; (2) the external or internal reason or motive for an action, as here; this is frequent in Livy, but does not occur in Cicero.
- 31 *crederent*] oblique: the thought on which their contempt was grounded.
- 32 *auditus*] cf. c. 1 § 1.
- p. 4. 7 § 11. *superantibus*] 'the Romans found less difficulty in making their way into the Volscian camp over the *vallum* defended by soldiers, than they had done in crossing the burning embers of the barricade;' *superare vallum* like *superare montem* &c.; Weissenb.'s note is rather misleading here.
- 11 § 12. *duce*] circumstantial abl., 'under a general by no means prone to liberality.'
largitore] the adjectival use of the subst., quite common in classical prose, esp. with substantives in *tor* and *trix*, though more freely used, and with more verbal force in the subst., by Livy. See Livy IV. (Pitt Press Series) Appendix. Cf. v. 22. 1, 32. 8.
- 14 § 13. *demum*] 'after no less than 70 years warfare;' so *tum demum* 'then and not till then.'
- 15 § 14. *et ipsos*] a favorite usage of Livy, prob. in imitation of Greek, the pronoun being used really to fix and strengthen the force of *et=etiam*.

CHAPTER III.

- 21 *caput*] cf. v. 46. 5, speaking of the forces collected at Veii, *sed corpori valido caput deerat*, when Camillus was recalled from Ardea to lead them.
- 23 § 2. *Sutrium, socios*] *constructio ad sensum*, *socios* being in apposition to the people implied in *Sutrium*, cf. c. 30 § 9, IX. 21. 6.
- Livy gives us no information as to when Sutrium became an ally of Rome. It may have been shortly after the capture of Veii, when Falerii and Capena obtained treaties of peace, v. 27. 15, 24. 3.
- 25 *affectedis*] 'impaired,' 'weakened,' used absolutely, cf. v. 18. 4 *vires corporis adfectae*.
- tulerè*] 'carried away with them,' so *responsum ferre*, III. 6. 5, practically = 'obtained.'
- ut*] depends on *decretum*.
- 26 *primo quoque*] has two meanings, (1) 'one after the other' as *decimus quisque* = 'every tenth' i.e. one after every ninth, (2) 'the very first,' as here, and commonly.
- 27 § 3. *moram*] 'such postponement of their hopes,' *lit.* 'the delay of their hope of which (help),' cf. c. 25 § 2.
- 28 *paucitas* &c.] = *oppidani, quia pauci erant*, as *fortuna* &c. = *obsessi, quae erat fortuna*; such a use of the abstract for concrete, sustained also all through the sentence, is rather remarkable.
- 29 *per factionem*] adverb phrase formed by *per* and its subst., so § 10 *per condiciones*, cf. II. 11. 2 *per occasiones* &c.
- 30 *singulis*] apparently, in addition to those they were wearing.
- 31 § 4. *eo forte tempore*] 'just at that moment, it so chanced.'
- p. 5. 1 *provolvisset*] (as *eherentem* below) apparently not used before Livy.
- 2 *expressam*] 'spoken under stress of the direst necessity,' Livy seems to mean that what they had to tell was what they had been forced to by extreme necessity, not that Camillus had recourse to extreme measures to make them speak.
- 3 *exceptisset*] 'accompanied,' cf. c. 32 § 11.
- 4 *luctum lacrimasque*] 'mourning and moaning.'
- 7 § 5. *ita*] i.e. by leaving the baggage.
- id quod rebatur*] 'as he expected,' in apposition to the following clause.
- 8 *omnia*] with an adj. or participle (often as here qualified by an adverb phrase), to express the completeness or universality of what is signified by the adj. or participle, is a favorite idiom with Livy. Cf. IX. 13. 6

per omnia pacata Samnitium magis iniuriis et odio quam beneficio ullo populi Romani, XXVII. 45. 7 &c. &c., see Appendix. 'Slackness everywhere due to &c.'

ut fit] = *ut fere fit* 'as is so often the case.'

- 12 § 6. *in unum*] is pleonastic, amplifying the *co* in *cocundi*.
 14 § 7. *si qua*] εἰπῶς, 'in the hope that they might.'
 18 § 8. *ab*] cf. c. 2 § 9.
 20 § 9. *quibus*] = *ii quibus* 'those whose minds had been made up.'
 21 *in spe ultima*] 'as a last resource,' 'in sheer despair,' *lit.* 'being at the end of their hopes,' cf. c. 2 § 4.
 24 *in custodias divisa*] 'placed in safe custody in different places.'

CHAPTER IV.

p. 6. 1 *trium*] with Volscians, Aequians, and Etruscans.

- 3 § 2. *sub hasta*] the spear was set up from the earliest times at sales of booty as a symbol probably of the way in which the ownership had been acquired. Subsequently it came to be used as a symbol of *dominium*, or ownership generally, in the sale of confiscated property and state goods generally, as well as in the court of the *centumviri*. That a real spear or something representing it was set up at these sales in later times is clear from the expression *hasta posita* used by Cicero several times in this connexion.

Some regard the *hasta* as the symbol of magisterial authority, but in that case it is difficult to see why it was confined to these special occasions of the exercising of magisterial authority.

- 5 § 3. *cum titulo* &c.] 'inscribed with the name of Camillus.'
 6 *incensum*] B.C. 83.
 7 *Iunonis*] there were three distinct shrines (*cellae*) in the Capitoline temple, one of Jove, one of Juno, and one of Minerva. If the statement here is correct, there must have been a statue of Juno in the *cella* of Jupiter as well.
 8 § 4. *civitatem*] full citizenship.
 9 *ea bella*] the wars with Veii, Capena and Falerii, B.C. 396, 5, v. 18 fol. There must have been a considerable number of emigrants, for they formed the nucleus of four new tribes, c. 5 § 8.
 12 § 5. *pigritia*] 'reluctance to build,' so I. 31. 5 *militandi pigritia*.
 14 *praestituta*] 'a day was prescribed and severe punishment threatened to anyone who had not returned to Rome by the time fixed, and the personal fears thus excited reduced them from concerted defiance to

individual obedience,' *lit.* 'the prescribing of a day &c. reduced them, each by means of his own fears.'

remigrasset] the subjunctive is generic, signifying not a definite person or persons, but any who answered to a certain description, or came within a certain class. The pluperfect of course implies that the returning was to be accomplished before the *dies praestituta*. For the use of *ex* indicating complete reverse, cf. II. 6. 2 *egentem ex tanto modo regno*.

capitalis poena] penalty affecting the life, or the civil status of a citizen (*deminutio capitis*), a wider term therefore than our 'capital punishment.' Here the word is probably used in a general sense, 'very severe.'

17 § 6. *tota*] everywhere.

18 *exigentibus*] Strictly, demanding or exacting the completion of a contract. The word is used of the censorial inspection of the repairs of public buildings to see that the contract had been properly carried out, *sarta tecta exigere*. The aediles as curators of the streets exercised, as it seems, a general superintendence over the rebuilding of the city to see that the conditions of state assistance (v. 55. 3) were fulfilled, 'the aediles insisting on the work.'

19 *usus*] genitive after *desiderium*.

32 § 8. *namque*] the position is Livian. He affects this variation of position in several conjunctions, *itaque* and *ergo* after the beginning of a sentence, *igitur* at the beginning &c.

p. 7. I *ab odio*] cf. c. 2 § 9.

3 § 9. *Cortiosa, Contenebra*] not otherwise known but apparently dependencies of Tarquinius.

7 § 10. *laborque*] Weissenb. regards *que* as epexegetical, 'held out only a few days, that is to say, labour &c.,' or, as adversative, as XXIII. 7. 11. Luterbacher translates it by 'doch.' The adversative force of *que* is found in Plautus, and in Cicero, but only with a negative sentence preceding. It is found in Livy without a negative preceding, as in II. 39. 10. It is due probably to a proposition with a concessive modification being thrown into the form of two coordinate clauses instead of being expressed by principal and subordinate. But the use here seems more like the use in *vix ea fatus erat senior subitoque fragore intonuit lacrum*, cf. Livy XLIII. 4. 10, where the intimate connexion expressed by *que* is used to signify the immediate sequence of the fact it introduces. So here the use would emphasise the shortness of the resistance made; in this case it will be translated by 'when.'

8 *eos*] *constructio ad sensum*, cf. c. 3 § 2.

cum &c.] the explanation of the previous statement. We should expect a causal particle to introduce it.

- 9 *in orbem*] cf. V. 19. 11 *in partes sex munitorum numerum divisit; senae horae in orbem operi attributae sunt.* From this it seems that *in orbem* here is to be taken closely with *senis horis*, which is an ablative of manner rather than time, 'in the way of (according to) six hours forming a cycle,' i.e. 'each of the six divisions took its turn at fighting for one hour out of every six.' The distributive in such a case need not be pressed, and this arrangement is more likely in itself than one by which the same division would be kept fighting for 6 hours continuously, with 30 hours intermission.
- 10 *integro certamini*] for *integris hostibus*, is a striking example of the abstract for the concrete.
- 13 § 11. *imperium*] 'the order did not follow promptly on the decision.'
- 14 *nisi per invidiam*] cf. I. 3 § 3 'without creating ill-feeling.'
- 17 § 12. *saxo quadrato*] This work is the more remarkable considering the condition the state finances must have been in. The object of it was partly to strengthen the Capitol, partly to prevent an enemy scaling it again. It was probably therefore on the side where the Gauls had climbed up. 'The earliest form of Roman masonry consisted of rectangular tufa blocks placed in layers, alternately parallel to, and across the line of the wall so as to bind the mass together firmly,' Burn, *Old Rome*, p. 4.
- 18 *haec*] 'the present,' cf. I. 55. 9 *nullius ne horum quidem magnificentiae operum fundamenta non exsuperaturum*, compare also Preface § 4 *festinantibus ad haec nova*. On the fact see Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi. 104 *senes...insanas Capitoli substructiones mirabantur.*

CHAPTER V.

- 19 *frequentare*] 'used efforts to draw the people to public meetings by mooted agrarian proposals.' *frequentare* is to 'make numerous or thronged;,' a *lex agraria* was a proposal dealing with the domain land, generally for distributing it among the poorer citizens.
- 20 *legibus*] the vague plural heightening the rhetorical effect of the word; only one proposal is really meant.

§ 2. *in spem*] 'was held out so as to come within their hopes' or 'so as to be an object of hope,' i.e. 'the prospect of a division of the Pomptine land was held out to them.' *ostendere spem alicuius rei* is a far more usual form of expression. The Pomptine territory was a very

fertile district on the east of the Pomptine marshes, hitherto alternately in the hands of the Romans and of the Volscians.

- 22 *possessionis*] descriptive genitive 'of undisputed possession,' that is, 'possessed undisputedly,' 'to which now for the first time their title was placed beyond dispute, indisputably secured.' *possessio* is used in a general sense, not in the special sense it had in connexion with the holding of the *ager publicus*.

§ 3. *criminabantur*] sc. *tribuni plebis*.

- 23 *infestio*] used here in a passive sense, 'liable to danger,' *ab nobilitate* signifying the quarter from which the danger is to be expected, cf. X. 46. 9 *regio ea infesta ab Samnitibus erat*.

- 26 § 4. *grassari*] a favorite word with Livy, not used by Cicero or Caesar. It meant originally 'to go about,' but acquired a special sense of going about in a disorderly manner, hence *grassator* one who riots for amusement, or attacks people as a robber or foot-pad. In a secondary sense the word means 'to proceed,' sometimes in a simple sense as *iure grassari*, III. 44. 8, but more frequently with an implication of ill-design or of violence; so here 'were greedily settling on,' 'were grabbing hold of.'

possessio] in the technical sense of occupation of the domain land, not freehold possession.

- 29 § 5. *eodem*] see note on Text.

- 30 *immemorem*] 'having no mind for,' 'careless about,' a frequent meaning of *immemor* in Livy, implying indifference, rather than forgetfulness, so *memor* = 'having regard for' and *obliviscor* 'to disregard,' cf. II. 6. 9, 2. 3, 10. 8, &c.

instruendum] 'planting and stocking.'

vires] 'means,' 'resources,' cf. XXI. 1. 2, XXIII. 41—6.

- p. 8. 1 § 6. *religionum*] abstract, 'religious scruples, feelings, ideas,' *plena relig.* 'intensely, scrupulously religious.'

tunc etiam] imply *alias* in the preceding phrase, 'always religious, and at this time also.'

- 2 *superstitiosis*] 'with its leading men full of religious panic.' Livy does not apparently mean any contrast between the religiousness of the mass and the nobles under ordinary circumstances, but simply to point out that the ordinary religious feeling, intensified at this time, induced the leading men to refuse office for the purpose of getting the auspices renewed by an *interrex*. For a similar renewal of the auspices, cf. v. 17. 3, where it was necessitated by the fact of the retiring consular tribunes having been elected *vitio*. They were obliged to resign, and

the auspices, or power of consulting the gods by auspice, returned, according to the phrase, to the *patres*, to whom in theory it always belonged, cf. c. 41 § 6, though in public matters it was always exercised by their delegates the chief magistrates. A new departure, as it were, was then made, the *patres* appointing an *interrex* to take the auspices afresh (*ab integro*) for the purpose of holding the comitia to elect new magistrates. This was what was done now. But what had happened to make people think that the auspicial succession was vitiated by the Gallic disaster now, whereas the magistrates of the previous year had been elected apparently in the ordinary way (c. 4 § 7), is not at all clear.

ab] cf. c. 2 § 9.

ut...auspicia] depend on *res...redit*.

renovare] = *ab integro repetere* in v. 17. 3.

3 *deinceps*] 'in succession,' *fuere* is omitted as frequently in similar statements, e.g. III. 32. 5 *inde Consules C. Menenius, P. Sestius Capitolinus*.

8 § 7. *occepere*] apparently an archaism, Livy frequently uses it with *magistratum* for object.

9 § 8. *aedes*] outside the Porta Capena between the first and second milestones on the Appian Road, cf. Ovid *Fasti* VI. 192. A *via tecta* is there mentioned in connexion with it, which was possibly a colonnade leading to it.

10 *duumviro*] one of the two Curators of the Sibylline books; on these see Ramsay p. 330. More usually commissioners (*duumviri*) were specially elected for the purpose of dedicating a temple, of whom one was chosen by lot to perform the actual ceremony, and was the one whose name was recorded in connexion with it, II. 27. 6, 42. 5, &c. It has been suggested that *sacris jaciundis* here is used loosely for *aedis dedicandae causa creato*; otherwise we are to suppose that the vowing of the temple had been entrusted to the Sibylline curators, one of whom was appointed to dedicate the temple. The vowing of it is not mentioned before this by Livy.

tribus] These are named from localities, not, as the earlier tribes, from the names of Roman *gentes*.

ex novis] cf. c. 4 § 4.

12 *viginti quinque*] 21 were completed B.C. 495, II. 21. 7.

CHAPTER VI.

- 13 *ad*] 'before' in a *contio*, cf. Aulus Gellius XIII. 16. 2, who deduces from a statement of Messala, *aliud esse cum populo agere, aliud concionem habere. Nam cum populo agere est rogare aliquid populum, quod suffragiis suis aut iubeat aut vetet; concionem autem habere est verba facere ad populum sine ulla rogatione.*
- 14 *mobiliores*] 'more open to the allurements of land-owning;' *lit.* 'more fit for moving up to desire of land.'
- 15 § 2. *de bello...mentio...dilata*] = *bellum de quo mentio facta fuerat dilatatum.*
- 24 § 3. *res rediit*] the phrase commonly used of an *interregnum*, when the chief power of the state was vested in, or devolved on the single *interrex*; used here of Camillus it implies (as does *additi* also) the leading position held by him, the other tribunes being rather assistants, than colleagues to him.
- 26 *Servilius*] cf. c. 4 § 7.
- 27 *P. Valerius*] c. 5 § 6.
- 28 § 4. *fugientium*] probably clients of the patricians who had occupied the Pomptine land.
- 30 *Antiates*] Antium was a Volscian town, which had been conquered by the Romans B.C. 468, and temporarily occupied, a Latin Colony being planted there, but in B.C. 459 the town recovered its freedom.
- 31 § 5. *eo...quod*] 'though they disclaimed any state responsibility in the matter, by saying that they merely abstained from forbidding volunteers to serve where they pleased,' *lit.* 'that they were serving as volunteers simply not forbidden.'
- p. 9. 1 *dicerent*] subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*. *eo* is instrumental, 'by means of the statement.'
- 3 § 6. *quippe*] 'why!' said they, 'we should have to &c. ;' something obviously true concerning a foregoing statement.
- 6 § 7. *animo*] see note on Text.
- 9 *confusus*] 'overcome,' used here, unusually, to express the effect of modesty; cf. c. 34 § 8.
- 10 § 8. *inde*] introduces the speech, the position of it is due to the desire to emphasize *ingens dictatorem*. See note on Text.
- 12 *honorato*] used adjectivally as = *honorificus*, so XXVII. 10. 6, *senatus quam poterat honoratissimo decreto.*
- 14 § 9. *secum*] 'rivalling his present (or former) self,' compare the use of *se* in *sui dissimilis* &c.

tanto...civitatis] qualify *opinionem*, 'an opinion expressed with so much unanimity by all the citizens;' the ablative is circumstantial; the use of an adverb phrase qualifying a substantive is common to Livy with earlier writers, e.g., *heri semper lenitas verebar quorsum evaderet* (Terence), *neque longas a me neque semper mea manu literas exspectabis* (Cicero), but Livy is much more free in his use of this idiom.

16 *constantem*] 'unchanging,' 'permanent;' if *constantem* governs *consensu*, the latter must be the dative, the ablative would require *cum*, but 'consistent with the general opinion' has no meaning here.

§ 10. *atque*] 'and in particular,' *atque* adds the special to the general, cf. VII. 13, *ut viris ac Romanis dignum sit, pugnatueros*.

17 *ut...sic*] = *μὲν...δὲ*, in concessive sense, 'but while he encouraged them not to fear, he advised the utmost caution,' 'while he said "no fear" he equally said "no over-confidence."'

19 § 11. *ab invidia*] *ab* here seems rather to express the agent, than the ground or motive as in c. 2 § 9, the feeling being identified with the people, or the people expressed by their predominant feeling; *invidia finitimorum* = *finitimi invidia moti*, as *mitis sapientia Laeli* = *Laelius miti sapientia praeditus*.

21 § 12. *L. Valeri*] see note on Text.

25 § 13. *interim*] while Camillus was dealing with the Antiates. *se*] belongs to *Latini atque Hernici* as well as to *Etruria nova*] cf. c. 2 § 3.

cura, Latini] cf. IX. 31. 1, *Aemilio novum bellum Etruria sorte obvenit*.

26 *gesturum*] sc. *te esse*.

27 *patre*] IV. 21. 9, 46. 4. *avo* III. 6. 1.

28 § 14. *causariis*] men who in consequence of bodily defect or ill-health were discharged from service in the field. Digest III. 2. 2, *est honesta missio quae emeritis stipendiis, vel ante ab imperatore indulgetur, et causaria quae propter valetudinem laboribus militiae solvit*. The medical use of the word is probably derived from the military.

29 *qui...sit*] cf. c. 2 § 6.

31 § 15. *consilii*] i.e. the senate. The duties and powers here implied are those ordinarily belonging to the chief magistrates. They were to be all entrusted to the sole charge of Cornelius for the time being, compare IV. 31. 1. In case of all the chief magistrates leaving Rome a *praefectus urbi* would be appointed, cf. III. 3. 6. The duties implied in *custodem religionum, comitorum, legum* are those of superintending those matters

- of state religion for which the chief magistrates were responsible, of holding and presiding in the *comitia*, and of jurisdiction.
- 33 *collegae*] in apposition to the subject of *facimus*.
 § 16. *partem* &c.] ‘the duties respectively allotted to them,’ *lit.*, ‘for the share consisting of their duty,’ *muneris* is a descriptive genitive.
- p. 10. 1 *benigne*] ‘ungrudgingly,’ ‘readily,’ the opposite of *maligne* ‘scantily’ or ‘grudgingly.’
- 2 *adiicit*] ‘said further;’ what he means is that he will submit himself to Camillus as a *magister equitum* would to a *dictator*, not of course that there would be any alteration in their legal positions.
- 4 § 17. *se vero*] ‘for their part;’ *vero* generally emphasises by way of contrast, cf. Cic. *Philipp.* II. 42. 108 *ista vero quae et quanta barbaria est*; but it is sometimes used especially with personal pronouns, and with *tum*, simply to emphasise or accentuate a word or phrase, cf. XXVII. 19. 12.
- 5 *bene sperare*] absolute use, ‘had good hopes,’ ‘felt confident.’
- 9 § 18. *in medium*] *conferre in medium* is ‘to bring together into what is open to all,’ so ‘to contribute to a common stock,’ ‘devote to the public good.’

CHAPTER VII.

- 15 *iustitio*] cf. c. 2 § 6.
- 16 *Satricum*] an old Latin town, which probably at the time of the Gallic invasion had fallen into the hands of the Volscians, who held it at this time. It lay between Lanuvium and Antium, in the Pomptine plain.
- 17 *nova subole*] those apparently who had grown up since the devastation of B.C. 389, c. 2 § 12.
- 20 § 2. *quod ubi*] *quod* may be said to be, strictly speaking, in apposition to *turbatas...esse*, which contains the statement of the antecedent *hostis...commovit* &c.; practically as in *quod si* it is simply copulative; as in the English vulgar colloquial usage, ‘which when the captain came for to know of it,’ ‘which’ might be scientifically analysed as ‘which, namely, it (the conduct previously mentioned), when the captain came to know of.’
- 23 *restitantes*] see note on Text.
quin] as with *etiam*, simply a cumulative adversative particle, ‘nay, even.’
- 25 *nedum*] ‘let alone,’ ‘much less;’ *nedum* originally means ‘fully, altogether, quite not,’ and is used to imply that what follows it, though

mentioned, is really outside of consideration; if what precedes is, or is not the case, still more or still less is that which follows, IX. 18. 4 *adulationes etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum* (still more) *victoribus*. Cicero apparently (though Hand, *Tursellinus* denies this) only uses it after negative or quasi-negative sentences. He also uses it only in connexion with a verb either expressed or easily supplied from the context. Livy uses it as an adverb simply.

- 27 § 3. *interequitans*] here transitive, generally intransitive. He seems to have ridden to the front, faced round upon the army and riding in and out of the files of the *antesignani* made his address. Weissenb. says that he addressed the *antesignani* first, and then rode among the other ranks; but it is difficult to see how the words can mean this. The men were apparently not drawn up in standing-fight order, so that the standards would be in the front of the maniples not, as in the latter case, in the rear.

haec] the more ordinary position would be *quae haec tristitia; hostis est quid aliud quam* is an imitation of the elasticity of Greek, more conspicuously imitated XXI. 30. 6.

- 29 *materia*] so Cicero, *pro Milone* § 35, calls Clodius *segetem ac materiem suae gloriae* to Milo.

30 § 4. *Falcrios*] V. 27. 11. *Veios* V. 21. 14.

- 32 *victoriae*] descriptive genitive indicating the ground of the triumph, so practically equivalent to *ob*, cf. Cic. *Philipp.* XIV. 23 *Pharsaliae vero pugnae ne triumphum quidem egit*. Livy XXXIII. 37. 10 *Boiorum* (=de Boiis) *triumphi spem collegae reliquit*.

ex] the source of the triumph, regularly used, as also *de*, of the people by the defeat of whom the triumph is claimed.

- p. 11. 1 *Aequis*] the preposition is not repeated with this word, because the Aequi are thought of as combined with the Volsci.

2 § 5. *signum*] here the red flag hung over the general's tent as a signal to prepare for an engagement.

non desidero] 'I do not feel the need' of dictatorial powers in dealing with you.

- 5 *animos*] 'spirit,' 'courage' of a single person, cf. I. 25. 3, II. 12. 10, &c.

ut ne...quidem] a slight anacoluthon; the comparison begins as if it were to be expressed by *neque...neque*, for *neque enim* here is not 'and indeed not,' but 'for neither.'

CHAPTER VIII.

- 13 *signo*] the signal by sound of trumpet for the attack.
- 14 *infer signum*] 'forward!'
- 15 § 2. *quod ubi*] cf. c. 7 § 2.
- 20 § 3. *antesignanos*] those who fought in front of the first line of standards, which were placed in a regular battle in the rear ranks of the maniples. These would be the *hastati* in the first instance, but if they were forced to retire and the *principes* took their place, these would become the *antesignani* for the time being. In case of these also being driven back, the *triarii* would become *antesignani*. The term in fact means any soldiers fighting in a pitched battle in front of the foremost standards, see IX. 39. After the time of Marius the term acquired a different signification.
- 24 § 5. *forte oblata*] = *si* (or *quibus*) *forte oblata esset*, 'whenever they chanced to encounter him.'
- 25 § 6. *intulisset*] the subjunctive (as the optative in Greek) signifies the indefinite repetition of the action. It is not 'everywhere where as a matter of definite fact he appeared,' but 'anywhere where he might appear.' It is really the protasis of a purely hypothetical conditional sentence; if he appeared anywhere a result followed: the fact of his appearance is implied, but not formally expressed, the main point being the result that followed if the condition was fulfilled.
- 27 *cum scuto*] the common use of *cum* of a man's accoutrement, so *cum gladio* 'sword in hand.'
- 29 § 7. *turba*] 'the unwieldy mass;' *turba* precedes the *et* which strictly speaking it should follow, because it really suggests the one cause which in two ways deferred the completion of the victory; one MS. has *impediabatur fuga* in which case *turba* would be ablative, and the position of *et* strictly grammatical.
- 30 *longa*] is the emphatic word here, 'to despatch such a multitude was a work of time for the wearied soldiers,' *lit.*, 'so great a multitude was to be despatched (only) by a long work of slaughter by wearied soldiers.'
- p. 12. 1 § 8. *quietis*] without further trouble to the Romans, *lit.*, 'for the Romans remaining inactive.'
- 2 *namque*] cf. c. 4 § 8.
- 4 § 9. *quorum*] 'in reliance on whom.'
- 7 *est adortus*] 'set to work to.'
- § 10. *quae*] sc. *opera*.

8 *minus...quam ut*] 'there was too little spirit in the enemy to justify him in waiting for such a distant prospect of victory.'

sper] is descriptive genitive, 'a victory of such slow hope' = 'a victory that could only be hoped for after long waiting;' all that is meant is that Camillus thought that he might take the town by storm, and that a siege would be waste of time.

10 *ne...esse*] the words with which he encouraged his men; the sentence then goes on from *cohortatus milites*.

12 *alacritate*] abl. of circumstance.

CHAPTER IX.

20 *ceterum*] has its usual adversative force; Camillus had finished this work; his mind, however, was fixed on a greater object. For the use of *immineo* cf. III. 51. 9; in a similar sense with *in* and accus. XXVIII. 16. 3.

22 § 2. *machinisque*] siege-implements generally, the general coupled by *que* to the particular *tormentis*, both are in apposition to *apparatu*.

23 *valida*] especially in its maritime resources.

ad exercitum] *ad* in the sense of *apud* is found in all writers, e.g. *ad urbem, ad portas esse*. It is specially common in Livy in this phrase.

30 § 4. *opposita*] 'lay in front of Etruria' on the South. Nēpēte commanded the roads to Falerii on the East, Sutrium those to Tarquinii on the West.

(*inde*] = *ab ea parte* 'in that direction;' the use of an adverb for the case of a pronoun, or for a preposition and case of a pronoun, is very common in Livy.)

31 *illis*] the Etruscans.

p. 13. 2 § 5. *quibus Quinctius*] right or wrong, Livy must mean the army of *causarii* and *seniores* mentioned c. 6 § 14. It is of course improbable that such an army should have been given to Camillus, and therefore probably Livy has made a mistake both in the name of the troops and that of their commander, as he himself could have seen the improbability. Historically the point is not important, as probably all these details are more or less mythical.

4 § 6. *imperio*] his command; any Roman army would be accustomed to obey orders.

mallet] is apodosis of an elliptical conditional sentence, 'he would have preferred, if choice were possible.'

- 9 § 7. *intersaeptis itineribus*] 'by means of barricades.'
- 12 § 8. *inclinatam*] 'redressed the balance;' *lit.* 'supported the lowered scale of things,' a favorite metaphor from the balance; compare the uses of *momentum*.
- 15 § 9. *tanta spe*] = *non tam spe*, see note on Text.
- 16 *eo*] 'to that side;' *aversis* drawn away from the part which they were besieging, the part held by the Sutrians.
- 17 *ipse*] he would enter, in the absence of the enemy, the part still held by the Sutrians.
- 19 § 10. *anceps*] from the Romans who were attacking the Etruscans' portion of the town, and those who had entered the part still held by the Sutrians, in the rear of the Etruscans, who had turned to defend the other part.

CHAPTER X.

- p. 14. 10 § 3. *unde*] = *a quibus*, cf. c. 9 § 4.
- 13 § 4. *fides*] 'the pledge (or covenant) of surrender was regarded by them as more sacred than that of alliance.' The position of the comparative is somewhat irregular.
erat] cf. c. 29 § 1.
- 14 *ductus*] sc. *est*.
- 17 § 5. *parci*] 'and orders issued for quarter to be given to the unarmed.' *inermi*, generic use of the singular number, very common in the case of proper names.
- 18 *Nepesinorum*] partitive genitive, 'of the Nepesines those who &c.' *ex Nepesinis* would perhaps be more usual, or *Nepesinorum ii qui auctores fuerant*.
- 23 § 6. *res repetitae*] the demand for restitution or indemnification which was the regular preliminary to declaration of war.
- 24 *ex instituto*] 'according to covenant.' The terms of the Latin league merely stipulated that the members should assist one another in war. Livy, as Weissenb. says, here seems to be thinking of the obligation of *civitates foederatae* at a later period to furnish troops *ex formula*.
- 26 § 7. *quod suae* &c.] cf. c. 6 § 5. Their plea was that they were only responsible for what was done *publico consilio*; *nec culpam in eo publicam nec consilium fuisse* = *non culpam in eo publicam fuisse, quia non publico factum esset consilio*.
quod... militaverint] relative to *eo*, 'that the state was not to blame

for some of its soldiers having served in the Volscian armies, inasmuch as it had not authorised their action.'

27 § 8. *eos tamen ipsos*] as for the men themselves, they were beyond the reach of punishment.

29 *dati*] see Appendix.

31 *super alia aliis*] 'one after (upon) another.' This use of *super* ('on the top of') of addition, or accumulation, begins with Livy, cf. IV. 30. 2 ✓ *super acceptam in Algido cladem*.

32 § 9. *non visa*] the construction of the sentence is, *magis tempus belli non habere quam causam non habere*, 'seemed to mean that it was no time, rather than that there was no ground for war.' What Livy means is that *the Latins felt* that there was ground for war, but that it was not a favorable time for the Romans to make it, that otherwise their answer would have been different. *habere* 'to imply.' Weissenb. and Luterb. render it as if it were equivalent to *quibus relatis, patribus magis tempus belli non esse quam causa visa est*.

CHAPTER XI.

p. 15. 10 § 3. *nimius animi*] so *stupentes animi, suspensus animi*, from comparison with which it might seem as if *animi* were a remnant of the locative case, like *humi* &c. Draeger however regards it as an instance of the post-classical extension (under the influence of Greek) of the defining genitive, used after adjectives, which in classical Latin is limited to a certain number of adjectives, such as *cupidus, gnarus, expers, plenus* &c. &c. Livy and the Augustan poets are much more free in the use of this genitive, cf. *integer vitæ, seri studiorum* &c. &c.

13 *solum*] see note on Text.

15 § 4. *interim*] 'when all the while (after all),' has no temporal, but simply adversative force, cf. IV. 51. 4.

aestimare] used absolutely, 'to reflect.'

18 § 5. *inter*] with gerund or gerundive, a rather favorite use of Livy's to express simultaneity of actions, or the interruption of one action by another, cf. II. 20. 9 *inter spoliandum corpus veruto percussus*, but not used before him. Cicero only uses *ad, in* and *ob* with the accus. gerund or gerundive, the second only once.

in spem pacis] lit. 'their minds relaxed into the hope of peace,' i.e., careless, with the certainty of peace before them.

20 *pars virilis*] more common in the phrase *pro virili parte*, as I.

preface § 3 *pro v. p. rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi consulere* = 'to take an active part in helping to record;' so here *pars virilis* 'a man's (emphatic) share resting with the soldiers' means that all the soldiers had played an active part in obtaining the glory, and therefore could claim a substantial share of it.

apud] *penes* is used in the same sense in some phrases with the verb *sum*, cf. IX. 1. 7.

- 22 *esse*] apparently a return on the original construction of the sentence, but it is very awkward. Luterbacher accepts a suggestion of Harant to insert *constet*, depending like the other verbs on *cum*.

mortalium] for *hominum*, is commonly used by Sallust, by Livy only in speeches and descriptions of battles.

- 23 § 6. *ad hoc*] 'in addition to this,' a common use in Sallust and Livy and later writers. Cicero uses *ad* in the sense of 'added to,' but with a construction adapted to give that force to the preposition, not in a bare phrase like this, cf. *in Vatin.* c. 8 *si ad cetera vulnera...hanc quoque plagam inflixisses.*

- 25 § 7. *primus*] Livy has forgotten Valerius Poplicola and Spurius Cassius.

- 26 *popularis*] 'a People's friend.'

- 27 *criminando...alliciendo*] modal ablatives explaining *consilia communicare*. This modal sense of the gerund (in which it sometimes is practically equivalent to a present participle) is rare before Livy; in earlier writers it is almost always instrumental.

- 28 *aura*] Livy leaves *populari* to be supplied from the context.

- 29 § 8. *agrariis* &c.] Livy apparently does not mean that Manlius brought forward any agrarian measures, but that he set his mind on something more revolutionary. Agrarian measures were not extreme enough to satisfy him.

- 30 *moliri*] 'undermine,' *mōlior* is to undertake heavy work of some kind; the context gives its particular sense here, to undertake heavy work, of which established credit is the object, is to shake or undermine it.

- 31 *acriores*] i.e. than the desire for land.

- 32 *nervo ac vinculis*] when a debtor was *iudicatus pecuniae*, that is, condemned by a *iudex* in the amount of a debt, 30 days were allowed him to pay it. At the expiration of that time, if the debt was not paid, he was arrested and taken before the praetor, by whom he was assigned (*addictus*) to the creditor. The latter was obliged to keep him for 60 days, during which he could secure him by stocks (*nervus*) or fetters

and chains, to prevent his absconding. If at the end of 60 days the debt was still unpaid, the debtor became the property of the creditor to sell into slavery or to put to death. During the 60 days the creditor on three *nundinae* exhibited the debtor in public, and proclaimed the amount of the debt, in case any one might choose to pay it and release him.

33 § 9. *et erat*] 'and no doubt,' almost = *etenim*, or *et profecto*, cf. IX. 16. 12, XXVII. 15. 7.

p. 16. 2 *itaque*] the position is common in Livy, cf. c. 4 § 8.

3 *in speciem* &c.] 'was ostensibly put forward as the ground,' *lit.* 'was exhibited so as to be the outside appearance of the cause;' *ut...quaeretur* depends on the whole expression *in speciem...iactatum*, expressing the purpose of it, *cur* would have been more natural.

CHAPTER XII.

15 *seu ratus*] the use of the participle as the equivalent of the conjunction and verb in the corresponding clause is a Livian graecism.

17 § 2. *tot*] qualifies *libris*; 'besides the weariness caused by the constant recurrence of Volscian wars through so many books, my readers doubtless will feel the same question (difficulty) suggest itself to them, which has puzzled me &c., namely, whence &c.' *legentibus* with its object *tot...gesta* is governed grammatically by *succursurum*, but in sense is rather connected with *satietaem*. Hence the position of *satietaem*, and the addition of *quoque* to show that *illud* &c. is a second effect on the readers' minds of the accounts of the Volscian wars.

18 *succursurum*] sc. *esse*, instead of *quin* with subjunctive, the regular construction, is not uncommon in Livy, and also in Cornelius Nepos; in Cicero or Caesar *non dubito* with infin. would always mean 'not to hesitate.'

19 *rerum*] genitive after *auctores*, but qualifying *temporibus* as well.

21 § 3. *tacitum*] the passive participle of *taceo* in the sense of 'to hold the tongue about,' cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 841 *Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum, aut te, Cosse, relinquat?* Livy I. 50. 9.

22 *tandem*] the rhetorical use, cf. IV. 3. 16; 'what explanation, let me ask, can I give, beyond offering a conjecture, which it is open to every one (which every one is at liberty) to make for himself.' The sense of the relative clause is that Livy's explanation is conjectural, with no more authority than any other man's conjecture.

25 § 4. *alia atque alia*] 'one generation after another,' the combination which is used, but rarely and in a rather different sense by Cicero and

Sallust, is common in Livy; it is probably an imitation of ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος and for that reason a favourite phrase with Livy. Livy's graecism appears in his uses of *alius* more than in any other one word.

26 *populis...gens*] 'states'...'nation.' The *gens* is the whole number of people claiming a common origin, and included under a common name, the *populus* is a political unit inside the *gens*. The Antiates, for example, were a 'people' of the Volscian *gens*.

29 § 5. *quae*] accusative after *vindicant*.

vix &c.] in Livy's time owing to the system of large grazing farms, the free population of the old Volscian territory was exceedingly small, cf. Plin. *N. H.* XVIII. 35 *latifundia perdidere Italiam*; Appian *B. C.* I. 7, in consequence of the large slave-worked grazing estates, τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ὀλιγότης καὶ δυσανδρία κατελάμβανε, τρυχομένους πενία τε καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ στρατείας. εἰ δὲ καὶ σχολάσειαν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ ἀργίας διετίθεντο, τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἐχομένης, καὶ γεωργοῖς χρωμένων θεράπουσιν ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων.

servitia] slave-gangs employed on the *latifundia*.

30 § 6. *certe*] takes up from § 1. However difficult it may be to understand, the size of the Volscian army was certainly very great.

31 *quod...conveniat*] 'the Volscian army, we may feel sure, as all the authorities agree on the point, &c.' *quod* is relative 'a thing which,' and *conveniat* is subjunctive, because the relative clause gives Livy's ground for speaking with certainty.

p. 17. 2 *Circeienseium*] Circeii was said to have been first colonised by Tarquinius Superbus. A second colony (Latin) was planted there B.C. 393. Cf. c. 21 § 2.

Velitris] was taken from the Volscians, and a colony planted there in B.C. 494.

3 § 7. *eo die*] the day of his arrival.

auspicato] modal ablative of the neut. pf. pass. participle used as substantive; this is one of the few such ablatives used by Cicero; those that he uses had practically become adverbs. They are far more frequent in Livy, who uses them in fact whenever convenient, cf. XXVII. 2. 12 *explorato* &c. This is otherwise called a substantival use of the ablative absolute. But there seems no advantage in the name. The ablative absolute of a participle with a sentence for the subject, e.g. *audito Machanidam refugisse*, seems a different use. Cf. c. 25 § 5.

4 *pacem*] 'favour,' an attitude of peace on the part of the gods towards the human being, cf. c. 1 § 12.

adorasset] stronger form of *orasset*.

- 5 *ad*] of the occasion, *propositum signum* being = to an abstract substantive with genitive depending, cf. IX. 2. 5 *ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem deficeret*, XXIV. 30. 5 *ad nuntium tam atrocem.*
signum] the red flag, cf. c. 7 § 5.
- 7 § 8. *si quid* &c.] 'if...can see into the future,' *lit.* 'see anything (reaching) into the future,' an unusual combination; Weissenb. considers it to be modelled on the phrase *in caelum conspiceret*, found in Plautus.
- 11 *obnixos*] cf. VIII. 38. 11 *in suo quisque gradu obnixi*; the *ob* in *obnixi* as in *obtinere* = 'against any opposition,' so practically 'firmly.' *stabili gradu* 'immovable,' *lit.* 'in stable stride.' Cf. II. 10. 10 *ingenti pontem obtineret gradu.* 'I would have you stand planted firm and immovable.'
- 12 § 9. *vana*] proleptic, 'uselessly.'
- 14 *deos esse qui*] not 'there are gods who,' but 'it is the gods who,' the subjunctive is due to the oblique narration.
- 16 § 10. *primum initium*] a pleonasm, but a common one; *moti certaminis* is also repetition of *initium*, meaning the beginning of the fight, 'at the first beginning of the onset.'
intentus] 'ready for action,' 'on the alert.'
tene] 'hold back,' 'keep in hand.'
- 17 *haerere*] 'brought to a standstill.' *aciem* the enemy's line.
- 18 *labore*] see note on Text.
- 20 § 11. *nec...ducem*] i.e. the result was what C. expected and what he had led his troops to expect.

CHAPTER XIII.

- 26 *rei*] Livy uses the dative as well as the ablative after *fretus*, other prose writers the ablative only, cf. c. 31. 6, IV. 37. 6.
- 27 *utramque*] theirs and the Romans. *oculis* with the eyes only, that is, by the size.
temere] 'hastily.'
- 29 § 2. *collatum pedem*] 'close quarters,' cf. c. 12. 10. Weissenb. compares Verg. *Aen.* x. 361 *haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.*
- 31 § 3. *frons prima*] 'the first line was driven in, and the supports became unsteady.' *frons prima* is what would have been the *ante-signani* in the Roman army.
- p. 18. 1 *omnia*] cf. c. 3 § 5 'the disturbance became general.'
fluctuanti similis] would generally mean 'looked like wavering,' implying what was most likely to happen, cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 602

cadentique imminet assimilis; but here seems to be simply a euphonious way of saying *fluctuans*; the line must have been wavering by this time; 'showed every appearance of wavering.' Luterbacher translates as if it were *fluctuanti mari*, but the word seems hardly more a conscious metaphor than our 'waver,' cf. c. 24 § 10 in *fluctuante acie*.

3 *cernebat*] cf. c. 29 § 1.

§ 4. *et*] with and without *quidem* introduces the first member of an antithesis, the second being introduced with an adversative particle, or asyndeton, cf. II. 2. 9 *et ceteri quidem movebant minus, postquam Sp. Lucretius* &c.

7 *signo*] properly an order inscribed on a *tessera*, but used generally of a verbal order passed to the troops, 'the word being passed.'

9 § 5. *obequitando*] frequent in Livy, but not found before, 'riding at them.'

10 *iusta*] as in *iustum proelium, iusta victoria* &c. 'full,' 'regular,' 'complete,' so here 'business-like.'

13 § 6. *libera corpora*] these would be sold into slavery and the price of them paid into the treasury, cf. v. 22. 1.

15 § 7. *omnium de plebe*] see note on Text.

omnium] 'and those not all plebeian prisoners,' in sense is really in apposition to *pars maxima captivorum*, though it agrees only with the last word.

de] of the body to which a person belongs, cf. c. 19 § 7.

ut &c.] included with *omnium de plebe* in the negation; they were not men of a kind which made it possible to believe &c.

16 *fides*] 'proof,' in apposition to the sentence *principes inventi (sunt)*.

20 § 8. *defectionem*] in apposition to *eadem quae dictatori quisque*, in accordance with the idiomatic usage, rather than *cuiusque*.

hand perplexe] 'in no ambiguous terms,' cf. XXX. 20. 2 *iam non perplexe inquit sed palam revocant*.

CHAPTER XIV.

27 *iussuros*] cf. c. 25 § 5; for the construction, cf. c. 12 § 2.

28 *moles*] 'a more serious difficulty.'

29 *seditione*] 'civil disturbance.'

30 § 2. *orationes*] sc. *erant*, 'M. no longer confined himself to speeches.'

popularia &c.] 'ostensibly only the acts of a friend to the people, but at the same time tending to riot.'

- 31 *qua* &c.] indirect question depending on *intuenti*; *mente*, 'spirit.'
intuenti] for this impersonal use of the active participle cf. VII. 10. 6,
 IX. 17. 4.
- 32 § 3. *nobilem*] 'distinguished,' cf. IX. 1. 1.
iudicatum] cf. c. 11 § 8.
- p. 19. 1 *pecuniae*] the genitive used after verbs of accusing, condemning
 and acquitting, signifying that in respect of which the person is accused
 &c.; probably due to an ellipse of *crimine*, the genitive usually describing
 the offence, but sometimes by a not unnatural transition the penalty,
 e.g. *iudicare pecuniae* = 'to give sentence against one on a charge
 involving money,' so 'to condemn to pay money, a debt, or (as in XXVI.
 14. 3) a fine.'
duci] sc. *in servitutem* cf. § 4.
- 2 *manum iniecit*] sc. *ei*, in token that he meant to stay the arrest by
 paying the debt, cf. c. 11 § 8; the man was not only *iudicatus*, but also
addictus.
- 3 *generatorum*] means the same people as *patrum*.
- 4 § 4. *tum vero*] anticipate *si...videam*, 'it would indeed be of no
 use for me to have &c.'
- 6 *tanquam Gallis victoribus*] 'as he might have been had the Gauls
 conquered us;' *tanquam* with the abl. absol. = *tanquam si* with subjunc-
 tive, cf. IV. 9. 10 *velut contacta civitate*. This use of relative conjunc-
 tions with participles (*victoribus* here = a participle) is rare before Livy.
 Cicero can only be said with certainty to have used three in this way,
quamvis, ut, quasi.
- 8 § 5. *palam*] the only case in Livy of *palam* used as a preposition,
 the use is poetical.
libraque et aere] the form of conveyance of property held in full
 ownership (*res mancipi*). The buyer laying hold of the property (or a
 representation of it) declared it to be his in a set form of words, and
 thereupon struck a balance with a piece of copper, which he handed to
 the seller as symbol of the price paid. This form was called *mancipatio*.
 The centurion being now his creditor's slave would be bought as a *res*
mancipi in order to be set free.
- 10 *parenti*] cf. XXII. 29. 10.
- 11 § 6. *et ipse*] cf. c. 2 § 13.
- 12 *deinceps*] qualifies *bellis*, cf. c. 6 § 9.
- 13 § 7. *eversos*] by the Gallic invasion.
- 14 *multipli* &c.] 'having paid the amount of the capital many times
 over' (in interest).

mergentibus] 'as the original capital was drowned in (buried under) accumulations of interest;' what is meant apparently is that the man in order to pay the interest due contracted fresh loans, so that the original capital borrowed became a mere 'drop in the bucket' of the whole debt.

18 § 8. *quodcunque*] 'all the lawful bonds that had bound him to &c., now bound him to one individual man.' All the claims of country &c. upon him, were now transferred to Manlius, who was everything to him, cf. Soph. *Ajax*, 518.

20 § 9. *unius hominis*] 'in the power of, devoted to one man,' a phrase of the possessive genitive, probably in imitation of Greek, e.g. ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τοῦ λέγοντος ἢ φόβους λέγει, most common with *totus*, cf. III. 36. 7 *hominum non causarum toti erant*. Cicero has *totus noster, vester*, but this use of the genitive begins with Livy.

21 *commodioris*] 'more nicely adapted,' see note on Text.

22 § 10. *subiecit*] cf. Cic. *Philipp.* II. 26 *bona Cn. Pompeii Magni voci acerbissimae subiecta praeconis*.

ne quem &c.] his motive expressed in his own words.

24 *duci*] as this followed only on *addictio*, it is a question whether *que* should not be read instead of *ve*; in c. 12 § 8 the MSS. vary between *vatesque* and *vatesve*; if *ve* is right it is probably due to the negative form of the sentence.

26 § 11. *ad hoc*] cf. c. 11 § 6.

28 *vera an vana iaceret*] indirect question dependent on the sense of *omisso discrimine*.

29 *possidendis*] the use of the ablative of the gerundive as complement of an adjective is rare even in Livy, who prefers the gerund for that purpose.

30 *avertant*] 'embezzle,' a regular pregnant use of the word; the full expression is *avertere alio* 'to divert into a different direction from the proper one.'

31 *palam*] is practically an adjective in this expression, 'if light were thrown on this matter.'

32 § 12. *enimvero*] 'of course,' 'as can easily be understood,' assumes that the statement is self-evident, cf. II. 22. 6, XXVII. 16. 14.

videri] historic infinitive.

33 *cum conferendum...idem*] antithetic asyndeta, μὲν and δὲ would be used in Greek, 'that a tax was imposed to raise the money, when, &c., and now the same gold &c.'

p. 20. 2 *in praedam*] *cedere in*, 'to pass into,' 'become,' not found in

Cicero, shows how *in* with accus. obtained a consecutive meaning, a use not found before Vergil.

- 3 § 13. *quaerendo*] modal gerund with *exsequor*, cf. IX. 16. 4; *exsequor* is most commonly so used with the gerund of a verb meaning 'to inquire'; 'they pressed him with enquiries,' *lit.* 'they followed up in the way of enquiring.'
- 4 *differenti*] 'the dative instead of *ab* (with ablative),' Luterbacher. But the construction seems hardly possible, therefore probably Weissenb. is right, who takes it as the rarer form of the ablative, used to avoid the objectionable form *differenteque*.
- 6 *mediam*] = *mediocrem*, agrees with both *gratiam* and *offensionem*.

CHAPTER XV.

- 10 *ita suspensis rebus*] 'in this unsettled state of affairs.'
- 13 § 2. *sella*] sc. *curuli* the official seat of the higher magistrates.
- 16 § 3. *quisque*] is not, as Luterbacher following Kühnast says, equivalent to *utrique*, but simply distributes both *senatus* and *plebs* into the individuals of whom they were composed, so II. 30. 11 *medio inter castra campo* (the two armies) *ante suum quisque vallum infestis signis constitere*; here 'looking every man to the leader of his own side.'
- 19 § 4. *quemadmodum* &c.] 'as I am pretty sure we shall agree as far as regards you and the matter on which I am about to examine (interrogate) you.'
- 20 *quod...rem*] = *de te eaque re. quaesiturus*, judicial use.
- 21 *conventurum esse*] sc. *mihī patribusque cum plebe*.
- 22 § 5. *fide incolumi*] this is really part of the main proposition, but expressed as an adjunct of it, for the sense is, 'that all loans might be repaid and confidence (or credit) so preserved.'
- 23 *creditum*] sc. *aes*.
- 25 *liberes*] dependent jussive subjunctive without *ut*.
- 26 § 6. *quod nisi facis*] 'and if you refuse to do this either in order &c.'
- 27 *in parte*] = *particeps*, the use of *in* is local, 'within sharing,' as in the expressions *in bonis ducere* &c., cf. c. 37 § 4.
- 30 § 7. *fefellisse*] 'it had not escaped his notice,' 'he was well aware.'
- 32 *criminibus*] cf. c. 10 § 6.
- p. 21. 6 § 9. *quin*] 'why do you not &c.?' shows how *quin* with indicative comes to express a command.
- 7 *intercedendo*] commercial use, 'by becoming security for them,' cf.

Cic. *Phil.* II. 18 *tantum enim se pro te intercessisse (= soluturum esse promississe) dicebat.*

- 9 *ex eo quod affluit*] 'of the overflowings of your abundance,' *affluo* is a rare word. See note on Text.
- 10 § 10. *sortem reliquam*] Mg's conjecture for *aliquam* of the MSS., see note on Text; 'bear with (be content to receive) the remainder of your (original) capital; deduct from the original loan the amount paid in interest.'
- 13 § 11. *at enim*] the regular rhetorical use of these words, anticipating an objection.
ita] qualifies *solus*, 'alone, as I am doing,' it implies a certain amount of reprehension on the part of his adversaries, compare III. 40. 10 where no adjective is combined with it.
- 16 § 12. *nam*] And I am in the same position as regards the answer to your question about the Gallic gold. The matter is plain and simple enough, it is only your questioning on it that imports a difficulty into it. *nam* gives the reason for something not actually expressed. It will probably be best rendered 'and so.'
- 19 *in sinu*] the expression is figurative, derived from the custom of carrying money in the fold of the *toga*, which served as a pocket.
quam ponatis] the use of *quam* with the simple subjunctive = *quam ut*, in direct as well as indirect speech, belongs to all periods of Latin writing, cf. Cic. *Tusc.* II. 22 *perpessus est omnia potius quam conscios iudicaret; quam ut* occurs c. 28. 8 and elsewhere. *ponatis* = in sense *in medium proferatis* below, 'produce,' so *praemia* &c. *ponere*, but the use here would be difficult to parallel exactly.
- 21 § 13. *abstuleritis*] the perfect indicates the rapid completion of the action and so intensifies the feeling expressed in *vereor*, cf. XXII. 14. 10, XXI. 33. 9 *periculumque esse ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequam incolumem traduxisset*. When a conjurer asks his audience to find out his trick, he is most certain of being able to deceive them.
- 23 *id*] the accusative of the thing enforced on a person after *cogo* is confined to neuter pronouns, cf. IV. 26. 10 *si quidem cogi aliquid... consules...possent.*

CHAPTER XVI.

- 31 *peragere*] cf. *sententiam peragere* III. 40. 5, 'to go through with,' 'complete in due form.'
- p. 22. 1 *oblatae*] 'and assailing it with the invidious charge of an unsubstantiated theft,' cf. I. 51 *oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit.*

vani is applied by hypallage to *furti*, whereas it was the odious charge that was groundless, not the theft.

4 § 2. *ceteri*] Weissenb. quotes Servius on Verg. *Georg.* I. 21 *per pontifices in omnibus sacris post speciales deos quos ad ipsum sacrum quod fiebat necesse erat invocari, generaliter omnia numina invocabantur.*

5 *Capitolium arcemque*] the two summits of the Capitoline hill, the former S.W., the latter N.E. On the former was the temple of *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*.

sicine] the *c* of *sic* is shortened from *ce*, which is retained in the weakened form *ci*, when *sic* is combined with *ne*.

6 *praesidem*] 'protector' or 'champion,' cf. Cic. *pro Sestio, senatum rei publicae custodem praesidem propugnatorem conlocaverunt.*

8 § 3. *nec...nec*] do not cancel but repeat the preceding negative, 'his unworthy treatment shocked the eyes and ears of all,' *lit.* 'of none could either the eyes or ears bear his unworthy treatment;' for the use of *indignitas* cf. I. 34. 5 *ferre indignitatem non potuit.*

9 *invicta quaedam*] 'had created in itself (developed) some indomitable instincts.'

10 *dictatoriam vim*] Weissenb. compares VIII. 34. 2 *dictatoris dictum semper pro numine observatum.*

11 *hiscere*] a rather favorite word with Livy, generally used with *non posse*, or *non audere*.

13 § 4. *vestem mutasse*] i.e. 'put on mourning,' the mourning dress among the Romans was an uncleaned, unwhitened toga, cf. *sordidatus*.

capillum ac barbam] This is an anachronism on Livy's part, for long beards were regularly worn at this time, v. 41. 9, Marquardt VII. 582 n. Luterbacher says that they let them grow longer than usual at this time in sign of mourning!

15 § 5. *triumphavit*] the dictator must have been in the city some time before he triumphed, which would be very exceptional.

He triumphed over the Volscians only, because they only were enemies properly so called, the Latins and Hernici were not.

invidiacque] *que* is practically equivalent to 'but,' cf. c. 4 § 10.

invidiae...gloriae] a sort of descriptive genitives apparently, 'an odium-triumph' meaning 'a triumph attended with odium,' but the case would be hard to parallel.

16 *quippe*] "'why, you see,' they murmured" &c. *quippe* introduces the people's reason for frowning on the triumph. *quippe* gives an obvious reason for what precedes, but generally with emotion of some kind expressed, hence the indignant and ironical use of it.

- 18 *tantum*] 'only.'
- 19 § 6. *seditione*] the use of the simple ablative after *procul* begins with Livy in prose.
- 20 *largitor*] cf. c. 2 § 12.
- 21 *Satricum*] cf. c. 8.
- 23 *assignati*] agrees in grammar with *semisses* only, but applies in sense to the whole quantity.
- § 7. *parvum*] it was almost the minimum (2 *iugera*) ever assigned ; compare the distribution of Veientine land v. 30. 8. The plebs were expecting a distribution of the Pomptine land, c. 5 § 2. *dicerent* or *fremere* must be supplied to *parvum* and *datum esse* from *interpretarentur*.
- 25 *seditio*] is used very loosely in senses ranging from actual rioting or revolt to factious disturbance.
- 26 § 8. *sordibus*] cf. § 4, corresponds to *vestem mutasse, facie to capillum* &c., *reorum* the *iudicati* who constituted the clientèle of Manlius, cf. c. 15 § 10. They were more conspicuous now than before M's arrest on account of the mourning they had assumed.

CHAPTER XVII.

- p. 23. 4 *itaque*] cf. c. 4 § 8.
- 5 *in præcipitem locum*] 'on to the edge of the precipice.'
- 6 *deinde*] corresponds to a *primum* implied in the preceding, 'they were always lifting &c. and then deserting them in the hour of danger (at the critical moment).'
- discrimine periculi*] lit. 'the decisive point of the danger,' i.e. 'when the danger became critical.'
- 7 § 2. *Sp. Cassium*] cf. II. 41.
- 8 *Sp. Maelium*] cf. IV. 13.
- 11 § 3. *populares*] see note on Text.
- 12 *hocine*] cf. c. 16 § 2 *sicine*.
- patendum, si* &c.] the offence seems to be expressed as a condition of the punishment, 'had this (viz. being thrown into prison) been the thing to suffer, if &c.,' i.e. 'was this the proper (or 'tolerable') treatment, for an ex-consul refusing,' or, 'when an ex-consul refused.' Weissenborn's note is not very clear. He apparently takes *hocine* to mean the imprisonment of Manlius, but understands *si=quod*, as after *miror, gaudeo* &c. Luterbacher apparently understands *hocine* to be anticipatory of *si* &c., and the whole question to be spoken *ex sententia*

patrum, fingerent &c. in some way or other containing the answer of the plebeian defenders.

12 *ad nutum*] 'at the arbitrary command'.

13 *responderit*] 'made answer', M's offence being that he refused to answer, c. 16 § 1.

fingerent] 'assume,' 'suppose,' *oratio obliqua* of the imperative *fingite*.

18 § 4. *per rupem*] cf. v. 46. 9.

ipsius] sc. *speciem, obversatam* is of course to be repeated as predicate to all these three sentences.

21 *selibris*] cf. v. 47. 8.

22 § 5. *Capitolino*] a Manlius Capitolinus is mentioned iv. 42. 2, so that this derivation of the *cognomen* is very dubious.

23 *cum*] = *eumne pati eos*, the infinitive according to regular rule in a question in reported speech.

obnoxiam] 'at the mercy of;' from the original meaning of 'liable to punishment' *obnoxius* comes to mean generally 'liable to,' 'in the power of.'

24 *adeo*] the illustrative or explanatory use of *adeo* qualifying the whole chiasitic antithesis in two clauses, 'it was so true then that...?' The use is common from Livy onwards, but not in an interrogative sentence. It is a question whether the mark of interrogation here ought not to be omitted.

26 § 6. *refracturos*] sc. *se*.

27 *remisso, quod* &c.] see note on Text.

32 § 7. *a Velitris*] equivalent to an adjective, cf. xxxii. 1. 9 *legati ab Ardea*.

crimine] cf. c. 13 § 7.

p. 24. 2 *cives Romani*] is not to be pressed to mean that these were actual Roman citizens now, for these colonies seem to have been Latin colonies, but as rhetorical description founded on their origin.

3 § 8. *itaque*] cf. c. 4 § 8; the sense is *itaque colonis non solum negatum est* (a negative answer was given) *de captivis sed* &c.; what follows *sed* explains the comparative *tristiora*.

in quo] anticipates *denuntiatum* &c. 'an indignity which after all (at least) they had spared the allies,' *lit.* 'a thing, in which nevertheless (i.e. though they refused their request) they had spared (refrained from) the allies;' the construction is altogether unusual; as Weissenb. says, we should expect *a quo in sociis temperaverant*; the subject to *temperaverant* is *patres* supplied from the context.

CHAPTER XVIII.

- 13 *recrudescente*] metaphor from a wound.
seditione] 'factious agitation.'
- 21 § 2. *expugnandi*] cf. IX. 26. 15, 'to carry the usury question by storm.'
ne] the reason why the peace was opportune for the patricians is expressed as the purpose of its being given. Livy doubtless thought that the gods had special regard for the patricians.
- 25 § 3. *novandarum*] cf. c. 2 § 1.
26 *animorum*] cf. c. 7 § 5.
- 28 § 4. *inexperto*] not found before Livy; with *ad* II. 16. 14: so *inmodicus ad, insuetus ad* &c.
quod &c.] cf. IV. 14. 6. *Quinctius*. This order of the names is not uncommon in Livy, when the *praenomen* is omitted.
- p. 25. 2 § 5. *tandem*] cf. c. 12 § 3.
3 *voluit*] 'willed,' 'ordained,' the same sense as in the philosophical use 'to lay down,' 'define.'
- 4 § 6. *si singuli*] that is, 'if your numbers were only equal.'
6 *quoteni*] see note on Text.
- 8 *modo*] with an imperative, which is a more vivid way of expressing the protasis of a conditional sentence, 'only show war and you will have peace,' cf. IX. 3. 12; for the imperative without *modo* cf. III. 68. 7 *haerete affixi contionibus et in foro vivite; sequetur vos necessitas militandi quam fugitis*.
- 9 § 7. *ius*] 'their legal claims.'
10 *aut*] 'or else,' a previous *aut* is implied, cf. Horace *Odes*, III. 12. 2.
§ 8. *circumspectabitis*] intended apparently to be a more effective way of expressing *intueor*, it means 'to look about for,' as in III. 38. 9; here the idea is that the people could do nothing for themselves, but in any difficulty looked about for Manlius to come and help them.
- 12 *desit*] sc. *mihī*.
videte] 'take care lest my fortune desert me'='you may perhaps find my fortune deserting me,' cf. Cic. *Philipp.* II. *vide, quaeso, ne haereas*.
- 13 *nullus fuit*] 'disappeared,' 'was nowhere,' cf. XXXII. 35. 2 *Philippus nullus usquam*.
- 16 § 9. *di prohibebunt haec*] Manlius repeats the formula of deprecation, supposed to have been just uttered by the people, naturally adapting the pronoun to himself; they would say *ista*; for the sense, cf. IX. 9. 6

di meliora, inquis; atqui non indignitas rerum sponsionis vinculum levat.

- 21 § 10. *satis sit*] 'that you are content to be assisted against your enemies, and recognise no other point at issue between you and the patricians, except the limits to be placed to their domination over you; ' *auxilium* is an allusion to the tribunes; *imperari*, impersonal passive.
- 24 *usu*] 'prescription,' the title to ownership founded on continuous usage of a thing for a certain period of time, otherwise *usucapio*.
- 27 § 11. *tentare...tueri*] 'to be constantly assaulting...to maintain; ' the metaphor is from a fortress; the people, instead of gaining their liberty by one united effort and then only having to maintain it, preferred to be constantly making feeble efforts after it.
- 29 § 12. *obtinuistis*] 'secured,' not simply 'obtained.'
- 31 § 13. *expertum*] passive, 'tried,' 'tested'; for the repetition *experimini...expertum* cf. v. 54. 6.
- 32 *patribus*] dative after both *imperet*, and *imponetis*, must be supplied after *imposuistis*.
- p. 26. 3 § 14. *patronum*] Livy has not before mentioned this as a title conferred by the plebs on Manlius, *induit* therefore is probably present not perfect. Manlius seems to be investing himself now with the title.
- 4 § 15. *insigni magis*] Livy uses the comparative *insignior*, but rarely, and more frequently as a substitute, *insignitor*.
- 7 § 16. *ortum initium*] a common pleonasm, cf. c. 12 § 10 *primum initium*.
- 8 *pervenerint*] zeugma; the verb only suits the second clause, *habita sint* or something equivalent must be supplied to the first.

CHAPTER XIX.

- 13 ✓ *in parte altera*] cf. c. 18 § 3 *pars utraque*.
- 14 *forte*] 'which, as it so happened too, lay on the citadel hill.'
- 15 *mole*] 'a grave danger.' *moles* anything massive, requiring great effort to deal with.
- libertati*] governed by *imminenti* which agrees with *mole*, the latter being governed by *de*.
- 18 § 3. *decurritur*] 'recourse was had.'
- 19 *ut videant*] the formula by which the senate invested the chief magistrates with dictatorial power for a special emergency.
- 22 § 4. *et*] strengthens *eundem*, 'that the end of general liberty would

- at the same time be the end of their authority also,' *lit.* 'that the end of their authority also would be the same as that of the general liberty.'
- 23 *auctoritati*] compare the phrase *in auctoritate senatus esse* III. 21. 1, and elsewhere.
- 26 § 5. *dimicationis*] descriptive genitive, signifying here the result of *vim* of which *eam* is the pronoun, 'would lead to a fearful struggle.'
- 28 § 6. *civitatis*] sc. *certamen*.
- 29 *cum plebe*] qualify *eum*, 'him with the plebs at his back.'
- 30 *ipse*] more idiomatic than *ipsius*.
- 31 § 7. *diem dicere*] the first step in instituting a *iudicium publicum* or trial before the people, so = 'to impeach for high treason,' such offences being the only ones at this early period which came under the cognizance of the sovereign people as the supreme court of judicature.
- 32 *simul*] conj. 'as soon as,' on which *viderint* and *intuebuntur* both depend.
- p. 27. 1 *ex advocatis*] *ex* of transition from one condition to another, cf. *nihil enim est tam miserabile quam ex beato miser* (Cicero).
- 2 *accusatores*] accusative after *intuebuntur*.
de plebe, patricium] chiasmus, 'plebeians prosecuting, at the bar a patrician.'
de plebe] *de* of the body to which a person belongs, cf. Cic. *pro Leg.*
5. 15 *quam multi enim essent de victoribus qui te crudelem esse vellent cum etiam de victis reperiantur (qui te crudelem esse velint)!*
- 3 *in medio*] 'before them,' 'exposed to view,' *lit.* 'in the space between' the prosecutors, defendant and judges, as the subject of trial.
nulli] masculine, regularly used for *nemini*.

CHAPTER XX.

- 14 *utique*] 'anyhow,' 'in any case,' here = *praesertim*, 'especially;' in Cicero *utique* is generally used with subjunctive, or imperative.
- 15 § 2. *non modo*] = *non modo non*, as regularly, when it is followed by *sed ne...quidem*, and both clauses contain a common predicate.
- 18 *ut*] depends on *usu venisset*; *quod* strictly has *ut...mutarent* in apposition to it, but practically is an adversative particle as in *quod ubi* c. 7 § 2. *et=quoque*.
- 19 § 3. *Claudio*] the decemvir, III. 58.
- 21 *fuisse*] *oratio obliqua* expressing the thoughts of the people; the *oratio obliqua* begins with the subordinate clause *quod...venisset*.

consensu] absolute, 'by a conspiracy,' 'it was a conspiracy to crush &c.'
cf. III. 36. 6.

24 § 4. *proprie*] 'specially bearing upon;' *pertinere ad* is more than *attinere ad*, not simply 'to pertain to,' but 'to be important to,' 'to be pertinent to.'

26 § 5. *nec*] 'and yet...not,' for this adversative force of *nec*, cf. II. 22. 3, XXI. 44. 5 *includit nos terminis...neque eos quos statuit terminos observat*. So *et* = 'and yet,' II. 28. 8.

27 *in loco*] explained in § 10.

29 *ingrata*] a sort of passive, or rather middle use of the word equal to our 'thankless,' in such an expression as 'a thankless task,' i.e. a task for which one gets no thanks; 'not only robbed of all their charm, but even rendered odious.'

31 § 6. *quibus...quorum...quos*] the different classes of beneficiaries making up the 400.

expensas] *ferre expensum* 'to debit' is the converse of *referre acceptum*, 'to credit.'

32 § 7. *ad...belli*] = *ad haec decora belli quoque decora*.

p. 28. 1 *conspicienda*] 'for all to see.'

2 *in quibus*] without a verb is exceptional, so *inter quos* below.

3 *murales*] a crown of metal, battlemented, bestowed on the man who first scaled the wall of a besieged town.

civicas] made of oak leaves (? imitated in metal or wood, otherwise the wreath would be perishable) for saving the life of a citizen in battle.

§ 8. *ad hoc* &c.] *commemorasse* must be supplied from § 7 to these two clauses. See note on Text. On the fact cf. Plin. *N. H.* VII. 103 *P. Servilium magistrum equitum servaverat ipse vulneratus umerum, femur*.

6 *pro fastigio*] 'doing full justice to their high merit,' *lit.* 'in proportion to the high level of the things.'

7 *aequando*] modal abl. gerund in apposition to *oratione*, in sense practically equivalent to *aequans*; *dictis* ablative.

9 § 9. *spectans...precatus*] all the infinitives here depend on the personal *dicitur* § 6.

15 § 10. *in campo Martio* &c.] These words do not necessarily imply that the previous proceedings had taken place elsewhere. The place as well as the fact that the voting was a long process, allowing facilities for appealing more individually to the people, are emphasized here to account for what follows. Plutarch, *Camillus* c. 27, represents the whole proceedings as taking place in the forum; 'with the people voting as

they were summoned century by century in the Campus Martius, while the accused &c.?’

18 *oculos quoque*] in addition to the impression made on their minds by the accusation of affecting royalty.

19 *vero*] cf. § 5 *non in causa sed in loco*.

20 § 11. *prodicta die*] ‘an adjournment was announced,’ the phrase is generally used of the postponement of a trial from one day to another, here it seems to be loosely used of an adjournment, when the trial was on the point of being concluded, for the purpose simply of altering the place.

Petelinum lucum] mentioned here (as well as by Plutarch in his account of the same matter) and in VII. 41. 3 only.

21 *Flumentanam*] This was near the *porta Carmentalis* in the wall running down from the S.W. end of the Capitoline to the Tiber. The wood probably obstructed the view of the Capitolium.

22 *concilium populi*] no change of *comitia* can be implied, as only the *comitia centuriata* had power to try a charge of high treason. The theory that *concilium populi*=*comitia curiata* (assumed to be an exclusively patrician assembly) has been disproved by Mommsen.

24 § 12. *sunt, qui &c.*] = *sunt qui auctores sint eum damnatum esse, auctor esse*, as frequently, taking the accusative and infinitive after it.

duumviros] the earliest form of trial for high treason described I.

26. 6. The process ceased when the tribunes very early in the Republic acquired the right of impeaching before the *comitia centuriata*.

28 § 13. *notae*] ‘two marks of infamy were attached to his name, one by the people...one by his *gens* ;’ the expression is borrowed from the language of the censors, who affixed marks to the names of citizens disgraced by them in the registers.

29 *aedes*] dedicated B.C. 344, VII. 28. 4—6; later the mint was connected with it. Cicero, *de domo* c. 38, gives a different account, *ergo eius (Manlii) domum eversam duobus lucis convestitam videtis*.

31 § 14. *gentilicia*] The *gentes* had power to pass resolutions affecting their own members; cf. Cic. *Philipp.* I. 13. 32.

p. 29. 5 § 16. *Capitolium*] of which the Tarpeian rock was a part.

6 *cordi*] either a locative, or predicative dative, ‘that which a thing serves as, or occasions;’ in the latter case *cor* must = *cura* ‘a thing of the heart or mind,’ so Riemann, *Syntaxe Latine*, and Roby ii. XXXIX. and 66. Livy generally uses the phrase with *dis*.

CHAPTER XXI.

- 16 *excepit*] 'was followed by,' cf. IV. 52. 1, but the verb implies to a certain extent that the subject is the result of the object.
- 20 § 2. *sorte*] 'by a kind of divine dispensation.'
- 22 *Latium*] cf. CC. 10 § 6, 13 § 7, 17 § 7.
Lanuvini] possibly injured by the Roman occupation of the *ager Pomptinus*, which bounded them on the S.E.
Lanuvini quae...urbs] cf. C. 3 § 2.
- 25 § 3. *primo quoque*] cf. C. 3 § 2.
- 27 § 4. *quinqueviros*] commissions for this purpose varied in the number of the commissioners from three to twenty; the most usual number, especially in early times, was three.
- 28 *Nepete*] accus. of place to which the colony was to be led.
- 31 § 5. *tribus*] this is probably a mistake of Livy's, the declaration of war was always voted in the centuriate assembly.
- p. 30. 1 § 6. *et*] 'and in fact,' cf. C. 11 § 9.
- 3 § 7. *inclinabat ni*] the vivid construction used by historians (esp. Tacitus) in describing what would certainly have happened, but for some preventing cause; *inclinabat* of course implies that they would have inclined that way to some effect.
- 4 *ab Romanis*] qualify *defectionis*.
metu] ablative of the motive, used also, but not frequently, by Cicero and Caesar; the use of the single ablative as equivalent to a participle or to *cum* and the subjunctive is Livian.
- 6 § 8. *senatu*] of the colony.
- 9 *exturbavit*] 'annihilated,' *lit.* 'turned out,' 'dislodged,' a rather favorite word with Cicero, very rare in Livy.
 § 9. *Praenestinatorum*] this state had joined the Romans B.C. 500, II. 19. 2; for the power of it at this time see C. 29 § 6.
- 11 *arguentibusque*] cf. C. 4 § 10.
- 13 *minus quia nollent*] seems here almost equivalent to *eo minus quo minus vellent*.

CHAPTER XXII.

- 24 *omnia*] cf. C. 3 § 5.
- 25 § 2. *maiora*] an awkward way of expressing 'against an army in which Praenestine auxiliaries were almost in excess of the colonists themselves.'

- 30 § 3. *in perniciem*] final use of *in* with accus. (of an intended result), rare before Livy, though found in Cicero.
- 32 *acriores*] 'more severe.'
- p. 31. 3 § 4. *Satricum*] cf. c. 16 § 6.
- 14 § 6. *extra ordinem*] See c. 30 § 3, where the three modes of assigning spheres of military command (*provinciae*), lot (*sors*), mutual arrangement (*comparatio*), and special arrangement by the senate (*extra ordinem*), are all mentioned together.
- 16 *e re publica*] 'to the advantage of the State,' a frequent phrase in Cicero and Livy. This use of *e* (*ex*) with the ablative seems to come from the use of it to express the model from which something is derived, as in Cic. *de Orat.* III. 12. 47 *quae autem sunt aut tua plane, aut imitatione ex aliquo expressa*; so it comes to denote accordance, proportion, as in the common phrases *ex more, consuetudine* &c. and *ex animo, ex animi sententia*; so also *statues ex dignitate nostra*, and here *e re publica*, 'in accordance with the interest (*res*) of the people.'
- ut*] with the subjunctive is a mixture of final and consecutive, a result for which the senate were responsible.
- materia ad*] cf. I. 46. 6; more usually with the genitive as in c. 7 § 3; 'as to be the means of procuring for his colleague,' or 'by which his colleague should win:' the metaphor is from fuel for a fire.
- 18 *restituit*] *sc.* Camillus, an abrupt change of subject.
- 20 § 7. *iurare in verba*] to repeat a dictated form of oath, *lit.* 'to swear into words, word by word;' 'to take the oath usual' &c.; it seems that a man pleading infirm health as an excuse for declining office could be required to swear to the truth of his plea; compare for examples of such pleas XXII. 40. 6, XXIII. 8. 7, XXVI. 22. 5.
- 21 *excusandae*] the dative gerundive after *solutus* instead of prepositional phrase (*in* with ablative here) is Livian, so II. 5. 4 he has *firmus templis sustinendis* for *firmus ad t. s.*
- 22 *vegetum* &c.] the alliteration is very noticeable, esp. as an example of the fondness for alliterating *v.*
- 23 *haud magnopere*] 'and though he was beginning now to take but little part in civil life, wars would bring him out.'
- 25 § 8. *indicto*] 'the army was ordered to be ready on the following day at the E. gate;' *indicere, lit.* 'to proclaim the army for the following day &c.' *in* with the accus. of the limit of time fixed for an action (our 'against') is common in all writers.
- 30 § 9. *quin*] after the sense of 'not refraining' implied in *non dilaturi*, Roby ii. 274; but *quin* may be used after any negative or quasi-negative

predicate as a modal subordinate conjunction, in other words, wherever the sense can be expressed by translating *quin* 'how not.'

periculum &c.] 'to hazard a decisive battle,' *lit.* 'make trial of the sum total of their fortunes:' so X. 14. 9 *discrimen summae rerum*.

31 *ita*] 'in that case,' 'if that were done.'

CHAPTER XXIII.

p. 32. 2 *fortunam*] 'the hazard;' a battle the result of which would depend a good deal on chance.

4 *ratione*] 'generalship.'

6 § 2. *vallo* &c.] i.e. *inferendo signa prope vallo* (dat. after *inferendo signa*) *hostium*.

10 § 3. *multitudinis*] the common soldiers.

ex incertissimo] Livy constantly substantives the neuter of adjectives of any declension in the positive degree, not very often in the superlative, cf. I. 9. 3 *urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci*.

12 § 4. *aetate*] 'by the argument of age,' not that of Camillus only, but of both of them.

14 § 5. *ex*] cf. c. 19 § 7.

17 *quid*] participial interrogative sentence, a Graecism rarely used, cf. Cic. *de Fin.* III. 11. 37, *de Nat. Deor.* I. 30. 84 *quibus fruentem voluptatibus?* Livy XXI. 30. 6; Livy is peculiar in using the accusative and infinitive construction with the interrogative dependent on the participle.

19 § 6. *frigere*] 'are lifeless,' the metaphor is used by Cicero.

20 § 7. *quid attinere*] 'what purpose did it serve?' 'What use was it?' only used in this sense in negative or rhetorical interrogative sentences.

28 § 9. *quae bella...in eis*] = *in eis bellis, quae*.

29 *neque...neque*] repeat the negative in *negare*, so that in sense it = *dicere*.

32 § 10. *se...collegae*] antithetical coordinate sentences instead of concessive and principal: 'therefore whereas he &c. still &c.'

p. 33. 8 § 12. *opponit*] sc. *hostibus*, 'faced the enemy with a strong guarding force in front of the (Roman) camp.'

spectator] cf. c. 2 § 12.

9 *in eventum*] depends on *intentus*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

12 *concrepuere*] cf. I. 25. 4 *ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma*.

- 14 § 2. *quod suppeditabat*] ‘because they had numbers enough and to spare;’ this verb is always intransitive in Livy.
- 18 § 3. *opportunos*] ‘afforded an excellent opportunity for such a sortie,’ *lit.* ‘were fit, suitable, advantageous (to the enemy) for,’ more than simply ‘liable’ or ‘exposed to.’
- 20 *novo hoste*] the real subject of the sentence is expressed as a circumstance, ‘with a fresh enemy in front of them, and the downward slope of a valley behind them.’
- 22 § 4. *integrant*] the classical word is *redintegrō*.
- 23 *non recipiebat se*] used in a pregnant sense of orderly retreat as opposed to headlong flight.
- 25 § 5. *subiectus*] ‘mounting his horse with the assistance of those who stood by,’ *lit.* ‘thrown up on to his horse by &c.’ cf. xxxi. 37. 10 *saluti fuit eques qui raptim ipse desiluit pavidumque regem in equum subiecit*, cf. ἀναβολεύς, the attendant on a general who helped him on to his horse, Lat. *strator*; mounting in armour was a different matter from ordinary mounting.
- 26 *oppositis*] i.e. to the flying Romans.
- 28 *vestra*] emphatic, they had no one to blame but themselves, ‘the recklessness before, the cowardice now is all your own.’
- 29 § 6. *secuti*] you have followed another leader; now follow Camillus.
- p. 34. 1 § 7. *signa*] ‘the troops wheeling round,’ a military movement is expressed (as frequently) as a movement of the standards, the latter being the most conspicuous feature in such a movement, cf. *signa convellere, conferre* &c.
- 2 *præterquam quod*] without a verb is unusual, cf. xxix. 18. 3.
- 5 *quisque*] in apposition to *singuli*, but really thrown in on account of its natural and familiar association with *se*, which it helps to individualise.
- in vicem*] cf. c. 6 § 9.
- 8 § 8. *auctorem*] cf. c. 2 § 12, ‘for his participation in their fault would take all the force out of his reproof if he tried it,’ *lit.* ‘for which purpose his participation &c. made him an insignificant authority.’
- 9 *totus*] adverbial use, cf. Horace, *Sat.* i. 9. 2.
- 10 *fortunæ*] genitive after both *reum* and *crimine*.
- 15 § 10. *in fluctuante*] ‘considering the unsteadiness of the line.’
- 16 *tradi*] ‘given up’ to the slaves (*calones*), a certain number of whom must probably have attended on the Roman armies from an early period. Weissenb. speaks of grooms who attended the cavalry soldiers, but gives no authority for such attendants. But see note on Text.

tradi...invadere] for the change of construction cf. v. 20. 8 *satis esse reconciliari eo dono plebis animos, exhaustis atque exinanitis tributo tot annorum succurri et sentire praedae fructum &c.*

19 *certamine animi*] 'emulation' Weissenb., rather, 'effort of courage.'

20 § 11. *eventus*] the personification is rather remarkable.

cnixaë] 'most strenuous,' an adjectival use of the participle not found before Livy and rare in him, cf. XLII. 3. 1.

qua...ea] 'in the direction in which.'

CHAPTER XXV.

29 *ubi*] 'and here' in the enemies' camp.

31 *fassi*] sc. *sunt*.

p. 35. 2 § 2. *si videatur*] simply an addition of politeness, 'you will, if you please.'

3 § 3. *documento*] 'a warning.'

4 *tamen*] 'still,' though Furius had taken the lesson to heart, no one expected that Camillus was going to do what he actually did do, absolutely ignore his colleague's folly.

6 *data*] cf. XXVII. 27. 11 *rem publicam in praeceptis dederat*, 'had been brought into such a precarious position;' for the sense of *do* in these phrases compare the sense of it in the compounds *abdo*, *condo*, 'to put away, together' &c.

12 § 5. *patres*] here, as in c. 14 § 1, war seems to have been declared by the act of the senate only; the full process was for the senate to submit a resolution on the subject to the people in the Centuriate (see c. 21) assembly for their approval. But it is intelligible that in cases where the other state had practically begun war, this latter part of the process should be dispensed with; in this case the senate would have to be prepared to justify their action to the people, for the right of declaring war lay with the *comitia centuriata*.

13 *permissio*] abl. absolute, the clause *ut...vellet* being the substantive; cf. c. 12 § 7.

16 § 6. *nec*] 'but...not,' cf. c. 20 § 5.

20 § 7. *togati*] instead of *armati*, showing their determined peacefulness.

26 § 9. *in medio*] for all to see, cf. c. 19 § 7.

27 *streperè*] a governing verb must be supplied from *vidit*.

28 *puerorum*] genitive after *repletas* which is used as an adj. = *plenas*.

32 § 10. *ubinam*] 'what in the world had become of the war,' *lit.* 'where ever the war had been (which was no longer);' the enclitic *nam* after interrogatives has its original sense 'to wit,' 'indeed,' and gives a sense of wonder and incredulity to the interrogative.

§ 11. *adco*] cf. c. 17 § 5.

33 *ad tempus*] 'temporarily,' 'for the moment,' to impose upon the Romans.

p. 36. 1 *tranquilla*] sc. *erant*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

11 § 2. *præcipiam*] 'I will not secure by anticipating others.' Camillus as commander of the army could have granted peace to the Tusculans, but chose to leave it to the senate.

13 *quem*] sc. *dare ei videbitur* (impersonal).

16 § 3. *iam tum*] even before they had listened to their excuses.

19 § 4. *ita armati* &c.] 'armed and prepared as we are,' i.e. not armed or prepared for war at all.

21 § 5. *noster*] of the nobility, or patricians.

22 *nisi si quando*] *nisi* is adverb, *si quando* conjunction, 'whenever;' 'except whenever.'

25 *ne...quidem*] = οὐδέ, 'they have not on their part either,' negative of *et ipsi*; rendered positively 'as we have committed no hostilities, so they too have imagined none;' cf. IX. 3. 4 *ne Samnitibus quidem consilium suppetebat*.

26 § 6. *eo, sicubi*] 'to wherever it exists' = *sicubi est, eo avertatis*.

29 *tam felix* &c.] = *ut tam felix sit quam pia est*.

31 § 7. *nihil attinet*] 'it is not to the purpose,' cf. c. 23 § 7.

tamen] the sentence is faultily constructed; there is no contrast between the uselessness of refutation and the safety of acknowledgement; *tamen* seems to imply that what was said before amounted to 'though we could refute the charges, if necessary.'

p. 37. 2 *ita*] by straightforward acknowledgement without fear of incurring punishment: 'You may be sinned against, so long as you are worthy to command such reparation as we are making,' that is, 'so long as your clemency is equal to your power.'

3 § 8. *civitatem*] cf. c. 33 § 6. This seems to be represented by Livy (as also by the Greek historians) as a benefit; but it was a very questionable one. The state thus incorporated in the Roman citizen community, as Marquardt, *Rom. Staats Verwalt.* i. 29 has shown (comp. Mommsen

R. H. i. 356), was obliged to renounce its alliance with the other Latin cities, and though it retained a certain independence, and self-government on the Roman model, practically became a dependency of Rome.

CHAPTER XXVII.

- 17 § 3. *aggravantibus*] ‘exaggerating,’ the opposite of *elevaretur*.
 18 *quibus* &c.] ‘to whose interest it was to have it believed that investments (the money market) were suffering rather from want of honesty on the part of the debtors than from want of means.’
fide.. fortuna] *res pro rei defectu*, cf. II. 19. 6 *viribus gravior*, Weissenb. But the fact is *fides* and *fortuna* are open words, meaning the extent to which the people were trustworthy or had property, though we are obliged to translate by ‘want of honesty’ &c., really because we have nothing that will exactly render the ablative of respect in such cases.
 19 *creditum*] an abstract noun formed in Greek fashion of the neut. participle, ‘the entrusted’= ‘the system of entrusting, (what we call investing;’ or, *res* may be understood, if *res* can be said *laborare*.
 22 § 4. *religio erat*] was (a subject of) religious scruple, abstract for concrete. For the fact see V. 31. 6, IX. 34. 17, 20.
 23 § 5. *vitio*] ‘faultily,’ i.e., their creation was vitiated by some irregularity in the ceremony of appointment.
 26 § 6. *vero*] ‘this was sheer trifling and not to be borne,’ *eam* attracted to agree with *ludificationem*, as regularly; *vero* throws a strong and somewhat contemptuous emphasis on *eam*, cf. IV. 1. 3 *id vero si fieret* &c. the force is best expressed in English by emphasising the complement.
 27 *tabulas*] the censorial registers in which the actual means of each citizen was entered as given by him on oath.
 29 *partem* &c.] = *alteram partem civitatis ab altera parte*.
cum... obiectari] a verb may be supplied to *cum* from the previous clause, but practically it is used as a coordinate conjunction; perhaps it is an imitation of the Greek use of the infinitive in subordinate sentences in *oratio obliqua*.
interim] is literal here, not like *cum interim* c. II § 4.
 31 § 7. *ab Antio*] Livy as a rule uses the preposition with names of towns, cf. § 10. Augustus probably set the fashion. Here however it may be employed in accordance with the older usage, meaning ‘from the neighbourhood of.’ The tribunes do not observe strict chronology; cf. c.c. 2 § 13, 8 § 10, 22 § 2.
 p. 38. 5 *agentem*] in the parliamentary sense derived from *agere cum*

- populo*, 'haranguing,' hence the use of *actio*, in the frequent phrase *actiones tribuniciae*.
- 6 § 8. *sc*] the tribunes, who would do what follows if the plebs would support them.
- 9 *sui*] 'what of his own there was,' another writer would probably have written *suum*, but Livy is particularly fond of these partitive genitives, compare IX. 11. 9, XXVII. 14. 5, 20. 4 &c.
- 10 *supersit*] *utrum* is omitted before this, as often.
- 11 *nervo*] cf. c. 11 § 8.
- 15 § 10. *nam*] the explanation of the previous sentence is really given in the relative sentence *quae utraque* &c.
- 17 *pecuniae*] depends on *iuris*, 'the duty of vindicating the legal claims on the borrowed money (of the creditors).'
- 18 *quippe*] cf. c. 6 § 6.
- 20 § 11. *interim*] there is an approach here to the purely adversative sense of *interim* which it has in *cum interim* c. 11 § 4.
irritaverat ad] one rather expects a gerundive after this; 'made them keener for the fight they had begun.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

- 29 *certum*] 'fixed,' cf. III. 50. 16 *nullo dum certo duce*. See note on Text.
- 30 § 2. *occasionem*] pregnant use, 'a good opportunity.'
- 31 *agmine acto*] 'set their troops in motion,' *agmen agere* is a case of a proleptic object, like *iungere pontem*, 'to lead a marching body' = 'to form a marching body to lead.'
- 32 *Collinam*] they must have marched across country to the *via Nomentana*; the *via Praenestina* would have brought them to the Esquiline Gate.
- p. 39. 3 *creavere*] this would be actually done of course by one of the military tribunes, but, as the subject of the sentence is apparently the plebeians (cf. *ab seditione ad bellum versi*), the writing is loose, Livy apparently meaning that the dictator was appointed without any objection on the part of the plebeians.
- 8 § 5. *procul*] cf. c. 16 § 4.
Alia] from this it would seem that the enemy had fallen back into the neighbourhood of the *via Salaria*.
- 11 § 6. *ac...ac*] are noticeable used so close together in different senses,

the second *ac* being after *similem* meaning 'as,' and used simply as a subordinate conjunction.

12 *diem*] &c. cf. c. 1 § 11.

religione] 'religious terrors.'

17 § 7. *delegaverant*] an affected expression for *in fortuna loci posu-
erant*.

20 *obnoxia*] 'servile,' 'abject,' by hypallage agreeing with *pace*, instead of with *quem*.

obnoxius, originally 'liable to punishment,' acquired the sense of 'under obligation to, in the power of a person' (in the dative), and so further the absolute sense of 'servile,' 'slavish,' 'abject,' cf. IX. 104.

22 § 8. *quam ut*] cf. c. 15 § 12.

nefasta] 'inauspicious for,' 'banned against,' in the later sense of *dies nefastus*, not simply a day forbidden for business, but a day under a divine curse, on which no undertaking could succeed, so Horace, *Odes* II. 13. 1.

23 § 9. *quin*] as in the combination *quin etiam*, an adversative particle; the use is derived from the interrogative use, *quin facitis?* 'why do ye not do,' i.e. 'rather do,' extended further to the use with an imperative, simply giving an adversative sense, 'nay do.'

24 *Romae*] v. 49. 3.

25 *tunc*] brings *postero die* into relief, to add the circumstance *cum* &c. to it, so *is qui* is used, Cic. *de Amic.* § 49 *animante virtute praedito, eo qui amare possit* &c.

CHAPTER XXIX.

31 *animis*] abl. of circumstance.

32 *erant*] Sallust and Livy both use *postquam* with the imperf. frequently, a use very rare in earlier writers. In Livy the imperfect so used either expresses in sense something completed, or is used conatively.

p. 40. 1 *loci*] cf. c. 28 § 7.

3 *quod sit*] 'anything which may be (fit to be) of greater assistance to them,' *maioris quod sit auxilii* corresponds to *certioris quicquam fiduciae*.

4 *dederint*] future-perfect.

7 § 2. *vobis*] see Appendix.

per] 'by the use of' in an oath.

10 § 3. *constabat*] 'had ceased to make a stand anywhere.'

12 *praerlati*] 'carried forward;' we should almost expect *praeterlati*, which occurs, but rarely.

- 13 § 4. *ex*] 'rallying, collecting themselves from.'
dissipata] applied to *fuga*, from the sense of scattered men implied in
it. See note on Text.
- 21 § 6. *Velitras*] cf. c. 22 § 3.
- 26 § 8. *Praeneste*] here without the preposition; cf. c. 27 §§ 7, 10.
signum] Cicero in *Verr.* IV. 58. 129 mentions a statue of Jupiter
Imperator on the Capitol brought to Rome by T. Quinctius Flaminius
from Macedonia. If this is really the statue here mentioned by Livy,
and he has confused between T. Quinctius Flaminius and T. Quinctius
Cincinnatus, it is a curious instance of his circumstantial inaccuracy;
ferme looks very suspicious; Livy probably knew nothing of his own
knowledge about this votive tablet.
- 28 § 9. *cellam*] cf. c. 4 § 3. *inter cellam* &c. = *inter cellam Iovis ac
cellam Minervae*; the statue would seem to have been placed in a niche
in the space between the two *cellae*.
- 31 § 10. *quam*] *post* is implied in the numeral adj., cf. IV. 47. 6 &c.

CHAPTER XXX.

- p. 41. 11 § 3. *extra ordinem* &c.] cf. c. 22 § 6.
- 13 § 4. *inexplorato*] cf. c. 12 § 7.
quibus] depends on *ut praesidio essent*.
- 14 *velut*] 'as they supposed,' like $\omega\varsigma$ with a participle, transfers the
statement from the region of fact to that of thought.
- 15 *ne auctore quidem*] 'not even keeping their informant in custody.'
- 16 *pro milite*] 'representing himself as.'
- 18 § 5. *restantes*] 'encouraged to hold out by valour alone.' *resto*
in this sense (= *resisto*) is not used by Cicero or Caesar, and not often by
Livy.
- 21 § 6. *fortunae*] may be dative after *superfuit*, but it seems more
natural to take it as partitive genitive after *quicquid*.
- 25 § 7. *afferebantur*] cf. c. 29 § 1.
- 26 *tempore*] 'occasion,' 'opportunity,' cf. IX. 18. 14.
§ 8. *otiumque inde*] *inde* may be either temporal here or local, but is
probably the latter, 'in (*lit.* from) that quarter.'
- 27 *quantum a Volscis*] 'as far as the Volscians were concerned,' *lit.*
'as far as (could be) from the Volscians.'
- 28 *tumultuatum*] sc. *est*, the impersonal passive of the deponent is
noticeable.
- 29 § 9. *Setiam*] a Latin colony (notwithstanding what Livy says VII.

42. 4, VIII. 1. 1) first founded B.C. 382; the founding of it is not mentioned by Livy.

30 *rebus*] dat. after *solatium*.

CHAPTER XXXI.

p. 42. 12 § 2. *noscendi*] 'for the purpose of learning the extent of it,'
cf. c. 27 § 6.

14 § 3. *fuga*] cf. c. 29 § 4.

18 § 4. *violentior*] 'more violently or forcibly exerted,'
impediendo] modal ablative.

21 *diceretur*] see note on Text.

23 § 5. *legionibus divisus*] 'formed by (equal?) division of the legions;'
but the sentence is a clumsy one.

25 *ad montes*] 'marched towards the Volscian hills on Ecetra.'

27 § 6. *itaque*] cf. c. 4 § 8.

28 *discordiae*] cf. c. 13 § 1.

29 *iusto*] 'a regular army taking its vengeance in a business-like way,'
cf. c. 13 § 5.

30 § 7. *quippe*] cf. c. 6 § 6.

32 *extrema finium*] the substantived adjective with a partitive genitive, common in Lucretius, but rare in prose before Livy, is frequently used by him in the singular and the plural, in the nominative and oblique cases and after prepositions, e.g. *per obliqua campi*, *per adversa montium* &c.

p. 43. 2 § 8. *agrorum*] partitive genitive as in *oppidum Boeotiae* &c.

3 *satis*] abl. of *sata* = *segetibus*.

5 *utrinque exercitus*] means little, if anything, different from *uterque exercitus*.

CHAPTER XXXII.

8 *celebrari*] 'began to be frequent,' the simplest sense of the word, 'began to be carried on again briskly.'

9 *abesse spes* &c.] a very unusual variation of the idiom *tantum abest ut...ut*, in which *abest* is always impersonal.

10 *in murum*] qualify *tributo*, 'a tax levied for.'

11 *faciundum*] depends on *locatum*, 'which the censors contracted to have made of &c.'

21 § 3. *Aemilium*] if the same man is meant as in cc. 1, 5, 22, it was his fifth time of office.

- 25 § 4. *sacramento adigere aliquem* is, to administer the military oath to a man; according to the grammatical authorities *sacramento* is a modal ablative, not as the various forms *ad iusiurandum, iusiurandum adigere* might lead us to suppose dative.
- 27 § 5. *subita belli*] ‘emergencies,’ cf. c. 31 § 7.
- 30 § 6. *ut...sic*] used as *ut...ita*, cf. c. 6 § 10.
- 31 *certam*] see note on Text.
- p. 44. 3 § 7. *restabant*] cf. c. 30 § 5.
- 5 § 8. *gradu*] ‘position,’ properly used of the ‘stride,’ or ‘firm posture’ of individual men, cf. II. 10. 10 *ingenti pontem obtineret gradu*, and c. 12 § 8 above *stabili gradu*, and then of the ‘position’ of a whole army, cf. VII. 8. 3 *primum gradu moverunt hostem, deinde pepulerunt. ut semel*] cf. Cicero, *Brutus* XIII. 51 *ut semel e Piraco eloquentia cuncta est. inclinavit*] intransitive, as frequently, cf. I. 27. 11; the metaphor, the common one from a balance, ‘the moment that the scale (balance) of the fight was turned.’
- 10 § 10. *vestigiis*] the ablative is local, signifying the space within which the course is limited, so practically the direction it takes, so *Appia via venire, porta introire*.
- 12 § 11. *extrema*] cf. c. 31 § 7.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

- 22 *seditio*] ‘a division.’
- 23 *nati...consenuerant*] an exaggeration, as the Antiatian war had only been going on for 13 years.
- 24 § 2. *ex*] cf. c. 19 § 7.
- diutina*] cf. c. 7 § 1.
- 27 *quominus per aliquem stat*, ‘a standstill is caused by some one,’ implies prevention or hindrance, hence the use of *quominus*, ‘as soon as each people saw that the other would put no obstacle in the way of their carrying out their own purposes.’
- 30 § 3. *urbem*] Weissenb. understands Satricum to be meant, but the next sentence seems hardly to admit of this. Livy is very indistinct here.
- p. 45. 2 § 4. *pugnæ*] descriptive genitive qualifying *receptaculum*, ‘place of refuge after.’
- 4 *Matutæ*] = *Matutinae*, an old Italian deity of the morning, and of birth.

- 5 § 5. *inde*] = *ab ea*, cf. c. 9 § 4.
sua] 'its own,' 'the inherent sanctity of the shrine.'
deum] objective gen., 'respect for the gods.'
- 7 *ni*] depends on *cum tristibus minis* = *tristia minans*.
- 8 § 6. *impetus*] their violence.
incensos] 'whetted,' according to the Latin metaphor, 'heated.'
ob iram] the special reason why Tusculum felt their wild thirst for
 vengeance.
- 9 *concilio*] the diet of the Latin States.
- 10 *civitatem*] cf. c. 26 § 8.
- 19 § 9. *terrere ac pavere*] cf. v. 21. 11.
- 20 *mutaverat*] the plpf. indicates the rapidity of the change effected, cf.
 XXVII. 32. 8, IV. 20. 3.
- 24 § 11. *excipit*] cf. c. 20 § 21.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

- p. 46. 4 *quanto magis*] go with *tranquilla, prosperis bellis* is an abl.
 of cause explaining *tranquilla*.
- 6 *eo ipso quod*] 'by the mere fact, that &c. ;' the necessity for immediate
 payment gave the debtors no time to make any provision to meet their
 engagements ; Livy probably leaves it to be understood that the occupa-
 tion of the debtors in the late military service increased the difficulty of
 immediate payment.
- 8 § 2. *fama*] 'their good name,' that is they became *ignominiosi* as
 reduced to slavery.
iudicati &c.] cf. c. 14 § 10.
- 9 *cesserat in* &c.] 'served the turn of credit.'
- 10 § 3. *obnoxios*] cf. c. 32 § 3.
summiserant animos] 'had allowed themselves to sink into such an
 abject state of humiliation.'
- 11 *non modo*] cf. c. 20 § 2.
- 13 § 4. *capessendos petendosque*] 'undertaking or (even) standing for.'
- 15 *honoris*] that is, the consular tribunate. As regards the plebeian
 magistracies Livy means apparently only that the best men were unable
 to stand for them, possibly implying that the only men who could were
 underlings of the patricians.
- 17 § 5. *parva* &c.] 'a trifling circumstance, as usual, furnishing the
 immediate cause of a very great movement interfered to prevent &c.'
- 20 *inter id genus*] 'among that class,' i.e., the *plebs*; *eius*, i.e. *plebis*.
 For the use of *genus* and *corpus*, cf. XXII. 34. 2 *quem sui generis*

hominem vulgus extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, I. 17. 2 *sui corporis creari regem volebant*.

- 26 § 6. *ut fit*] 'as is usually the case,' 'as women *do do*.'
- 30 *parvis mobili rebus*] 'sensitive to the influence of trifles.'
- 32 § 7. *num quid vellet*] *num quid vis*? 'anything I can do for you?' was a polite way of taking leave of a man, cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. ix. 6; here however it seems to have implied as well a real enquiry, whether the magistrate had any orders to give; the ablative *frequentia* gives the cause of the younger Fabia's envy of her sister.
- p. 47. I *visum*] sc. *esse*.
malo arbitrio] abl. of cause, 'the false estimate of things.'
- 2 § 8. *confusam*] 'disturbed,' 'vexed,' 'out of humour.'
- 3 *morsu*] 'sting,' a common metaphorical use of *mordere* and *morsus*.
satin' salve?] sc. *res se habent*, otherwise *satin salvae* sc. *res sunt*, "I hope all is well with you,' a form of polite and friendly enquiry." Wagner on Plautus *Trinum.* v. ii. 53, but used apparently always when there is some ground for supposing that something may be wrong, cf. Livy I. 58. 7, III. 26. 9, X. 18. 11.
- 4 *avertentem*] 'disguising,' 'trying to conceal.'
quippe piam] = *quippe quae pia esset*, as Livy uses *quippe* with a participle, cf. XXVII. 39. 14, a Graecism which begins with him.
piam] 'kind,' showing natural affection.
- 6 § 9. *elicuit*] with the accusative of a person as we talk of 'drawing a person out' cf. XXXVIII. 43. 7.
- 12 § 11. *et cuius*] an adjective sentence describing Sextius, coupled to *strenuo*.

CHAPTER XXXV.

- 21 *nisi suis &c.*] ablative of circumstance after *nisi* 'except,' expressing the conditions under which something is possible, as usually after a negative, cf. c. 37 § 4.
- 22 § 2. *accingendum*] neuter impersonal in the reflexive sense 'there must be a girding themselves for,' 'they must address themselves to this design.'
- 23 *gradum fecisse*] especially in obtaining the election of consular tribunes instead of consuls.
- 26 § 3. *placuit*] 'They (Licinius and Sextius) determined.'
- 31 § 4. *pernumeratum*] probably a colloquial term as it is used by Plautus, but not by prose writers before Livy.

- p. 48. 2 § 5. *utique*] shows that both *might* be plebeians.
 3 *crearetur*] governed by *ut* to be supplied from *ne*; the construction is condensed, instead of saying 'but of consuls of whom &c.,' he has, 'while of the consuls (who must in that case be elected) at least one &c.'
- cuncta*] in apposition to the three accusatives.
 4 *possent*] generic subjunctive.
 6 § 6. *discrimine*] 'a critical contest for,' so practically 'the danger of losing.'
- 9 *intercessionem*] the *veto* of other tribunes would be the more easily procurable, if, as seems to have been the case, some of the richer among the plebeians were tenants of the domain land, cf. Mommsen *R. II.* i. 276.
- 13 § 7. *plebi*] depends on *sciscendum* 'nor anything else customary in (for) resolving by the plebs,' i.e., 'any other of the regular preliminaries to a resolution of the plebeian assembly.'
- 14 § 8. *concilio*] sc. *plebis*, the plebeian assembly, the resolutions of which, according to Mommsen's almost certain hypothesis, were binding on the whole people, if previously sanctioned by the senate. If Livy's account of the matter is correct, the senate preferred this way of opposing this measure to refusing their sanction, which is quite intelligible. In c. 20 § 11 *concilio populi* is used in a general sense for the *comitia centuriata*.
pro antiquatis] 'as good as rejected,' because they could not get proposed; *antiquo* the verb formed from the phrase *antiqua volo*, short A. V., written on the voting tablets used to vote against a bill, the opposite being *uti rogas*, V. R.
- 15 *bene habet*] = *bene est*, a colloquialism found once in Cicero, several times in Livy.
 16 *telo*] cf. IV. 28. 4 *necessitate, quae ultimum ac maximum telum est, superiores estis*.
- 17 § 9. *dum*] the enclitic use, just equivalent to $\delta\eta$, after an imperative; it properly means 'a while,' but like our 'now' simply serves to add liveliness to the imperative.
- 18 *faxo*] also a colloquial form, in which an old form of the future survived, common in the comedians, especially in emphasizing a threat 'I'll see that,' 'I'll warrant.'
iuvet] 'please.'
quam] see note on Text.
- 28 *tenuit*] 'held the city' = 'prevailed or continued in the city;' compare

the use of *διάγω*, Dem. *de Cor.* p. 255 ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς πόλεμος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διήγαγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, cf. Soph. *Electra* 782.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

29 *alia*] anticipatory of *Veliterni* &c.

p. 49. 1 § 2. *verecundia movit*] ‘appealed to the honour,’ lit. ‘moved with a feeling that made them ashamed (not to help their allies).’

9 § 4. *contentione*] abl. of circumstance best expressed in English here by ‘after.’

16 § 6. *Fabius*] *Ambustus*, c. 34 § 5.

28 § 8. *cum*] ‘whereas there had been.’

30 *capti*] sc. *mente* (cf. *captus oculis* &c.), as *stupentes* shows; they were maimed in mind, because they could not speak what they thought; ‘hampered in mind and embarrassed.’

31 *animis* &c.] see note on Text.

p. 50. 5 § 10. *artifices tractandi*] ‘masters of the art of &c.’

7 *productos*] in a *contio*, see the fuller phrase *producti ad populum*, III. 64. 7.

8 § 11. *auderentne*] subjunctive because the question is in the second person.

12 § 12. *an*] is not a continuation in a second member of the question beginning *auderentne*, but an independent question on another point, and the use of *an* is the rhetorical use, by which a speaker suggests as the only possible alternative to his own view one which is obviously untenable, and so tries to refute his opponent by a *reductio ad absurdum*. This wholesale imprisonment is put as the only alternative to passing the rogations; *an* does not mean ‘or (passing to another subject) &c.,’ that would be *quid?*

CHAPTER XXXVII.

18 *indignatione*] abl. of circumstance, like *meo periculo*; *cum* might be prefixed with no alteration of meaning, cf. XXVII. 13. 2 *cum tanto pavore incidentibus*, Verg. *Aen.* 1. 55 *magno cum murmure montis*.

19 § 2. *atqui*] introduces the statement which is the object of *affirmabant*, as if the sentence had run thus: *cum...increpissent; atqui, inquit, nec agros...nullus unquam erit* &c. compare Cato ap. Plin. *N. H.* xv. 18. 20 *cum inter omnes (pomum) esse recentem constaret*:

- atqui tertium, inquit, ante diem scitote decerptam Carthagine;* 'well, we may be sure' they declared 'that &c.' I doubt if the use in an object clause can be paralleled.
- 23 § 3. *potestas*] 'that office,' abstract for concrete.
- 25 § 4. *auxilium*] the power of the tribunes was confined to interference with the exercise of *imperium* by magistrates, they were not magistrates with *imperium* themselves.
- 26 *in parte pari*] = *participes aequi o iure*, cf. c. 15 § 6.
nec esse quod] 'nor was there any reason for any one to think it sufficient (to be content).'
- 27 *ratio habeatur*] *rationem habere* in election sense is to allow a man's candidature.
- 29 *neminem*] sc. *ex plebe*.
§ 5. *an*] cf. c. 36 § 12.
- 32 *quattuor et quadraginta*] the consular tribunate began in B.C. 444 and according to Livy the first plebeian elected to the office was P. Licinius Calvus in B.C. 400, V. 18. 5.
- p. 51. 1 § 6. *octona*] the number seems never to have exceeded six. For the year B.C. 403 Livy gives eight consular tribunes, but in that number includes apparently the two censors. Diodorus also in B.C. 380 gives eight, but amongst them appear the names of the censors given separately by Livy.
- 4 § 7. *per gratiam*] 'thanks to personal influence,' viz. of the patricians; the use of *per* is like that in *per me licet*.
- 6 *in certamine*] 'in dispute,' 'open to competition.'
- 13 § 9. *quin*] cf. c. 28 § 9; here strengthened by *contra*.
patricios] sc. *tribunos*.
damnatos] cf. IV. 41, V. 11.
- 14 *post tribunatum*] after their year of office.
quaestores] cf. IV. 54. 3.
- 17 § 10. *consulatum*] the attainment of the consulship.
- 22 § 11. *genus*] 'family,' 'birth,' by securing one of the consulships as their own the plebeians would gain regular access to the right of taking the auspices, which would put them on a level with the patrician *gentes* (cf. IV. 6. 2), and to the *ius imaginum*, so that any one of their number might become *auctor generis* 'the founder of a noble family.' At present a plebeian's chance of these distinctions depended on the precarious chance of getting elected to a curule office against patrician influence.

magna &c.] 'great boons to enjoy themselves and to bequeath as still

greater boons to their children,' *ipsis* is the dative of the subject to the gerundive *fructuanda*, *liberis* dat. of the object after *relinquenda*; the use of the gerundive is the simplest use of it, the infinitive of the verb as an adjective (as we use it, e.g. 'a house to let') with the subject in the dative, 'great things for themselves to enjoy, and to leave greater to their children.'

- 24 § 12. *duumviris* &c.] the keepers of the Sibylline books. The importance of the custody of these lay in the religious authority of them, which could be used for political purposes. Hitherto the commissioners had been patricians only.
- 25 *pars*] 'half.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

p. 52. 5 § 3. *statim*] qualifies and strengthens *principio*.

11 § 4. *cooptat*] an exceptional use of the word, which is generally used of a body filling its own vacancies.

12 *causam armant*] a vivid way of saying *se armant ad causam plebis tuendam*.

17 § 5. *iure*] the intercession of a tribune was absolute, and to disregard it entirely unconstitutional; compare the case in later history of Tib. Gracchus and Octavius: on the present occasion the *veto* was overruled by the majority of the tribunes as the action of a minority.

quanto...tantum] a Livian variant for a concessive sentence.

25 § 6. *auxilium*] the *ius auxilii* the original right of the tribunes to 'assist' a plebeian against ill-treatment by a patrician magistrate, was the foundation on which the extensive powers of the *veto* were gradually built up.

26 § 7. *patricium magistratum*] that is, himself; no patrician had any right in the *concilium plebis*.

27 *adversus*] 'in spite of.'

28 *imponere*] the infin. after *tendo* is a poetic construction, not used by Cicero or Caesar, though the former uses it after *tento*.

31 § 8. *de medio*] 'from the public thoroughfare.'

p. 53. 1 § 9. *incusserat*] the plpf. of immediate effect, cf. c. 33 § 9.

2 *certamine*] 'fighting spirit.'

3 *re neutro inclinata*] 'while the contest was still evenly balanced,' cf. c. 9 § 8.

4 *vitiis*] cf. c. 27 § 4.

6 *pro dictatore*] 'in his capacity as dictator,' cf. *pro magistratu* 18.

7. 12.

quingentum millium] 500,000 *asses* or pounds of copper, five times the minimum census of the first class.

7 § 10. *auspiciis*] refers to *vicio creatus*.

novi exempli] descriptive genitive = an adj., 'unprecedented.'

8 *deteritum*] sc. *esse*.

ut credam] after *facit*.

9 *quod...suffectus est*] 'the fact that &c.,' a noun sentence coupled to *ingenium*.

10 § 11. *id...quo...esset*] the subjunctive because of the *oratio obliqua*, *ad id certamen* implying the thought or purpose of the *patres* in appointing the dictator.

11 *et*] 'further,' the third ground.

13 *in se*] 'in his person,' *lit.* 'in the case of him.'

repetiturum] = *qui repetiturus fuisset* 'for he could not with honour have &c.'

14 § 12. *simul*] 'again,' 'moreover,' the fourth ground.

15 *et huic*] 'this also,' corresponded to by *ne illas quidem*, 'not those either,' cf. c. 26 § 13.

in ordinem cogi] a phrase meaning to hinder a magistrate from exercising his magisterial powers, derived apparently from the army, 'to reduce to the ranks,' cf. III. 35. 6 where *se in ordinem cogere* is used of Appian Claudius' sinking his official character in order to ingratiate himself with the electors, and is further explained by *vulgari cum privatis*; cf. also III. 52. 13.

17 § 13. *et quod*] the fifth ground; the two sentences introduced by *quod* are antithetic asyndeta, 'whereas tribunician and consular powers have contended (on equal terms) the dictatorship has always stood on a higher level.'

18 *certatum*] *lit.* 'it has been vied with one another by tribunician &c.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

30 *tribunis*] sc. *plebis*.

velut] implying that the authority of the consular tribunes was disregarded altogether.

33 § 2. *iubebant*] in the comital sense; conative imperfect, 'desired to pass,' cf. XXVII. 38. 3 *itaque colonos maritimos...dare milites cogebant*.

utraque res] the passing, and the rejection.

p. 54. 1 *in omnia*] *in* here expresses the extent of the action of the verb *consulere*, which is equivalent to *rogare*. The ordinary phrase would be *consulere de*.

- 3 § 3. *inclinavit*] 'lent weight to the plebeian cause.'
- 6 § 4. *negantem*] meaning that he had given no more power to Licinius than the people had done when they elected him consular tribune.
- 12 § 6. *privatim...publice*] cf. c. 6 § 9.
- 13 *consenuisse*] for this metaphorical meaning, cf. III. 31. 7 *abiecta lege quae promulgata consenuerat*.
- 18 § 8. *omen*] with the dative of the thing pointed to, cf. v. 18. 3 *omen concordiae, Quirites, rei maxime in hoc tempus utili vos petere video*.
- 21 § 9. *forum*] because the tribunal before which the debtors were tried was in the *Comitium*.
- 23 § 10. *tandem*] the rhetorical use, 'he wondered.'
inter] 'in the very act of &c.' cf. c. 11 § 4.
- 25 *incidunt*] cf. III. 58. 6.
modestiae] 'it was not like the considerateness &c.,' the partitive genitive in the special sense of 'of a piece with,' so used commonly of persons.
- 27 *per quos*] i.e. *eos per quos*; the sentence is attached *per asyndeton* to the previous one.
- 29 *relinquat*] we should rather have expected *relinquere* governed, as *postulare*, by *modestiae esse*.
- § 11. *apud animos*] not a common phrase, but used elsewhere by Livy and by Sallust.
- 31 *si vellent...sin velint*] the present tense in the latter seems intended to imply that that was the present wish of the *plebs*.

CHAPTER XL.

- p. 55. 5 *prae*] before Livy in this causal sense is only used with negatives, that is of a cause which hinders some action.
inde] = *ex eo stupore*, cf. c. 9 § 2.
- 9 § 3. *unum*] 'specially,' compare the use with superlatives 'above others.'
- 11 *iam inde* &c.] *lit.* 'already from that point, namely, from the beginning,' 'even from the very first.'
- 12 *antiquius*] 'so highly considered as,' the simple use of *antiquus*, the adjective of *ante*.
- 14 § 4. *infutias eo*] used by Plautus and Livy, probably therefore colloquial.

- 20 § 5. *quis*] indefinite, unusually placed so far from the conjunction to which it is generally enclitic, *nequis, si quis* &c.
- 24 § 6. *an*] cf. c. 36 § 12.
- 28 § 7. *si dis placet*] a colloquial formula like the old 'God bless the mark!' and our 'if you please,' implying the wish on the speaker's part that it may not please the gods, and expressing ironical indignation, cf. IV. 3. 8.
- 30 *non...non*] cf. c. 16 § 2.
- 32 § 8. *aliud*] 'what else (if not this) is to say' = 'this is as much as to say.'
- p. 56. 5 § 10. *Tarquiniis*] 'you tyrant tribunes.'
- 8 § 11. *non, inquit* &c.] the supposed answer of the tribunes but describing their election to the consulship in accordance with the feelings of Appius Claudius. But see note on Text.
- 9 *portenti*] cf. c. 27 § 8.
- 11 *abominaris*] probably suggests the religious objection to opening the consulship to plebeians, cf. IV. 2. 5.
- 15 § 12. *esset*] the tense implies that it was not free on account of the despotic authority of the tribunes.
- 16 *quid?*] another argument against the way in which the tribunes were proceeding; it assumed that they were the only people in the state capable of legislating for the benefit of the *plebs*.
- 23 § 15. *at hercule*] *at* (= *at enim*) represents *sermo* &c. as coming from one of the plebeian audience; *hercule* = *certe* with a concessive force; 'well (you will say) it is certainly not a citizen-like way of talking;' then confuting by anticipation the apodosis of the concession, 'but the rogation itself is citizen-like,' Claudius breaks in with, 'yes! and what is the proposal like &c.? why exactly like the language of their speech.'
- 27 § 16. *an*] cf. c. 36 § 12.
- 31 § 17. *haec*] deictic, 'all that we see around us.'
- p. 57. 1 *de repulsa*] 'should be in danger of rejection,' *lit.* 'should be fighting about rejection,' i.e. 'rejection should be the danger he is fighting to avoid.'
- 2 § 18. *vocare*] this figurative use of *vocare in* = to bring into a certain state or condition is very common, e.g. *vocare in odium, suspicionem, partem hereditatis* &c. &c.
- 5 *quaenam*] "where, pray, is the 'joint partnership,' where is the 'equal participation' in that?" Livy probably means to refer to the words he puts into the mouth of Canuleius IV. 5. 5 (where the form *consortium* is used); on the force of *nam* cf. c. 25 § 10.

parum est] 'is it a little thing...but,' 'is it not enough...without,' a regular rhetorical form of beginning an attack on an opponent for presumption or encroachment, cf. XXI. 44. 7.

- 9 § 19. *quid est aliud*] cf. § 8.
 12 § 20. *debeat*] sc. *plebeius consul*. The plebeian consul under these circumstances would feel himself under no obligation to the people because in electing him they could not help themselves, and this would remove a motive for wholesome self-restraint in the discharge of his office. The *beneficium* of state office is often emphasized by Cicero in his public speeches, e.g. *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* c. 1.

CHAPTER XLI.

- 15 *ne pro minimis quidem*] is a very awkward insertion intended to heighten the force of *nihil* by an antithesis to *maxima*; it should naturally mean 'in return for the least things,' but that would be nonsense; it means apparently 'in proportion to, on the scale of the least,' so that practically it is equivalent to 'such as would be due for the least benefits.'
- 16 *occasionibus*] 'by opportunity,' i.e. seizing the opportunity of two patricians standing, to stand as the only plebeian candidate, and so secure the office without trouble or canvassing.
- 17 § 2. *est aliquis*] = *non deerit qui*, 'there are plenty.'
inspici...aestimari] the scrutiny involved in competition which would be avoided by the means mentioned above.
qui...eximat] 'ready to escape from.'
- 20 *serva*] the adjectival use of the word is found in Plautus and in the Augustan writers. It is not frequent in Livy.
- 22 § 3. *regum*] the years of the reigns of the kings were inscribed on the pedestals of their statues which stood on the Capitolium.
- 27 § 4. *at enim*] 'but, it may be said,' an objection set up by the speaker as a means of passing to another aspect of the matter. See note on Text. *ad homines*] 'is of human importance only.'
- 28 *auspiciis*] explained in §§ 5, 7. Compare IV. 2. 5. It is difficult however to believe that the consular tribunes did not possess the power of auspice-taking. Practically the plebeian tribunes may have been excluded from the duty of taking auspices, but what would have been done if (a possible case) all the tribunes had been plebeians? Compare Mommsen *R. II.* I. 297 n.
- 32 § 5. *nempe*] implies that what follows is obviously the correct way

of stating something, hence it is naturally used in an obvious answer to a question, 'why...of course.'

33 *auspicato*] cf. c. 12 § 7. This was true of the regular plebeian magistrates, but could hardly be so of plebeian consular tribunes.

p. 58. 1 § 6. *ut non solum* &c.] 'how completely the *auspicia* are in the possession of the patricians is shown by the fact that not only no patrician magistrates can be elected by the people without the auspices being previously taken for them, but the patricians even as private individuals have the right of taking the auspices for the purpose of naming an *interrex*, whereas the plebeians have no such right even as magistrates;' cf. c. 5 § 6.

5 *in magistratibus*] abstract, 'invested with office.' This, if pressed, distinctly denies the right of *auspicia* to plebeian consular tribunes.

§ 7. *quid aliud quam*] rhetorical interrogative for *nihil aliud quam* which as οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἤ...=one adverb, 'simply.' When Cicero uses this phrase he always has a verb with the *nihil*, e.g., *agitur enim nihil aliud in hac causa quam ut* &c. He sometimes uses *nihil aliud nisi* as Livy here uses *nihil aliud quam*.

8 § 8. *esse*] reported question; the speaker is putting what people will say about the auspices.

9 *pulli*] the regular mode of auspice-taking by a general on campaign. If the chickens, carried for the purpose, refused to leave their cage, when food was offered them, or to feed, the omen was bad. If they ate greedily so that the food fell on the ground, causing what was technically called the *tripudium*, it was very good.

The other omen mentioned is one of those taken from the cry of one of the birds classed as *oscines*, which are supposed to bode good or ill by their cries. The subject is very well treated in Ramsay's *Antiquities*.

occcinerit] an unusual form, perhaps borrowed by Livy from the Annalist he drew from; the word is used of a favourable omen in x.

40. 14.

13 § 9. *vulgo*] 'without distinction' of patrician or plebeian.

14 *creentur*] 'are...to be elected?' the so-called deliberative subjunctive.

apicem] 'the *flamen dialis* seems to have been the most completely sacerdotal character in Rome...He never appeared but in his official dress, the *albogalerus* with the *apex* (a peak on the top of the cap made of olive wood wreathed with wool), the *laena*, the *seccspita* and the *commetacula*.' Prof. Seeley on I. 20. 2.

15 *ancilia*] cf. I. 20. 4, they were in the charge of the *Salii*.

penetralia] with special reference possibly to the temple of Vesta where the Palladium was preserved and the fire kept ever alight by the Vestal Virgins.

- 18 § 10. *auctores*] 'is the *patrum auctoritas* (the patrician sanction) in regard to the curiate and centuriate assemblies to be abolished?' This was the phrase in which the sanction of (probably) the patrician portion of the senate was given to the resolutions of the *comitia*, without which they could not become law. This became subsequently purely a matter of form, being given before the business of the *comitia* began, cf. VIII. 12. 15. For a full discussion of the subject see Prof. Seeley's *Livy* I. p. 61 fol.
- 22 § 11. *dominos*] begs the question, the *possessores* were not owners.
- 23 *cum qua*] 'together with which'=in sense *qua sublata*, the one cannot be destroyed without the other.
- 25 § 12. *faxitis*] cf. c. 35. 9 this is evidently an old form of prayer. This old form of the fut. perf. appears elsewhere in formulas, cf. XXII. 10. 4 &c., in *faxo* above the old form had become fixed in a conversational formula.

CHAPTER XLII.

- 27 *preferretur*] how the speech had this effect, is not at all obvious.
- 28 § 2. *sacrorum*] more fully *decemviris sacris faciundis*; cf. c. 37 § 12.
- 30 *graduque*] sc. *facto*, cf. c. 35 § 2.
- 31 § 3. *cessit, ut*] the *ut* clause serves as accusative after *cessit* in the sense of yielding a thing to a person; the construction is not common, cf. Tac. *Ann.* XII. 41 *Caesar adulationibus senatus cessit, ut vicesimo aetatis anno consulatum Nero iniret.*
- p. 59. 8 § 4. *Velitrarum*] cf. c. 36 § 5.
- 13 § 5. *Claudius*] *Quadrigarius*, about contemporary with Sulla; his history began from the Gallic capture.
- 17 § 6. *haud minus*] cf. XXVIII. 1. 5 *cum decem haud plus millibus militum*, 2. 11 *duo haud amplius milia peditum*; the words seem to be used simply as an adverb qualifying the numeral = *circiter*, μάλιστα, 'at least,' 'at most;' the position of the words is against explaining by omission of *quam*. *decem post annos* = *decem annis post* according to the well known idiom.
- 20 § 7. *memoria*] what is really the subject of the sentence expressed as a causal adjunct of the predicate.

- 23 § 8. *cum...tum*] 'both...and.'
fuga...quod distulerant] two reasons, expressed by ablative and *quod* clause, why they succeeded in saving themselves.
fuga longinqua] 'distant flight' = 'flight into distant parts,' cf. XXI. 21. 5 *longinqua a domo militia*; in IV. 18. 1 (quoted by Weissenb. and Luterb.) *militia longinqua* apparently means rather 'protracted service.'
- 32 § 10. *auctores futuros*] the *patrum auctoritas* required to ratify the acts of the *comitia centuriata* at which the consuls were elected; *patricii* in this phrase is unusual instead of *patres*, but so far as it goes lends support to the view that the *auctoritas* was that of the patrician part of the senate.
prope] prep.
- p. 60. 1 *res*] nominative; as the least important word in the sentence, it is placed out of the way in the middle of it.
- 8 § 12. *deum immortalium*] depend on *merito*, 'that it would be in accordance with the deserts of the gods,' i.e., 'that the gods, if ever, now deserved (could claim) &c.'
- 11 § 13. *id*] anticipates *ut...fierent*.
- 14 § 14. *rogaret*] in the comitial sense of asking the opinion of the people on a proposal, so = 'propose to.'
 This account of the institution of curule aediles seems to be pure invention.

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

P=Cod. Parisiensis.

V=Cod. Veronensis edited by Th. Mommsen in 1863.

Mg=Madvig Emendations, and edition of the text (Madvig and Ussing).

Weissenb.⁵=5th Edition of Weissenborn's Livy, revised by H. J. Muller.

C. 1 § 6. *legatus*] is not wanted and is probably spurious.

§ 8. After *Camillus* the MSS have *iterum*. As Weissenb. says, it was not usual to state how many times a man had been *interrex*, and as a matter of fact *Camillus* had held the office twice before this, cf. v. 17. 4, 31. 8. Luterbacher suggests *proditus* which he prints in his text, but it is more probable that the word was inserted by mistake owing to the *iterum* in the next line.

§ 11. *insignem rei nulli*] the reading of P retained by Mg, 'marked for doing nothing' = 'marked as a day on which nothing should be done.' The other MSS have *rei nullius* retained by Weissenb.; H. J. Muller and Luterbacher, objecting to the gerundive after *insignem*, adopt the conjecture of Freudenberg *insignem religione rei ullius* 'marked by religious feeling against doing &c.'

2 § 11. *militibus munitum*] V, not in the other MSS.

3 § 7. *portas*] before *inveniunt* retained by Mg in his text; in the Emend. Liv. he approves of omitting it.

4 § 8. *relinquerent*] V has *relinqueretur*.

5 § 3. *habuerint*] Mg for MSS *habuerunt*, one of the cases in which Mg says the indicative has been wrongly written for the subjunctive by the change of a single letter; such instances do not occur where more change would be necessary, cf. IX. 25.

§ 5. *codem*] the reading of the MSS retained by Mg; Weissenb.⁵ conjectures *eandem*; if *codem* is right, it is the adverb after *impensis*, and = *in eandem rem (factis)*.

6 § 5. *voluntarios*] bracketed by Mg as useless repetition of *ubi vellent*, and probably a gloss.

§ 7. *in animo*] so all the MSS except V *id animo*. Livy uses the simple abl. of *animus* with *destino*, and generally in the plural.

§ 8. *dictatorem*] bracketed by Mg. As Weissenb. says, the people did not elect the dictator, and there was no question of electing Camillus dictator on this occasion. The Senate no doubt had said that if he were not in office as tribune, it would have been necessary to appoint him dictator, but that could not be called 'appointing him dictator' by anyone, least of all by Camillus himself. The *quartum* must refer to the consular tribuneship, cf. c. 18 § 1.

§ 12. *L. Valeri*] is probably a slip on Livy's part for *P. Valeri*. Luterb. alters it in his text.

7 § 2. *restitantes*] conj. of Gronovius for the MSS *resistentes*. The former verb, used elsewhere by Livy, seems to suit the sense here much better.

9 § 9. *tanta*] *non tam a* has been conjectured as the true reading, but without necessity.

10 § 8. *iis*] the MSS have *his* which is possibly right, as *hic* does occur in *oratio obliqua*.

11 § 1. *C. Sergio iterum*] inserted by all editors in accordance with an old conjecture. Another tribune is wanted and *C. Sergio tertium* is mentioned c. 27 § 2.

§ 3. [*esse*] Mg, who contends that *apud exercitum solum esse* could not be said with any meaning of a magistrate in Camillus' position. Luterb. condemns the emendation on the ground that *habeat* could only be used for *haberet* in *ciner oratio obliqua*, which is not very intelligible.

§ 5. *socium esse*] the MSS reading, retained by Mg, other editors insert *constet* a conjectural emendation.

12 § 10. *labore*] Mg on the authority of some MSS, the other MSS *favore*.

13 § 7. *omnium*] an emendation adopted by Mg; but it is a question after all whether the MSS *hominum* is not preferable, 'the mass of the prisoners were from the Hernici and Latins, and not (consisting) of men of the plebs, but &c.'

14 § 9. *commodioris*] the conjecture of Aldus for the MSS *commotioris* which Mg retains. In defence of the MSS reading Weissenb.⁴ says that *commotus* as an adjective = 'in a state of, full of agitation,' may like *consideratus*, *copulatus* &c. acquire a quasi-active sense, 'exciting.'

15 § 10. *reliquam*] Mg for the MSS *aliquam*, which gives no sense. Another conjecture is *et aquam*.

17 § 3. [*populares*] *suos*] Mg brackets *populares* as a gloss to explain *suos*. Weissenb.⁵ adopts the conjecture of Kraffert *viros* instead of *suos*.

§ 6. *remisso*] the MSS have *id* before *quod*, which Mg omits on the same ground, viz. that it is a gloss added by some one to explain the construction. Weissenb.⁵ changes *id* to *eo*.

18 § 6. *quoteni*] Mg for the MSS *quot enim*; *enim* is quite out of place as *quot...eritis* gives no reason for the previous statement. For *quoteni* he compares Cic. *ad Attic.* XII. 33.

19 § 4. *et ei*] the MSS have *et* only, but the pronoun is wanted, as also the *et*, which however Weissenb.⁵ omits. Mg suggests that the true reading may be *nam ei quoque quia* and that *quoque* fell out before *quia*.

20 § 8. [*produxit*] the MSS reading bracketed by Mg as spurious. Luterb. (who seems to consider it his mission to emend Madvig) retains the emendation of Rhenanus *produxisse*, and rejecting Mg's excellent emendation, *nominatim* for the MSS *nominatum* below, reads *nomina-visse* on the authority of Luterbacher.

24 § 10. *in fluctuante acie tradi*] probably not what Livy wrote. The MSS have *fluctuantem aciem* (one *acie*); *tradi* is a difficulty. Mg suggested *non in fluctuantem aciem trudi equos*, thinking *non* might easily fall out before *in*, which would necessitate altering *trudi*.

28 § 1. *certum*] the MSS reading. Weissenb.⁵ adopts the conjectural emendation *creatum*. But *creatum* is not true, and *certum* 'fixed,' 'settled' gives a much better sense.

29 § 4. *dissipata*] Mg's emendation of MSS *dissipati*. '*dissipati ex fuga* can only mean that after their first flight they were scattered still further, and cannot be said of men (as here) collecting themselves from or after flight. VIII. 24. 10 and Caesar *B. G.* VI. 35 are not in point.'

31 § 4. *diceretur*] Mg's emendation of the MSS *diceret*. He says that *diceret* implies that the two actions belong to the same person (or class of persons).

32 § 6. *certam*] Mg's emendation of the MSS *claram*, generally adopted. Mg however prints *claram* in his last edition.

35 § 9. *quam*] the reading of the later MSS, the better ones have *qua*, but *concino* with ablative is to 'harmonise with,' which is hardly in place here.

36 § 8. *animis a voce alienis*] Mg's emendation of the previously

received reading *animi, vocibus alienis*. 'Those who speak embarrassed by what they have been told by others to say, do not speak in other people's words, but express other people's sentiments in their own words. Moreover the MSS vary between *vocalienis, vocum alienis* and *vocem alienis*.'

38 § 3. [*ad*] Weissenb.⁵ removes *ad* to before *summum*.

40 § 11. *licebit ut*] Mg for MSS *licebit; tu*; with the latter reading we must suppose that Claudius, in suggesting the answer to his supposed question, exactly reverses the answer actually made by the tribunes to the attempt of the *plebs* to carry part of the rogations.

41 § 4. *at enim*] Mg for MSS *etenim*, which seems quite out of place here.

42 § 11. *tandem*] an old conjecture for the MSS *tamen* adopted by Mg and most editors.

§ 12. *dcum immortalium*] The MSS add here the words *causa libenter facturos*, evidently inserted by mistake from § 13, where they are in place. Mg omits them.

APPENDIX.

C. I § 1.

SUBSTANTIVE WITH PERFECT PASSIVE PARTICIPLE=GENITIVE AFTER AN ABSTRACT SUBSTANTIVE.

The use of the perfect participle passive with a concrete substantive, equivalent in sense to the use of an abstract substantive with a genitive after it, or to a noun-sentence ('the fact &c. that') is more or less common to all periods of Latin.

In older Latin it is used only with the two words *opus* and *usus*, e.g., *quid istis usus est conscriptis?*; *cum cinere cruto opus erit.*

By Cicero's time the use had become pretty fully developed, although instances of it are not numerous in him. Still he uses the idiom not only in the ablative with *opus est*, but also in the nominative, accusative and genitive cases. He even uses it after prepositions, though only the prepositions *de* and *post*; e.g., *post civitatem a Bruto liberatam.*

It does not appear in Caesar. Sallust uses it rarely, but almost always after prepositions, in the variety of which he advances on Cicero (*cum, ante, inter, ob*).

It is in Livy that the idiom becomes most frequent, and most free and various in its usage. He uses it in any case and practically after any preposition. And he shows perhaps more clearly than Cicero does how distinctly the combination produced the effect of an abstract substantive (1) by using it as subject with an abstract noun for predicate, e.g., *ut cuius familiae decus eiceti reges erant, eiusdem interfecti forent* II. 20. 2, (2) by using it after impersonal verbs, e.g., *cuius (pacis) impetratae poenituit* II. 49. 12, (3) by using it in the genitive after an abstract noun, e.g., *militis non dati causam* VI. 10. 8 (one similar example occurs in Cicero with the word *culpa*), (4) by the meaning of the predicate which in so many cases absolutely requires an

abstract rendering of the combination, e.g. in c. 2 § 9 of this book, *Camillus auditus* &c., *Camillus* cannot possibly be rendered by the nominative in English. This is the case perhaps in a few of the examples from Cicero, particularly after prepositions, but the abstract signification was clearly not so definitely fixed in Cicero's usage as in Livy's.

The case in which Livy most rarely uses the combination is the dative, an instance of which probably occurs in this book, c. 29 § 2, where *nobis* &c. appear to be the dative after *debitas*, though the construction may possibly be the ablative absolute.

LIVY'S USE OF COPULATIVE CONJUNCTIONS.

According to the regular usage of prose writers before Livy, (1) when a member of a sentence joined to another by a copulative conjunction is divided into members of its own, these secondary members are connected by a copulative conjunction different from that which connects the original members, e.g., *in morbum incidit ac satis vehementer diuque aegrotavit*. (2) When on the other hand terms of equal value are connected as members of a sentence, the same copulative conjunction is used between all, e.g., *Apollinem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam*. This latter rule is disregarded by Livy. In some instances it may be possible to bring his usage within the rule by grouping the terms, but in many it is not; e.g., *modestiam, acquitatemque et altitudinem animi* IV. 6. 12; so also in this book c. 1 § 1 there seems no reason to regard the different offices mentioned as other than equal members of the sentence; to group them thus: *consulibus, dictatoribus decemvirisque, tribunis consularibus* would be meaningless, nor can dictators be said to be specially connected with consuls more than with consular tribunes; in c. 22 § 5 the same must probably be said of *additi collegae A. et L. Postumii Regillenses* ac *L. Furius cum L. Lucretio* &c., though in this case the two Postumii may be said to form a group by themselves.

ADJECTIVES OR PARTICIPLES USED TO EXTEND THE PREDICATION, AND REQUIRING TO BE TRANSLATED IN MANY CASES BY AN ADVERB IN ENGLISH.

M. Riemann (*Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite-Live*, p. 80 fol.) has classified this use of the adjective, noticed by Kühnast,

Nägelsbach, Draeger and others, under two main heads : (1) where the adjective extending the predication expresses a condition, feeling, state of mind &c. of the subject during the action expressed by the predicate, e.g. 1. 58. 6 *Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo*, VI. 18. 3 *cum pars utraque acrior aliquanto coorta est*, IX. 24. 10 *excurrentibus in publicum pavidis*, (2) where the action expressed by the predicate is itself modified by the adjective, much as it might be by a modal adverb, e.g. Pref. § 11 *ne in quam tam serae avaritia luxuriaque migraverint*, VI. 9. 3 *rem Antiatem diuturniorem manere*, 12. 9. It is in this use that Livy seems to have advanced on his predecessors. This classification seems in the main correct, though as M. Riemann says there are instances which might be assigned to either category according to the point of view from which they are regarded.

Livy sometimes uses such an adjective or adjectival participle and an adverb side by side, e.g. *alii trepidi cedunt alii segniter subeunt*, where the adjective expresses the state of mind of the retreaters, *segniter* simply the manner in which the others advance.

As a rule, the adjective so used is not separated by the substantive it agrees with from the predicate, e.g. *subitum oritur monstrum* not *subitum monstrum oritur*.

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