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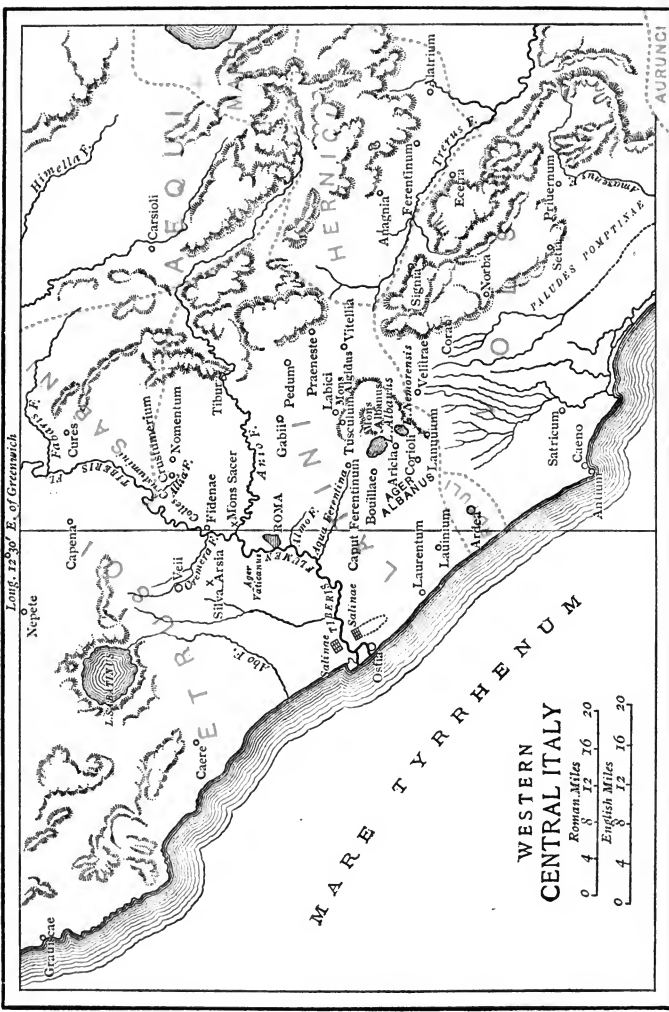
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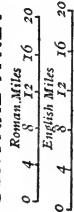
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**WESTERN
CENTRAL ITALY**



Pitt Press Series.

LIVY
BOOK II.

M. Kellogg

EDITED

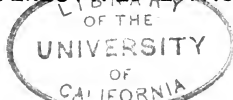
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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STEREOTYPED EDITION



CAMBRIDGE:

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

1902

PA 6452
B2 C6
1902

GIFT KELLOGG

London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.
Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.



Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

First Edition 1901. Reprinted 1902

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PREFACE.

THIS Edition of Book II. differs little in its general plan from other volumes of the Pitt Press Series. An effort has been made to meet the needs of more than one class of students. On the one hand it seemed well, especially in the earlier chapters, to deal with every point of language which would cause difficulty to students familiar only with a book or two of Caesar or Vergil, and for such readers I have prefaced to the Notes a few "Hints on the Chief Difficulties of Livy's Style." On the other hand I have had the needs of University students in view in writing the notes on points of Constitutional History¹ and, especially, in giving the origin as well as the use of many of the idioms discussed. My experience leads me to think that a judicious use of explanations drawn from the historical side of Grammar, far from complicating the teaching of conventional Syntax, does much to render it both simpler,—because truer,—and more interesting—because more suggestive².

¹ Such points happen to be very numerous in the first chapter, which might well be omitted, on a first reading, by students who have not read Livy before.

² For one well-known difficulty, the variation between Primary and Secondary Subjunctive Tenses in the same passage of *Oratio Obliqua*, I have offered in the Appendix an explanation of which I have been convinced by examining a large number of passages. I hope, ere long, to deal with the matter at length elsewhere, but meanwhile, any teacher who has felt the difficulty may be glad to see the limits within which it is really confined.

In printing the text I have retained the genuine Latin symbol *u* for the consonant which had approximately the sound of English *w*, instead of the mediaeval and misleading *v*. In the parallel case of *i* and *j* experience has shown that the "practical difficulties" involved in the use of the correct symbol were purely imaginary, and I cannot help thinking that the same will be the case with *u*. No doubt those persons who still desire to pronounce *ciues* with every sound wrong (as if it were an English word spelt *siveez*) will find the true spelling a little disquieting; and if it should disturb them enough to incline them to consider the advantages of a rational pronunciation, then a very trivial change will have pointed the way to a substantial reform.

It may be well to state also that in the text the colon has been used only and always for some one of three definite purposes,—to mark (1) a transition into Oratio Obliqua (as in c. 3. 3 before *regem*); (2) to separate two Clauses which are in 'Adversative Asyndeton,' or, as they may be more simply described, 'Coupled by Contrast' (as in c. 12. 14 before *nunc*); (3) to mark the beginning of an 'Explanatory Asyndeton,' *i.e.* of a Clause added without a Conjunction to explain a preceding statement (as in c. 6. 6 before *Valerius*).

My chief debt is of course to the Commentary of Weissenborn and H. J. Müller; the latter's Critical Appendix is particularly valuable. Madvig's *Emendationes* are still indispensable even though not everywhere convincing. Moritz Müller's notes contain a great wealth of information on points of Livian usage, and though I have added his name to remarks which appeared to be the outcome of his own research, such references by no means exhaust my debt to his acute scholarship. Occasionally but only rarely

I have found his general statements rather too dogmatic in their wording. On the historical side my notes owe most to Schwegler's *Römische Geschichte* and Willem's *Droit Public Romain* (Ed. 5). I have not consulted any English Edition of Book II.

I have to thank my friends Professors J. P. Postgate, L. C. Purser, W. Ridgeway, E. V. Arnold and R. M. Burrows for valuable suggestions on different parts of the proof; Mr Leonard Whibley (on behalf of the Syndics of the Press) for careful advice as to the general scope and method of the commentary; above all Professor J. S. Reid, who generously found leisure to read the whole proof of the Notes. Nearly every page owes something to his encyclopaedic knowledge of Latin usage, and though definite additions are marked with his initials, they represent only the lesser part of the improvement due to his criticism.

The readers of the University Press have, as usual, earned my gratitude by detecting a number of inaccuracies, some of them serious, which would else have remained uncorrected.

R. S. C.

CARDIFF,

February, 1901.

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INTRODUCTION.

i. *The Value of the Traditions of this Period.*

§ 1. In passing from the stories of the Kings to those of the Early Republic we leave the region of Myth and enter one which is mainly that of Tradition. The narrative is still based on something very different from an authentic written record; yet the difference from the flimsy legends which were of necessity the staple material of Livy's First Book is equally striking. If by a Myth we mean a popular story which has no foundation in actual events, then a Myth, though it may be full of interest to lovers of poetry or to students of Comparative Religion, to the historian in the narrower sense is mere lumber. And it is true that such legends often come to be widely believed and handed down by tradition. But a sober-minded folk rarely gives a place in its own history to completely fictitious stories unless they relate to a remote period. A genuine popular tradition, which comes down to us with the marks of having been current at a time not far from that of the events which it professes to record, may be distorted and embellished in a hundred details, and yet will probably contain a kernel of historical truth which it is worth our while to disentangle.

A considerable change, indeed, has taken place in recent years in the views which are commonly held of the value of well-attested traditions in ancient history. The growth of our knowledge has made it possible to explain and interpret a great deal that it was formerly only possible to reject as it stood.

Thirty or forty years ago, for instance, the defenders of any part of the story of the Iliad, or of the opening chapters of Thucydides, were treated with very scant respect; but the excavations of Schliemann and his successors at Hissarlik and in Argolis have shown that Troy was a real city, destroyed and re-built more than once; and that the Pelasgian and Achaean Kings of Mycenae and Argos held no imaginary, but a very powerful sway in the land named after the Achaean Pelops. Thirty years ago some scanty and ambiguous traces of the Etruscans in Alpine valleys were thought sufficient warrant for rejecting the universal belief of antiquity that they came into Italy over sea from Asia Minor. But now a steadily increasing body of both archaeological and linguistic evidence¹ is making it more and more difficult to believe anything else. These, and many other cases which it would take us too far afield to notice here, have taught us that it is safer to study carefully than to despise such traditions as those which make up a great part of Livy's Second Book².

§ 2. Their general character has been eloquently described by a modern writer in a few sentences which will bear quotation (Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, II. p. 66).

“The heroes who appear in this period, Brutus, Porsenna, Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scaevola, are unmistakably the characters of popular story, figures robed in the garb of Poetry, like the Frankish Roland or the Spanish Cid. The sun has not yet risen on the page of history; only a tantalising twilight. Some outlines of fact we can discern from a distance; but so soon as we endeavour to come nearer, to grasp their substance more precisely, they melt into the mist. A gleam of romance rests on all the persons of the story. The men are greater than they were in after days; they transcend the limits of everyday

¹ See for example on the linguistic side, Pauli on *Eine vorgriechische Inschrift von Lemnos*. The archaeological evidence is only to be found in articles scattered over a number of periodicals.

² See further Prof. Pelham's brief and suggestive treatment of the traditions in the opening chapters of his *Outlines of Roman History*.

truth. Even the Gods take a visible and active part in the history of the people of Rome, as they did in the early days of her foundation. In the battle by the Forest of Arsia, Silvanus¹ proclaims to the two armies the decisive intelligence that the Etruscans have lost one man more than the Romans; and at Lake Regillus² Castor and Pollux appear in bodily presence in the Roman ranks."

In these stories the proportion of fact to fable is no doubt discouragingly small. Much of them we must count Poetry rather than History; Livy himself marks them off from the rest by the use of a highly poetical diction³, and explicitly recognises their character in passing to a later period⁴. Yet it is National Poetry that we are reading; not the fancy of some one poet at play among old-world stories of Proserpine or Medea; nor the lively inventions of Greek writers⁵ eager to fill the blank pages in their account of the city which had surpassed the glories of Athens and Syracuse; but the deeds which the Romans themselves attributed to their ancestral heroes, the characters which they loved to think of as having shaped their national life. "We live by admiration, faith, and love," and to know what the Romans loved and admired is to know the most essential part of them. Greek legends, such as those attached to the names of the early Kings, tell us nothing, or rather less than nothing, of Roman sentiment; their miraculous element Livy dismisses with significant brevity⁶. But on the other hand he found nothing incredible in the single-handed prowess of Horatius (2. c. 10), the iron endurance of Scaevola (c. 12), or the strength and daring of Cloelia and the chivalrous tribute paid her by the Etruscan King (c. 13); nor even in the

¹ c. 7. 2.

² According to other writers, but not Livy; see the n. on c. 20. 12.

³ See the note on c. 12. 1.

⁴ Book VI. *init.*

⁵ See n. on *inuiolati templi*, c. 1. 4. "The most important of these writers was the Sicilian Timaeus (350—256 B.C.)" (Pelham).

⁶ See esp. 1. 4. 2.

consent of Coriolanus¹ to betray his allies and face their anger rather than refuse his mother's petition (c. 40). These stories we may hesitate to read as literal history; but it would be hard to find any truer embodiment of the virtues which made Rome great.

§ 3. Indeed it may be said that it is to Livy more than any other Latin writer that we owe our conception of the Roman national character. In Tacitus we look back upon it as a vanished ideal; in Caesar's concise notes of his campaigns it is taken for granted; in Vergil and Cicero it is overlaid with sentiments learnt from other than Roman teachers. But in Livy, though we may criticise this detail or that, it is the spirit of ancient Rome that makes the life of the picture. There is, of course, one other well-known writer of antiquity who has left us striking portraits of great Roman characters, and his agreement with Livy in his general conception of the Roman ideal of conduct would be thought remarkable if it were not so familiar. Most Englishmen owe their first notions of Roman history to Shakespeare's Roman Plays, that is, ultimately, to North's Translation of Plutarch's Lives, on which those plays are founded. Now Plutarch lived more than a century later than Livy, was a Greek by birth, and, though he lived in Rome, derived his knowledge almost wholly from other Greek writers. To Livy he appears to owe nothing at all² in the biographies of the early period. And yet when we pass from Plutarch's portraits to Livy's we are hardly conscious of any change of atmosphere; the strong lines of Roman character are conspicuously the same in both. Every English student can test this statement by reading Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* over again and comparing it

¹ This story is discussed in Appendix I. It is an excellent example of the intermingling of genuine history with fictions, the motive and extent of which are fairly obvious.

² Thus in the Coriolanus story, according to Plutarch, the mother and the wife of Coriolanus are Volumnia and Vergilia respectively, according to Livy, Veturia and Volumnia; and there are many other even more serious divergences.

with the brief and suggestive narrative of the same events in this Book. This substantial agreement between two writers who were trained in such different schools vouches for the truth of their account; and there can be no doubt that the elder of the two has attained what in his Preface (§ 9) he tells us was to him the paramount object of his work: namely to portray the characters of the men who made Rome great.

ii. *The History of the Period.*

§ 4. But many parts of this Book are based upon authentic, though meagre records. Such are the accounts of the two constitutional changes that mark the first period of the Republic, the creation of the Tribunes and of the Comitia Tributa. In the expulsion of the Tarquins, with which Livy's First Book concludes, it is clear that the great Nobles were the prime movers; and it is probable that most of the independent population were led to support the Nobles chiefly through particular acts of tyranny committed by the last King. Their reward was the *Lex Valeria de Prouocatione*, which was passed, according to tradition, in the first year of the Republic¹. Henceforward no Roman citizen could be put to death until he had been sentenced by the Assembly of his fellows, the Comitia of the Centuries².

§ 5. But though the Right of Appeal thus formed a charter of personal freedom for all who were called citizens, it did nothing more to equalise the rights of the two different bodies of people who bore that name. Every other civic right which the law recognised, save that of serving in the army, was in practice confined to the Old Citizens, the Patricians, literally 'the people who had fathers,' whose families were known. The Plebs, that is, 'the crowd' of New Citizens who had come to settle in Rome, no one knew whence, were jealously excluded

¹ See c. 8. 2 with the note.

² See c. 18. 4 and 8, with the notes.

from all real share in the Government. To the true-born Patrician they were essentially aliens¹, strangers to the soil, strange to its gods. No Plebeian could be trusted to find the will of heaven by the omens : therefore no Plebeian could command an army. Only Patricians inherited by birth the sacred knowledge of forms and times and seasons which was a great part of Ancient Law ; therefore only Patricians could be judges. No Plebeian could lawfully take part in the household sacrifices to Patrician deities ; therefore intermarriage between the orders was a thing to be abhorred. The compromise, ascribed to Servius Tullius, which had extended to the *Comitia Centuriata*, that is, to all the soldiers of the army, Patricians and Plebeians alike, a voice in electing their Warrior-King (and therefore his successors, the Consuls) in practice had conferred this right only on the wealthy, for it rarely happened that any but the First of the Five Classes in the *Comitia* were called upon to vote (see I. 43. 11). Thus only the richest Plebeians exercised even the slender privilege of voting for this or that Patrician candidate. On the other hand the grievances of the poorer were such as could be felt. Every power of State, high or low, was in the hands of the Patricians : for instance, it was Patrician Consuls who administered the harsh law of debt². A poor farmer whose stock had been carried off in one of the continual forays of Aequians, Volscians, or Sabines could only replace it by borrowing. If he suffered again in the same way, he fell into the hands of his creditor ; and since the Patricians were far the wealthier of the two classes, their interests and sympathies were generally with the creditor. Hence the discontent aroused by the oppressive working of the law took a

¹ On the vexed question of the origin of the Plebs I have followed Schwegler, not because his view is free from difficulties—notably the strangeness of even a nominal citizenship being granted to aliens—but because it is the only one known to me which seems to offer a probable explanation of the gulf between the two Orders in social and religious life. Mommsen's conjectures on the point are far from convincing.

² c. 23. 1 with the notes.

political colour, and came to be felt against the Patricians as a class. The unequal distribution of the spoils of war, particularly the land taken from the conquered peoples, which was kept mainly in Patrician hands, was another standing grievance.

§ 6. For such wrongs as these the Plebs could find but one remedy,—a Revolution. Their migration to the Sacred Mount¹ and their threat to abandon Rome altogether involved no bloodshed, but it was, none the less, a violent break with the old order of things. And the curious institution which sprang from it, the Tribune of the Plebs, bore through all its history the stamp of its origin. Tribunes held what was in essence a Revolutionary power. Though they were legally established magistrates, it was no part of their business to assist the regular administration. On the contrary, it was their power and their express duty to impede and arrest it; to nullify the law, to block the whole machinery of government for the benefit of some individual. Only by such powerful protectors could the Plebeians be saved, they thought, from the oppression of the Patrician magistrates. The event justified their demand. After a long but generally peaceable struggle the Tribunes obtained for their order complete political equality with the Patricians; and when this was once secure, the Tribunes themselves fell into line with the ordinary policy of the Senate. It was not until after more than two centuries of stable government, amid the corruption at home produced by the wealth of a newly won Empire, that the destructive powers latent in the Tribunes' office were to be re-discovered by the Gracchi, and finally embodied in the despotism of the Caesars. In all the inscriptions which Augustus set up, he dated his reign from the year when he received for life the powers of a Tribune of the Plebs.

§ 7. But what induced the Patricians to concede such an office to the Plebeians? And what, when it was conceded, kept the officers themselves for nearly four hundred years from any serious abuse of their tremendous prerogative? The answer is twofold. On the one hand it lies in the patriotism and the

¹ c. 32.

sound political instinct of the best men of both parties at Rome ; on the other in the unceasing pressure of enemies without the gates. As Livy pithily observes¹, *externus timor maximum concordiae uinculum* ; an epigram which sums up a great deal of the history of the first two centuries of the Republic. The cluster of hills on which Rome stands, rising out of the unhealthy plain of the Campagna, make a position easy to defend : but it was a position exposed to attack on no less than five converging lines. The same roads, which in peaceful times brought trade (as to-day they bring the railways) to Rome, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. brought perpetual incursions from her more barbarous neighbours ;—along the two coast roads, from the valleys of the Tretus, the Anio and the Tiber, an enemy might at any moment be marching upon Rome². The city lay open to these different assaults like iron between hammer and anvil. Again and again³ we read of the two Consuls despatched at once to fight two different foes on opposite sides,—Aequians on the East and Etruscans across the Tiber ; Sabine from the North, Volscian or Latin from the South. In this hard school they learnt the lesson of unity against external foes. For two centuries the Romans had to fight for their existence ; and they emerged from the struggle to enter upon the conquest of the world.

iii. *The Value of Livy to us.*

§ 8. Such are some of the broader aspects of the events recorded in this Book. They were of no small importance in the growth of Rome. But Livy would still be read, even if the influence of his imperial city upon the world had been no greater than that of Holland or Peru. Some epochs in the fortunes of these states, recorded by writers with only a small part of Livy's genius, have acquired a noble rank in history ; and it is certain

¹ c. 39. 7.

² See further c. 41. 1 n. and the map.

³ For instance c. 43. 5, cc. 59 and 60.

that the story of Rome as Livy has told it will always fill a place of its own in the imagination of mankind. Even in the limits of this single Book some of the chief elements of his power can be felt. Perhaps the greatest is one which, in anything like the same degree, is shared by only a few of the great writers of antiquity. In the depth and truth of his human sympathies, his feeling for and with the men and women whose outer life he records, no Roman writer but Vergil can well be compared with him. *Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.* Artist in words as Livy was, there is no page in his history that leaves the reader with the feeling that more is said than was felt. The Consul Brutus watching the execution of his traitorous sons; the death of Arruns; Volero displaying his scars and appealing for rescue from slavery; the haughty Appius forced to yield to the mutineers—these, and many other dramatic scenes—appeal to us because they appealed to Livy; they move us because they moved him. The secret of Livy's wonderful descriptive power lies not in his sense of the picturesque, nor in his wealth of noble diction, but in the sympathetic imagination by which he penetrates to the heart of the story he has to tell. After nineteen centuries one still hears in his pages a living, human voice.

§ 9. The sobriety and honesty of Livy's narrative may seem too necessary a kind of merit in a historian to call for much admiration. But these qualities were anything but common in his predecessors and contemporaries, and indeed they are rare enough in all periods. It is true that they are so obvious in Livy that it may be superfluous to insist upon them. Often he censures the conduct of his own countrymen¹ or of the Senatorial party in dealing with the Plebs, though his own political sympathy was with the Senate. In this Book notice the striking condemnation of the unfair protection given to the money-lenders through the influence of Senators who were among their number². Notice too the feeling with which he portrays

¹ e.g. 2. 2. 2; Praefatio § 9; 3. 20. 5; 9. c. 1 and 2 init., c. 11. 12.

² See c. 30. 2, with the note.

the inhuman arrogance of the Claudian house, or of Coriolanus before he was banished. The speeches which Livy is at the pains to compose are so natural, and are so wrapped up with our earliest conceptions of Roman history, that we are apt to forget that it is Livy who has drawn the picture. *Homo nempe ipse uidetur Non persona loqui*. By the regular convention of ancient historians, Livy uses these reconstructed speeches as the chief means of characterising the men of his story; and a most effective means it is. But just as to his ancient readers no falsehood was implied in the use of the convention, so on the other hand we must recognise that these eloquent harangues contain perhaps the most valuable part of Livy's whole work; at least, if we attach any value to the impression made upon a high-minded and enlightened Roman by the chief events of Roman history. Often enough this will differ from the judgment of writers who study the same events with the added experience of nineteen centuries. But such differences do not make it less worth our while to see what Livy's point of view was, and thereby to judge of his fairness and candour. In the same way, we shall find many matters of detail in which Livy's narrative falls short of the standard of critical precision to which modern research has accustomed us; in particular, thanks to much recent study of Roman Law, many things in the early history of the Constitution¹ are somewhat less obscure to us than they were to a student under Augustus. But it would be a fatal mistake to regard such points as implying any want of truthfulness in Livy, or any feebleness of desire on his part to ascertain the truth in things which he counted important. He conceived on a magnificent scale, and by the devotion of half a lifetime he completed, the history of over seven hundred years², full of great events; and the truth of the

¹ See, *e.g.*, the notes on the constitution of the Senate, c. I. 11, and the law of Volero, c. 56. 2.

² The 142 Books of which some part or trace remains to us ended with the death of Drusus in 9 B.C.; but it seems probable that Livy had planned to continue the history down to the death of Augustus in A.D. 14.

great lines of his picture has never been questioned. Every separate scene, every successive act in this drama of the centuries he has studied and illumined with the imagination of a great artist, and the wisdom of a broad and lofty moral judgment. And if at times our narrower enquiries lead us to dwell on the imperfections of his vast achievement, we may remember the protest of a great critic of Livy's own age, a protest even more timely now than when it was first uttered¹:

“We must decide once for all whether we prefer greatness along with some failings, or a correct and mediocre uniformity, free from blunders.....I know well enough that men of genius have plenty of faults; for whereas a habit of precision tends to paltriness, in great natures, as in great estates, some things must needs go unheeded. And I suspect it is a law of nature.....that great men are apt to err by reason of their very greatness.”

¹ Longinus' *On the Sublime*, c. 33. The date of the treatise is admirably discussed by Prof. Rhys Roberts in the Introduction to his recent Edition.

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THIS EDITION.

A complete Critical Apparatus would be of very little use to the students of a single Book, but it is well that the reader should know something of the sources of the text, and, in particular, how far it is due to conjectural restorations. All variant readings which make any important difference to the meaning or construction are discussed in the Notes ; and there follows here a list of the chief MSS. and Editions, and also of all the readings not found in any MS. which have been adopted in this Edition. For fuller information the student should consult the works of Madvig, H. J. Müller, and Frigell mentioned below.

The following are the chief MSS. which contain Book II.

F Codex Floriacensis, at Paris in the Bibl. Nationale : X Cent.

P Codex Parisiensis, *ibid.* X Cent.

U Codex Upsaliensis, at Upsala, in the Univ. Library : X—XI Cent.

M Codex Mediceus, at Florence, in the Laurentian Library : XI Cent.

R Codex Romanus, at Rome, in the Vatican : XI Cent.

D Codex Dominicanorum, at Florence, in the Dominican Monastery of S. Mark : XII Cent.

The first printed Edition ('editio princeps') of the First Decade appeared at Rome about 1469. Among the most important of subsequent editors and commentators are :

Aldus, Venice, 1518.

Gruter, Frankfurt on the Main, 1528.

I. F. Gronov, Amsterdam, 1665.

Drakenborch, *ibid.*, 1738.

Crevier, Paris, 1747.

Alschefski, Berlin, 1846.

Madvig, *Emendationes Livianae* (Ed. 2), The Hague, 1877.

Frigell, *Collatio Codd. Livianorum*, Lib. 1-3, Upsala, 1878.

Weissenborn and H. J. Müller, Leipzig, 8th Ed., 1885.

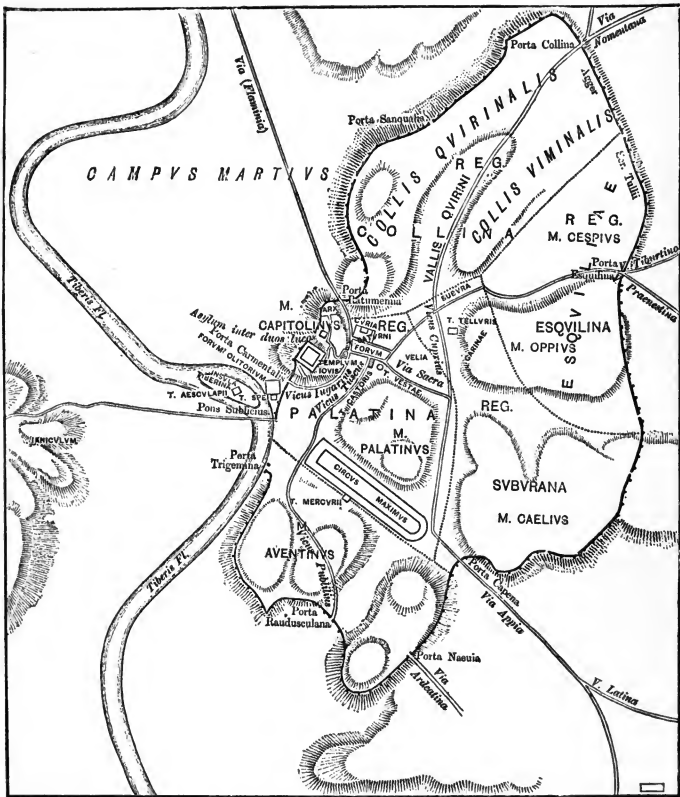
LIST OF CORRECTIONS ADOPTED IN THE TEXT OF
THIS EDITION.

In the third column (n.) denotes that the reading is discussed in the Notes.

<i>Best reading given by any of the good MSS.</i>	<i>Text of this Edition</i>	<i>Author of Correction</i>
1. 6 posset	possent	Aldus
2. 3 offenderit	offenderet	Bauer and Madv. (n.)
3. 6 legati alii alia (alia alia P)	legati alia	Crevier (n.)
5. 1 bonis regis ibi uicti	bonis regiis ei uicti	Gruter (n.) Weissenb.
6. 2 ortum eiusdem	ortum indidem eiusdem	M. Müller (n.)
7. 9 a uobis spectata	uobis spectata	I. F. Gronov
7. 12 Potae est	Potae aedes est	Madv. (n.)
9. 6 omni sumptu plebe	omne sumptum plebes	I. F. Gronov I. F. Gronov
10. 5 pugnae	pugna	I. F. Gronov
12. 7 eumue	eumque	Aldus
12. 16 utcunque	ut cuiusque	Madv. (n.)
13. 2 quo	a quo	Heumann and H. J. Müller (n.)
15. 1 Spurius Publius Lucre- tius M Spurius Lucretius Titus Ermenius RD	Spurius Larcus inde et Titus Herminius, P. Lucretius	} Madv. (n.)
15. 3 eam...esse uoluntatem	<i>deleted</i>	Hertz (n.)
15. 7 fida ita	fida	Ussing (n.)
16. 4 ciñ-(iñ-)regillo	Inregillo	Weissenb. (n.)
16. 5 appellata	appellati	Madv. (n.)
16. 6 timere possent	timeri posset	Duker (n.)
17. 3 sed uerum nomen	sed utrum	Lipsius (n.)
17. 4 relictus	relatus	Duker
maiore bellum	maiore	Edd. ante Ald. (n.)
17. 6 foede...passim	foeda...passi	Madv. (n.)
18. 4 nec quo anno	<i>deleted</i>	Madv. (n.)
quibus facti consulibus	quibus consulibus	Rhenanus
18. 7 qui, si (quis in)	quin, si	Lehnert (n.)
19. 5 ipsis	ipsi	I. F. Gronov (n.)
19. 7 contra quem	contraque	Madv. (n.)
21. 4 secundum quosdam	secundum quos	Crevier (n.)
22. 5 traicerent	reicerent	Ed. Froben. 1535 (n.)

<i>Best reading given by any of the good MSS.</i>	<i>Text of this Edition</i>	<i>Author of Correction</i>
23. 3 maiorum	malorum	Lipsius
23. 7 tumultus sustinet	tumultus tenet	Madv.
24. 5 praeuertisse	praeuerti se	Weissenb. (n.)
28. 9 prope	propere	Corrector of M
30. 1 putabant sententiam	<i>deleted</i>	Gebhard and H. J. Müller (n.)
30. 4 imperio suo uehemens	imperio suo uehemens magistratus	M. Müller (n.)
31. 2 aciem firmauerant	firmauerant	I. F. Gronov (n.)
31. 6 aduersas	auersas	I. F. Gronov
32. 9 consentiant (-tiunt)	consentientia	Heerwagen
33. 5 muscamitem	Poluscam item	Sigonius
33. 7 in proxima urbis	in proximo urbis	Edd. before Aldus
33. 8 abreptum	arreptum	Aldus
33. 8 primo ortu	primum orto	Madv.
33. 8 qui	cui	Ed. Moguntina, 1518
33. 9 columna	in columna	H. J. Müller (n.)
33. 10 omnium uita	omni in uita	Jac. Gronov
34. 3 quaesitum	<i>deleted</i>	Crevier (n.)
34. 6 Norbae	Norbam	Duker
35. 6 benigni	benigne	Aldus (n.)
36. 3 timorem	<i>deleted</i>	Madv. (n.)
36. 6 haud dubie	haud dubio	Aldus
38. 2 Volscorum ut	Volscorum commemo- rauit. Tum ut	M. Müller (n.)
40. 8 quam mihi miserius	usquam nec mihi mi- serius	Bekker and M. Müller (n.)
40. 12 monumento quoque	monumentoque	I. F. Gronov (n.)
41. 5 acceperant	acceperint	Ed. Frobeniana, 1531 (n.)
41. 9 munera eius in animis	munera eius	adapted from
41. 9 hominum		Vielhaber (n.)
42. 5 Postumio	a Postumio	Weissenb. (n.)
43. 8 instare instructos	stare instructos	Muretus
45. 7 addenda	abdenda	Gebhard
45. 16 Fabia gens	<i>deleted</i>	Schäfer (n.)
47. 5 dum	cum	I. F. Gronov (n.)
47. 12 parte	arte	Gruter (n.)
48. 1 bella	belli	Duker (n.)
48. 5 proxime in formam	proxime formam	Ed. Froben. 1535
48. 6 moturos se	moturos	Madv. (n.)
49. 4 sperneret egregius	sperneres, egregius	Madv. (n.)
50. 1 incursantium (-santesuim)	in incursantes	Goebel (n.)

<i>Best reading given by any of the good MSS.</i>	<i>Text of this Edition</i>	<i>Author of Correction</i>
50. 7 accedebant	accidebant	Ed. Froben. 1535
51. 1 esset	est	Crevier (n.)
51. 4 proximam pugnae Ianiculi	proxima pugna Ianiculo	I. F. Gronov Madv. (n.)
52. 4 eam oppressit	ea oppressit	I. F. Gronov (n.)
52. 5 MM aeris multam edix- erunt	duorum milium aeris multam dixerunt	Reid (n.)
55. 1 sub hac uictoria	sub hanc uictoriam	I. F. Gronov (n.)
56. 7 in accusationem	accusationem	Crevier
57. 2 aduocabantur	auocabantur	Klocke
58. 1 addito	additos	Ed. Moguntina, 1518
58. 5 quod se	quid? se	Weissenb. (n.)
59. 3 alii	alia	Crevier (n.)
60. 3 prae de eadomn	praeda. Ea omnis	Frigell (n.)
65. 5 ferebant	reficiebant	Madv.



EARLY ROME, WITH THE SERVIAN WALL.



TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER II.

509 B.C. *The uses of the Monarchy in consolidating the new community, and the nature of the change made in abolishing it. Enlargement of the Senate.*

1. LIBERI iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque 1
gestas, annuos magistratus imperiaque legum potentiora
quam hominum peragam. quae libertas ut laetior esset, 2
proximi regis superbia fecerat. nam priores ita regnarunt,
ut haud inmerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe
urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis
addiderunt, numerentur. neque ambigitur, quin Brutus 3
idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit,
pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis inmaturae
cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. quid 4
enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum conuenarumque plebs,
transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inuiolati templi aut
libertatem aut certe impunitatem adeptam, soluta regio metu,
agitari coepta esset tribuniciiis procellis et in aliena urbe 5

cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore
 6 adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent, quas fouit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam
 7 frugem libertatis maturis iam uiribus ferre possent. libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam
 8 sit ex regia potestate, numeres. omnia iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere: id modo cautum est, ne si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror uideretur. Brutus prior concedente collega fasces habuit, qui non acrior uindex
 9 libertatis fuerat, quam deinde custos fuit. omnium primum auidum nouae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, iure iurando adegit neminem
 10 Romae passuros regnare. deinde, quo plus uirium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus
 11 lectis ad trecentorum summam expleuit. traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum uocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent; conscriptos, uidelicet nouum senatum, appellabant lectos. id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam ciuitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

The institution of the Rex Sacrificulus; and the expulsion of the whole family of the Tarquins.

1 2. Rerum deinde diuinarum habita cura, et quia
 1 quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi
 2 regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo

modum excesserint. consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud 3
offenderet, nomen inuisum ciuitati fuit : nimium Tarquinius
regno adsuesse. initium a Prisco factum ; regnasse dein
Ser. Tullium ; ne interuallo quidem facto oblitum tamquam
alieni regni Superbum Tarquinium uelut hereditatem gentis
scelere ac ui repetisse ; pulso Superbo penes Collatinum
imperium esse. nescire Tarquinius priuatos uiuere. non
placere nomen, periculosum libertati esse. hinc primo 4
sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam ciuitatem est
datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem
uocat. ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat 5
neminem regnare passuros nec esse Romae, unde periculum
libertati foret. id summa ope tuendum esse, neque ullam
rem, quae eo pertineat, contemnendam. inuitum se dicere
hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas rei publicae
uinceret. non credere populum Romanum solidam liber- 6
tatem reciperatam esse. regium genus, regium nomen non
solum in ciuitate sed etiam in imperio esse ; id officere,
id obstare libertati. “hunc tu” inquit “tua uoluntate, 7
L. Tarquini, remoue metum. meminimus, fatemur, eiecisti
reges ; absolue beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen.
res tuas tibi non solum reddent ciues tui auctore me, sed
si quid deest, munifice augebunt. amicus abi, exonera
ciuitatem uano forsitan metu. ita persuasum est animis,
cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum.” consuli 8
primo tam nouae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat uocem ;
dicere deinde incipientem primores ciuitatis circumsistunt,
eadem multis precibus orant. et ceteri quidem mouebant 9
minus : postquam Spurius Lucretius, maior aetate ac digni-
tate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere uarie rogando alternis
suadendoque coepit, ut uinci se consensu ciuitatis pateretur,
timens consul, ne postmodum priuato sibi eadem illa cum 10
bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia ac-

ciderent, abdicauit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus
 11 Lauinium translatis ciuitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus
 consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis
 exules essent. collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creauit
 P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

*The conspiracy to restore King Tarquin; its detection and
 punishment; the terrible duty of the Consul Brutus.*

1 **3.** Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab
 Tarquiniis inminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit.
 ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac proditionem
 2 prope libertas amissa est. erant in Romana iuuentute
 adulescentes aliquot neque ei tenui loco orti, quorum in
 regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adulescen-
 3 tium Tarquiniorum, adsueti more regio uiuere. eam tum,
 aequato iure omnium, licentiam quaerentes, libertatem
 aliorum in suam uertisse seruitutem inter se conquere-
 bantur: regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius,
 ubi iniuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio;
 et irasci et ignoscere posse, inter amicum atque inimicum
 4 discrimen nosse. leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse,
 salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti, nihil laxa-
 menti nec ueniae habere, si modum excesseris; periculosum
 5 esse in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia uiuere. ita
 iam sua sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superueniunt
 sine mentione reditus bona tantum repetentes. eorum
 uerba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies
 ea consultatio tenuit, ne non reddita belli causa, reddita
 6 belli materia et adiumentum essent. interim legati alia
 moliri, aperte bona repetentes clam recuperandi regni
 consilia struere; et tamquam ad id, quod agi uidebatur,
 ambientes. nobilium adulescentium animos pertemptant.

a quibus placide oratio accepta est, eis litteras ab Tarquiniis 7 reddunt, et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus conloquuntur.

4. Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res 1 est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, iamque ex eo matrimonio adulescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque eos quoque in societatem consilii auunculi adsumunt. 2 praeterea aliquot nobiles adulescentes conscii adsumpti, quorum uetustate memoria abiit. interim cum in senatu 3 uicisset sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad uehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absumunt, euincuntque instando, ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinius darentur: nam aliter qui credituros eos, 4 non uana ab legatis super rebus tantis adferri? datae litterae, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinos proficiscerentur 5 cenatum forte apud Vitellios esset, coniuratique ibi remotis arbitris multa inter se de nouo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex seruis unus excepit, qui iam antea id senserat agi; sed eam occasionem, ut litterae legatis 6 darentur, quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, expectabat. postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. consules ad deprehendendos legatos coniuratosque profecti 7 domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere; litterarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. proditoribus extemplo in uincla coniectis, de legatis paululum addubitatum est, et quamquam uisi sunt commisisse, ut hostium loco essent, ius tamen gentium ualuit.

5. De bonis regiis, quae reddi ante censuerant, res 1 integra refertur ad patres. ei uicti ira uetere reddi, uetere in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut contacta 2

regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum eis pacis amitteret. ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit. forte ibi tum
 3 seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna uis hominum simul inmissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis
 4 sedisse inlitos limo. insulam inde paulatim et aliis, quae fert temere flumen, eodem inuectis factam. postea credo additas moles manuque adiutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset.

5 Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptumque supplicium, conspectus eo, quod poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus inposuit, et, qui spectator erat amouendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii
 6 dedit. stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi iuuenes. sed a ceteris, uelut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se auerterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis
 7 homines quam sceleris, quo poenam meriti essent: illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Iunia, patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum, ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exuli proderent.
 8 consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium. nudatos uirgis caedunt securisque feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater uoltusque et os eius spectaculo esset eminente animo patrio inter publicae
 9 poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas et ciuitas
 10 data. ille primum dicitur uindicta liberatus. quidam uindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio

ipsi nomen fuisse. post illum obseruatum, ut qui ita liberati essent, in ciuitatem accepti uiderentur.

War with Veii and Tarquinii, the two towns having taken up the cause of the Tarquins; death of Brutus; victory of the Romans.

6. His sicut acta erant nuntiatis, incensus Tarquinius 1 non dolore solum tantae ad inritum cadentis spei sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo uiam obsaeptam uidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus, circumire supplex Etruriae urbes; orare maxume Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne se ortum 2 *indidem* eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adulescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos: se regem, augentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata coniuratione pulsum. eos inter se, quia nemo 3 unus satis dignus regno uisus sit, partes regni rapuisse, bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. patriam se regnumque suum repetere et persequi ingratos ciues uelle. ferrent opem, adiuuarent; suas quoque ueteres iniurias ultum irent, totiens caesas legiones, agrum ademptum. haec mouerunt Veientes, ac pro se quisque 4 Romano saltem duce ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio mouet: pulchrum uidebatur suos Romae regnare. ita duo duarum ciuitatum exercitus ad repetendum regnum 5 belloque persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum uentum est, obuiam hosti consules eunt: Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit, 6 Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. eodem modo primus eques hostium agminis fuit, praeerat Arruns Tarquinius, filius regis; rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur.

7 Arruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde
iam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognouit,
inflammatus ira “ille est uir” inquit “qui nos extorres
expulit patria. ipse en ille nostris decoratus insignibus
8 magnifice incedit. di regum ultores adeste.” concitat
calcaribus equum atque in ipsum infestus consulem derigit.
sensit in se iri Brutus. decorum erat tum ipsis capessere
9 pugnam ducibus, auide itaque se certamini offert; adeoque
infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem uolneraret,
sui protegendī corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per parmam
uterque transfixus, duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex
10 equis lapsi sint. simul et cetera equestris pugna coepit,
neque ita multo post et pedites superueniunt. ibi uaria
uictoria et uelut aequo Marte pugnatum est: dextera
11 utrimque cornua uicere, laeua superata. Veientes, uinci
ab Romano milite adsueti, fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis,
nouis hostis, non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte
Romanum pepulit.

1 7. Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium
atque Etruscos incessit, ut omissa inrita re nocte ambo
exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent
2 domos. adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae
noctis ex silua Arsia ingentem editam uocem—Siluani
uocem eam creditam—, haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum
3 cecidisse in acie; uincere bello Romanum. ita certe
inde abiere Romani ut uictores, Etrusci pro uictis. nam
postquam inluxit, nec quicquam hostium in conspectu
erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit, triumphansque inde
4 Romam rediit. collegae funus quanto tum potuit apparatu
fecit; sed multo maius morti decus publica fuit maestitia,
eo ante omnia insignis, quia matronae annum ut paren-
tem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor uiolatae pudicitiae
fuisset.

Valerius disarms popular suspicion and enacts the Law of Appeal. His colleague dedicates the temple of Jove on the Capitol.

Consuli deinde, qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles uolgi 5
 animi, ex fauore non inuidia modo sed suspicio etiam cum
 atroci crimine orta. regnum eum adfectare fama ferebat, 6
 quia nec collegam subrogauerat in locum Bruti, et aedifi-
 cabat in summa Velia: ibi alto atque munito loco arcem
 inexpugnabilem fieri. haec dicta uolgo creditaque cum 7
 indignitate angerent consulis animum, uocato ad concilium
 populo summissis fascibus in contionem escendit. gratum
 id multitudini spectaculum fuit, summissa ibi esse imperii
 insignia, confessionemque factam populi quam consulis
 maiestatem uimque maiorem esse. ibi audire iussis consul 8
 laudare fortunam collegae, quod liberata patria in summo
 honore pro re publica dimicans, matura gloria necdum se
 uertente in inuidiam, mortem occubisset. se supersti-
 tem gloriae suae ad crimen atque inuidiam superesse, ex
 liberatore patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidisse.
 “numquamne ergo” inquit “ulla adeo uobis spectata 9
 uirtus erit, ut suspicione uiolari nequeat? ego me, illum
 acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen
 subiturum timerem? ego, si in ipsa arce Capitolioque 10
 habitarem, metui me crederem posse a ciuibus meis, tam
 leui momento meam apud uos famam pendere? adeone
 est fundata leuiter fides, ut, ubi sim, quam qui sim,
 magis referat? non obstabunt Publi Valeri aedes libertati 11
 uestrae, Quirites, tuta erit uobis Velia. deferam non in
 planum modo aedes, sed colli etiam subiciam, ut uos supra
 suspectum me ciuem habitetis. in Velia aedificent, quibus
 melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas.” delata confestim 12
 materia omnis infra Veliam, et, ubi nunc Vicae Potae aedes
 est, domus in infimo cliuo aedificata.

1 **8.** Latae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione
consulem absoluerent, sed quae adeo in contrarium uerter-
2 ent, ut popularem etiam facerent. inde cognomen factum
Publicolae est. ante omnes de prouocatione aduersus
magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite
eius, qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratae in uolgu
3 leges fuere. quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in
his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia collegae subrogando
4 habuit. creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu non
sufficientibus iam uiribus ad consularia munera obeunda
5 intra paucos dies moritur. suffectus in Lucreti locum
M. Horatius Puluillus. apud quosdam ueteres auctores
non inuenio Lucretium consulem, Bruto statim Horatium
suggerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit
consulatum, memoriam intercidisse.

6 Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iouis aedes. Valerius
Horatiusque consules sortiti, uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte
7 euenit: Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus. aegrius,
quam dignum erat, tulere Valerii necessarij dedicationem
tam incliti templi Horatio dari. id omnibus modis impedire
conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem iam
tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem deum nuntium
incutiunt, mortuum eius filium esse, funestaque familia
8 dedicare eum templum non posse. non crediderit factum,
an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum nec
interpretatio est facilis. nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a
proposito auersus, quam ut cadauer efferri iuberet, tenens
9 postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum. Haec
post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno.
inde P. Valerius iterum T. Lucretius consules facti.

508 B.C. *King Porsinna of Clusium takes up the cause of the Tarquins. The Senate secures the loyalty of the Plebeians by conciliatory measures.*

9. Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum 1
regem, perfugerant. ibi miscendo consilium precesque
nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis
nominisque, egentes exulare pateretur; nunc monebant 2
etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret.
satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis. nisi quanta ui 3
ciuitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari
summa infimis, nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera
emineat, in ciuitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter
deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Porsinna, cum regem esse 4
Romae tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus,
Romam infesto exercitu uenit. non umquam alias ante 5
tantus terror senatum inuasit; adeo ualida res tum Clusina
erat, magnumque Porsinnae nomen. nec hostes modo
timebant, sed suosmet ipsi ciues, ne Romana plebs, metu
perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus uel cum seruitute pacem
acciperet. multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus 6
ab senatu data. annonae in primis habita cura, et ad
frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos alii Cumas.
salis quoque uendendi arbitrium, quia inpenso pretio uenibat,
in publicum omne sumptum, ademptum priuatis; portori-
isque et tributo plebes liberata, ut diuites conferrent, qui
oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si
liberos educant. itaque haec indulgentia patrum asperis 7
postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem
ciuitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam
infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea 8
tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando uniuersus
senatus fuit.

Siege of Rome by Porsinna: how Horatius kept the bridge (10); the strategy of Publicola (11); the stories of Mucius Scaevola and Cloelia (12).

1 **10.** Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex
 agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. alia
 2 muris, alia Tiberi obiecto uidebantur tuta. pons sublicius
 iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus uir fuisset, Horatius Cocles:
 id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit.
 3 qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentino
 impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes
 uidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque
 4 deum et hominum fidem testabatur, nequiquam deserto
 praesidio eos fugere; si transitum pontem a tergo reli-
 quissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam
 in Ianiculo fore. itaque monere, praedicere, ut pontem
 ferro, igni, quacumque ui possint, interrumpant: se
 impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti,
 5 excepturum. uadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insig-
 nisque inter conspecta cedentium pugna terga obuersis
 comminus ad ineundum proelium armis, ipso miraculo
 6 audaciae obstupescit hostis. duos tamen cum eo pudor
 tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere
 7 factisque. cum his primam periculi procellam et quod
 tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper sustinuit. deinde
 eos quoque ipsos exigua parte pontis relicta, reuocantibus
 8 qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coegit. circumferens
 inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum nunc
 singulos prouocare, nunc increpare omnes, seruitia regum
 superbiorum, suae libertatis inmemores alienam oppugnatum
 9 uenire. cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut
 proelium incipiant, circumspectant. pudor deinde com-
 mouit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hostem

tela coniciunt. quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, 10
neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu,
iam impetu conabantur detrudere uirum, cum simul fragor
rupti pontis simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti
operis sublatus, pauore subito impetum sustinuit. tum 11
Cocles "Tiberine pater" inquit, "te sancte precor, haec
arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias!" ita sic
armatus in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus
telis incolumis ad suos tranauit, rem ausus plus famae
habituram ad posteros quam fidei. grata erga tantam 12
uirtutem ciuitas fuit: statua in comitio posita, agri quantum
uno die circumarauit datum. priuata quoque inter publicos 13
honores studia eminebant; nam in magna inopia pro
domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid fraudans se ipse
uictu suo contulit.

11. Porsinna primo conatu repulsus consiliis ab op- 1
pugnanda urbe ad obsidendam uersis, praesidio in Ianiculo
locato ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, nauibus 2
undique accitis et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti
subuehi sineret et ut praedatum milites trans flumen per
occasiones aliis atque aliis locis traicerent; breuique adeo 3
infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera
solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem com-
pelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet.
hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis quam consilio 4
concessum. namque Valerius consul, intentus in occasionem
multos simul et effusos improviso adoriundi, in paruis rebus
neglegens ultor grauem se ad maiora uindicem seruabat.
itaque, ut eliceret praedatores, edicit suis, postero die 5
frequentes porta Esquilina, quae auersissima ab hoste erat,
expellerent pecus, scituros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione
et fame seruitia infida transfugerent. et sciere perfugae 6
indicio, multoque plures, ut in spem uniuersae praedae,

7 flumen traiciunt. P. Valerius T. Herminium cum modicis
 copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina uia occultum considerare
 iubet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita iuuentute ad portam
 Collinam stare, donec hostis praetereat, inde se obicere,
 8 ne sit ad flumen reditus. consulum alter T. Lucretius
 porta Naeuia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus, ipse
 9 Valerius Caelio monte cohortes delectas educit. hique
 primi apparuere hosti. Herminius ubi tumultum sensit,
 concurrit ex insidiis, uersisque in Valerium Etruscis terga
 caedit; dextra laeuaque hinc a porta Collina illinc ab
 10 Naeuia redditus clamor: ita caesi in medio praedatores,
 neque ad pugnam uiribus pares, et ad fugam saeptis omnibus
 uis. finisque ille tam effuse uagandi Etruscis fuit.

1 **12.** Obsidio erat nihilo minus et frumenti cum summa
 caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem
 2 Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius adulescens nobilis, cui
 indignum uidebatur populum Romanum seruientem [cum
 sub regibus esset] nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum
 esse, liberum eundem populum ab isdem Etruscis obsideri,
 3 quorum saepe exercitus fuderit—; itaque magno audacique
 aliquo facinore eam indignitatem uindicandam ratus, primo
 4 sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit: dein
 metuens, ne, si consulum iniussu et ignaris omnibus iret,
 forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut
 transfuga, fortuna tum urbis crimen adfirmante, senatum
 5 adit. “transire Tiberim” inquit, “patres, et intrare, si
 possim, castra hostium uolo, non praedo nec populationum
 in uicem ultor: maius, si di iuuant, in animo est facinus.”
 adprobant patres. abdito intra uestem ferro proficiscitur.
 6 ubi eo uenit, in confertissima turba prope regium tribunal
 7 constitit. ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et
 scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret,
 eumque milites uolgo adirent, timens sciscitari, uter Porsinna

esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obtruncat. uadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat uiam, cum concursu ad clamorem facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus tum quoque inter tantas fortunae minas metuendus magis quam metuens, "Romanus sum" inquit "ciuis, C. Mucium uocant. hostis hostem occidere uolui, nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad caedem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. proinde in hoc discrimen, si iuuat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in uestibulo habeas regiae. hoc tibi iuuentus Romana indicimus bellum. nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris; uni tibi et cum singulis res erit." cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque conterritus circumdari ignes minitabundus iuberet, nisi expromeret prope, quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages iaceret, "en tibi" inquit, "ut sentias, quam uile corpus sit eis, qui magnam gloriam uident": dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo inicit. quam cum uelut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab sede sua prosiluisset, amouerique ab altaribus iuuenem iussisset, "tu uero abi" inquit, "in te magis quam in me hostilia ausus. iuberem macte uirtute esse, si pro mea patria ista uirtus staret: nunc iure belli liberum te intactum inuiolatumque hinc dimitto." tunc Mucius quasi remunerans meritum "quando quidem" inquit "est apud te uirtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod minis nequisti: trecenti coniurauimus principes iuuentutis Romanae, ut in te hac uia grassaremur. mea prima sors fuit; ceteri, ut cuiusque ceciderit primi, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt."

1 **13.** Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaeuolae a clade
 2 dextrae manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsinna Romam
 secuti sunt; adeo mouerat eum et primi periculi casus, a quo
 nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda
 3 dimicatio totiens, quot coniurati superessent, ut pacis
 condiciones ultro ferret Romanis. iactatum in condicionibus
 nequiquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis
 quia id negare ipse nequiuerat Tarquiniis, quam quod
 4 negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. de agro Veienti-
 bus restituendo impetratum, expressaque necessitas obsides
 dandi Romanis, si Ianiculo praesidium deduci uellent. his
 condicionibus composita pace exercitum ab Ianiculo deduxit
 5 Porsinna et agro Romano excessit. patres C. Mucio
 uirtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere, quae
 postea sunt Mucia prata appellata.

6 Ergo ita honorata uirtute feminae quoque ad publica
 decora excitatae. et Cloelia uirgo, una ex obsidibus, cum
 castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata
 essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis uirginum inter tela
 hostium Tiberim tranauit, sospitesque omnes Romam ad
 7 propinquos restituit. quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo
 incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem
 8 deprecandam: alias haud magni facere; deinde in admira-
 tionem uersus supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus
 esse, et prae se ferre, quem ad modum, si non dedatur
 obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam *intactam*
 9 inuiolatamque ad suos remissurum. utrimque constitit
 fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt,
 et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata
 etiam uirtus fuit, laudatamque uirginem parte obsidum se
 10 donare dixit; ipsa quos uellet legeret. productis omnibus
 elegisse inpubes dicitur, quod et uirginitati decorum et
 consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat eam aetatem

potissimum liberari ab hoste, quae maxime opportuna iniuriae esset. pace redintegrata Romani nouam in femina 11 uirtutem nouo genere honoris, statua equestri, donauere: in summa Sacra uia fuit posita uirgo insidens equo.

The custom of selling King Porsinna's goods; the King departs to attack Aricia, but is defeated. He dismisses the Tarquins.

14. Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci 1 abhorrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet, bona Porsinnae regis uendendi. cuius originem moris necesse est aut inter 2 bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore creuisse principio, quam hic prae se ferat titulus bona hostiliter uendendi. proximum uero est ex eis, quae 3 traduntur, Porsinam discedentem ab Ianiculo castra opulenta conuecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae aruis commeatu Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinqua obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo inmisso diripe- 4 rentur hostiliter, uenisse, bonaque Porsinnae appellata, gratiam muneris magis significante titulo quam auctionem fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestate quidem populi Romani esset.

Omisso Romano bello Porsinna, ne frustra in ea loca 5 exercitus adductus uideretur, cum parte copiarum filium Arruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. primo Aricinos 6 res necopinata perculerat. arcessita deinde auxilia et a Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut acie decernere auderent. proelio inito adeo concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci, ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos. Cumanae cohortes, arte aduersus uim usae, declinauere 7 paululum, effuseque praelatos hostes conuersis signis ab

tergo adortae sunt; ita in medio prope iam uictores caesi
 8 Etrusci. pars perexigua duce amisso, quia nullum propius
 perfugium erat, Romam inermes, et fortuna et specie
 supplicum, delati sunt. ibi benigne excepti diuisique in
 9 hospitia. curatis uolneribus alii profecti domos nuntii
 hospitalium beneficiorum, multos Romae hospitem urbisque
 caritas tenuit. his locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde
 Tuscum uicum appellarunt.

1 **15.** Spurius *Larcius inde* et Titus Herminius, P.
 Lucretius inde et P. Valerius Publicola consules facti.
 eo anno postremum legati a Porsinna de reducendo in
 regnum Tarquinio uenerunt. quibus cum responsum esset
 missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi confestim hon-
 2 oratissimus quisque e patribus: non quin breuiter reddi
 responsum potuerit non recipi reges, ideo potius delectos
 patrum ad eum missos quam legatis eius Romae daretur
 responsum, sed ut in perpetuum mentio eius rei finiretur,
 neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis in uicem animi sollicitarentur,
 cum ille peteret, quod contra libertatem populi Romani
 esset, Romani, nisi in perniciem suam faciles esse uellent,
 3 negarent, cui nihil negatum uellent. non in regno populum
 Romanum, sed in libertate esse. ita induxisse in animum,
 hostibus potius portas quam regibus patefacere; ea esse uota
 omnium, ut qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit.
 4 proinde, si saluam esse uellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam
 esse, orare. rex uerecundia uictus “quando id certum atque
 obstinatum est” inquit, “neque ego obtundam saepius eadem
 nequiquam agendo, nec Tarquinius spe auxilii, quod nullum
 in me est, frustrabor. alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu
 quiete, exilio quaerant locum, ne quid meam uobiscum
 6 pacem distineat.” dictis facta amicia adiecit. obsidum
 quod reliquum erat reddidit, agrum Veientem foedere ad
 7 Ianiculum icto ademptum restituit. Tarquinius spe omni

reditus incisa exulatum ad generum Mamilium Octauium Tusculum abiit: Romanis pax fida cum Porsinna fuit.

War with the Sabines; the migration of the Claudii to Rome.

War with the Aurunci and (two accounts of) their punishment.

16. Consules M. Valerius P. Postumius. eo anno 1 bene pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules triumpharunt. ma- 2 iore inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. aduersus eos et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, unde etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat, repentini periculi oriretur, P. Valerius quartum T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. seditio inter 3 belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum inde uirium transtulit ad Romanos. namque Attus Clausus, 4 cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur, nec par factioni esset, ab Inregillo magna clientium comitatus manu Romam transfugit. his ciuitas data agerque trans Anienem; uetus 5 Claudia tribus, additis postea nouis tribulibus, qui ex eo uenirent agro appellati. Appius inter patres lectus haud ita multo post in principum dignationem peruenit. con- 6 sules infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti cum ita uastatione dein proelio adflixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timeri posset, triumphantes Romam redierunt. P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli 7 pacisque artibus, anno post Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset; de publico est datus. luxere matronae ut Brutum. eodem anno duae coloniae 8 Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, omne

9 Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsus est. nec magis post proelium quam in proelio caedibus temperatum est: et caesi aliquanto plures erant quam capti, et captos passim trucidauerunt; ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. et hoc anno Romae triumphatum.

1 17. Secuti consules Opiter Verginius Sp. Cassius Pometiam primo ui, deinde uineis aliisque operibus oppug-
2 narunt. in quos Aurunci magis iam inexpiabili odio quam spe aliqua aut occasione coorti cum plures igni quam ferro armati excucurrissent, caede incendioque cuncta complent.
3 uineis incensis, multis hostium uulneratis et occisis consulum quoque alterum—sed utrum auctores non adiciunt—graui
4 uolnere ex equo deiectum prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male gesta re reductum. inter multos saucios consul spe incerta uitae relatus. interiecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod uulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset, cum ira maiore tum uiribus etiam auctis
5 Pometiae arma inlata. et cum uineis relictis aliaque mole belli iam in eo esset, ut in muros euaderet miles, deditio
6 est facta. ceterum nihilo minus foeda, dedita urbe, quam si capta foret, Aurunci passi: principes securi percussi, sub corona uenierunt coloni alii; oppidum dirutum; ager ueniit. consules magis ob iras grauius ultas quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt.

501 B.C. *The quarrel is revived by the Sabines but allowed to drop on both sides. The first Dictator.*

1 18. Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T.
2 Larcium consules habuit. eo anno Romae cum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuuentute per lasciuiam scorta raperentur,
3 concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit, paruaque

ex re ad rebellionem spectare res uidebatur [supra belli Latini metum]. id quoque accesserat, quod triginta iam coniurasse populos concitante Octauio Mamilio satis constabat. in hac tantarum expectatione rerum sollicita 4 ciuitate dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. sed nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniana essent— id quoque enim traditur—, parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satis constat. apud ueterrimos 5 tamen auctores T. Larcium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos inuenio. consulares legere; ita lex iubebat de dictatore creando lata. eo magis adducor 6 ut credam Larcium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M. Valerium M. filium Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum. quin, si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem uellent, 7 patrem multo potius M. Valerium spectatae uirtutis et consularem uirum legissent.

Creato dictatore primum Romae postquam praeferri 8 secures uiderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiones essent ad dicto parendum. neque enim ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque prouocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator eo magis, 9 quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. itaque legatos de pace mittunt. quibus orantibus dicta- 10 torem senatumque, ut ueniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus darent, responsum, ignosci adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent. actum 11 tamen est de pace; impetrataque foret, si quod inpensae factum in bellum erat, praestare Sabini—id enim postulatum erat—in animum induxissent. bellum indictum: tacitae indutiae quietum annum tenere.

War with the Latins; the wonderful battle of Lake Regillus. Death of King Tarquin; Signia re-colonised; the 21 tribes (495 B.C.).

1 **19.** Consules Seruius Sulpicius Manius Tullius; nihil
 dignum memoria actum; T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius.
 2 his consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta, Prae-
 neste ab Latinis ad Romanos desciiuit. nec ultra bellum
 3 Latinum, gliscens iam per aliquot annos, dilatatum. Aulus
 Postumius dictator Titus Aebutius magister equitum magnis
 copiis peditum equitumque profecti ad lacum Regillum
 4 in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt; et quia
 Tarquinius esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri
 5 ira non potuit, quin extemplo confligerent. ergo etiam
 proelium aliquanto quam cetera grauius atque atrocius
 fuit. non enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem
 adfuere, sed suismet ipsi corporibus dimicantes miscuere
 certamina. nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa
 ex acie sine uolnere praeter dictatorem Romanum excessit.
 6 in Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruente-
 temque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam iam aetate et
 uiribus erat grauior, equum infestus admisit, ictusque ab
 7 latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. et ad alterum
 cornu Aebutius magister equitum in Octauium Mamiliam
 impetum dederat, nec fefellit ueniens Tusculanum ducem,
 8 contraque et ille concitat equum; tantaque uis infestis
 uenientium hastis fuit, ut brachium Aebutio traiectum sit,
 9 Mamilio pectus percussum. hunc quidem in secundam
 aciem Latini recepere: Aebutius cum saucio brachio tenere
 10 telum non posset, pugna excessit. Latinus dux nihil deter-
 ritus uolnere proelium ciet, et quia suos percussos uidebat,
 accessit cohortem exulum Romanorum, cui Lucii Tarquini
 filius praerat. ea, quo maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona
 patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

20. Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis 1
M. Valerius Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem iuuenem
Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exulum acie, domestica 2
etiam gloria accensus, ut, cuius familiae decus eiecti reges
erant, eiusdem interfecti forent, subdit calcaria equo et
Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquinius retro in 3
agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium, temere
inuectum in exulum aciem, ex transuerso quidam adortus
transfigit; nec quicquam equitis uolnere equo retardato,
moribundus Romanus labentibus super corpus armis ad
terram defluxit. dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse 4
talem uirum, exules ferociter citato agmine inuehi, suos
perculosos cedere animaduertit, cohorti suae, quam delectam 5
manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum, ut
quem suorum fugientem uiderint, pro hoste habeant. ita
metu ancipiti uersi a fuga Romani in hostem, et restituta
acies. cohors dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit. in- 6
tegris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exules caedunt.
ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. imperator Latinus, 7
ubi cohortem exulum a dictatore Romano prope circum-
uentam uidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam
aciem secum rapit. hos agmine uenientes T. Herminius 8
legatus conspicatus, interque eos insignem ueste armisque
Mamilium noscitans, tanto ui maiore, quam paulo ante
magister equitum, cum hostium duce proelium iniit, ut 9
et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et
ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis ueruto percussus, cum
uictor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem
expirauerit. tum ad equites dictator aduolat obtestans, 10
ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex equis, et pugnam
capessant. dicto paruere: desiliunt ex equis, prouolant
in primum, et pro antesignanis parmas obiciunt. recipit 11
ex templo animum pedestris acies, postquam iuuentutis

proceres aequato genere pugnae secum partem periculi sustinentes uidit. tum demum impulsus Latini percussaque
 12 inclinavit acies. equi admoti equi, ut persequi hostem posset; secuta et pedestris acies. ibi nihil nec diuinæ nec humanæ opis dictator prætermittens aedem Castori uouisse fertur, ac pronuntiasse militi præmia, qui primus,
 13 qui secundus castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardor fuit, ut eodem impetu, quo fuderant hostem Romani, castra caperent. hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediere.

1 **21.** Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. consules Quintus Cloelius et T. Larcus, inde A. Sempronius et M. Minucius. his consulibus aedis Saturno dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies. Aulus deinde Postumius
 2 et T. Verginius consules facti. hoc demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quosdam inuenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiæ fidei fuerit, se consulatu
 3 abdicasse; dictatorem inde factum. tanti errores implicant temporum aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules secundum quos, nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta uetustate non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum digerere possis.

5 Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Seruilius consules facti. insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis. mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum
 6 tyrannum contulerat. eo nuntio erecti patres, erecta plebes. sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit lætitia: plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope inseruitum erat, iniuriæ a primoribus
 7 fieri coepere. eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum deducta est. Romæ tribus una et uiginti factæ. aedes Mercuri dedicata est idibus Maiis.



War threatened by the Volsci; the Latins give timely warning of this and are rewarded.

22. Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax 1
neque bellum fuerat; nam et Volsci comparauerant auxilia,
quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano
esset, et maturavit Romanus, ne proelio uno cum Latino
Volскоque contenderet. hac ira consules in Volscum 2
agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consilii poenam non
metuentes necopinata res percudit. armorum inmemores
obsides dant trecentos principum a Cora atque Pometia
liberos; ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. nec 3
ita multo post Volscis leuatis metu suum rediit ingenium:
rursus occultum parant bellum Hernicis in societatem
armorum adsumptis; legatos quoque ad sollicitandum
Latium passim dimittunt. sed recens ad Regillum lacum 4
accepta clades Latinos ira odioque eius, quicumque arma
suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem uiolandis abstinuit: con-
prehensos Volscos Romam duxere. ibi traditi consulibus,
indicatumque est Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum
Romanis. relata re ad senatum adeo fuit gratum patribus, 5
ut et captiuorum sex milia Latinis remitterent, et de
foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad
nouos magistratus reicerent. enimvero tum Latini gaudere 6
facto, pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse. coronam
auream Ioui donum in Capitolium mittunt. cum legatis
donoque, qui captiuorum remissi ad suos fuerant, magna
circumfusa multitudo uenit. pergunt domos eorum, apud 7
quem quisque seruierant, gratias agunt liberaliter habiti
cultique in calamitate sua, inde hospitia iungunt. num-
quam alias ante publice priuatimque Latinum nomen
Romano imperio coniunctus fuit.

Distress at Rome and agitation against the oppressive law of debt; the Senate is divided.

1 **23.** Sed et bellum Volscum imminabat, et ciuitas
 secum ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat
 2 odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. fremebant se
 foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi a ciuibus
 captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam in
 pace, et inter hostis quam inter ciues libertatem plebis
 esse; inuidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius
 3 calamitas accendit. magno natu quidam cum omnium
 malorum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit. obsita
 erat squalore uestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac
 4 macie perempti. ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferauerant
 speciem oris. noscitur tamen in tanta deformitate,
 et ordines duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiae decora uolgo
 miserantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot
 locis pugnarum cicatrices aduerso pectore ostentabat.
 5 sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum
 circumfusa turba est prope in contionis modum, Sabino
 bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri
 non fructu modo caruerit, sed uilla incensa fuerit, direpta
 omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore im-
 6 peratum, aes alienum fecisse. id cumulatam usuris primo
 se agro paterno auitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis,
 postremo uelut tabem peruenisse ad corpus: ductum se
 ab creditore non in seruitium sed in ergastulum et carni-
 7 ficinam esse. inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus
 uestigiis uerberum. ad haec uisa auditaque clamor ingens
 oritur. non iam foro se tumultus tenet, sed passim totam
 8 urbem peruadit. nexi, uincti solutique, se undique in
 publicum proripiunt, inplorant Quiritium fidem. nullo
 loco deest seditionis uoluntarius comes. multis passim

agminibus per omnes uias cum clamore in forum curritur. magno cum periculo suo qui forte patrum in foro erant in 9
eam turbam inciderunt. nec temperatum manibus foret, 10
ni propere consules P. Seruilius et Ap. Claudius ad comprimendam seditionem interuenissent. at in eos multitudo
uersa, ostentare uincula sua deformitatemque aliam. haec 11
se meritos dicere, exprobrantes suam quisque, alius alibi, militiam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter, ut senatum uocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumstant. pauci admodum 12
patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus: ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat. nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. tum 13
uero eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiuersari, nec dubie ludibrio esse miserias suas. iam prope erat, ut ne consulum 14
quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti, morando an ueniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum ueniunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo inter patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conueniebat. Appius, uehementis ingenii uir, imperio 15
consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto quieturos alios. Seruilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

The Volscians seize the opportunity for an attack; by the wisdom of the Consul Servilius the people are appeased and consent to fight. Defeat of Volscians, Sabines and Auruncans.

24. Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso aduolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad

urbem oppugnandam uenire. quae audita—adeo duas ex una ciuitate discordia fecerat—longe aliter patres ac plebem adfecere. exultare gaudio plebes, ultores superbiae patrum adesse dicere deos. alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent, cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros. patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia essent. at uero curia maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab ciue et ab hoste, Seruilius consul, cui ingenium magis popolare erat, orare, ut tantis circumuentam terroribus expediret rem publicam. tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. ibi curae esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi. ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte ciuitatis, metum pro uniuersa re publica interuenisse. nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeuerti se quicquam; nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta arma pro patria non cepisse, neque patribus satis decorum, per metum potius quam postmodo uoluntate adflictis ciuium suorum fortunis consuluisse. contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis ciuem Romanum uinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut uenderet, liberos nepotesue eius moraretur. hoc proposito edicto et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex priuato, cum retinendi ius creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent, fieri. magna ea manus fuit, neque aliorum magis in Volscis bello uirtus atque opera enituit. consul copias contra hostem educit, paruo dirimente interuallo castra ponit.

I 25. Proxima inde nocte Volsci discordia Romana freti, si qua nocturna transitio proditioue fieri posset, temptant

castra. sensere uigiles, excitatus exercitus, signo dato concursus est ad arma; ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit; relicum noctis utrimque quieti datum. postero die 2 prima luce Volsci fossis repletis uallum inuadunt. iamque 3 ab omni parte munimenta uellebantur, cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique, et nexi ante omnes, ut signum daret clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo militem audum certaminis emittit. primo statim incursu pulsus hostes; fugientibus, 4 quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa, eques usque ad castra pauidos egit. mox ipsa castra legionibus circumdatis, cum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque. postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quo 5 confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur, captum praedae datum. inde paulum recreatus egens miles. consul cum maxima gloria sua 6 uictorem exercitum Romam reducit. decedentem Romam Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. his ex senatus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

26. Confestim et Sabini Romanos territaure; tumultus 1 enim fuit uerius quam bellum. nocte in urbem nuntiatum est exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem amnem peruenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi uillas. missus 2 extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat; secutus consul Seruilius cum delecta peditum manu. plerosque palantes eques 3 circumuenit; nec aduenienti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio. fessi cum itinere tum populatione nocturna, magna pars in uillis repleti cibo uinoque, uix fugae quod satis esset uirium habuere.

Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero 4

die in magna iam spe undique partae pacis legati Aurunci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum indicentes. 5 cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat. cuius fama haud procul iam ab Aricia uisi tanto tumultu conciuit Romanos, ut nec consuli ordine patres, nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes 6 dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur, nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa conlata proelioque uno debellatum est.

The debtors demand the fulfilment of the consul's promises; he is hindered by his colleague Ap. Claudius and the Senate. The agitation continues into the next year (494 B.C.) and the people again refuse to serve in the army. The Senate is again divided.

1 **27.** Fusis Auruncis uictor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus expectabat, cum Appius et insita superbia animo, et ut collegae uanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat ius de creditis pecuniis dicere. deinceps et qui ante nexi fuerant creditoribus trade- 2 bantur, et nectebantur alii. quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat. concursus ad Seruilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. postulabant, ut aut referret ad senatum, aut ut auxilio esset consul ciuibus suis, imperator 3 militibus. mouebant consulem haec, sed tergiuersari res cogebat; adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps erat, sed omnis factio nobilium. ita medium se gerendo nec plebis uitauit odium, nec apud patres gratiam iniit. 4 patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem; 5 breuique apparuit adaequasse eum Appii odium. certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercuri aedem. senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit: utri eorum dedicatio iussu

populi data esset, eum praesesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, solemnina pro pontifice iussit suscipere. populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili 6 centurioni; quod facile appareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum, quam ad consulum ignominiam. saeuire inde utique consulum 7 alter patresque, sed plebi creuerant animi, et longe alia quam primo instituerant uia grassabantur. desperato enim 8 consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem uidissent, undique conuolabant. neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, cum decresset, quisquam obtemperabat. ui agebatur, metusque 9 omnis et periculum [libertatis], cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus uiolarentur, in creditores a debitoribus uerterant. super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectaque 10 decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiceret, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet. non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam, neque 11 proiectum consulare imperium; se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis uindicem fore. cum circumstaret cotidiana 12 multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, prouocauit. nec cessisset prouocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre uicta pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore; adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam inuidiam. crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertis 13 sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. tandem inuisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Seruilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

1 **28.** A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum
 ineunt. tum uero plebs incerta, quales habitura consules
 esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis pars in Auentino,
 facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis, et omnia temere
 2 ac fortuito ageret. eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perni-
 ciosam, ad patres deferunt, sed delatam consulere ordine
 non licuit; adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique
 et indignatione patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exse-
 quendum esset, inuidiam eius consules ad senatum reicerent.
 3 profecto, si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum
 4 fuisse Romae nisi publicum concilium: nunc in mille curias
 contionesque [cum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Auentino fiant
 concilia] dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. unum
 hercule uirum—id enim plus esse quam consulem—, qualis
 Appius Claudius fuerit, momento temporis discussurum illos
 5 coetus fuisse. correpti consules, cum, quid ergo se facere
 uellent, nihil enim segnius molliusue quam patribus placeat
 acturos, percunctarentur, decernunt, ut dilectum quam
 6 acerrimum habeant: otio lasciuire plebem. dimisso senatu
 consules in tribunal escendunt; citant nominatim iuniores.
 cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in
 7 contionis modum negare ultra decipi plebem posse; num-
 quam unum militem habituros, ni praestaretur fides publica;
 libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse quam arma
 danda, ut pro patria ciuibusque, non pro dominis pugnent.
 8 consules, quid mandatum esset a senatu, uidebant; sed
 eorum, qui intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur,
 neminem adesse inuidiae suae participem. et apparebat
 9 atrox cum plebe certamen. prius itaque quam ultima
 experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. tum uero
 ad sellas consulum propere conuolare minimus quisque
 natu patrum, abdicare consulatum iubentes et deponere
 imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

29. Vtraque re satis experta tum demum consules: 1
 “ne praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens
 seditio. postulamus, ut ei, qui maxime ignauiam increpant,
 adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. acerrimi cuiusque arbi-
 trio, quando ita placet, rem agemus.” redeunt in tribunal, 2
 citari nominatim unum ex his, qui in conspectu erant, dedita
 opera iubent. cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot
 hominum, ne forte uiolaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem
 ad eum consules mittunt. quo repulso tum uero indignum 3
 facinus esse clamitantes qui patrum consulibus aderant
 deuolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. sed ab 4
 lictore, nihil aliud quam prendere prohibito, cum conuersus
 in patres impetus esset, consulum intercurso rixa sedata est,
 in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque
 irarum quam iniuriae fuerat. senatus tumultuose uocatus 5
 tumultuosius consulitur quaestionem postulantibus eis, qui
 pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis
 magis quam clamore et strepitu. tandem cum irae resedis- 6
 sent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curia
 quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit. tres fuere sen- 7
 tentiae. P. Verginius rem non uolgabat; de eis tantum
 qui fidem secuti Publii Seruili consulis Volso, Aurunco
 Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. Titus 8
 Larcus non id tempus esse, ut merita tantummodo ex-
 soluerentur; totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse,
 nec sisti posse, ni omnibus consulatur; quin, si alia
 aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam
 sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura inmitis et efferatus hinc 9
 plebis odio illinc patrum laudibus, non miseris ait sed
 licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lasciuire magis
 plebem quam saeuire. id adeo malum ex prouocatione 10
 natum; quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi
 ad eos, qui una peccauerint, prouocare liceat. “agedum” 11

inquit “dictatorem, a quo prouocatio non est, creemus.
 1 2 iam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticiscet furor. pulset
 tum mihi lictorem, qui sciet ius de tergo uitaque sua penes
 unum illum esse, cuius maiestatem uiolarit.”

*At length a dictator is appointed, from the Valerian house.
 By renewing Servilius' promises he raises an army and
 defeats the Volsci and Aequi. When the Senate refuse
 to carry out his proposals, he resigns the dictatorship.*

1 **30.** Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox uidebatur Appii
 sententia; rursus Verginii Larciique exemplo haud salubres,
 utique Larcii, quae totam fidem tolleret. medium maxime
 2 et moderatum utroque consilium Verginii habebatur; sed
 factione respectuque rerum priuatarum, quae semper offecere
 officientque publicis consiliis, Appius uicit, ac prope fuit,
 3 ut dictator ille idem crearetur; quae res utique alienasset
 plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aequique et
 4 Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. sed curae fuit
 consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperio suo uehemens
 5 *magistratus* mansueto permetteretur ingenio. M'. Valerium
 dictatorem, Volesi filium, creant. plebes etsi aduersus se
 creatum dictatorem uidebat, tamen, cum prouocationem
 fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec superbum
 6 timebat. edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmauit
 animos Seruillii fere consulis edicto conueniens. sed et homini
 et potestati melius rati credi, omisso certamine nomina de-
 7 dere. quantus numquam ante exercitus, legiones decem
 effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quattuor dictator
 usus.

8 Nec iam poterat bellum differri. Aequi Latinum agrum
 inuaserant. oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant, ut aut
 mitterent subsidium, aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causa

capere arma sinerent. tutius uisum est defendi inermes 9
 Latinos quam pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus
 est. is finis populationibus fuit. cessere Aequi campis,
 locoque magis quam armis freti summis se iugis mon-
 tium tutabantur. alter consul in Volscos profectus, ne et 10
 ipse tereret tempus, uastandis maxime agris hostem ad
 conferenda propius castra dimicandumque acie exciuit.
 medio inter castra campo ante suum quisque uallum in- 11
 festis signis constitere. multitudine aliquantum Volsci
 superabant, itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam iniere.
 consul Romanus nec promouit aciem, nec clamorem reddi 12
 passus defixis pilis stare suos iussit; ubi ad manum
 uenisset hostis, tum coortos tota ui gladiis rem gerere.
 Volsci cursu et clamore fessi cum se uelut stupentibus 13
 metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere
 ex aduerso factam, et ante oculos micare gladios, haud
 secus quam si in insidias incidissent, turbati uertunt terga;
 et ne ad fugam quidem satis uirium fuit, quia cursu in
 proelium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnae 14
 quieti steterant, uigentes corporibus facile adepti fessos et
 castra impetu ceperunt, et castris exutum hostem Velitras
 persecuti uno agmine uictores cum uictis in urbem inrupere.
 plusque ibi sanguinis promiscua omnium generum caede 15
 quam in ipsa dimicatione factum. paucis data uenia, qui
 inermes in deditionem uenerunt.

31. Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, 1
 ubi longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque, exiit
 castris. equitatu inmisso mediam turbauerat hostium 2
 aciem, quam, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte
 introrsum ordinibus firmauerant; turbatos pedes inuasit.
 eodem impetu castra capta debellatumque est. post 3
 pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna
 clarior fuit. dictator triumphans urbem inuehitur. super

solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad specta-
 4 culum datus, sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis
 deuictis Veliternus ager ademptus, Velitras coloni ab
 5 urbe missi et * colonia deducta. cum Aequis post aliquanto
 pugnatum est inuito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo
 subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites extrahi rem
 criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem,
 magistratu abiret, inritaque sicut ante consulis promissa
 eius caderent, perpulere, ut forte temere in aduersos montis
 6 agmen erigeret. id male commissum ignauia hostium in
 bonum uertit, qui, priusquam ad coniectum teli ueniretur,
 obstupefacti audacia Romanorum, relictis castris, quae
 munitissimis tenuerant locis, in auersas ualles desiluere;
 ubi satis praedae et uictoria incruenta fuit.

7 Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta de domesticarum rerum
 euentu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat; tanta cum
 gratia tum arte praeparauerant feneratorum, quae non modo
 8 plebem sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. namque
 Valerius post Vetusi consulis reditum omnium actionum in
 senatu primam habuit pro uictore populo, rettulitque, quid
 9 de nexis fieri placeret. quae cum reiecta relatio esset, "non
 placeo" inquit "concordiae auctor. optabitis, me dius
 fidius, prope diem, ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos
 10 habeat. quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra ciues
 meos, neque ipse frustra dictator ero. discordiae intestinae,
 bellum externum fecere, ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica;
 pax foris parta est, domi inpeditur; priuatus potius quam
 dictator seditioni interero." ita curia egressus dictatura se
 11 abdicauit. apparuit causa plebi, suam uicem indignantem
 magistratu abisse. itaque uelut persoluta fide, quoniam per
 eum non stetisset, quin praestaretur, decedentem domum
 cum fauore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

494 B.C. *The First Secession of the Plebs. Menenius Agrippa's parable. Terms of reconciliation—the institution of the inviolable Tribunes of the Plebs.*

32. Timor inde patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus 1 foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent. itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum uerba iurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renouati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones iusserunt. quo facto maturata est seditio. et 2 primo agitata dicitur de consulum caede, ut soluerentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolui, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse. — trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum. ea frequentior fama est quam cuius 3 Piso auctor est, in Auentinum secessionem factam esse. — ibi sine ullo duce uallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, 4 rem nullam nisi necessariam ad uictum sumendo, per aliquot dies neque lacesciti neque lacescentes sese tenuere. pauor 5 ingens in urbe metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. timere relicta ab suis plebes uiolentiam patrum, timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti, manere eam an abire mallent. quamdiu autem tranquillam quae secesserit 6 multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat? nullam profecto nisi in concordia 7 ciuium spem reliquam ducere: eam per aequa per iniqua reconciliandam ciuitati esse. sic placuit igitur oratorem 8 ad plebem mitti, Menenium Agrippam, facundum uirum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.

Is intromissus in castra, prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore quo 9 in homine, non ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo

fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio uentri omnia quaeri, uentrem in medio quietum
 10 nihil aliud quam datis uoluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quae conficerent. hac ira dum uentrem fame domare uellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad
 11 extremam tabem uenisse. inde apparuisse uentris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo uiuimus uigemusque, diuisum pariter in uenas maturum confecto
 12 cibo sanguinem. comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

1 **33.** Agi deinde de concordia coeptum, concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio aduersus consules esset, neue cui patrum
 2 capere eum magistratum liceret. ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. hi tres collegas sibi creauerunt. in his Sicinium fuisse seditionis auctorem;
 3 de duobus qui fuerint minus conuenit. sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam.

493 B.C. *Treaty with the Latins. Another Volscian War. Story of Cn. Marcius Coriolanus at Corioli. Death of Menenius Agrippa.*

Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Co-
 4 minius consulatum inierunt. eis consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum foedus. ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit; alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque; compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus,
 5 moenibus potitur. inde protinus Poluscam item Volscorum

cepit, tum magna ui adortus est Coriolos. erat tum in castris inter primores iuuenum Cn. Marcius, adulescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. cum subito exercitum Romanum Coriolos obsidentem 6 atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminentis belli Volscae legiones profectae ab Antio inuasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, forte in statione Marcius fuit. is cum 7 delecta militum manu non modo impetum erumpentium retudit, sed per patentem portam ferox inrupit, caedeqe in proximo urbis facta ignem temere arreptum imminentibus muro aedificiis iniecit. clamor inde oppidanorum, mixtus 8 muliebri puerilique ploratu, ad terrorem, ut solet, primum orto, et Romanis auxit animum et turbauit Volscos, utpote capta urbe, cui ad ferendam opem uenerant. ita fusi 9 Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum. tantumque sua laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius, ut, nisi foedus cum Latinis *in* columna aenea insculptum monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoria cessisset.

Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, uir omni in 10 uita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae ciuium, 11 legato patrum ad plebem, reductor plebis Romanae in urbem, sumptus funeri defuit. extulit eum plebs sextantibus conlatis in capita.

Dearth of corn; sufferings of the people; cruel proposal of Coriolanus; his trial and banishment; he joins the Volsci.

34. Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti. 1 eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo grauius malum ciuitatem 2

inuasit, caritas primum annonae ex incultis per secessionem
 3 plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis solet. uentumque
 ad interitum seruitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules
 prouidissent, dimissis passim ad frumentum coemendum
 non in Etruriam modo, dextris ab Ostia litoribus, laeuoque
 per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed in Siciliam quoque ;
 adeo finitimorum odia longinquis coegerant indigere auxiliis.
 4 frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naues pro bonis
 Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat,
 retentae sunt. in Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem
 potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis fru-
 5 mentatoribus fuit. ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi uenit; eo
 sustenta est plebs. incommodo bello in tam artis com-
 meatibus uexati forent, ni Volscos iam mouentes arma
 6 pestilentia ingens inuasisset. ea clade conterritis hostium
 animis, ut etiam, ubi ea remisisset, terrore aliquo tenerentur,
 et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbam
 in montis nouam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset,
 miserunt.

7 M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus magna
 uis frumenti ex Sicilia aduecta, agitatumque in senatu,
 8 quanti plebi daretur. multi uenisse tempus premendae
 plebis putabant recuperandique iura, quae extorta seces-
 9 sione ac ui patribus essent. in primis Marcius Coriolanus,
 hostis tribuniciae potestatis, " si annonam " inquit " ueterem
 uolunt, ius pristinum reddant patribus. cur ego plebeios
 magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem uideo, sub iugum
 10 missus, tamquam ab latronibus redemptus? egone has
 indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est? Tarquinium
 regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram? secedat nunc,
 auocet plebem; patet uia in Sacrum montem aliosque
 colles. rapiant frumenta ex agris, quem ad modum
 tertio anno rapuere. fruantur annonae, quam furore suo

fecere. audeo dicere hoc malo domitos ipsos potius 11
cultores agrorum fore, quam ut armati per secessionem
coli prohibeant." haud tam facile dictu est, faciendumne 12
fuerit, quam potuisse arbitror fieri, ut condicionibus laxandi
annonam et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia inuitis iura
inposita patres demerent sibi.

35. Et senatui nimis atrox uisa sententia est, et 1
plebem ira prope armauit: fame se iam sicut hostes peti,
cibo uictuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola
alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi
Gnaeo Marcio uincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis
Romanae satisfiat. eum sibi carnificem nouum exortum,
qui aut mori aut seruire iubeat. in exeuntem e curia 2
impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent.
ibi ira est suppressa: se iudicem quisque, se dominum
uitae necisque inimici factum uidebat. contemptim primo 3
Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilii non poenae
ius datum illi potestati, plebisque non patrum tribunos
esse. sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs, ut unius poena
defungendum esset patribus. restiterunt tamen aduersa 4
inuidia, usique sunt qua suis quisque, qua totius ordinis
uiribus. ac primo temptata res est, si dispositis clientibus
absterrendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque disicere
rem possent. uniuersi deinde processere—quidquid erat 5
patrum reos diceres—precibus plebem exposcentes, unum
sibi ciuem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absoluere
nollent, pro nocente donarent. ipse cum die dicta non 6
adesset, perseueratum in ira est. damnatus absens in
Volsco exulatum abiit, minitans patriae hostilesque iam
tum spiritus gerens. uenientem Volsci benigne excepere,
benigniusque in dies colebant, quo maior ira in suos
eminebat crebraeque nunc querellae nunc minae per-
cipiebantur. hospitio utebatur Attii Tullii. longe is tum 7

princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. ita cum alterum uetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, 8 consilia conferunt de Romano bello. haud facile credebant plebem suam inpelli posse, ut totiens infeliciter temptata arma caperent. multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa iuuentute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto iam uetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

Special games miraculously commanded at Rome.

1 **36.** Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur. instaurandi haec causa fuerat: ludis mane seruum
 2 quidam pater familiae nondum commisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circo. coepti inde ludi, uelut
 3 ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. haud ita multo post Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. uisus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ei ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret,
 4 ea consulibus nuntiaret. quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, uerecundia tamen maiestatis magistratum
 5 uicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. magno illi ea cunctatio stetit; filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. cuius repentinae cladis ne causa dubia esset, aegro animi eadem illa in somnis obuersata species uisa est rogitare, satin magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem; maiorem
 6 instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet consulibus. iam praesentior res erat. cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens uis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. tunc enim uero deorum ira admonuit. fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito cum uisa atque audita et obuersatum totiens somno Iouem, minas irasque caelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset,

consensu inde haud dubio omnium qui aderant in forum ad consules lectica defertur. inde in curiam iussu consulum 7 delatus eadem illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus omnibus 8 membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

The Volscians flock to Rome to attend them. Their leader Attius Tullius contrives that they shall be insulted and inflames their resentment; so they make war upon Rome.

37. Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent, senatus decreuit. 1 ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio uis magna Volscorum uenit. priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut domi 2 compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules uenit; dicit esse, quae secreto agere de re publica uelit. arbitris remotis 3 “inuitus” inquit “quod sequius sit de meis ciuibus loquor. non tamen admissum quicquam ab eis criminatum uenio, sed cautum, ne admittant. nimio plus quam uelim nostrorum 4 ingenia sunt mobilia. multis id cladibus sensimus, 5 quippe qui non nostro merito sed uestra patientia incolumes simus. magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta ciuitas erit. memini, quid per 6 eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum iuuentute in hac urbe commissum sit. horret animus, ne quid inconsulte ac temere fiat. haec nostra uestraque causa prius dicenda uobis, consules, ratus sum. quod ad me attinet, extemplo 7 hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cuius facti dictiue contagione praesens uioler.” haec locutus abiit. consules 8 cum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad praecauendum uel ex superuacuo mouit; factoque senatus consulto, ut urbem excederent Volsci, praecones dimittuntur, qui omnes eos

9 proficisci ante noctem iuberent. ingens pauor primo dis-
currentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit. pro-
ficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se ut consceleratos
contaminatosque ab ludis, festis diebus, coetu quodam
modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

1 **38.** Cum prope continuato agmine irent, praegressus
Tullius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque ueniret, primores
eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos,
sedulo audientes secunda irae uerba, et per eos multitu-
2 dinem aliam in subiectum uiae campum deduxit. ibi in
contionis modum orationem exorsus, ueteres populi Romani
iniurias cladesque gentis Volscorum *commemorauit*. *Tum*,
“ut omnia” inquit “obliuiscamini alia, hodiernam hanc
contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram
3 ignominiam ludos commisere? an non sensistis triumphat-
um hodie de uobis esse? uos omnibus, ciuibus peregrinis,
tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse; uestras
4 coniuges, uestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? quid
eos, qui audiuerunt uocem praeconis, quid, qui nos uidere
abeuntes, quid eos, qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obuii,
existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse? quod,
si intersimus spectaculo, uiolaturi simus ludos piaculumque
merituri, ideo nos ab sede piorum coetu concilioque abigi?
5 quid deinde? illud non succurrit, uiuere nos, quod matu-
rarimus proficisci?—si hoc profectio et non fuga est. et
hanc urbem uos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem
morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? bellum uobis
indictum est,—magno eorum malo, qui indixere, si uiri
6 estis.” ita et sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde
digressi sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere,
ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

Tullius and Coriolanus lead the Volscians, after a campaign of miraculous triumph in Latium, to Rome, where they reject all entreaties for peace; the Plebs refuse to fight; but Coriolanus retreats in deference to the entreaties of the matrons, headed by his mother.

39. Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum 1
sententia lecti Attius Tullius et Cn. Marcius, exul Romanus, 1
in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. quam spem nequa- 2
quam fefellit, ut facile appareret ducibus ualidiorum quam
exercitu rem Romanam esse. Cerceios profectus primum
colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberamque eam urbem
Volscis tradidit. inde in Latinam uiam transuersis trami- 3
tibus transgressus Satricum Longulam Poluscam Coriolos
Mugillam, haec Romanis oppida ademit. inde Lauinium 4
recepit, tum deinceps Corbionem Vitelliam Trebium Labicos
Pedum cepit. postremum ad urbem a Peto ducit, et ad 5
fossas Cluilias quinque ab urbe milia passuum castris positis
populatur inde agrum Romanum, custodibus inter popu- 6
latores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos seruarent, siue
infensus plebi, siue ut discordia inde inter patres plebemque
oreretur. quae profecto orta esset—adeo tribuni iam ferocem 7
per se plebem criminando in primores ciuitatis instigabant,
—sed externus timor, maximum concordiae uinculum,
quamuis suspectos infensosque inter se iungebat animos.
id modo non conueniebat, quod senatus consulesque nus- 8
quam alibi spem quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia
quam bellum malebat.

Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius consules erant. eos 9
recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque, in quibus
stationes uigiliasque esse placuerat, loca distribuentes multi-
tudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore
conterruit, deinde uocare senatum, referre de legatis ad Cn.

10 Marcium mittendis coegit. acceperunt relationem patres,
 postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de pace
 11 ad Marcium oratores. atrox responsum rettulerunt: si
 Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praeda belli
 per otium frui uelint, memorem se et ciuium iniuriae et
 hospitem beneficii adniscurum, ut appareat exilio sibi in-
 12 ritatos, non fractos animos esse. iterum deinde idem missi
 non recipiuntur in castra. sacerdotes quoque, suis insigni-
 bus uelatos, isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est;
 nihilo magis quam legatos flexisse animum.

1 **40.** Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani,
 Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. id publicum
 2 consilium an muliebris timor fuerit, parum inuenio; per-
 uicere certe, ut et Veturia magno natu mulier et Volumnia
 duos paruos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in castra hostium
 irent, et, quoniam armis uiri defendere urbem non possent,
 3 mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent. ubi ad castra
 uentum est, nuntiatumque Coriolano est adesse ingens
 mulierum agmen, primo, ut qui nec publica maiestate in
 legatis nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa oculis animoque
 religione motus esset, multo obstinatior aduersus lacrimas
 4 muliebres erat. dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem
 maestitia inter ceteras cognouerat Veturiam, inter nulum
 nepotesque stantem, "nisi me frustrantur" inquit "oculi,
 5 mater tibi coniunxque et liberi adsunt." Coriolanus prope
 ut amens consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obuia
 complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus uersa "sine, prius-
 quam complexum accipio, sciam" inquit "ad hostem an ad
 6 filium uenerim, captiua materne in castris tuis sim. in hoc
 me longa uita et infelix senecta traxit, ut exulem te, deinde
 hostem uiderem? potuisti populari hanc terram, quae te
 7 genuit atque aluit? non tibi, quamuis infesto animo et
 minaci perueneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? non, cum

in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit ‘intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, coniunx liberique?’ ergo ego 8 nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria mortua essem. sed ego nihil iam pati, nec tibi turpius *usquam nec* mihi miserius, possum, nec, ut sum miserima, diu futura sum: de his uideris, quos, 9 si pergis, aut inmatura mors aut longa seruitus manet.” uxor deinde ac liberi amplexi fletusque ab omni turba mulierum ortus et conploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem uirum. complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retro ab urbe 10 castra mouit. abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano inuidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt alii alio leto. apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem uixisse eundem inuenio; refert certe hanc saepe eum 11 exacta aetate usurpasse uocem, multo miserius seni exilium esse. non inuiderunt laude sua mulieribus uiri Romani,—adeo sine obtreccatione gloriae alienae uiuebatur,—monu- 12 mentoque quod esset, templum Fortunae Muliebri aedificatum dedicatumque est.

Rediere deinde Volsci adiunctis Aequis in agrum Romanum, sed Aequi Attium Tullium haud ultra tulere ducem. hinc ex certamine, Volsci Aequine imperatorem 13 coniuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox proelium ortum. ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci certamine confecit.

Consules Titus Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Volsci, 14 Aquilio Hernici—nam ei quoque in armis erant—prouincia euenit. eo anno Hernici deuicti, cum Volscis aequo Marte discessum est.

488 [more probably 486] B.C. *The Agrarian Law proposed by Sp. Cassius, opposed by his colleague; his trial and condemnation.*

1 **41.** Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules facti. cum Hernicis foedus ictum, agri partes duae
 2 ademptae. inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi diuisurus
 3 consul Cassius erat. adiciebat huic muneri agri aliquantum, quem publicum possideri a priuatis criminabatur. id
 4 multos quidem patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. sed et publica patribus sollicitudo inerat,
 5 largitione consulem periculosas libertati opes struere. tum primum lex agraria promulgata est, numquam deinde
 6 usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum
 7 agitata. consul alter largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe aduersante, quae primo coeperat fastidire
 8 munus uolgatam a ciuibus exisse in socios; saepe deinde et Verginium consulem in contionibus uelut uaticinantem
 9 audiebat pestilens collegae munus esse, agros illos seruitutem
 10 eis qui acceperint laturos, regno uiam fieri. quid ita enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum, quid attinuisse Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut
 11 eae gentes pro Coriolano duce Cassium habeant? popularis iam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariae coeperat. uterque deinde consul ut certatim plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passurum se adsignari agros, dum ne cui
 12 nisi ciui Romano adsignentur; Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque ciuibus uilior erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret ciuium animos, iubere pro Siculo frumento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo.
 13 id uero haud secus quam praesentem mercedem regni aspernata plebes; adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni,
 14 uelut abundarent omnia, munera eius respuebantur. quem,

ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. sunt qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa uerberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecrauisse; signum inde factum esse et inscriptum "ex Cassia familia datum." intuenio apud 11 quosdam, idque propius fidem est, a quaestoribus Caesone Fabio et L. Valerio diem dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi iudicio, dirutas publice aedes. ea est area ante Telluris aedem. ceterum, siue illud domesticum siue 12 publicum fuit iudicium, damnatur Seruio Cornelio Q. Fabio consulibus.

Conflicts with the Volsci and Aequi; discontent of the Plebs; condemnation of a Vestal.

42. Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. dul- 1 cedo agrariae legis ipsa per se dempto auctore subibat animos; accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate patrum, qui deuictis eo anno Volscis Aequisque militem praeda fraudauere. quidquid captum ex hostibus est, uendidit 2 Fabius consul ac redegit in publicum. inuisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter nouissimum consulem; tenere tamen patres, ut cum L. Aemilio Caeso Fabius consul crearetur. eo infestior facta plebes seditione domestica bellum ex- 3 ternum exciuit. bello deinde ciuiles discordiae intermissae. uno animo patres ac plebs rebellantes Volscos et Aequos duce Aemilio prospera pugna uicere. plus tamen hostium 4 fuga quam proelium absumpsit; adeo pertinaciter fusos insecuri sunt equites. Castoris aedes eodem anno idibus 5 Quintilibus dedicata est. uota erat Latino bello a Postumio dictatore. filius eius duumuir ad id ipsum creatus dedicauit.

Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariae legis 6 animi plebis. tribuni plebi popularem potestatem lege

populari celebrabant ; patres satis superque gratuiti furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largitiones temeritatisque inuitamenta horrebant. acerrimi patribus duces ad resistendum consules fuere. ea igitur pars rei publicae uicit, nec in praesens modo, sed in uenientem etiam annum M. Fabium, Caesonis fratrem, et magis inuisum alterum plebi accusatione Sp. Cassii L. Valerium consules dedit. certatum eo quoque anno cum tribunis est. uana lex uanique legis auctores iactando inritum munus facti. Fabium inde nomen ingens post tres continuos consulatus unoque uelut tenore omnes expertos tribuniciis certaminibus habitum. itaque ut bene locatus mansit in ea familia aliquamdiu honos. bellum inde Veiens initum ; et Volsci rebellarunt. sed ad bella externa prope supererant uires, abutebanturque eis inter semet ipsos certando. accessere ad aegras iam omnium mentes prodigia caelestia, prope cotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas ; motique ita numinis causam nullam aliam uates canebant publice priuatimque, nunc extis nunc per aues consulti, quam haud rite sacra fieri. qui terrores tandem eo euasere, ut Oppia uirgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit.

Wars with the Aequi and with Veii. Victory of the Consul Fabius, in spite of the insubordination of his troops.

1 **43.** Q. Fabius inde et C. Iulius consules facti. eo anno non segnior discordia domi et bellum foris atrocius fuit. ab Aequis arma sumpta. Veientes agrum quoque Romanorum populantes inierunt. quorum bellorum crescente cura Caeso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt. 2 Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant ; Veientes, pleni iam populationum, Romam ipsam se oppugnatuos 3 minabantur. qui terrores cum conpescere deberent, auxere

insuper animos plebis; redieratque non sua sponte plebis detractandi militiam, sed Spurius Licinius tribunus plebis uenisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae patribus iniungendae, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. ceterum tota inuidia tribuniciae potestatis 4 uersa in auctorem est; nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius collegae coorti sunt, auxilioque eorum dilectum consules habent. ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur: 5 ducendus Fabio in Veientes, in Aequos Furio datur. et in Aequis quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est; Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum ciuibus quam cum hos- 6 tibus fuit. unus ille uir, ipse consul, rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. nam cum consul praeter ceteras imperatorias artes, quas 7 parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem, ut solo equitatu emisso exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. nec illos, etsi non adhortatio 8 inuisi ducis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare, aut, si aliud nihil, stare instructos. iniussu signa referunt, maestique—crederes 9 uictos—execrantes nunc imperatorem nunc nauatam ab equite operam redeunt in castra. nec huic tam pestilenti 10 exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt; adeo excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars, qua ciuem regant, quam qua hostem superent. consul Romam rediit non 11 tam belli gloria aucta quam inritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio. obtinuere tamen patres, ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret: M. Fabium consulem creant, Fabio collega Gnaeus Manlius datur.

Discord is revived by another agrarian proposal, and the levy is held only by the help of some of the tribunes. The Etruscans flock to support the Veientes, in the hope of attacking Rome in the moment of her weakness.

1 **44.** Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae
 habuit: Ti. Pontificius fuit. is eandem uiam, uelut pro-
 cessisset Sp. Licinio, ingressus dilectum paulisper impediit.
 2 perturbatis iterum patribus Appius Claudius uictam tri-
 buniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in praesentia re,
 exemplo in perpetuum, quando inuentum sit suis ipsam
 3 uiribus dissolui. neque enim umquam defuturum, qui et
 ex collega uictoriam sibi et gratiam melioris partis bono
 publico uelit quaesitam; et plures, si pluribus opus sit,
 tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum uel
 4 aduersus omnes satis esse. darent modo et consules et
 primores patrum operam, ut, si minus omnes, aliquos tamen
 5 ex tribunis rei publicae ac senatui conciliarent. praeceptis
 Appii moniti patres et uniuersi comiter ac benigne tribunos
 appellare, et consulares, ut cuique eorum priuatim aliquid
 iuris aduersus singulos erat, partim gratia partim auctoritate
 obtinuere, ut tribuniciae potestatis uires salubres uellent
 6 rei publicae esse; nouemque tribunorum aduersus unum
 moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum consules
 7 habent. inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo undique ex
 Etruria auxilia conuenerant, non tam Veientium gratia
 concitata, quam quod in spem uentum erat discordia in-
 8 testina dissolui rem Romanam posse. principesque in
 omnium Etruriae populorum conciliis fremebant aeternas
 opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus
 saeuiant. id unum uenenum, eam labem ciuitatibus opu-
 9 lentis repertam, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. diu
 sustentatum id malum partim patrum consiliis partim

patientia plebis iam ad extrema uenisse. duas ciuitates ex una factas, suos cuique parti magistratus, suas leges esse. primum in dilectibus saeuire solitos, eosdem in bello 10 tamen paruissse ducibus. qualicumque urbis statu manente disciplina militari sisti potuisse; iam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra quoque Romanum militem sequi. proximo bello in ipsa acie, in ipso certamine consensu 11 exercitus traditam ultro uictoriam uictis Aequis, signa deserta, imperatorem in acie relictum, iniussu in castra reditum. profecto, si instetur, suo milite uinci Romam 12 posse. nihil aliud opus esse quam indici ostendique bellum, cetera sua sponte fata et deos gesturos. hae spes Etruscos armauerant multis in uicem casibus uictos uictioresque.

War with Veii. Prudent handling of the disaffected army by the Consuls Manlius and Fabius. At length the soldiers demand a battle. The bravery of the Fabii.

45. Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud 1 quam suas uires, sua arma horrebant. memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent eo, ubi duae simul acies timendae essent. itaque castris se 2 tenebant tam ancipiti periculo auersi: diem tempusque forsitan ipsum leniturum iras sanitatemque animis adlaturum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere 3 agere, lacessere ad pugnam primo obequitando castris prouocandoque, postremo, ut nihil mouebant, qua consules ipsos qua exercitum increpando: simulationem intestinae 4 discordiae remedium timoris inuentum, et consules magis non confidere quam non credere suis militibus. nouum seditionis genus silentium otiumque inter armatos. ad haec in nouitatem generis originisque qua falsa qua uera iacere. haec cum sub ipso uallo portisque streperent, haud 5 aegre consules pati. at inperitae multitudini nunc indig-

natio, nunc pudor pectora uersare et ab intestinis auertere malis; nolle inultos hostes, nolle successum non patribus non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis. 6 tandem superant externa; adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. frequentes in praetorium conueniunt, poscunt 7 pugnam, postulant, ut signum detur. consules uelut deliberabundi capita conferunt, diu conlocuntur. pugnare cupiebant, sed retro reuocanda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut aduersando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent 8 impetum. redditur responsum in maturam rem agi, nondum tempus pugnae esse; castris se tenerent. edicunt inde, ut abstineant pugna; si quis iniussu pugauerit, ut in hostem 9 animaduersuros. ita dimissis, quo minus consules uelle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. accendunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisset non pugnare consules cognitum 10 est: quippe inpune se insultaturos, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque uenisse Romano imperio. his freti occursant portis, ingerunt probra, 11 aegre abstinent, quin castra oppugnent. enimvero non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse; totis castris undique ad consules curritur. non iam sensim, ut ante, per centurionum principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamor- 12 ibus agunt. matura res erat, tergiuersantur tamen. Fabius deinde, ad crescentem tumultum iam metu seditionis collega concedente, cum silentium classico fecisset: "ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse uincere scio; uelle ne scirem ipsi fece- 13 runt. itaque certum atque decretum est non dare signum, nisi uictores se redituros ex hac pugna iurant. consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit, deos numquam fallit." centurio erat M. Flauoleius inter primores pugnae 14 flagitator. "uictor" inquit, "M. Fabi, reuertar ex acie." si fallat, Iouem patrem Graduumque Martem aliosque iratos inuocat deos. idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se

quisque iurat. iuratis datur signum. arma capiunt; eunt
 in pugnam irarum speique pleni. nunc iubent Etruscos 15
 probra iacere, nunc armati sibi quisque lingua promptum
 hostem offerri. omnium illo die, qua plebis qua patrum, 16
 eximia uirtus fuit: Fabium nomen maxime enituit. multis
 ciuilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illa pugna sibi
 reconciliare statuunt.

*Bravery of Q. Fabius and the two Consuls, who secure a
 hard-won victory; the Consul Manlius is slain and his
 colleague Marcus Fabius refuses a triumph.*

46. Instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscaequae 1
 legiones detrectant. prope certa spes erat non magis
 secum pugnaturos quam pugnarint cum Aequis; maius
 quoque aliquod in tam iritatis animis et occasione ancipiti
 haud desperandum esse facinus. res aliter longe euenit. 2
 nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus—adeo hinc
 contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbauerant—
 proelium iniit. uix explicandi ordines spatium Etruscis 3
 fuit, cum pilis inter primam trepidationem abiectis temere
 magis quam emissis pugna iam in manus, iam ad gladios,
 ubi Mars est atrocissimus, uenerat. inter primores genus 4
 Fabium insigne, spectaculo exemploque ciuibus erat. ex his
 Quintum Fabium—tertio hic anno ante consul fuerat—
 principem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox uiribus et
 armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas uersantem
 hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo extracto
 praeceps Fabius in uolnus abiit. sensit utraque acies unius 5
 uiri casum, cedebatque inde Romanus, cum M. Fabius
 consul transiit iacentis corpus, obiectaque parma “hoc
 iurastis” inquit, “milites, fugientes uos in castra redituros?
 adeo ignauissimos hostis magis timetis quam Iouem Martem- 6
 que, per quos iurastis? at ego iniuratus aut uictor reuertar,

aut prope te hic, Quinte Fabi, dimicans cadam.” consulti
 tum Caeso Fabius prioris anni consul: “uerbisne istis, frater,
 7 ut pugnent, te impetraturum credis? di impetrabunt, per
 quos iurauere. et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine
 est dignum, pugnando potius quam adhortando accendamus
 militum animos.” sic in primum infensis hastis prouolant
 duo Fabii, totamque mouerunt secum aciem.

1 **47.** Proelio ex parte una restituto nihilo segnius in
 cornu altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat ; ubi prope
 2 similis fortuna est uersata. nam ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium,
 sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium iam uelut fusos agentem
 hostis et inpigre milites secuti sunt, et, ut ille graui uolnere
 3 ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum rati gradum rettulere ; cessis-
 sentque loco, ni consul alter cum aliquot turmis equitum in
 eam partem citato equo aduectus, uiuere clamitans, collegam
 se uictorem fuso altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinu-
 4 isset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram
 offert. duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum
 animos. simul et uanior iam erat hostium acies dum,
 abundante multitudine freti, subtracta subsidia mittunt ad
 5 castra oppugnanda. in quae haud magno certamine impetu
 facto, cum praedae magis quam pugnae memores tererent
 tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam inruptionem sustinere
 non potuerant, missis ad consules nuntiis, quo loco res
 essent, conglobati ad praetorium redeunt, et sua sponte ipsi
 6 proelium renouant. et Manlius consul reuectus in castra
 ad omnes portas milite opposito hostibus uiam clauserat.
 ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit.
 nam cum incursantes quacumque exitum ostenderet spes
 uano aliquotiens impetu issent, globus iuuenum unus in
 7 ipsum consulem, insignem armis, inuadit. prima excepta
 a circumstantibus tela, sustineri deinde uis nequit. consul
 8 mortifero uolnere ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis

crescit audacia, Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos agit; et ad extrema uentum foret, ni legati raptò consulis corpore patefecissent una porta hostibus uiam. ea erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in uictorem alterum incidunt consulem. ibi iterum caesi fusique passim.

Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam claris funeribus. itaque consul decernente senatu triumphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare possit, pro eximia eo bello opera facile passurum respondit: se familia funesta Quinti Fabi fratris morte, re publica ex parte orba [consule altero amisso], publico priuatoque deformem luctu lauream non accepturum. omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit; adeo spreta in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior rediit. funera deinde duo deinceps collegae fratrisque ducit, idem in utroque laudator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipse maximam partem earum ferret. neque in memor eius, quod initio consulatus inbiberat, reconciliandi animos plebis, saucios milites curandos diuidit patribus. Fabiis plurimi dati, nec alibi maiore cura habiti. inde populares iam esse Fabii, nec hoc ulla re nisi salubri rei publicae arte.

Caeso Fabius suggests a distribution of public land to the Plebs; and undertakes, on behalf of his gens, to carry on the Veientine war.

48. Igitur non patrum magis quam plebis studiis K. Fabius cum Tito Verginio consul factus neque belli neque dilectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere, quam ut iam aliqua ex parte incohata concordiae spe primo quoque tempore cum patribus coalescerent animi plebis. itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agrariae legis auctor tribunus existeret, occuparent patres ipsi suum munus facere, captiuum agrum plebi quam

maxime aequaliter darent ; uerum esse habere eos, quorum
3 sanguine ac sudore partus sit. aspernati patres sunt, questi
quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et euanescere uiuidum
quondam illud Caesonis ingenium. nullae deinde urbanae
4 factiones fuere. uexabantur incursionibus Aequorum Latini.
eo cum exercitu Caeso missus in ipsorum Aequorum agrum
depopulandum transit. Aequi se in oppida receperunt,
murisque se tenebant. eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit.
5 At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius
consulis, actumque de exercitu foret, ni Caeso Fabius in
tempore subsidio uenisset. ex eo tempore neque pax
neque bellum cum Veientibus fuit : res proxime formam
6 latrocinii uenerat. legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem :
ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum
quiete, quietem bello in uicem eludentes. ita neque omitti
tota res nec perfici poterat. et alia bella aut praesentia
instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque, non diutius quam recens
dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus ; aut mox
moturos apparebat Sabinos semper infestos Etruriamque
7 omnem. sed Veiens hostis, adsiduus magis quam grauis,
contumeliis saepius quam periculo animos agitabat, quod
8 nullo tempore neglegi poterat aut auerti alio sinebat. tum
Fabia gens senatum adiit. consul pro gente loquitur :
“adsiduo magis quam magno praesidio, ut scitis, patres
conscripti, bellum Veiens eget. uos alia bella curate,
Fabios hostes Veientibus date. auctores sumus tutam ibi
9 maiestatem Romani nominis fore. nostrum id nobis uelut
familiare bellum priuato sumptu gerere in animo est : res
publica et milite illic et pecunia uacet.” gratiae ingentes
10 actae. consul e curia egressus comitante Fabiorum agmine,
qui in uestibulo curiae senatus consultum expectantes
steterant, domum redit. iussi armati postero die ad limen
consulis adesse ; domos inde discedunt.

The famous exploit of the Fabii, and its end.

49. Manat tota urbe rumor, Fabios ad caelum laudibus 1
 ferunt: familiam unam subisse ciuitatis onus, Veiens bellum
 in priuatam curam, in priuata arma uersum. si sint duae 2
 roboris eiusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant haec Volscos
 sibi, illa Aequos, populo Romano tranquillam pacem agente
 omnes finitimos subigi populos posse. Fabii postera die
 arma capiunt, quo iussi erant conueniunt. consul paludatus 3
 egrediens in uestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine
 uidet; acceptus in medium signa ferri iubet. numquam
 exercitus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et ad-
 miratione hominum per urbem incessit: VI et CCC milites, 4
 omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem
 sperneres, egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant,
 unius familiae uiribus Veienti populo pestem minitantes.
 sequebatur turba, propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque, 5
 nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia
 uoluentium animo, alia publica sollicitudine excitata, fauore
 et admiratione stupens. ire fortes, ire felices iubent, in- 6
 ceptis euentus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos,
 omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare. praetereun- 7
 tibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templa, quidquid deorum
 oculis, quidquid animo occurrit, precantur, ut illud agmen
 faustum atque felix mittant, sospites breui in patriam ad
 parentes restituant. in cassum missae preces. infelici uia, 8
 dextro Iano portae Carmentalis profecti ad Cremeram
 flumen perueniunt. is opportunus uisus locus communiendo
 praesidio.

L. Aemilius inde et C. Seruilius consules facti. et 9
 donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad
 praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota
 regione, qua Tuscius ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia,

10 infesta hostium uagantes per utrumque finem fecere. interuallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae cominus cum Etruscis dimicant acie; quamquam
 11 uix dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit; adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, inuecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo incipiendae sed consistendi
 12 ademit locum. ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra—ibi castra habebant—pacem supplices petunt; cuius impetratae ab insita animis leuitate ante deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenituit.

1 50. Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo sine ullo maioris belli apparatu certamen, nec erant incursiones modo in agros aut subiti impetus *in* incursantes, sed ali-
 2 quotiens aequo campo conlatisque signis certatum, gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res
 3 erant, Etrusca ciuitate uictoriam tulit. id primo acerbum indignumque Veientibus est uisum; inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi. gaudere etiam
 4 multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquotiens, uelut casu incidissent, obuiam acta, et agrestium fuga uasti relictis agri, et subsidia armatorum ad arcendas populationes missa saepius simulato
 5 quam uero pauore refugerunt. iamque Fabii adeo contempserant hostem, ut sua inuicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. haec spes prouexit, ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi interuallum pecora, quamquam rara hostium apparebant arma, decur-
 6 rerent. et cum inprouidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superassent, palatique passim uaga, ut fit pauore iniecto, raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur, et

aduersi et undique hostes erant. primo clamor circumlatus 7
 exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant; coeuntibusque
 Etruscis iam continenti agmine armatorum saepti, quo
 magis se hostis inferebat, cogebantur breuiore spatio et
 ipsi orbem colligere; quae res et paucitatem eorum insignem 8
 et multitudinem Etruscorum multiplicatis in arto ordinibus
 faciebat. tum ommissa pugna, quam in omnes partis partem 9
 intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. eo nisi
 corporibus armisque rupere cuneo uiam. duxit uia in 10
 editum leniter collem. inde primo restitere; mox, ut
 respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a
 pauore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; uince-
 batque auxilio loci paucitas, ni iugo circummissus Veiens
 in uerticem collis euasisset. ita superior rursus hostis factus.
 Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. 11
 trecentos sex perisse satis conuenit, unum prope puberem
 aetate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiae dubiisque rebus po-
 puli Romani saepe domi bellique uel maximum futurum
 auxilium.

Fighting with Etruscans. Political trials at Rome.

51. Cum haec accepta clades est, iam C. Horatius et 1
 T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius aduersus Tuscos
 uictoria elatos confestim missus. tum quoque male pugna- 2
 tum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupauere; obsessaque urbs
 foret super bellum annona premente—transierant enim
 Etrusci Tiberim—, ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset reuo-
 catus; adeoque id bellum ipsis institit moenibus, ut primo
 pugnatum ad Spei sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Colli-
 nam. ibi quamquam paruo momento superior Romana res 3
 fuit, meliorem tamen militem recepto pristino animo in futura
 proelia id certamen fecit.

4 A. Verginius et Sp. Seruilius consules fiunt. post ac-
 ceptam proxima pugna cladem Veientes abstinuere acie.
 populationes erant, et uelut ab arce Ianiculo passim in
 Romanum agrum impetus dabant. non usquam pecora
 5 tuta, non agrestes erant. capti deinde eadem arte sunt,
 qua ceperant Fabios. secuti dedita opera passim ad inlece-
 bras propulsa pecora, praecipitauere in insidias. quo plures
 6 erant, maior caedes fuit. ex hac clade atrox ira maioris
 cladis causa atque initium fuit. traiecto enim nocte Tiberi
 castra Seruili consulis adorti sunt oppugnare. inde fusi
 7 magna caede in Ianiculum se aegre recepere. confestim
 consul et ipse transit Tiberim, castra sub Ianiculo com-
 munit. postero die luce orta nonnihil et hesterna felicitate
 pugnae ferox, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamuis
 in praecipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere
 8 aduerso Ianiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediusque
 inde pulsus, quam pridie pepulerat, interuentu collegae ipse
 9 exercitusque est seruatus. inter duas acies Etrusci, cum in
 uicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. ita
 oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.

1 **52.** Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit et ad-
 uecto ex Campania frumento, et postquam timor sibi cuique
 2 futurae inopiae abiit eo, quod abditum fuerat, prolato. ex
 copia deinde otioque lasciuire rursus animi et pristina mala,
 postquam foris deerant, domi quaerere. tribuni plebem
 agitare suo ueneno, agraria lege; in resistentes incitare patres,
 3 nec in uniuersos modo sed in singulos. Quintus Considius
 et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem
 dicunt. inuidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, cum
 4 haud procul inde statua consul habuisset. ea oppressit,
 cum et patres haud minus quam pro Coriolano adnisi essent,
 5 et patris Agrippae fauor haud minus exoleuisset. in multa
 temperarunt tribuni: cum capitis anquisissent, duorum

miliū aeris damnato multam dixerunt. ea in caput uertit. negant tulisse ignominiam aegritudinēque; inde morbo absumptum esse.

Alius deinde reus Sp. Seruilius, ut consulatu abiit, 6 C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus initio statim anni ab L. Caedicio et T. Statio tribunis die dicta, non ut Menenius precibus suis aut patrum, sed cum multa fiducia innocentiae gratiaeque tribunicios impetus tulit. et huic proelium cum 7 Tuscis ad Ianiculum erat crimini. sed feruidi animi uir, ut in publico periculo ante, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modo sed plebem oratione feroci refutando exprobrandoque T. Meneni damnationem mortemque, cuius patris munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos, quibus tum saeuiret, magistratus, eas leges haberet, periculum audacia discussit. iuuit et Verginius collega testis productus participando 8 laudes, magis tamen Menenianum—adeo mutauerant animum—profuit iudicium.

Renewed fighting with Veientes and Sabines; the Latins repel a Volscian and Aequian foray. Excitement at Rome; two further trials of ex-consuls stopped by the murder of the tribune Genucius.

53. Certamina domi finita. Veiens bellum exortum, 1 quibus Sabini arma coniunxerunt. P. Valerius consul accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis cum exercitu Veios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus sociorum locata erant, confestim adgreditur, tantamque trepidationem iniecit, ut, dum dispersi alii alia manipulatim excurrunt ad arcendam hostium uim, ea porta, cui signa primum intulerat, caperetur. intra uallum deinde caedes magis quam proelium esse. 2 tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat: tamquam Veis captis ita pauidi Veientes ad arma currunt. pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars Romanos toto impetu intentos in castra

3 adoriuntur. paulisper auersi turbatique sunt ; deinde et ipsi utroque uersis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule inmissus Tuscos fundit fugatque. eadem hora duo exercitus, duae potentissimae et maximae finitumae gentes superatae sunt.

4 Dum haec ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Aeque in Latino agro posuerant castra populatque fines erant. eos per se ipsi Latini adsumptis Hernicis sine Romano aut duce aut
5 auxilio castris exuerunt. ingenti praeda praeter suas recuperatas res potiti sunt. missus tamen ab Roma consul in Volscos C. Nautius. mos, credo, non placebat sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis uiribus consiliisque bella
6 gerere. nullum genus calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est, nec tamen perpelli potuere, ut acie dimicarent.

1 54. L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Veientes prouincia euenit. non tamen bellatum ; indutiae in annos quadraginta petentibus datae frumento stipendioque
2 imperato. paci externae confestim continuatur discordia domi. agrariae legis tribunicis stimulis plebs furebat. consules nihil Meneni damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Seruili summa ui resistunt. abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius
3 tribunus plebis arripuit. L. Aemilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum ineunt. Vopiscum Iulium pro Verginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem inuenio. hoc anno—quoscumque consules habuit—rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non plebem magis quam iuniores pa-
4 trum. suadent, monent, honoribus et administratione rei publicae abstineant ; consulares uero fascis, praetextam curulemque sellam nihil aliud quam pompam funeris putent ; claris insignibus uelut infulis uelatos ad mortem destinari.
5 quod si consulatus tanta dulcedo sit, iam tunc ita in animum inducant, consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate esse ; consuli, uelut apparitori tribunicio, omnia

ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse. si se commo- 6
 uerit, si respexerit patres, si aliud quam plebem esse in re
 publica crediderit,—exilium Cn. Marci, Meneni damna-
 tionem et mortem sibi proponant ante oculos. his accensi 7
 uocibus patres consilia inde non publica sed in priuato
 seductaque a plurium conscientia habere. ubi cum id modo
 constaret, iure an iniuria, eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima
 quaeque maxime placebat sententia, nec auctor quamuis
 audaci facinori deerat. igitur iudicii die cum plebs in foro 8
 erecta expectatione staret, mirari primo, quod non descen-
 deret tribunus; dein, cum iam mora suspectior fieret, deter-
 ritum a primoribus credere, et desertam ac proditam causam
 publicam queri; tandem qui obuersati uestibulo tribuni 9
 fuerant nuntiant domi mortuum esse inuentum. quod ubi
 in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce
 occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. praecipuus paupor tribunos
 inuaserat, quam nihil auxilii sacratae leges haberent, morte
 collegae monitos. nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam; 10
 adeoque neminem noxiae paenitebat, ut etiam insontes fe-
 cisse uideri uellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam
 tribuniciam potestatem.

At the next levy the agitation is revived by the case of Volero, who openly resists the Consuls, and, on being elected Tribune, proposes a law concerning the election of Tribunes. The patricians resist for a year, but Volero is re-elected and after a riot the Consul Ap. Claudius is checked by his colleague and the Senate, and the law is passed.

55. Sub hanc pessimi exempli uictoriam dilectus edici- 1
 tur; pauentibusque tribunis sine intercessione ulla consules
 rem peragunt. tum uero irasci plebs tribunorum magis 2
 silentio quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse de
 libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reditum, cum Genucio uno

mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. aliud agen-
 3 dum ac cogitandum, quo modo resistatur patribus; id autem
 unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa plebs, quando aliud nihil
 auxilii habeat, defendat. quattuor et uiginti lictores apparere
 consulibus, et eos ipsos plebis homines. nihil contemptius
 neque infirmius, si sint qui contemnant; sibi quemque ea
 4 magna atque horrenda facere. his uocibus alii alios cum
 incitassent, ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem,
 quia, quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere,
 5 lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos.
 cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et uirgas
 expediri iubent. "prouoco" inquit "ad populum" Volero,
 "quoniam tribuni ciuem Romanum in conspectu suo uirgis
 caedi malunt quam ipsi in lecto suo a uobis trucidari." quo
 ferocius clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare
 6 lictor. tum Volero et praeualens ipse et adiuuantibus aduo-
 catis repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat
 clamor, eo se in turbam confertissimam recipit, clamitans
 7 "prouoco et fidem plebis inploro; adeste ciues, adeste com-
 militones. nihil est quod expectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis
 8 uestro auxilio opus est." concitati homines ueluti ad proe-
 lium se expediunt; apparebatque omne discrimen adesse,
 nihil cuiquam sanctum, non publici fore, non priuati iuris.
 9 huic tantae tempestati cum se consules obtulissent, facile
 experti sunt parum tutam maiestatem sine uiribus esse.
 uiolatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis e foro in curiam con-
 10 pelluntur, incerti, quatenus Volero exerceret uictoriam. con-
 tictiscente deinde tumultu cum in senatum uocari iussissent,
 queruntur iniurias suas, uim plebis, Voleronis audaciam.
 11 multis ferociter dictis sententiis uicere seniores, quibus ira
 patrum aduersus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

I 56. Voleronem amplexa fauore plebs proximis comitiis
 tribunum plebi creat in eum annum, qui Lucium Pinarium

P. Furium consules habuit. contraque omnium opinionem, 2
 qui eum uexandis prioris anni consulibus permissurum tri-
 bunatum credebant, post publicam causam priuato dolore
 habito ne uerbo quidem uiolatis consulibus rogationem tulit
 ad populum, ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent.
 haud parua res sub titulo prima specie minime atroci fere- 3
 batur, sed quae patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium
 suffragia creandi quos uellent tribunos auferret. huic actioni 4
 gratissimae plebi cum summa ui resisterent patres, neque,
 quae una uis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex
 collegio, auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci
 posset, res tamen suo ipsa molimine grauis certaminibus in
 annum extrahitur. plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit: patres, 5
 ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem uenturam, Ap. Claudium
 Appii filium, iam inde a paternis certaminibus inuisum infes-
 tumque plebi, consulem faciunt; collega ei Titus Quinctius
 datur.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur. 6
 sed ut inuentor legis Volero, sic Laetorius collega eius auctor
 cum recentior tum acrior erat. ferocem faciebat belli gloria 7
 ingens, quod aetatis eius haud quisquam manu promptior
 erat. is, cum Volero nihil praeterquam de lege loqueretur,
 insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse accusationem Appii
 familiaeque superbissimae ac crudelissimae in plebem Ro-
 manam exorsus, cum a patribus non consulem sed carnificem 8
 ad uexandam et lacerandam plebem creatum esse contenderet,
 rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat liber-
 tati animoque. itaque deficiente oratione "quando quidem 9
 non facile loquor" inquit, "Quirites, quam quod locutus
 sum praesto, crastino die adeste. ego hic aut in conspectu
 uestro moriar, aut perferam legem." occupant tribuni tem- 10
 plum postero die; consules nobilitasque ad impediendam
 legem in contione consistunt. submoueri Laetorius iubet

11 praeterquam qui suffragium ineant. adulescentes nobiles
 stabant nihil cedentes uiatori. tum ex his prendi quosdam
 Laetorius iubet. consul Appius negare ius esse tribuno in
 12 quemquam nisi in plebeium; non enim populi sed plebis
 eum magistratum esse; nec illum ipsum submouere pro
 imperio posse more maiorum, quia ita dicatur "si uobis
 uidetur, discedite, Quirites." facile haec contemptim de
 13 iure disserendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. ardens igitur
 ira tribunus uiatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem
 ad tribunum, priuatum esse clamitans sine imperio, sine
 14 magistratu; uiolatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio omnis
 atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset, et concursus
 hominum in forum ex tota urbe concitatae multitudinis fieret.
 sustinebat tamen Appius pertinacia tantam tempestatem;
 15 certatumque haud incruento proelio foret, ni Quinctius
 consul alter consularibus negotio dato, ut collegam ui, si
 aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem
 saeuientem precibus lenisset, nunc orasset tribunos, ut con-
 16 cilium dimitterent: darent irae spatium, non uim suam illis
 tempus adempturum, sed consilium uiribus additurum; et
 patres in populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate.

1 **57.** Aegre sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo aegrius
 2 consul alter a patribus. dimisso tandem concilio plebis
 senatum consules habent. ubi cum timor atque ira in uicem
 sententias uariassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab impetu
 ad consultandum auocabantur, eo plus abhorrebant a certa-
 tione animi, adeo ut Quinctio gratias agerent, quod eius
 3 opera mitigata discordia esset. ab Appio petitur, ut tantam
 consularem maiestatem esse uellet, quanta esse in concordi
 ciuitate posset. dum consules tribunique ad se quisque
 omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse uirium in medio, dis-
 tractam laceratamque rem publicam; magis quorum in
 4 manu sit, quam ut incolumis sit, quaeri. Appius contra

testari deos atque homines rem publicam prodi per metum ac deseri, non consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse, grauiore accipi leges, quam in Sacro monte acceptae sint. uictus tamen patrum consensu quieuit. lex silentio perfertur.

471 B.C. *The Comitia Tributa now formally constituted, and Patricians excluded. Humiliation of the Consul Claudius by his disaffected soldiers, and their punishment. Success of his more popular colleague.*

58. Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt. 1 numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso auctor est. nominat quoque tribunos, Cn. Siccium, 2 L. Numitorium, M. Duellium, Sp. Icilium, L. Maecilium.

Volscum Aequeumque inter seditionem Romanam est 3 bellum coortum. uastauerant agros, ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet. compositis deinde rebus castra retro mouere. Ap. Claudius in Volscos missus, 4 Quintio Aequi prouincia euenit. eadem in militia saeuitia Appi quae domi esse, liberior, quod sine tribuniciis uinculis erat. odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio: quid? se 5 uictum ab ea, se unico consule electo aduersus tribuniciam potestatem perlatam legem esse, quam minore conatu nequam tanta patrum spe priores inpedierunt consules? haec 6 ira indignatioque ferocem animum ad uexandum saeuo imperio exercitum stimulabat. nec ulla ui domari poterat; tantum certamen animis inbiberant. segniter otiose negle- 7 genter contumaciter omnia agere. nec pudor nec metus coercebat. si citius agi uellet agmen, tardius sedulo incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes sua sponte motam remittere industriam. praesenti uoltus demittere, tacite prae- 8 tereuntem exsecrari, ut inuictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moueretur. omni nequiquam acerbitate prompta 9 nihil iam cum militibus agere, a centurionibus corruptum

exercitum dicere, tribunos plebei cauillans interdum et Volerones uocare.

- 1 **59.** Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant instabantque eo magis, sperantes idem certamen animorum aduersus Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod aduersus Fabium
 2 consulem habuisset. ceterum multo Appio quam Fabio uiolentior fuit; non enim uincere tantum noluit, ut Fabianus exercitus, sed uinci uoluit. productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra, nec ante restitit, quam signa inferentem Volscum
 3 munimentis uidit foedamque extremi agminis caedem. tum expressa uis ad pugnandum, ut uictor iam a uallo submoueretur hostis, satis tamen apparet capi tantum castra militem Romanum noluisse, alia gaudere sua clade atque
 4 ignominia. quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus cum insuper saeuire uellet contionemque aduocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunisque monentes, ne utique experiri uellet imperium, cuius uis omnis in consensu oboedientium esset.
 5 negare uolgo milites se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri uoces postulantium, ut castra ex Volsco agro moueantur. hostem uictorem paulo ante prope in portis ac uallo fuisse, ingentisque mali non suspicionem modo sed
 6 apertam speciem obuersari ante oculos. uictus tandem, quando quidem nihil praeter tempus noxae lucrarentur, remissa contione iter in insequentem diem pronuntiari cum iussisset, prima luce classico signum profectionis dedit.
 7 cum maxime agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci, ut eodem signo excitati, nouissimos adoriuntur. a quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pauore signaque et ordines turbauit ut neque imperia exaudiri neque instrui acies posset. nemo
 8 ullius nisi fugae memor. ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque euasere, ut prius hostis desisteret
 9 sequi quam Romanus fugere. tandem collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus consul, cum reuocando nequiquam suos

persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; aduocataque 10
 contione inuectus haud falso in proditorem exercitum mili-
 taris disciplinae, desertorem signorum, ubi signa, ubi arma
 essent, singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signi- 11
 feros, ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque, qui reliquerant
 ordines, uirgis caesos securi percussit; cetera multitudo
 sorte decumus quisque ad supplicium lecti.

60. Contra ea in Aequis inter consulem ac milites 1
 comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. et natura Quinctius
 erat lenior, et saeuitia infelix collegae, quo is magis gauderet
 ingenio suo, effecerat. huic tantae concordiae ducis exer- 2
 citusque non ausi offerre se Aequi uagari populabundum
 hostem per agros passi. nec ullo ante bello latius inde acta
 praeda. ea omnis militi data est. addebantur et laudes, 3
 quibus haud minus quam praemio gaudent militum animi.
 cum duci tum propter ducem patribus quoque placatior
 exercitus redit, sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum
 datum ab senatu memorans.

Varia fortuna belli, atroci discordia domi forisque annum 4
 exactum insignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt, res maior
 uictoria suscepti certaminis quam usu; plus enim dignitatis 5
 comitiis ipsis detractum est patribus ex concilio submouendis,
 quam uirium aut plebi additum est aut demptum patribus.

*The ex-consul Claudius is brought to trial by two Tribunes
 but dies before it is completed. Desultory fighting for
 three years with Aequians and Sabines, and also with
 the Volscians.*

61. Turbulentior inde annus exceptit L. Valerio T. 1
 Aemilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege
 agraria, tum propter iudicium Appi Claudii, cui acerrimo 2
 aduersario legis causamque possessorum publici agri tam-
 quam tertio consuli sustinenti M. Duillius et Cn. Siccus

3 diem dixere. numquam ante tam inuisus plebi reus ad
 iudicium uocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus pater-
 4 narum irarum. patres quoque non temere pro ullo aequae
 adnisi sunt : propugnatorem senatus maiestatisque uindicem
 suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus,
 modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum, iratae obici plebi.
 5 unus e patribus ipse Ap. Claudius et tribunos et plebem et
 suum iudicium pro nihilo habebat. illum non minae plebis,
 non senatus preces percellere unquam potuere, non modo
 ut uestem mutaret, aut supplex prensaret homines, sed ne
 ut ex consueta quidem asperitate orationis, cum ad populum
 6 agenda causa esset, aliquid leniret atque submitteret. idem
 habitus oris, eadem contumacia in uultu, idem in oratione
 spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus
 7 reum timeret, quam consulem timuerat. semel causam
 dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio
 spiritu ; adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupescit et
 plebem, ut diem ipsi sua uoluntate prodicerent, trahi deinde
 8 rem sinerent. haud ita multum interim temporis fuit ; ante
 9 tamen, quam predicta dies ueniret, morbo moritur. cuius
 cum laudationem tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebs
 fraudari sollemni honore supremum diem tanti uiri noluit,
 et laudationem tam aequis auribus mortui audiuit, quam
 uiui accusationem audierat, et exsequias frequens celebrauit.

1 **62.** Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in
 Aequos profectus cum hostem ad proelium elicere non
 posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. prohibuit foeda tem-
 2 pestas cum grandine ac tonitribus caelo deiecta. admira-
 tionem deinde auxit signo receptui dato adeo tranquilla
 serenitas reddita, ut uelut numine aliquo defensa castra op-
 pugnare iterum religio fuerit. omnis ira belli ad populationem
 3 agri uertit. alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit.
 et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, uastati agri sunt.

incendiis deinde non uillarum modo sed etiam uicorum, 4
quibus frequenter habitabatur, Sabini exciti cum praeda-
toribus occurrissent, ancipiti proelio digressi postero die
rettulere castra in tutiora loca. id satis consuli uisum, cur 5
pro uicto relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

63. Inter haec bella manente discordia domi consules 1
Titus Numicius Priscus A. Verginius facti. non ultra uide- 2
batur latura plebes dilationem agrariae legis, ultimaque uis
parabatur, cum Volscos adesse fumo ex incendiis uillarum
fugaque agrestium cognitum est. ea res maturam iam sedi-
tionem ac prope erumpentem repressit. consules coacti 3
extemplo ab senatu ad bellum, educta ex urbe iuuentute
tranquilliores ceteram plebem fecerunt. et hostes quidem 4
nihil aliud quam perfusis uano timore Romanis citato ag-
mine abeunt. Numicius Antium aduersus Volscos, Verginius 5
contra Aequos profectus. ibi ex insidiis prope magna
accepta clade uirtus militum rem prolapsam negligentia
consulis restituit. melius in Volscis imperatum est: fusi 6
primo proelio hostes fugaque in urbem Antium, ut tum res
erant, opulentissimam acti. quam consul oppugnare non
ausus Caenonem, aliud oppidum nequaquam tam opulen-
tum, ab Antiatibus cepit. dum Aequi Volscique Romanos 7
exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis populantes
incessere. deinde ipsi paucis post diebus ab duobus exer-
citibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso in finis, plus
cladium quam intulerant acceperunt.

*The Consul Servilius punishes the Sabines, and his colleague
Quinctius defeats the Volscians and captures Antium.*

64. Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper 1
alias, sollicitae pacis certamine patrum et plebis. irata
plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit: per patres 2
clientesque patrum consules creati T. Quinctius Q. Seruilus.

similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia, bello
 3 deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini, Crustuminos campos
 citato agmine transgressi, cum caedes et incendia circum
 Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina moeni-
 busque pulsus ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque
 4 egere. quos Seruilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus
 ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequis locis non potuit;
 populationem adeo effuse fecit, ut nihil bello intactum relin-
 5 queret, multiplicique capta praeda rediret. et in Volscis
 res publica egregie gesta cum ducis tum militum opera.
 primum aequo campo signis conlatis pugnatum ingenti caede
 6 utrimque, plurimo sanguine. et Romani, quia paucitas damno
 sentiendo propior erat, gradum rettulissent, nisi salubri men-
 dacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans, con-
 citasset aciem. impetu facto, dum se putant uincere, uicere.
 7 consul metuens, ne nimis instando renouaret certamen,
 8 signum receptui dedit. intercessere pauci dies uelut tacitis
 indutiis utrimque quiete sumpta; per quos ingens uis homi-
 num ex omnibus Volscis Aequisque populis in castra uenit,
 9 haud dubitans, si senserint, Romanos nocte abituros. itaque
 10 tertia fere uigilia ad castra oppugnanda ueniunt. Quinctius
 sedato tumultu, quem terror subitus exciuerat, cum manere
 in tentoriis quietum militem iussisset, Hernicorum cohortem
 in stationem educit, cornicines tubicinesque in equos im-
 positos canere ante uallum iubet sollicitumque hostem ad
 11 lucem tenere. relicum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia in
 castris fuere, ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset.
 Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse
 et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui
 et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante sonitu
 saeuiebant, intentos uelut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

I 65. Ubi inluxit, Romanus integer satiatusque somno
 productus in aciem fessum stando et uigiliis Volscum primo

impetu perculit ; quamquam cessere magis quam pulsi hostes 2
sunt, quia ab tergo erant cliui, in quos post principia in-
tegris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. consul, ubi ad iniquum
locum uentum est, sistit aciem. miles aegre teneri, clamare
et poscere, ut percussis instare liceat. ferocius agunt equites, 3
circumfusi duci uociferantur se ante signa ituros. dum
cunctatur consul, uirtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens,
conclamant se ituros ; clamoremque res est secuta. fixis in
terram pilis, quo leuiores ardua euaderent, cursu subeunt.
Volscus effusis ad primum impetum missilibus telis saxa 4
obiacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes, turbatosque ictibus
crebris urget ex superiore loco. sic prope oneratum est
sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus iam gradum consul
increpando simul temeritatem simul ignauiam pudore metum
excussisset. restitere primo obstinatis animis ; deinde, ut 5
obtinentes locum uires reficiebant, audent ultro gradum
inferre, et clamore renouato commouent aciem. tum rursus
impetu capto enituntur atque exsuperant iniquitatem loci.
iam prope erat, ut in summum cliui iugum euaderent, cum 6
terga hostes dedere, effusoque cursu paene agmine uno
fugientes sequentesque castris incidere. in eo pauore castra
capiuntur. qui Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. 7
Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus. paucos circumsessum
dies deditur nulla oppugnantium noua ui, sed quod iam
inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.

PERIOCHA LIBRI II.

Brutus iure iurando populum adstrinxit neminem regnare Romae passurum. Tarquinius Collatinum collegam suum propter adfinitatem Tarquiniorum suspectum coegit consulatu se abdicare et ciuitate cedere. bona regum diripi iussit, agrum Marti consecrauit, qui campus Martius nominatus est. adulescentes nobiles, in quibus suos quoque et fratris filios, quia coniurauerant de recipiendis regibus, securi percussit. seruo indici, cui Vindicio nomen fuit, libertatem dedit; ex cuius nomine uindicta appellata. cum aduersus reges, qui contractis Veientum et Tarquiniensium copiis bellum intulerant, exercitum duxisset, in acie cum Arrunte filio Superbi commortuus est, eumque matronae anno luxerunt. P. Valerius consul legem de prouocatione ad populum tulit. Capitolium dedicatum est. Porsinna Clusinorum rex bello pro Tarquiniis suscepto cum ad Ianiculum uenisset, ne Tiberim transiret uirtute Coclitis Horati prohibitus est, qui, dum alii pontem sublicium rescindunt, solus Etruscos sustinuit, et ponte rupto armatus in flumen se misit, et ad suos transnauit. accessit alterum uirtutis exemplum a Mucio, qui cum ad feriendum Porsinnam castra hostium intrasset, occiso scriba, quem regem esse existimauerat, comprehensus impositam manum altaribus, in quibus sacrificatum erat, exuri passus est, dixitque tales trecentos esse. quorum admiratione coactus Porsinna pacis condiciones ferre bellum omisit acceptis obsidibus. ex quibus uirgo una Cloelia deceptis custodibus per Tiberim ad suos transnauit, et cum reddita esset, a Porsinna honorifice remissa, equestri statua donata est. aduersus Tarquinium Superbum cum Latinorum exercitu bellum inferentem Aulus Postumius dictator prospere pugnauit. Ap. Claudius ex Sabinis Romam transfugit: ob hoc Claudia tribus adiecta est. numerus tribuum ampliatus est, ut essent uiginti una. plebs cum propter nexos ob aes alienum in Sacrum montem secessisset, consilio

Menenii Agrippae a seditione reuocata est. .idem Agrippa cum decessisset, propter paupertatem publico impendio elatus est. tribuni plebis quinque creati sunt. oppidum Volscorum Corioli captum est uirtute et opera Cn. Marci, qui ob hoc Coriolanus uocatus est. T. Latinius, uir de plebe, cum in uisu admonitus, ut de quibusdam religionibus ad senatum perferret, id neglexisset, amisso filio pedibus debilis factus postquam delatus ad senatum lectica eadem illa indicauerat, usu pedum recepto domum reuersus est. cum Cn. Marcus Coriolanus, qui in exilium erat pulsus, dux Volscorum factus exercitum hostium urbi admouisset, et missi ad eum primum legati, postea sacerdotes, frustra deprecati essent, ne bellum patriae inferret, Veturia mater et Volunnia uxor impetrauerunt ab eo, ut recederet. lex agraria primum lata est. Spurius Cassius consularis regni crimine damnatus est necatusque. Opillia uirgo Vestalis ob incestum uiua defossa est. cum uicini Veientes incommodi magis quam graues essent, familia Fabiorum id bellum gerendum depoposcit, misitque in id trecentos sex armatos, qui ad Cremeram praeter unum ab hostibus caesi sunt. Appius Claudius consul, cum aduersus Volscos contumacia exercitus male pugnatum esset, decimum quemque militum fuste percussit. res praeterea aduersus Volscos et Hernicos et Veientes *gestas*, et seditiones inter patres plebemque continet.

HINTS ON THE CHIEF DIFFICULTIES OF LIVY'S STYLE.

STUDENTS who are reading Livy for the first time should notice carefully the following points.

1. **Livy's style is rich**, *i.e.* he is fond of adding to his main thought a good many points which help to fill out its meaning and make the picture more complete. Yet for the sake of brevity and force he condenses these details into the same sentence. Hence whenever any statement seems long or complex,

Analyse the sentence carefully before translating it.

After finding the main Verb, and its Subject and Object, if it has one, in the usual way, sort out clearly the other words and phrases, noticing especially three points:

(a) *If there is an Ablative Absolute, or a Participle agreeing with some Noun in the sentence*, then see whether any other words depend on the Noun or Participle, making up a phrase complete in itself inside the main sentence.

(b) If there is a Relative Pronoun or a Conjunction like *cum*, *ubi*, *postquam*, which needs a Verb after it, find out this Verb, and then remember that all the words between belong to this Conjunction-clause, and not to the main Verb of the sentence.

(c) If there is an *et*, *ac* or *-que*, ascertain exactly what two words it connects. Generally the two words connected are of the same kind, Noun and Noun, Verb and Verb, and so on,

and in the same construction, *e.g.* Dative and Dative, or Subjunctive and Subjunctive.

Thus take the first long sentence of the Book, § 4 of c. 1 :

Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum conuenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inuiolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adeptam, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tribuniciiis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset?

1. What is the main Verb? *futurum fuit*. The Subject? *quid*.
2. Conjunction *si*, with what Verb? *coepta esset*. What Subject? *illa pastorum conuenarumque plebs*. But there are other Nominatives; they must be therefore attached to *plebs*—*transfuga*, *adepta*, *soluta*; each has words depending on it. What is the Object of *coepta esset*? The Infinitive *agitari*.
3. What does *et* connect? What is the construction of *serere*? Joined by *et* to *agitari*.
4. Conjunction *priusquam*, with what Verb? *consociasset*. What Subject? *pignera caritasque*, the latter attracting *consociasset* into the Singular, each with words dependent on it. What Object? *animos*.
5. Relative *cui*, with what Verb? *adsuescitur*. What Antecedent? *soli*.

If the long sentences are treated in this way, they will either become clear at once, or else, which is almost as good, you will know exactly where the difficulties are.

2. **Livy's style is compact.** He conveys a great deal of his meaning by the careful **order** in which he places his words and clauses. Hence in construing

Never depart from the order of the words unless it is impossible to find a construction for them without doing so.

Thus in the first line of c. 1, *pace belloque* are put in between *res... gestas* and must be taken with them, *i.e.* the Abl. depends upon *gestas*. Six lines below *ab se* comes in between *sedes* and *auctae multitudinis*, and must therefore be taken with *auctae*.

On the other hand *ipsi*, though it agrees with the subject of *addiderunt*, is thrown in between *nouas* and *sedes* in order to emphasize *nouas* (so *adorti* between *fessos* and *exules* in c. 20. 6, in order to emphasize *fessos*). Such exceptions will soon be easily recognized. There are a

few cases, especially at the end of Clauses, where the natural order is abandoned for the sake of sound merely and the variation makes no difference to the sense, e.g. *qui ex eo uenirent agro* instead of *qui ex eo agro uenirent*; but these are not likely to cause any difficulty.

3. **Livy's style is antithetic**, i.e. he is fond of **contrasts**. Very often the meaning of a sentence or clause will be doubtful until you find out what it is contrasted with (see c. 6, § 2, note). And often two clauses or phrases are **coupled simply by contrast**, where an Englishman would connect them by 'but' and a Greek by 'μὲν...δὲ.' See the note on c. 1. 8.

4. **Livy's style is periodic**, i.e. he is fond of grouping several facts round one and thus describing them all in one sentence, with several clauses subordinate to one principal Verb which comes as a climax at the end. It often happens that one such Period includes events which happened successively, so that the last and chief event is a good deal later in time than the first; e.g. c. 59. 6, *uictus tandem... remissa contione, iter in insequentem diem pronuntiari cum iussisset, prima luce classico signum projectionis dedit*. This sentence begins with the General's change of mind which led to his giving orders for the march next day, and ends with the actual beginning of the march next morning. So c. 62. 4.

Now in such cases, in first construing the Latin we must follow the construction literally, but

To translate a long period into idiomatic English it is often necessary to split it up into several independent sentences.

The most useful expedient is to substitute a main Verb in English followed by an 'and' for a Latin Participle, or for a clause depending on *cum*. Thus the following is not too free a rendering of the sentence just quoted: 'Appius was at last convinced. Abandoning his intention of addressing the troops, he bade marching orders be given for the next morning, and at daybreak he let the trumpet be sounded for the start.'

NOTES.

Two Latin Grammars are frequently referred to in these Notes: Postgate's *New Latin Primer*, 2nd Ed., Cassell & Co., 1898 (*N. L. P.*), and Allen & Greenough's *Latin Grammar*, Ginn, Heath & Co., 1889.

CHAP. I, page 1.

§ 1 **Liberi.** Livy begins with the word which marks the character of the epoch to be described in this book as contrasted with the last. In English the emphasis must be given by an inversion: 'It is the history of the people of Rome under a free government that I have henceforward to trace, in peace and in war....'

2 **proximi** means simply 'nearest in order,' and the context determines whether it refers to the next preceding, 'the last,' as here, or to the next following.

ita regnarunt, ut...numerentur. The rules of Sequence of Tenses do not apply to sentences expressing a Consequence. The Tense of the Subjunctive is fixed simply by the time at which the Consequence takes place.

nouas and **sedes**, both in Apposition to *quas*: 'which they themselves had newly added as abodes for (lit. 'of') the etc.' On the order, see *Hints on Livy's Style*, p. 79 sup.

3 **Superbo exacto rege**, 'by driving out King Tarquin the Cruel.' This is the earliest use of the Abl. Absol., where the action it describes is an Instrument towards the action of the main Verb, and is done by the Subject of the main Verb. It is safe to assume, that this is so, unless the context shows, as it occasionally does, that the action was done by some one else. What is generally counted the literal translation 'the King having been driven out' gives the relation

between the Noun and the Participle, but it does not represent the close connexion which is implied in the Ablative between the action described in the phrase and the action of the main Verb of the sentence.

peissimo publico, another Abl. Absol. in which *publico* is the Noun and *peissimo* the Predicate; 'with the public interest very badly off,' 'to the great detriment of the public interest.' The neut. *publicum* is often used as a Noun, e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 3. 70 *egregium publicum*, 'an excellent record of public service.' The Abl. denotes here not the Instrument but the Accompaniment of the action of the main Verb, an early meaning of the Case (cf. the two meanings of Eng. *with*); in this phrase it has come to express Result.

facturus fuerit after *neque ambigitur quin* replaces *fecisset* in a Direct Statement. When it is necessary to make a main statement that is already in the Subjunctive subordinate to another Verb, it is done by means of the Future Participle. For *faciam*, 'I should do,' substitute *facturus sum*, 'I am likely to do,' for *facerem, fecissem*, 'I should now be...doing, should have done,' *facturus fui*, 'I was likely to do.' Then the Mood and Tense of *sum* or *fui* can be adjusted to express the subordination. In such a sentence as this *fecisset* is first changed to *facturus fuit*, and then *fuit* becomes *fuerit* by the regular rules after *neque ambigitur quin*. If the governing Verb is one which takes the Acc. and Inf., *facturus fuit* would become *facturum fuisse*; see e.g. ch. 2. § 5 *dicturum fuisse*, representing *dixisset* in Or. Recta.

It is, of course, only Main Statements in the Subjunctive that are so treated. The Apodosis of a Conditional Sentence will be thus converted, but never the Protasis.

4-5 **quid enim...consociasset**. For an analysis of this sentence, see *Hints on Livy's Style*, p. 79 sup.

4 **futurum fuit, si...coepta esset**. The Fut. Partc. with *fuit* 'was likely to happen' here replaces *fuisse* 'would have happened' although there is no subordination; this is not uncommon.

transfuga ex suis populis. The Substantive is used in apposition to *plebs* with the force of an Adjective; cf. phrases like *nemo senator* where we should say 'no one of the Senators.' The phrase refers to the way in which Romulus was said (Liv. 1. 8. 6) to have peopled Rome by inviting all sorts and conditions of men, including even slaves and criminals, to migrate thither and become citizens; and it suggests the irregularities likely to occur in the conduct of a miscellaneous crowd of people, cut off from the restraints of the laws and social usage to which they had been accustomed in their old homes. In the ancient

world men's conceptions of duty were closely connected with the place and class in which they were born, and even in Livy's time very few Romans supposed that a stranger or foreigner was entitled to expect from you the same just conduct as your own fellow-citizens did.

inviolati templi, the so-called '*asylum inter duos lucos*,' identified with a primitive temple of Vejove between the twin summits of the Capitoline Hill (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8. 348). The story that Romulus founded an *ἄσυλον* or 'sanctuary of refuge' is one of many parts of the legend of the foundation of Rome which was invented by the Greeks who first professed to write Roman history. As the word itself shows, the right of taking refuge in holy places was a Greek custom, though it was ultimately recognized by Roman Emperors and so descended to the Christian Churches of the Middle Ages. [Yet Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2. § 36 and the matter of course way in which slaves take refuge at the altar in Plautus' plays (based though they were on Greek originals) suggest that the custom was not altogether foreign to Italy. J. S. R.]

regio metu = *metu regum*, where *regum* is an Objective Genitive.

coepta esset. By a natural attraction this Verb is commonly (though not always, e.g. c. 29. 6) put in the Passive when the Infin. which depends on it is Passive. With *serere* supply *coepisset*.

tribunicis procellis, e.g. those related in cc. 42. 6, 43. 3, 44. 1.

Page 2.

- 5 **pignera coniugum** etc., 'family ties,' i.e. the pledges of their loyalty created by or consisting in their families. *pignus* is often thus used to denote some loved object the possession of which binds one to life as a whole or to some particular duty, such as the defence of one's country, or, as here, to loyal conduct towards one's fellow-citizens.

adsuescitur. Impersonal Pass., equivalent to *homines adsuescunt*, just as *sic vivitur* = *sic homines vivunt*.

- 6 **dissipatae...forent**. The Partc. is separated from its Verb in order to be placed first in the sentence, so as to connect it with the preceding one by putting first the emphatic word of the answer to the question *quid futurum fuit?*

res nondum adultae, 'the infant commonwealth.'

eo(que)...ut, 'to such a point that, until.'

- 7 **inde...quia**, lit. '(you may count as beginning) from this fact, that,' i.e. '(you may attribute) to the fact that.'

quia...factum est, quam quod deminutum...sit. The real reason,

alleged by the writer himself, is put in the Indicative, generally with *quia* as here; the wrong reason, given by the writer as that alleged or imagined by others, and therefore really a quotation ('Virtually Oblique') is put into the Subjunctive, generally with *quod*.

- 8 **omnia iura...: id modo cautum est.** These two clauses are connected by what is known as Adversative Asyndeton, which may be more simply called a 'Coupling Contrast.' Latin leaves the Contrast to be implied simply by the meaning and by the absence of any connecting particle; in English the clauses must be joined by 'but.'

id modo...ne si...haberent,...videretur. The actual prohibition is left to be implied in the reason given for it. It was of course that the two consuls should not both be preceded at the same time by the lictors with 'fasces,' *i.e.* bundles of rods with axes for chastising criminals, the symbol of supreme power. The Consuls enjoyed this dignity in alternate months. For further detail see n. on *dictator*, c. 18. 4, and cf. c. 55. 2 n. *id cautum est* means literally, 'this was provided against.'

Brutus, i.e. Lucius Junius Brutus, who founded the Republic by expelling the Tarquins (Liv. 1. 59-60).

- 9 **iure iurando...neminem...passuros.** Supply *se* as Subject to *passuros (esse)*, of which *neminem regnare* is the Object. *se* denotes the people who took the oath, the *populus*, which Livy frequently treats as though it were a plural word like *ciues*.
- 10 **equestris gradus, v. note on *plebis* in § 11.**
- 11 **qui patres qui que conscripti.** This explanation of the phrase *patres conscripti* is given also by Festus (p. 254 M.). If it is correct, the phrase is an example of the Latin preference for using no word to mean 'and' in an enumeration, especially in short standing phrases like *clam palam*, 'in secret and in public,' *sarta tecta*, 'wind-proof and water-tight.' On this view the phrase 'conscript fathers' would be historically incorrect; but since the distinction which Livy asserts, if it ever existed, entirely died out in the later Republic, when the whole Senate was *conscriptus* by the Censors, and the phrase meant simply 'members of the Senate,' we may well retain the old English rendering. Cicero actually uses the singular *pater conscriptus* (Phil. 13. 13. 28) which shows that he did not recognize the view of the phrase which Livy adopts. And since the Senate must have been *conscriptus* 'chosen' by the King from the earliest times, we should expect a new set of members to be called *adscripti* 'added,' rather than by a name which would apply equally to new and old. It seems from Livy and Festus that the herald's formula

for summoning the Senate was 'Qui patres, qui conscripti, in curiam ite.' This in old legal Latin might well mean 'All who are *both* heads of families *and* enrolled, come to the Senate,' but might easily have been misunderstood in later times in the sense which Livy gives to it. Several examples of such double Relatives referring to the same class of persons or things which is thus doubly limited, may be found in the statutes that have come down to us, e.g. in the decision of the Minucii, *C. I. L. I. 199, ll. 5—6, qua ager priuatus... Vituriorum est, quem agrum eos uendere... licet, is ager* etc.

mirum quantum profuit. The construction we should expect in ordinary usage would be *mirum est quantum id profuerit*. But the custom of using the Subjunctive in all Indirect Questions had not grown up in early Latin (Plautus and Terence use the Indicative), and even in the classical period the Indicative survives in cases where the subordination of the question was not clearly felt, *i.e.* where the introductory phrase was short and by constant use had come to sound more like a mere Adverb of Exclamation (like Eng. 'Hark,' or 'Think') than a real sentence. So *mirum quantum* meant to a Roman 'wonderfully much,' *uiden' ut* (literally 'do you see how...?') meant 'look, lo!', and both regularly take the Indicative.

iungendos patribus plebis animos. This phrase shows that Livy, with other ancient authorities, supposed that the new members of the Senate were Plebeian; this they might be although they belonged to the *equester gradus* (§ 10), which only implies that they were included in the wealthiest class of the Comitia Centuriata. But throughout this period the Senate showed itself the bitter enemy of the Plebeians, and no change took place in its policy until after the laws of 367 B.C. when Plebeians began to be frequently admitted; and no Plebeian is mentioned as taking part in any of its proceedings until the year 400 B.C., when we are expressly told that the Plebeian Publius Licinius Calvus was a member (Liv. 5. 12). Hence it seems probable that the Senate contained none but Patricians till 400 B.C. and that Livy's view is an example of the very common mistake of attributing to early times the political relations of a later epoch. Since Livy's theory is clearly connected by him with the view he takes of *patres conscripti*, it throws further doubt on that view; see above.

CHAP. 2.

1 **nē-cubi**, 'lest anywhere,' like *si-cubi* 'if anywhere' and *si-cunde*, probably shows the old form of the Interrogative, Relative and Indefinite words beginning with *u-*. *-cubi*, *-cunde* would come from **quobi* **quonde* just as *cum* from *quom*. But negatives like *ne-cuter* 'neither of the two,' *ne-cunquam* 'never,' and also *si-cuti* 'so as' (containing O. Latin **si* 'so') were wrongly divided as though they were compounded with *nec* (from *neque*) and *sic* (from *si-ce*), and so the *u-*forms arose. So in English *a norange* became *an orange*, etc.

regem sacrificulum, officially, and far more commonly, known as *rex sacrorum*. The title is an example of the Roman love for a legal fiction by which, when a change had taken place, it was concealed by the retention of the old name. The King had been the head of the State religion; hence his office is preserved in name in the ritual of the Republic, in order that he may perform just such duties as the King had been wont to do in person. A similar fiction served to reconcile the Patricians to the admission of the Plebeians to the Consulship in 367 B.C. (Liv. 6. 42. 11). The highest magistrates had till then been called Praetors; and the office of Praetor was still confined to Patricians, though all its duties, except the business of the Law-courts, were transferred to the new Consuls.

Page 3.

2 **modum excesserint**, 'passed beyond the line, exceeded the (proper) limit.' Remember that *modus* means 'limit'; phrases like *hoc modo* originally meant 'with this limit,' or 'along this line,' and so came to mean little more than 'in this way,' but outside these adverbial phrases *modus* must not be used for 'way.'

3 **consulis alterius**, *i.e.* L. Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of the unhappy Lucretia, see Book 1. 57.

cum, 'although.' The MSS. read *offenderit*, which some editors retain, but, as Madvig points out, it is doubtful whether another example of the Perf. Subj. could be found in a statement which covers a number of different occasions. [Is *offenderit* really strange, especially with the negative? Even in Cicero *non putavi* may mean 'I never did at any time think.' J. S. R.]

adsuesse. The Acc. and Inf. depends on the notion of complaint or censure suggested by *inuisum civitati*, and gives what the citizens said against Collatinus.

ne interuallo quidem facto oblitum...regni. The negative extends

over the whole phrase: 'not even after this interval forgetting (his ambition for) the throne, as (a man would forget) a thing outside his own sphere.'

nescire...priuatos uiuere = *nescire artem uiuendi ut priuati uiuunt.*

- 4 **hinc primo sensim...sermo.** *hinc* may mean either 'from this source,' *i.e.* 'from among those who thought thus,' or 'from such beginnings, with such suggestions.' Some editors change *hinc* to *hic* which would agree with *sermo* and make a smoother link with what precedes; but the change is not absolutely necessary.

plebem here, as often in Livy, means the mass of the citizens generally, not the Plebeians merely.

- 5 **nec esse Romae** is parallel to *regnare* and depends on *passuros*. *unde* is substituted for *a quo*, an idiom greatly loved by Latin writers. So in the next sentence the Adv. *eo* takes the place of *ad id*.

dicturum fuisse. See the n. on *facturus fuerit* I. 3.

- 7 **absolue**, 'complete,' 'crown.' This metaphorical use of the word is very common in the Partc. *absolutus* 'finished off,' 'perfect,' 'absolute.'

non solum...sed. Livy often puts *sed* for *sed etiam*, especially where, as here, the second clause contains something of a contrast as well as an addition to the first; cf. *e.g.* I. 10. 1.

amicus abi. Note the predicate Nom. (not Voc.).

- 9 **ceteri quidem...: postquam Sp. Lucretius...timens consul** etc. These two clauses are Coupled by the Contrast; cf. n. on c. 1. 8.

alternis for *alternis uicibus*, as often in Livy.

ut uinci se...pateretur. The context shows that *se* refers to the subject of *pateretur*, *i.e.* Collatinus, not to the subject of *cepit*; cf. c. 6. 2, n. on *ne se ortum*.

Page 4.

- 11 **comitibus centuriatis creauit P. Valerium.** *creare* is often used of the *populus* who 'elected' such and such an officer; but more often, as here, of the officer who presided at an election, and after inviting and receiving the votes for duly qualified candidates 'declared to be elected' such and such a one (or more) of them.

CHAP. 3.

- 1 **spe omnium serius**, 'later than any one expected.' This colourless meaning of *spes*, applying to bad or good prospects equally, is especially common in this phrase; so *spem fallere* may mean 'to disappoint' or 'to surprise pleasantly.'

serius is best taken as an Adverb

since the phrase *sero est* is fairly common, whereas the Comparative of the Adjective does not seem to occur elsewhere in Livy, Cicero or Caesar.

- 2 **adulescentes aliquot neque ei tenui loco orti**, 'several young men, and those of no ignoble birth.' In negative phrases *neque is* or *neque ille*, in positive phrases *idem* or *et ipse* is thus used to emphasize a particular epithet by detaching it from its noun and making it into a separate phrase.

libido, 'high-handed conduct'; the word denotes a wilful satisfaction of one's own desires or caprices without respect to one's duty or to other people's rights.

- 3 **aequato iure omnium** explains *tum*, 'then, when the legal rights of all men had been made equal.'

impetres...sit. The Latin Historians very frequently retain the Primary Tenses used in Or. Recta after a past governing Verb in Or. Obliqua. Cicero prefers to enforce the regular Sequence. Note that *impetres* would have been Subjunctive, even in Or. Recta, after *a quo*, a 'Relative of Essential Definition' (cf. *N. L. P.* 400 c.).

ubi ius, ubi iniuria opus sit. *opus est* originally took the instrumental Abl. meaning 'there is something to be done by means of,' and hence 'there is need of,' '(so and so) is necessary.' When this meaning was completely established, the origin of the idiom was forgotten, and the Nominative came also to be used, though it never quite ousted the Ablative; the latter is always used in the participial construction *opus est hoc facto* 'this must be done.'

gratiae, 'personal influence.' The word is derived from *gratus* 'pleasing' and means 'the being pleasing to' some other person; it denotes a feeling in one man's mind regarded as another man's property; *gratia mea apud te* means the feeling of gratitude or obligation you have towards me regarded as a possession of mine, in other words, the influence I have with you.

- 4 **in tot humanis erroribus**. Not 'amid' but 'in view of, considering.' Their plea is that since it is so common (and easy) a thing to do wrong, it is dangerous to have no protection but one's own limited power of keeping out of mischief. Livy sketches their hard case with gentle humour.

sola innocentia uiuere. The Abl. is like that in *uenatu uiuere*, expressing the means by which one is kept alive.

- 5 **ea consultatio=cons. de ea re**, a use of the pronoun *is* which is frequent in the historians; cf. *is rumor, is nuntius* (c. 21. 6).

tenuit intrans. 'continued, lasted.' Cp. *tenet fama* I. 4. 6, *tenet nomen* I. 17. 6.

non reddita...reddita, a Coupling Contrast. The Partc., as often, replaces an 'if'-clause.

- 6 **legati alia moliri**. All but one MS. insert *alii* before *alia*; it is clearly not wanted; there is no trace of more than one plan among the envoys. The corruption may have arisen as an attempt to improve on an accidental 'dittography' (double writing) of *alia* which one MS. actually gives.

CHAP. 4, page 5.

- 2 **quorum uetustate memoria abiit**, 'the remembrance of whose names has been lost in antiquity.' Unless *quorum* is governed by *uetustate* as well as by *memoria*, the position of the first noun is slightly unusual, but may have been chosen by Livy for that very reason, for variety's sake.

- 3 **sententia, quae censebat**. This Noun is often so personified by Livy, cf. 41. 1. 2 *uicit sententia quae diem non proferebat*. And so 4. 6. 7.

quod spatium...sumpsissent. If you do not see why this verb is in the Subjunctive, see the n. on *quod deminutum sit* c. 1. § 7.

ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinius darentur. The regular phrase for despatching a letter: *do litteras (tabellario) ad T.* 'I give the messenger a letter to take to T.' But the Dative is also used of the person to whom the letter is addressed, after *mitto*, though never after *do*.

- 4 **datae litterae, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt**, 'the letter which was given (by the young nobles) in order to serve as a pledge of their good faith, caused the detection of their crime.'

- 5 **ut fit**, 'as usually happens, as men naturally do.' In *Pro Mil.* 10. § 28 Cicero is trying to show that his client left Rome on a certain occasion very late in the day, and among other things which he suggests that Milo had to wait for, is *dum se uxor, ut fit, comparat*, 'while his wife was getting herself ready for the journey, as ladies do,' *i.e.* with great deliberation.

exceptit, 'caught up,' 'overheard.' The Prep. has a similar, partly hostile, meaning in *efferre sermonem*, 'to publish a (private) remark.' [Cf. rather *exaudire*, 'to catch a distant sound.' J. S. R.]

7 **deprehendendos.** The Consuls acted on the information forthwith, in virtue of the *imperium* which was the highest prerogative of their office.

oppressere, 'caught and crushed.' The word always implies taking one's enemy by surprise, and generally that he is unable to resist.

commisisse, ut...essent, 'to have allowed themselves to become,' a fairly common construction. Cp. 25. 6. 17 *commisimus ut...Romanus...superesset*, 'the escape of the Romans was due to our action.'

ius gentium, 'the Law of Nations,' *i.e.* the regular practices recognised equally by different nations; especially, if not always, used in regard to their dealings with one another, *e.g.* 21. 10. 6, 21. 25. 7. The point here observed was that the persons of envoys were inviolable.

CHAP. 5.

1 **bonis regis.** MSS. *regis*, but *bonis regum* in § 5 makes this slight correction desirable: in the next sentence some editors retain the *ibi* of the MSS., but *ei* seems needed.

quae reddi...censuerant. The Acc. and Pres. Inf. (both Active and Passive) after *censeo* is frequent in Livy, on the pattern of the construction of *iubeo*, though he more often still uses *esse* with the Gerundive, with same sense as the Pres. Inf. Pass.

4 **in publicum redigi.** The phrase covers both an actual confiscation and its formal entry in the books of the public Exchequer.

2 **contacta**, Nominative; cf. *omnia contacta societate peculatus* 38. 55. 4.

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cum eis, *i.e.* the Tarquins. The phrase is boldly attached to *pacis* to serve as an adjective; cf. *meam uobiscum pacem* c. 15. 5.

3 **dicitur fuisse...uis hominum fudere...aceruos sedisse.** This variation between a report given at second hand and a direct statement is quite in Livy's half-poetical manner; cf. 1. 39. 2-4. It is clear that the use of the Indicative is merely a matter of style; Livy avoids the cumbrousness and formality of a long passage in Or. Obl., but does not mean to vouch for one part of the story any more positively than for the rest.

religiosum erat. This phrase and its older equivalent *religio erat* both take the Infinitive to denote the act which is forbidden by religion. The literal rendering of the Adj. phrase is 'it was an act involving religious difficulty,' of the Noun-phrase 'there was a religious difficulty

in doing'; the latter shows a more primitive use of the Infinitive, which in origin is not a Nominative but the Locative (in the Passive, the Dative) Case of a Verbal Noun. *religio* means properly 'a tying back or down,' 'something which ties one.'

simul immissa, *i.e.* in segetem. Notice the lapse of time between the action of *immissa* and of the main verb *fudere*, and see the *Hints on Livy's Style* p. 80.

fudere. This Plural Verb after a Collective Noun (*magna vis hominum*) is very common in all Latin writers; but when the Verb follows immediately upon the Singular forms it is generally put in the Singular.

- 4 **insulam**, *i.e.* the Insula Tiberina, sacred to Aesculapius and containing temples dedicated to him and to more genuinely Italian deities like Jupiter and Faunus.

inde...et aliis, *i.e.* ex his aceruis et aliis rebus.

manuque adiutum (esse), ut. This apparently Impersonal use is commoner with Verbs which take a Dative like *subuenire*; but perhaps the clause *ut...esset* should be counted the real subject of the Passive.

tam eminens, 'as high above the river (as it now is).'

firma templis...sustinendis. Elsewhere *firmus* takes *ad*, but this Dative (of *Work Contemplated*, Allen and Greenough § 299) is common after *ualidus*.

- 5 With this section compare the magnificent account of the scene in the prophecy of Anchises Verg. *Aen.* 6. 817 ff.

supplicium, the penalty of scourging and beheading; the word means literally the 'kneeling on bended knees' to suffer it, from *sub* and *plicare* to fold or bend. The Adj. *supplex* and the Verb *supplicare* denote only the more usual object of kneeling, *i.e.* to make an entreaty.

qui spectator erat amouendus, 'whom, had he been (even) a (mere) onlooker, one would have wished away,' or more freely 'whom one would have wished to keep away even from the sight of the execution.' This striking use of the Verbal Nouns in *-tor*, giving in a single word the meaning of a whole clause, is a favourite turn in both Livy and Tacitus; here it is an *if*-clause that is thus condensed; in c. 12. 5 (*ultor*) and 18. 6 (*modcratorem*) the Nouns replace a Clause of Purpose, which is perhaps the commonest use (as Verg. *Aen.* 2. 96). The regular Future tense in Sanskrit is formed simply by combining this same Verbal Noun with the Present of the verb *to be*, 'he is a giver' being put for 'he will give.'

dedit, 'set,' 'put,' 'made,' a common meaning of *dare* in old Latin,

preserved in poetry (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 9. 323 *uasta dabo* = *uastabo*) and greatly loved by poetical writers of prose like Livy and Tacitus; cf. *sermo per ciuitatem datus* c. 2. 4 sup. So in the compounds *condo*, *abdo* etc. [Is not *dedit* 'allotted,' as in Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 90? J. S. R.]

6 **auerterant**, 'had attracted away from everyone else to'; cf. Gr. ἀπο- in ἀποβλέπειν εἰς τι, and c. 45. 2 n.

7 **illos** subject to *induxisse in animum*, put first for emphasis.

eo potissimum anno, 'in that year of all others.' This Adv. always implies a choice of one thing out of several others, and is very common with Demonstratives, as here.

quidquid deorum etc. An old and half colloquial formula for *omnes deos* etc.; cf. Hor. *Epode* 5. 1 *at o deorum quidquid in caelo regit*, and for the use of *quidquid* with other words in everyday speech, cf. Catullus 37. 4 *quidquid est puellarum*. It is no doubt used here intentionally to suggest the phrases actually used by the folk looking on at the time.

infesto, 'threatening,' 'dangerous,' especially common in the phrase *infesto agmine (inuadere)* 'marching with active hostility,' i.e. ravaging as you go, the opposite of *pacato agmine* 'doing no harm.'

8 **pater uoltusque et os eius**. The *que* adds by way of explanation the particular point in the father's demeanour to which everyone looked. *uoltus* like English 'look' denotes especially the expression of the eyes, *os* includes the forehead and the whole countenance. The Singular Verb is regular (Allen and Gr. § 205 b) after more than one Subject of kindred meaning, expressing different aspects of the same notion, especially with Abstract Nouns, e.g. 21. 35. 7 *cum pigritia et desperatio in omnium uoltu emineret*.

eminente animo patrio, 'since the natural feelings of a father could be clearly read in his face.'

10 **uindicta liberatus**. *uindicta* meant originally 'the assertion of forcible control' (*uim dicere*) over some person or thing, and hence 'the act of making a claim.' But this more general meaning was expressed by the word *uindicatio* and *uindicta* was commonly used only in connexion with a particular kind of claim, viz. that made for the freedom of some person by a friend (called the *assertor*) as against any one who claimed him for his slave. The *assertor* professed to be claiming the man as a slave of his own and expressed this by touching his head with a rod, to which, as it was the most conspicuous feature of the ceremony, the name *uindicta* was given. Where the owner of a slave consented to his liberation, so that there was in reality no dispute, the ceremony was still performed before the praetor, and the rod was held merely by one

of the praetor's lictors who represented the imaginary friend. For further details see *Dict. Antiqq. s. v. Manumissio*.

nomen tractum ab illo putant. This is a good example of what is called an aetiological myth, *i.e.* a story invented to give the reason for a name or a custom (from *alra* 'cause'). Thus the story of the seizure of the Sabine women by Romulus' young men (Livy 1. 9) was originally devised to explain the custom in Roman marriages by which the bridegroom pretended to seize the bride by force. So the legend of the discovery of the human head (1. 55. 5) on the site of the Capitol, no doubt was created to explain the name. In this case the story has just reversed the truth: the name *Vindicius* is a mere shadow of the word *uindicta*.

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ita liberati, i.e. by this formal ceremony. There were other simpler methods (*e.g.* one called *inter amicos*) which did not confer the *ciuitas*.

CHAP. 6.

1 **dolo**, Dative with *obsaeptam*.

moliendum. The word means to set about contriving something which is difficult, and generally something which is regarded by the writer describing it as wrong or at least hostile, cf. c. 3. 6 *legati alia moliri*, where, as often, the word has a further notion of underhand action. Both in derivation (*moles*, an artificial embankment, like a breakwater or rampart) and use it is parallel to the Eng. colloquial phrase 'to engineer' (a rebellion or the like).

Etruriae urbes...Veientes Tarquiniensesque. Veii and Tarquinii were members of the 'Etruscan league' of twelve cities.

2 **ne se ortum indidem...perire sinerent.** The MS. reading is simply *ne se ortum eiusdem* etc., which some editors endeavour to justify by taking *se* as Abl. and referring it to the Tarquinienses, the subject of *sinerent* (to which of course *suos* later on does refer). But besides the difficulty that the Noun or Pronoun agreeing with *ortum* is then left to be supplied by the reader, H. J. Müller shows from a number of passages that when Livy places *se* first in a subordinate sentence he means it to refer, if there is any ambiguity, to the subject of the main sentence (here the speaker King Tarquin), not to that of the subordinate sentence; cf. *e.g.* the precisely parallel sentence c. 9. 1 *ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exulare pateretur,*

and also 1. 26. 9; 4. 41. 12; 43. 2. 2. Contrast c. 2. 9 where the *se* referring to the subject of the subord. clause is carefully placed after *uinci*. Hence some emendation is necessary, and the suggestion of M. Müller *ne se ortum indidem eiusdem* etc. accounts best for the MS. reading, since the first of the two words ending in the same syllable is often overlooked by copyists.

eiusdem sanguinis. To such descriptive phrases in the Gen. or Abl. Cicero regularly adds a colourless Noun—*homo, femina* etc. as the case may be—in Apposition to the word denoting the person described. This ‘peg-word,’ as it may be called, is often wanting in Livy, as here, and e.g. 4. 41. 12 *exactae iam aetatis Capitolinus*, and regularly omitted by Tacitus, e.g. *Agric.* 4. 1.

extorrem, egentem. This phrase and the thought of the sentence were perhaps suggested by Verg. *Aen.* 1. 384 *ipse ignotus, egens*, and that passage generally; on such parallelisms see c. 50. 9 n.

modo, Adverb, ‘but now, only recently,’ attached to the phrase *ex tanto regno* as though it contained a Verb (*tanto regno modo exuto*).

alios...: se regem etc. Coupled by Contrast, see c. 1. 8 n. The Plur. *alios* alludes rhetorically to the single example of the Sabine Numa, 1. 34. 6.

augentem bello R. imp. i.e. besieging Ardea 1. 57.

3 **quia...uisus sit...rapuisse...dedit, ne quis...esset.** We have already had an example of the retention of the Primary Tenses of the Or. Recta in subordinate clauses of Or. Obliqua in c. 3. 3. Here the Secondary tense *esset* is due to that of *dedit*. In Or. Recta we should have had: *quia nemo...uisus est...rapuerunt;...dederunt ne quis...esset*, so that the Tenses are preserved in Or. Obl. without change. So c. 44. 8; 10. 24. §§ 9 and 13; *Caes. B. G.* 1. 34. 2 and frequently.

ferrent...adiuarent...irent. After a Secondary governing Verb the Imperative of the Or. Recta becomes the Imperfect Subjunctive, and this is regularly the case even when Primary Tenses of the Subjunctive appear beside it retained from the Or. Recta without change; cf. the last note, and for other examples c. 44. 4 *darent, conciliarent*, after *uelit* and *sit* just before; 45. 8; 48. 2; 3. 50. 8 etc.

6 **quadrato agmine,** ‘in defensive formation,’ i.e. with the line of march so arranged that it could immediately change into line of battle (*acies*); it was not always square. See the *Dic. Antiqq.* II. p. 807.

primus eques. Livy is exceedingly fond of this picturesque use of the Sing. for Plur. in naming bodies of men: so *pedes, miles*, and in § 11 below *Tarquiniensis, Romanum*.

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- 7 **ultores adeste.** On this use of the Nouns in *-tor* v. c. 5. 5 n.
- 8 **derigit.** According to the best MSS. in the bulk of the occurrences, this, and not *dirigere*, is the Verb used by Livy in the sense of 'direct.' **tum**, 'in those (primitive) times,' so in c. 7. 4 inf.
- 9 **dum...uolneraret,** 'if only he could wound,' representing '*dum (modo) uolnerem*' in the thought of the combatants. The meaning is that they rode straight at each other, without any swerving to escape a blow.
- 10 **neque ita multo post.** Like the parallel Eng. idiom 'not so very,' *non multus* implies a following clause: 'not so long after (as one might have expected).'
- uelut aequo Marte.** *aequo Marte* is such a common phrase that in itself it does not need the apologetic *uelut* ('as it were, so to speak'); *uelut* here means 'roughly speaking, practically, almost.'

CHAP. 7.

- 1 **suas quisque...domos** *quisque* for *uterque* as frequently; it refers to either army as a whole, *domos* probably to the homes of the individual soldiers. Livy commonly uses the Acc. Pl., like the Acc. Sing., without *in*, meaning 'to their homes,' but he also uses *in*, and in other authors *domos* alone in this sense is comparatively rare.
- 2 **adiciunt.** The subject is vague, 'people' or 'historians,' as often, esp. with Verbs of saying. On this story see the Introd.
silua Arsia, not far from Rome, towards the N.E.
Silvani. To this 'god of the woodland,' also called Faunus and identified with the Greek Pan, the wild, fun-loving god of the mountains, was attributed the power of uttering cries which caused a sudden fright (*πανικὸς φόβος*) in an army. It is very doubtful whether Silvanus had this character before he was identified with Pan.
uno plus Tuscorum, scil. *quam Romanorum*.
- uincere**=*uictorem esse*, as often, cf. the regular phrases *uincere iudicio*, *uincere sponsione*.
- 3 **postquam illuxit, nec...erat.** The Perfect denotes the single event of the dawn, the Impf. a state of things which lasted some time; the Impf. is frequently thus used by Livy after *postquam* and other Temporal Conjunctions, cf. *postquam satis apparebat* c. 25. 3, *ut nihil mouebant* c. 45. 3.

quicquam hostium, a very common use of the Neut. Pron., cf. *quicquid deorum* c. 5. 7 n. *quisquam* has rather better MS. authority, but is less likely to have been changed by a copyist than the neuter.

- 4 **morti** for *mortuo*, Abstract for Concrete: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 9. 3 *mortem eius non monumento sed luctu publico esse ornandam putarem*. Propertius goes still further 2. 13 b. 4 (3. 5. 6) using the word of the dead body itself: *nec sit in Attalico mors mea nixa toro*.

annum. A year of mourning was the regular period after the loss of a husband, wife, or parent: but it consisted of only 10 months, which was the original length of the Calendar year at Rome, and still survived in this religious usage.

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- 6 **alto atque munito loco**. The Velia was a piece of rising ground of no great height, connecting the Palatine and Esquiline hills and shutting in the former at its N.E. end; many centuries later it was levelled out of existence for the new buildings of the Flavian Emperors. The real objection to its use was probably that it had been previously the residence of one of the Kings ('Tullus Hostilius' Cic. *Rep.* 2. 31. 53), and so was thought to point to royal ambitions in Valerius; cf. c. 8. 3 n.

- 7 **indignitate**, 'because of the shamefulness of the charge.'
summissis fascibus, *i.e.* he acknowledged that his authority was conferred on him by the *populus* whom he was addressing.

in contionem escendit, the regular phrase for mounting some point of vantage from which to address an assembly in the forum; in later times generally the *rostra*.

- 8 **ad Aquilios Vitellosque**, 'to the level of such people as the A. and V. '; see c. 4. 1; and for the Plur. cf. *Coclitēs Muciosque* c. 13. 8 n.

- 9 **timerem?** Unreal Deliberative Question in Past Time, 'the Subjunctive of Imagination,' *N. L. P.* § 383.

- 10 **tam leui momento** etc. 'or believe that my good or ill repute should turn on so slight a circumstance.' *momentum*, lit. 'that which makes to move,' is properly the weight whose addition turns the scale; hence often metaphorically as 'the decisive factor.'

meam...famam pendere. *pendere* has less MS. authority than *pendet*, but its construction is slightly less obvious and it is therefore more likely to have been altered. The sign for final *-m* is constantly omitted, and often wrongly added in MSS., so that it hardly amounts to a correction to write *meam famam* instead of *mea fama*. The

reason is that final *-m* hardly existed in sound in the spoken language; even in the Classical period it was only heard as a 'nasal colour' to the vowel, which it made long. Hence in Inscriptions and in good MSS. it is often denoted by a straight line over the vowel (*meā famā*), but this is very frequently omitted.

- 11 **supra suspectum**, a play on the literal meaning of the Partc., 'glanced at from underneath,' *i.e.* with furtive looks of suspicion. Remember the totally different meaning of the Verb *suspicere*, in all its other forms ('to look up to, respect'). No doubt *suspectus* was in use as an Adj. long before the compound Verb as a whole was made (and made on the pattern of *aspicio, respicio*). This is often the case with (so-called) Participles, but is of course disguised by the ordinary arrangement of our dictionaries. Compare *ignotus, argutus* and others whose meanings diverge from those of the corresponding Verbs.

melius...creditor libertas = *melius est credi libertatem*, slightly ironical. Or, less probably, *melius* may = *plenius* 'with more confidence from you.' The first rendering is confirmed by c. 30. 6 *et homini et potestati melius rati credi*.

- 12 **aedes** seems a necessary restoration. The preceding *-ae* and following *es-* would make its loss easy by 'haplography,' *i.e.* the mistake of writing a particular letter or set of letters once only when they ought to be repeated. It is good Latin to say *eo ad Veneris* 'I am going to Venus' temple,' but there seem to be no examples of such a phrase as *ubi Veneris est*, except in the architectural writer, Vitruvius.

CHAP. 8, page 10.

- 1 **uerterent**, intrans., as very commonly in the meaning 'turn in a certain direction, end in a certain way.'

- 2 **Publicolae**. The older spelling *Poplicola* was more correct, but the name was altered to be like *publicus*, which itself had been changed from the older *poplicus* (also derived in fact from *populus*) because it was popularly connected with *pubes* 'the manhood of the state,' especially perhaps with the phrase *pube praesente* 'in presence of the people.'

de prouocatione. This law has been called the Magna Charta of the Roman citizen; it was the foundation of all his personal liberty, enacting that no magistrate could inflict on him sentence of death, or a sentence affecting his status as a citizen, without allowing time to appeal to the whole people. Such appeals had no doubt been occasionally or

customarily allowed by the Kings, as acts of grace (I. 26. 8). A Dictator was the only magistrate who was not bound by this law (c. 18. 8). [Later on even a Dictator was subjected to it, probably in 300 B.C. J. S. R.] Either by this law or by later ones (the dates of the various enactments are uncertain) the right of appeal was granted also against sentences of scourging, and to citizens at a distance from Rome. The nature of the right was so familiar to every Roman that Livy feels it superfluous even to state it here. In 450 B.C. a regulation of the XII Tables fixed the Comitia Centuriata as the proper body to hear these 'appeals,' which henceforward were regarded as the real trial of the offence, the sentence of the magistrate being merely a formal preliminary: *de capite civis nisi per comitiatum maximum...ne ferunto* (Cic. *De Leg.* 3. 4. 11). And since every Roman citizen had the *ius exulandi*, or right of going into exile to escape an impending sentence of death, the right of Prouocatio meant that no Roman citizen could be legally put to death.

sacrandoque, 'laying under a curse,' literally 'devoting to the gods (as a victim).' The legal effect of such a sentence was that the offender became an outcast who could be killed with impunity; his guilt of course had first to be established before the Comitia Centuriata.

3 **ut sua unius in his gratia esset.** On *gratia* see c. 3. 3 n. This sentence brings out strikingly the almost royal position of Valerius, and the preponderance of his family in the early years of the Republic appears throughout Livy's narrative;—in the first six years a consul was five times chosen from this powerful house.

4 **Sp. Lucretius**, the father of Lucretia (I. 58).

7 **foedum**, 'dire,' 'ill-omened.'

foedum...nuntium incutiunt. It is noteworthy that Livy does not stop to tell us whether the announcement was true or false,—presumably therefore it was true. It is an interesting example of ancient sentiment, which Livy himself shares, that the announcement of the bereavement at this particular time should seem a more grievous matter than the bereavement itself.

funesta familia. The Adj., which is derived from *funus, funeris* (orig. *funesis*), has its literal sense, 'provided with, under the shadow of, a death.'

8 **tantum...roboris**, scil. *ut a dedicatione non deterreretur.*

nihil aliud...auersus, quam ut, 'suffering himself to be no further interrupted than to.' This Adverbial use of the Acc. is frequent in Pronouns, cf. c. 20. 3.

iuberet. By this answer he implied that the matter did not require his own attention, and therefore need not interrupt the ceremony he was then performing.

- 9 Mommsen inserts another pair of consuls (as given by Dion. Hal. 5. 21); but see c. 15. 1 n.

CHAP. 9, page 11.

- 1 **Porsinnam** appears to be the spelling most common in the best MSS. of Livy: *Porsenna* in Verg. *Aen.* 8. 646, but *Porsēna* Hor. *Epod.* 16. 4.

Clusinum regem. Clusium seems at this time (and perhaps later 5. 33 ff.) to have been chief of the 12 Etruscan Cities, since its King is appealed to as the leading power in Etruria.

orabant, ne se...pateretur. On the position and meaning of *se* see c. 6. 2 n.

oriundos, like *secundus* 'following' from *sequor*, and *uoluenda* (*dies*) 'rolling (time),' shows an old use of the forms in *-ndus* as Pres. Partc. Pass. or Deponent.

- 2—3 **sineret.....defendant.** Verbs in the Subjunctive, depending directly on a Past main Verb which serves to introduce a passage in Or. Obl., regularly follow the ordinary rules of Past Sequence, even though, in the sentences that follow, the Primary Tenses of the Or. Recta (see c. 3. 3 n.) may be retained: cf. c. 57. 3 *uellet* and *posset*, with *trahant* in the next sentence; also c. 59. 4; 24. 48. 3 and often.

- 4 **cum regem esse Romae tum...amplum Tuscis ratus.** It was no doubt to the interest of the Etruscan lords that Rome also should be governed by a despot, but was hardly an 'honour' to them; so that, if the text is sound, we must understand from *amplum*, which properly only applies to the *tum*-clause, some word meaning 'best' or 'expedient'; I suspect however that *tutum* may have fallen out before *tum*. †

Etruscae...Tuscis. We do not know enough about the Etruscans to explain even the two forms of their name (except that the second originally contained *r* as much as the first, Umbrian *Turskum*, Gr. *Τυρσ-ηβολ*, whence in Attic *Τυρρηβολ*). †

- 6 **blandimenta plebi...ab senatu data.** This is typical of the attitude of the Plebs in the early days of the Republic. It was not the common folk, but the nobles, like Valerius, who had expelled the Tarquins (cf. c. 8. 3 n.), and the Senate, representing the Patricians (c. 1. 11 n.),

had to face the danger that the Plebs might side with the deposed monarch.

* **salis uendendi arbitrium**, 'the monopoly of the sale of salt'—the one necessary article of food difficult to obtain in primitive communities (as in the villages of India to-day), so that special regulations came to be made for its provision: it is a curiously early example of the policy of granting monopolies of the sale of necessaries to private individuals, which has been tried again and again by all sorts of governments, and always ends badly.

* **portoribusque et tributo**. *portoria* are properly dues levied on goods imported or exported, but here the word stands for taxes on merchandise generally, as 32. 7. 3; 38. 44. 4. *tributum* was a special tax levied on citizens according to their property to meet the expenses of war. [In theory it was only a loan. J. S. R.]

* **qui oneri ferendo essent**, 'who were (as they reflected) equal to bearing the tax'; lit. 'were for bearing.' It is an old use which commonly occurs only in a few set phrases like *soluendo esse* 'to be by way of paying, be solvent,' *usui esse* 'to be (fit) for use.' It was no doubt regarded by the Romans as akin to the Dat. of Work Contemplated (e.g. *decemuir sacris faciendis*); Livy has also *igni restringendo* (30. 6. 3), *tolerando certamini* (10. 5. 5) and a few other exx. The Gerund-forms like *soluendo* are in origin not Datives at all, but compounds of a Post-position *-dō* (as in *quan-do*, and no doubt originally *ἡμέτερον-δῶ*) identical with Eng. *to*, added to the Acc. of the same Verbal Noun as that whose Dative furnished the Passive Inf., so that *soluēn-do* (the original of *soluendo*) meant orig. 'towards paying, in paying.' When *-dō* ceased to be commonly used, these forms were counted Datives and Ablatives and the rest of the Gerund formed on their analogy. Whatever the origin of the Gerundive, its ordinary use was certainly modelled on that of the Gerund, cf. Roby, Lat. Gram. Vol. 2, Preface.

pauperes satis...pendere. The Acc. and Inf. clause gives the reason felt by the Senate for their liberal policy towards the Plebeians; the *ut*-clause suggests the reference to their thoughts.

* **stipendii** properly used (1) of a soldier's pay, and hence of the period of time for which he receives it, 'a campaign,' and (2) of tribute paid in money by a conquered enemy (opposed to *uectigal*, tribute in kind). Hence the second use is metaphorically applied to the contribution made by parents to the State in rearing sons to fight for it.

educēt. This, the reading of all MSS., may I think be retained:

the Present Subj. in the Or. Obl. after Imperfects in preceding Dependent Clauses is quite in Livy's manner, see above § 2 n. *educare* refers to physical rearing quite as often as to 'education' in the modern sense (to which of course there is no reference here), e.g. Varro says *educit obstetrix, educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister* (ap. Non. 447. 33), cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1. 15. 22. On the other hand the allusion to the care and expense of rearing a family seems more in place here than the meaning of *educere* which refers properly only to the first stages of a child's life. The two Verbs are not so strictly separated in use as to make *educerent* a bad reading, if the MSS. gave it: but as they give *educunt* I see no reason to alter it.

For the sentiment compare the idea underlying the word *proletarii*, and Hor. *Od.* 3. 6. 37 ff.

- 8 **nec quisquam unus**, stronger than *nec quisq.* alone, cf. *nemo unus* c. 6. 3, and the common use of *unus* with Superlatives (*Rhipeus iustissimus unus Qui fuit in Teucris* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 426).

CHAP. 10, page 12.

- 1 **Tiberi obiecto**, 'by the barrier of the Tiber,' lit. 'by the Tiber thrown in front of them in the way (of the enemy).' The ancient wall of Servius ran down to the bank of the Tiber at two points and there ceased; see the map. The wall on the W. of the Tiber which included the Janiculum was not at this time in existence.

- 2 **pons sublicius**, the bridge on *sublicae* or piles of wood, long the only bridge over the Tiber; see the map. It was first built at a time when metal nails were unknown, and even in the days of Augustus it was still repaired, when necessary, by pegs of wood (Dion. Hal. 5. 24): this was due to the religious veneration with which it was regarded, see the Dict. Ant.

iter paene...dedit, ni unus ulr fuisset. This is an example of the very common idiom by which for the true Apodosis is substituted an unconditional statement of a kindred fact, which suggests the Apodosis, and adds something to the narrative; 'but for one man, the bridge (would have afforded and in fact) almost did afford a passage.' So the well-known *numeros memini si uerba tenerem* (Verg. *Ecl.* 9. 45) 'I remember the tune (and I could sing the song) if only I could recollect the words'; cf. c. 22. 1 *Volsci comparauerant auxilia ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset.* N. L. P. 417 c.

Cocles means 'one-eyed' (Varro *L. L.* 7. 71), and it is probably borrowed from the Greek *κύκλωψ* [which Ennius uses it to translate J. S. R.]; words taken over orally from another language are often distorted—*βαλανεία* (pl.) becomes *balneae* (fem.), *asparagus* 'sparrow-grass,' and so on. It was very likely connected popularly with *oculus*; the termination was assimilated to the common *-es -itis*. Possibly, however, it is a genuine Latin word meaning 'with his two eyes in one' from *co(m)-* and *oculus*. The possession of this name does not imply that this particular Horatius had only one eye, though Dionysius (5. 23. 2) seems to have thought so.

id munimentum = *eum* (i.e. *Horatium*) *pro munimento*, and shows the regular attraction of a Pronoun into the gender of the Predicate (Direct or Oblique), cf. *hoc opus, hic labor est* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 129.

deum et hominum fidem, 'the conscience of gods and men,' i.e. he called on them to bear witness truthfully to what they knew. *fides* has here its active sense of the qualities which win confidence in oneself from others. So in the common phrase *imploro fidem* 'I beseech the (loyal) aid of'; c. 23. 8 inf.

praesidio in a local sense 'their post' (so c. 50. 11); but oftener, as in § 1 above, it includes the sentries themselves.

transitum pontem, rhetorically stronger than *transeundum* (*hostibus*), 'the bridge and the enemy (as they will be) on your side of it.' Others take *tr. reliquissent* as *transissent et reliq.*, which is less effective.

itaque monere, praedicere. Historic Infin. of events which move rapidly—its commonest use.

ut pontem...quacumque ui possint, interrumpant: se..., quantum...posset..., excepturum. The variation of the Tenses here is striking, but we have no right to alter the text (to *possit*) in view of passages like c. 39. 11: *atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace; si praeda belli per otium frui uelint, ...se...adnisurum, ut appareat* etc. See Appendix II.

uadit, 'strode.' This Verb always has the meaning of free, unhampered motion over a clear space; so also in the compounds *inuado*, *euado*.

reuocantibus (*illis*), abl. absol.

seruitia, more contemptuous than *seruos*, 'tools,' 'chattels'; in apposition to *illos* understood. The clause from *seruitia* to *uenire* is Or. Obl., containing Horatius' taunts.

alius alium...circumspectant shows the regular construction of such Pronoun phrases, Singular in apposition to a Plur. subject.

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- 10 **oblecto cuncta scuto.** By placing *cuncta* next to *oblecto* Livy gives prominence to the chief point of the picture; *ingenti* and *gradu*, just below, are separated with the same object; 'his feet firmly planted, wide apart.'

cum simul fragor...sustinuit. Note that this 'Inverted *cum*-construction' always takes the Indic. Like the similar arrangement in Eng. it introduces some sudden event breaking in on what was going on before.

alacritate perfecti operis, 'in their glee at having completed their task.' The Gen., I think, is best called Subjective; 'glee inspired by.'

- 11 **propitio flumine.** The Adj., which (except in termination) is identical with Gr. *προ-περ-ής* 'moving towards, inclined towards, prone,' has here a half-literal sense, like *secundo flumine*, 'with current moving in the desired direction'; render 'with favouring stream.' The address is modelled on the prayer of Aeneas to the Tiber which Vergil (*Aen.* 8. 72) has borrowed from Ennius. See c. 50. 9 n.

ita, 'thereon,' so c. 31. 10 and often at the close of a speech.

sic armatus, lit. 'so armed,' *i.e.* 'armed as he was'; cf. *sic nudos* Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 26. 71.

plus famae quam fidei, a skilfully chosen phrase which neither asserts nor denies Livy's own belief in the story he has so splendidly recorded.

- 13 **studia,** 'enthusiasm'; properly 'feelings of eagerness.'

in magna inopia. The Prepn. means 'in face of, in spite of,' as often; cf. c. 3. 4.

CHAP. 11.

- 1 **ripis,** 'along the bank'; the Plur. is often used of several points along one bank, *e.g.* I. 17. 11.

- 3 **infestum,** 'dangerous, full of marauders'; see c. 5. 7 n.

propellere, scil. *pecus*.

- 4 **in parvis rebus...seruabat,** 'careless of avenging petty injuries, reserved the weight of his punishment for more serious encroachments.' *ultio* is vengeance springing from personal feeling, *uindicta* public redress.

- 5 **porta Esquilina.** See the map for this and the other spots mentioned in this chapter. The result of Valerius' strategy was to lure the

enemy over to the E. side of the city, the furthest from their camp, and to attack them on four sides simultaneously; Lucretius coming upon them from the South, Valerius from the city directly West of them, Herminius from his ambush behind them two miles to the E., and Larcus cutting off their flight round the city to the North.

- 6 **et sciēre.** *et* at the beginning of a sentence is always somewhat emphatic; here, as often, it means 'and in fact,' confirming what has gone before, a meaning especially common in the phrases *et certe, et hercle*. Sometimes, as in c. 28. 8, it means 'and besides'; sometimes, as in c. 64. 6, 'and on the other hand.' For still another use cf. c. 38. 5 n.

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- 9 **dextrā laeuāque hinc...illinc.** *hinc* regularly refers to the last of two contrasted points, here therefore to *laeuā*, so that 'right' and 'left' are written from the Romans' point of view, looking East.
- 10 **uagandi**, so Madvig for *euagandi* of the mss. The compound denotes digression on either side of a fixed course, especially the regular manœuvres of squadrons of cavalry, and is not appropriate to straggling bodies of plunderers. The corruption came from 'dittography' of the last *-e* of the preceding *effuse*.

CHAP. 12.

- 1 **cum C. Mucius.** There is no Verb, strictly speaking, to this *cum*; the sentence is broken by a long parenthesis, and resumed by *itaque* in § 3.

C. Mucius. This story with those of Horatius and Cloelia, as well as much of the detail of the exploits of the Valerii, is no doubt derived from family traditions. These were of course originally handed down orally, and until they were reduced to writing tended to be perpetually embellished by the custom of reciting them in the orations delivered at the funerals of members of the family. Livy recognises their half-poetical character, and gives them always in half-poetical diction; cf. c. 10. 11 n. and § 8 nn. below. See also Livy's own statement 8. 40. 4.

- 2 [**cum sub regibus esset**]. These words add nothing to the meaning and destroy the balance of sound between this clause and the following (*liberum eundem* etc.), to which it is Coupled by Contrast; they seem to me a gloss to *seruientem* which has crept into the text.

fuderit represents *fudit* in O. Recta, the tense being retained: see

c. 10. 4 n.

4 **forte deprehensus** = *si forte deprehensus esset*.

fortuna tum urbis crimen adfirmante. This depends on the preceding *si...retraheretur* and the *crimen (transfugicendi)* is merely hypothetical: 'since the position in which the city then lay would confirm such a charge.'

5 **populationum in uicem ultor**, 'to avenge their raids in our turn'; see n. on *spectator* c. 5. 5. *in uicem* is used practically as an Adj., cf. c. 44. 12 *multis in uicem casibus*.

populationum. Note that the word *populari* means not 'to depopulate,' but 'to fill with folk, to overrun,' and hence 'to plunder.'

6 **tribunal** in a Roman camp was a raised platform of turf on the left of the General's tent, from which he addressed the soldiers, gave judgment on offences and the like.

7 **pari fere ornatu**, 'in much the same style of dress.' Note that *ornare* and its derivatives do not imply the notion of mere superfluities, which is suggested by the Eng. 'ornament,' but relate to attire or outfit as a whole; cf. the phrase *ornare nauem* to supply a ship with sails etc.

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semet...aperiret quis esset, like the Greek *οἶδά σε ὄστις εἶ* 'I know thee who thou art'; but the construction is not so regular in Latin, though common enough.

8 **uadentem**, see c. 10. 5 n.; the bystanders at first fled before him.

trepidam turbam cruento mucrone, picturesque and poetical language. The word *mucro* (except in the literal sense of 'point') and two ornamental epithets so close together would be out of place in prose narrative at the ordinary level of feeling.

destitutus, 'placed, a solitary prisoner.' The Verb always implies being left alone, and generally helpless, like a ship stranded high and dry.

fortunae minas, another poetical phrase; the reader is now prepared for the poetical simplicity and nobility of the speech which follows.

10 **et facere et pati**, a common antithesis, softening the slight 'Zeugma' in the use of *fortia* which goes strictly only with *facere*: render it 'what a brave man should.'

in singulas horas, 'for each successive hour,' 'from hour to hour,' cf. *in singulos annos* 3. 15. 4. The phrase does not imply, like *in dies*, an increase of intensity in the action.

- 12 **nullum proellum timueris.** Until recently the Perf. Subj. has been counted the regular Tense in Prohibitions. But in the best period it only occurs colloquially—*e.g.* in the Dramatists and Cicero's Letters; in serious Prose it is replaced by periphrases (*noli, caue* etc.).
 ✦ Here the colloquial idiom is used to make the speech more life-like; so 21. 44. 6. The Perf. Subj. refers to a Single Act, and is hence especially common in peremptory prohibitions like *ne me uno digito attigeris* 'don't lay a finger on me' (Plaut. *Persa* 793), and it was probably felt to be too curt for polished language. See Delbrück *Vergl. Syntax* II. p. 376.
sibi, *i.e.* *Porsinnae*; on its position see c. 6. 2 n.
- 13 **accenso...foculo**, Dat. after the compound Verb *inicit*.
uelut alienato ab sensu...animo, 'as though his consciousness were completely severed from the physical sensation.' There is a similar use of *alienare* in 26. 14. 3; 3. 48. 1 shows a different construction.
torreret, 'suffered to burn.'
altaribus, poetical Plur. for Sing.; originally used of things which consisted of several parts, like *ora* (lips, eyes etc. hence) 'face,' *pectora* (the organs of the breast, hence, metaphorically) 'heart, soul,' *aequora* 'waters, sea'; so here 'the altar and the fire on it.' This use of the Plur. died out in prose, but in poetry it was preserved as an archaism, and by imitation extended until almost any Noun denoting a thing could be put into the Plur. instead of the Sing. if the poet chose.
- 14 **macte uirtute esse**, the Or. Obl. for *macte uirtute esto*, an old phrase meaning 'Well done, bravo,' lit. 'be blest with your valour.' *mactus* is from the same root as Gr. *μακάρ*, happy. *macte* is most easily explained as an Adv.; cf. *bene est mihi, male est mihi* 'I am well (or 'badly') off.' Some however regard it as a Vocative, on the strength of readings like *macti este* Liv. 7. 36. 5; but since in Or. Obl. we have *macte* and not *mactum*, these supposed examples of the Plural are probably corrupt.
- ✦ **iure belli liberum**, 'free from the laws of war,' *i.e.* from the power which the state of war between us lawfully gives me over you.
- 15 **ut...tuleris.** The Perf. Subj. represents the act as single or forthwith completed: 'in order that you may find yourself to have gained in a moment.' The clause depends on some phrase like 'learn' or 'I may tell you,' which is easily understood before the main statement. It may be called a clause of Prefatory Purpose,' cf. *ne...negetis* c. 29. 1.
- 16 **ceteri, ut cuiusque cec. primi**, 'the rest in order, as each man's lot may next have fallen.' This is Madvig's correction of the reading of

the best MSS. *utcunque...primi*. Inferior ones give *ut cuique...primo*, whence some scholars read *utcunque...primo*, giving to *ceciderit* the meaning of 'turn out, result,' and supplying as its subject *sors*, not in the sense of 'lot' which it has just above, but in that of 'fortune.' Madvig is clearly right; for the meaning he assigns to *cadere* cf. Ter. *Adelph.* 4. 7. 22.

CHAP. 13, page 16.

2 **mouerat eum...casus**. Note the Latin idiom by which an event or feeling which affects men is made the Subject of the sentence, the person or persons being the Object; it is very common with Verbs like *mouere*, *incendere*, *afficere*, *stimulare* (e.g. c. 6. 4). In English substitute the Passive: 'he was so troubled both by...'

a quo. The MSS. give simply *quo*, but the nearest parallels quoted (e.g. *qua* in c. 38. 2) do not really justify the bare Abl. here, and editors generally insert *a*.

texisset...superessent. Oblique, expressing Porsinna's reflexions. Cf. *uellent* in § 4.

subeunda dimicatio, 'the prospect of having to face a perilous contest (for his life).'

ferret=*offerret*, as often in Livy. This half-poetical use of simple Verbs in a 'strong' sense instead of their compounds is a favourite idiom in Livy, and still more in Tacitus.

3 **magis quia...nequiuerat...quam quod...ignoraret**. Indic. and Subjunc. as regularly, e.g. c. 1. 7.

4 **agro Veientibus restituendo**, *i.e.* that which according to the legends Romulus and Ancus had taken from the Veientes (1. 15. 5 and 1. 33. 9).

expressa...Romanis. These words go together, *Rom.* being Dat. after the Compd. Verb, but put at the end of the phrase, in spite of the awkwardness of its coming next to *dandi*, in order to make clear that *Romani* is to be supplied as subject to *uellent*.

his condicionibus composita pace. But Pliny (*Nat. H.* 34. 39. 139) adds that the Romans were obliged to hand over their arms and to pledge themselves to use iron for agriculture only; and Tacitus (*Hist.* 3. 72) speaks of the city as having been 'surrendered.' It is clear therefore that the traditions which Livy is following (see c. 12. 1 n. on C. Mucius) have embellished the actual events. At the same time it is clear also that the Romans gained their point so far as to keep the

Tarquins out,—perhaps because, as Livy seems to suggest, Porsinna himself was not very anxious to see them in power again.

Ianiculo...deduci followed by *ab Ian. ded.* in the next sentence, merely for variety. Here the case is Abl., as appears from *tota Graecia deducere* 32. 35. 12 with other examples (e.g. 37. 35. 9), but a Prepn. is more commonly added.

5 **agrum...**, **quae...prata**, for the attraction of the Pron. cf. c. 10. 2 n.

6 **publica decora**, ‘glorious deeds for their country.’

Romam and **ad propinquos** both depend on the notion of ‘bringing back’ easily supplied from *sospites* and *restituit*, just as in c. 49. 7 inf.

7 **deposcendam**, the regular word for demanding the surrender of some particular person, especially of one who has committed some breach of a treaty.

alias for *ceteras*, as often in Livy (e.g. 1. 7. 3); it is Object to *facere*, which is probably, like the following *dicere*, Historic Inf., Porsinna being represented as himself uttering the message he sent by his envoy.

8 **Coclitcs Muciosque**, ‘men like Cocles and Mucius,’ a common use of the Plur., cf. *Volerones* c. 58. 9.

quem ad modum...habiturum. In comparisons, the clauses introduced by *quem ad modum* and *ut* are often allowed to fall into the Acc. and Inf. in Or. Obl., though the Subjunc. is more usual. Cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 49. 138 *ut mare uentorum ui agitari...sic pop. Romanum etc.*

intactam inuiolatamque. Unless the *-que* is a corruption due to some scribe who did not see that *deditam* stood for *si dedita sit*, some word like *intactam*,—a word which is very commonly combined with *inuiolatus* (e.g. c. 12. 15),—must be restored: it may easily have fallen out between the other two Partcc. in *-tam*.

9 **ex foedere**, ‘in accordance with the treaty,’ a common meaning of *ex*.

10 **quod** is probably a Relative Pronoun, referring to Cloelia’s action, stated in the preceding clause; the Acc. and Inf. *aetatem...liberari* is then added in loose Apposition to *quod*.

probabile, with *consensu*, ‘likely to be approved by.’

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potissimum with *eam*, see c. 5. 7 n.

11 There is no other example of an equestrian statue to a woman, and this part of the story seemed strange to the Romans themselves (e.g. Plin. 34. 6. 29). Modern scholars conjecture that the statue was really one of the Equestrian Venus and, like many ancient statues, unlabelled, so that it came to be popularly attributed to a human heroine.

CHAP. 14.

1 **profectioni...abhorrens** is said to be the only example of a Dat. after this Verb; the regular construction is with *ab*.

bona Porsinnae regis uendendi. Plutarch (*Poplic.* 19) tells us that in selling property on behalf of the Treasury,—property which would be either booty taken in war or confiscated from some public offender—the auctioneer began by calling out ‘The Goods of King Porsinna.’ Livy’s explanation of the origin of the custom is not very convincing, but, so far as I know, no better has been yet suggested.

2 **uendendi**, explanatory Gen., after *titulus*.

4 **uenisse**, shortened form of Perf. Inf. from *ueneo*.

in potestate...esset. Here and in half-a-dozen other passages in Livy and other authors the best MSS. give *in potestatem* with *esse*, which some would defend by comparing the very different construction *adesse in* with Acc. meaning ‘to have arrived at.’ But the Abl. is incomparably more frequent in our present phrase, and the authority of the MSS. on such a point in a small number of passages is worth very little—especially when, as here, some respectable MSS. give the Abl., cf. c. 7. 10 n. The defence offered by the archaising grammarian in Gellius 1. 7 is not convincing, though it shows that the variant had arisen as early as the second cent. A.D. [The construction must be admitted in legal language; *esse in uadimonium* in Cic. *Quinct.* § 22 is probably genuine. J. S. R.]

6 **a Cumis.** This town was the most ancient of all the Greek colonies in Italy, and from it the chief arts of civilisation, including that of writing, spread to the more barbarous peoples of the country. Both the Etruscan and the Roman alphabets were taken directly from that of Cumae in the course of the VI century B.C. The Etruscans were masters of the rich Campanian plain, of which Capua was the centre, down to 424 B.C., when it was taken by the Samnites (Liv. 4. 37), and in the century before that date they were more than once at war with their Greek neighbours. In 524 B.C. they were in alliance with the Ausones and men of Nola, and defeated by Aristodemus of Cumae; and again in 475, in a naval battle, by Hiero of Syracuse who was in alliance with the Cumaeans (*It. Dial.* p. 83). The assistance they lent to Aricia was therefore an incident in a standing quarrel.

se intulerant Etrusci. The Pluperf. describes an action instantaneously accomplished; cf. c. 46. 6 and 32. 12. 3 *postquam...recepere*

se regii, uerterat periculum in Romanos and Verg. *Aen.* 2. 257 *flammas cum regia puppis Extulerat.* N. L. P. § 180.

7 **praelatos** = *praeterlatos* as often in Livy, e.g. 1. 45. 6.

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9 **Tuscum uicum.** See the map of Rome. Jordan (*Röm. Top.* 1. 274) suggests more probably that the name was derived from the body of Etruscan artizans who were employed to build the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol (1. 56. 1, and c. 8 sup.).

CHAP. 15.

1 **Sp. Larcus inde** etc. This restoration of Madvig's accounts best for the curious jumble of names which the MSS. present, the best giving three names, others two or two and a half, *Larcus* alone being absent from them all, but being given as Consul with Herminius, in the 4th year of the Republic, by Dion. Hal. 5. 36. But the same writer (5. 21) places the third consulship of Poplicola in the 3rd year, and Mommsen prefers to expel the name here, and insert it with the other name given by Dion. for that year, at the end of c. 8.

2 **non quin...ideo potius...missos** (*esse*). The Acc. and Inf. depends on the notion of a message implied in the preceding *missi*.

non quin...potuerit. This construction often replaces *non quod non* with the Subjunctive in denying a supposed motive (e.g. 32. 32. 6).

non recipi reges, Present emphatically put for Fut., especially common in the Infin., e.g. 5. 18. 2 *omnes deinceps refici apparebat*, so 1. 18. 5 *inclinari*.

potius...missos quam...daretur, 'they had sent to him...instead of giving his envoys a reply in Rome.' This construction of *potius quam* with the Subjunc. to compare two alternative courses of action, of which the first is adopted and the second thereby excluded, is common in Livy, (e.g. 3. 21. 6), sometimes *ut* is inserted after *quam* (e.g. 4. 12. 11). The Subjunc. is one of Purpose, like that after *priusquam*, both idioms meaning 'so as to prevent.'

cum ille peteret...Romani...negarent, two clauses equally dependent on *cum*, Coupled by Contrast, see the *Hints on Livy's Style*, p. 80.

nihil negatum uellent. On this participial construction see c. 44. 3 n.

- 3 **ea esse uota.** To this phrase some reader added as a 'gloss,' i.e. an explanatory note, in the margin of the archetype of our MSS., *eam esse uoluntatem*; hence in some MSS. these words are added to, in others they are curiously intermingled with *ea esse uota*. Hertz rightly removed them.

qui...erit...fnis. This retention of the Indic. in a dependent clause which is part of a speech reported indirectly is a license which appears several times in Livy (e.g. 3. 2. 3 *quam...dederat*). The Indic. is of course regular in clauses which are not a part of the speech, but merely direct statements of the present writer inserted in parenthesis; and since in some cases (e.g. c. 32. 11 *hunc sanguinem, quo uiuimus uigemusque*) it makes little difference to the meaning whether an explanation is given by the writer himself or as a quotation from the speaker he is reporting, these cases set the type for the use of the Indic. even where, as here, the clause is certainly a part of the report. No doubt Livy was encouraged to extend the use by the far commoner retention of the Indic. in Greek.

- 4 **proinde, si...uellet..., ut patiat...orare.** On the usual view this variation of tenses is purely capricious, but see Appendix II.

- 5 **obtundam, scil. uos,** 'lest I be importunate (to you)'; the omission of the Object, as after *moror* in a similar sense, is colloquial; so Cic. *Verr.* 4. 49. 109.

meam uobiscum pacem. The prepositional phrase is used as an Adj., as any Adverb or adverbial phrase may be when it can be shut up between a Noun and a preceding Adj.; cf. *in uicem* c. 12. 5. And further, a prepositional phrase is often, especially by Livy and later writers, attached to a Noun even when there is no other qualifying word to enclose it, e.g. *clamor supra caput*, 'the noise overhead.'

distineat, 'delay, hinder'; the prefix has the same force of 'separation from the present time' in *differre*.

- 6 **agrum Veientem.** See c. 13. 4. The story represents the King of Clusium as disposing at will of the belongings of the other Etruscan cities, in virtue of his supreme command over their armies.

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- 7 After *fida* most MSS. add *ita* which Ussing and Madvig rightly excised as springing from a dittography of the three preceding letters. Its position would be exceedingly strange, and it is much more in Livy's style to couple the two clauses by the Contrast between *Tarquinius* and *Romanis*.

CHAP. 16.

1 **M. Valerius**, a brother of. P. Valerius Poplicola.

2 **P. Valerius quartum T. Lucretius iterum**. See c. 15. 1 n.

4 **Attus Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio** etc. The attraction of the name *Ap. Claudio* into the Case of the preceding Pronoun (*cui*) is very common (*N. L. P.* 301. 4). The statement is just the converse of the truth so far as the form of the Gentile name is concerned; *Claudius* is the original, *Clausus* derived from it, by the regular assibilation of dentals before consonant *i* in almost all the non-Latin dialects of Italy, e.g. the gens *Mussedia* became *Musesa* (at Sulmo), the town *Bantia* (in Apulia) was called by its own citizens *Bansa*, but the converse change never appears. There is no doubt therefore that it was at some date after the migration of Appius Claudius, and in Sabine territory, not at Rome, that one branch of the Claudii became Clausi: but the Sabine and Roman branches no doubt maintained some friendly connexion and were conscious of their original identity, and it was natural that the form of the name which existed in Sabine territory in Livy's day should be regarded by the Romans as the more original. What the relation may be between *Appius* and *Attus* we have, unfortunately, no means of determining. Some MSS. give *Attius*.

Inregillo. The Consular Fasti (*C. I. L.* 1¹. 444) give this form also, but it is probably an early corruption for *Regillo* (cf. *Lacus Regillus*) in the Fasti themselves, see Mommsen *ad loc.* The actual tables we possess were inscribed in the time of Augustus, and were no doubt an amplification of older records of the Pontifices. But those earlier than 390 B.C. perished in that year when the Gauls burnt Rome, and in the restoration which was afterwards made, by memory or conjecture, many errors might arise. Livy seems rarely to have consulted the Fasti himself, but they were of course used by the earlier writers on whom he depends. One MS. here has simply *Rigillo* but the best put *cin* or *cñ* before it, which seems best explained as a corruption of *In-*. [It may be doubted whether these pontifical lists would have been any more trustworthy if Rome had not been burnt at all. J. S. R.]

5 **trans Aniēnem**, *i.e.* N. of the Anio, see the map. Note the declension of this Noun. It is the only one in Latin in which the old variation in the vowel of this suffix (*-ēn-*: *-ōn-*) between the Nom. and the Oblique cases is preserved.

uetus Claudia tribus...appellati. 'In later times when fresh

members were added to the tribe, these people, since they came up (to Rome, for elections) from this district across the Anio were called the Old Claudian Tribe.' *uenirent* is virtually Oblique; folk gave them this name because they saw them coming from this district.

The number of the tribes reached 35 in 241 B.C., and they then included about half the whole territory of Italy. After this date their number was never afterwards increased, but any fresh territory (as in 89 B.C.) was added to one or more of the old 35 tribes, so that many of these included voters from widely scattered parts of Italy. In this case the people who came from the district which was the nucleus of the Claudian tribe were said to belong to the 'Old Claudian.'

The meaning therefore, with this reading *appellati*, which is due to Madvig, is perfectly clear. The MSS. give *appellata*. Some would render this in the same way, supposing it attracted to the Gender and Number of *tribus*, but such an attraction is hardly possible when the subject (*ei*) *qui...uenirent* is so very much nearer the Verb than *tribus* is; cf. 1. 43. 2 *prima classis omnes appellati*. Others endeavour to defend *appellata* by taking *ex eo agro* = *ex eodem agro*, i.e. Inregillum, *tribulibus* as antecedent to *qui* and supposing that the 'Old Claudians' were simply a certain number of families, known as the oldest settlers, but living in just the same district 'across the Anio' as those 'who came (later) from Inregillum.' This sounds a far less probable interpretation of the name *Vetus Cl.* Hence I think Madvig's correction is necessary. The corruption to *-ta* was no doubt made by a scribe who took *qui...uenirent* with *tribulibus*.

haud ita multo post. This vague phrase indicates that the date of the migration of the Claudii was unknown, the fact being probably preserved merely in the traditions of the family.

6 **infesto exercitu**, c. 5. 7 n.

timeri posset, MSS. *timere possent*, corr. Duker. The Active gives a much weaker sense by narrowing the statement to a particular number of persons, and the Passive is regular in this phrase in Livy.

7 **copiis...adeo exiguis, ut** etc. But Plutarch (*Poplic.* 1) represents him as very wealthy (*ἐπιφανής διὰ λόγον καὶ πλοῦτον*) which indeed is clear even from Livy's narrative (e.g. c. 7. 5 ff.). Hence it seems that Livy has mistaken the object of the public funeral, which must have been simply to do honour to Publicola.

8 **coloniae Latinae.** After the great Latin war in 340 B.C. the phrase *ius Latinum* was used to describe the special terms of alliance granted by Rome to Latin cities, and to colonies which were inferior in status to

coloniae Romanae. At this date the name *coloniae Lat.* can imply little more than the fact of alliance with Rome, though possibly some Roman citizens may have been settled in these towns after some earlier conquest by Rome, as they are said to have been at Fidenae (I. 27. 9).

Pometia et Cora. Both these towns are represented by our authorities as having been Volscian and Latin at different times, and it is impossible to determine exactly the dates at which they changed their allegiance. Pometia may have originally belonged to the Volscians, from whom it was captured by Tarquin according to Livy I. 53; Cora was probably originally Latin (Dion. Hal. 3. 34). It was certainly one of the thirty cities which formed the Latin League (Dion. 5. 61), with which Rome made war, and peace in 493 B.C. (c. 33 inf.); it lay in the hills not far from the Volscian Velitrae.

ad Auruncos. This was a small coast tribe in the S. of Latium closely allied to their neighbours on the S., the Osci of Campania, and probably also to the Volsci on the N. They were finally conquered by Rome (*Ital. Dial.* p. 283) and absorbed in Latium in 313 B.C. Their own name for themselves was *Ausones*, whence *Ausonia*, an old poetical name for Italy, and *Suessa Aurunca* from **Ausonica*.

[There is nothing, I believe, to show the position of Pometia. The statement that Cora revolted to the Aurunci seems absurd from its position, unless Aurunci means Volsci; cf. c. 17 with cc. 22 and 26, and Dion. 6. 32. J. S. R.]

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- 9 **obsidibus...qui trecenti accepti** etc. From the narrative so far we cannot gather when these hostages were given, nor why they were not put to death or sold directly the revolt began. But in c. 22. 2 we find the same towns surrendering the same number of hostages, and then subsequently revolting; the fate of the hostages however is there left unexplained. This alone would suggest that Livy had treated as separate events what were merely separate and slightly varying accounts of the same event in different authorities. This hypothesis becomes a certainty when we find in c. 17 that the town Pometia was absolutely 'destroyed' (*dirutum*) in 502 B.C. only to be again besieged and plundered in 495 B.C. (c. 25. 5—6). As we have seen (§ 4 n.), the Romans had no trustworthy record of the dates of any events before 390 B.C., and hence it often happened that among the early historians the same event was assigned to different years. Livy seems to have

had before him three accounts of this campaign against the Volsci and the taking of Pometia, which dated it in 503, 502 and 495 B.C. respectively; and of which only two mentioned the hostages, one specifying only their surrender, the other only their execution.

CHAP. 17.

1 **uineis.** These were sheds with slanting roofs, on wheels, under shelter of which the soldiers could advance close up to the walls of a town they were besieging in order to bring the battering-ram to bear. The name was taken from the small slanting roofs projecting downwards from the top of a wall on which vines were trained, in order to shelter the grapes from violent rain, just as in English orchards to protect peaches.

2 **odio...spe...occasione,** freely used Abl. of Circumstance or Cause. **spe aliqua,** 'any definite hope.'

cuncta, 'the whole field'; so often *omnia*, 'the whole landscape.'

3 **sed utrum.** MSS. *sed uerum nomen*, corr. Lipsius and Freudenberg. *nomen* was no doubt an adscript to explain *utrum*, which crept into the text and led to the corruption of *utrum* into *uerum*.

4 **ira maiore.** After these words the MSS. insert *bellum*—a gloss to *arma* which has crept into the text, and was removed by prae-Aldine editors.

5 **euaderet.** See c. 10. 5 n.

6 **nihilo minus foeda...Aurunci passi: principes** etc. So Madvig brilliantly corrects the corrupt *foede...passim principes* of the MSS. (the same corruption of *passi* appears in c. 60. 2). On final *-m* in MSS. see c. 7. 10 n. on *meam famam*.

dedita urbe. If the city surrendered before the battering-ram touched the walls, the practice in ancient warfare was (Caes. *B. G.* 2. 32) that the inhabitants were left unmolested and the city unplundered. But if it was taken by storm, they might be put to death or sold into slavery, and the whole town 'looted.'

sub corona uenierunt. When prisoners of war were sold as slaves they were set up on the auctioneer's platform with garlands on their heads, as a sign that they were the spoils of victory. With the same significance a spear was set up, and hence *hasta* came to be used in the sense of an auction of booty or confiscated property.

ultas. Passive; *meritus, emensus, adeptus, expertus* are among other common examples of this double use of Deponent Partcc. †

CHAP. 18.

- 2 **per ludos...per lasciuam.** Wild behaviour at the games, especially the scenic festivals, was an old tradition that often gave rise to disturbances; cf. *e.g.* Cic. *Planc.* 12. 30, Tac. *Ann.* 14. 17.

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- 3 **rebellionem**, after the settlement in c. 16. 2. The word always denotes a renewal of war.

[**supra belli Latini metum**]. If these words, which I have ventured to bracket, are retained, the meaning must be 'a rebellion worse than the fear of a war with the Latins,' the prepositional clause being used like an Adj., see c. 15. 5 n. on *uobiscum pacem*. But as no mention has been made of any such prospect except the brief reference to Tusculum far back in c. 16. 2, the phrase comes in very awkwardly without an *enim* or *nam* in the next sentence. The best emendation so far suggested seems that of Duker, who puts the stop at *uidebatur* and alters *supra* to *super* ('in addition to') and *Latini* to *Sabini*. I would suggest that the phrase, whether with *Latini* or *Sabini*, was a gloss to explain *accesserat*, which has crept into the text.

triginta...populos, the 30 cities of the Latin League, see n. on Pometia c. 16. 8.

Octauius Mamilius, son-in-law of Tarquin, c. 15. 7.

- 4 **dictatoris primum creandi.** The same uncertainty as to the occasion of this appears in other authorities. Whenever it may have been first tried in practice, it is probable that in theory the office was an integral part of the original Republican constitution, being intended as a temporary revival of the Kingship in exceptional emergencies. This appears for instance, in the fact that the Dictator's lictors carried axes (§ 8) with the fasces everywhere, as the Kings had done, whereas in the Consul's fasces the axes were only allowed outside Rome (a mile at least from the walls).

sed nec quibus consulibus. After *sed* Madvig rightly excised the words *nec quo anno* as a mere gloss to *consulibus*; this is Dative, after *cred. sit*.

- 5 **ueterrimos auctores.** Fabius and, probably, Piso whom Livy often quotes and compares (*e.g.* 1. 55. 8). Q. Fabius Pictor was the earliest Roman historian. We hear of him as a member of the Senate in 216 B.C.; he wrote in Greek. L. Calpurnius Piso, who wrote in Latin, was Consul in 133 B.C.

consulares, Acc.

legere. The Subject must be the same as that of *uellent* and *legissent* below, *i.e.* presumably, *patres*. It is true that in ordering one of the Consuls to nominate (*dicere*) a Dictator the Senate frequently specified some one person (*e.g.* c. 30. 5, and 4. 17. 8), but in law the Consul's choice was unfettered (see *e.g.* Liv. 8. 12. 13 f. and *Epitome* 19). [I would strike out *ita* and take *legere* as Inf. governed by *iubebat*. J. S. R.]

ita lex iubebat. This statement again seems to be merely an inference from the common practice. In the majority of cases the Dictators and Masters of the Horse were of consular rank; but not always, *e.g.* Aulus Postumius in c. 19. 3, L. Tarquinius 3. 27. 1.

6 **M'. Valerium.** This sign, which used to denote the praenomen *Manius*, while *M.* denoted Marcus, is really a survival of the older form of the letter with five strokes, *M'*, which we know in the oldest inscriptions.

moderatore. On this use of the nouns in *-tor* see c. 5. 5 n.

7 **si maxime**, 'however much.' The MSS. give *qui si*, *quis in*, corr. Lehnert. Madvig reads *quia si*.

8 **secures.** See n. on *dictatoris* § 4, and cf. c. 1. 8 with note.

dicto parere means 'to be obedient to orders,' a standing phrase like *dicto audiens*, *dicto obediens*, implying a soldier-like promptness.

neque prouocatio erat. Cp. c. 29. 11 and c. 8. 2 n.

11 **praestare**, 'guarantee, make good, pay.' This transitive meaning of *praestare* is quite distinct from the intrans. use 'to excel,' which takes a Dative. The intrans. Verb is a compound of *prae* and *stare* and so means 'I stand in front of, am ahead of.' The other, as Bücheler has pointed out, comes from the phrase used in the law-courts by persons acting as sureties: *praes sto*, 'I am here as a guarantor,' *i.e.* 'I undertake the responsibility.' Hence an Acc. came to be added to this phrase to denote the thing which the surety answered for, whether a sum of money, or the performance of some legal duty, and hence metaphorically, like the Eng. 'go bail for,' it was used in the sense of 'guarantee, undertake.' It appears in no writer earlier than Cicero. The same legal phrase explains the Adv. *praesto*, the formula used by the sureties in answering to their names being taken into familiar use to mean 'ready, on the spot.'

tacitae indutiae, 'a tacit suspension of hostilities,' without a formal armistice; so c. 64. 8.

CHAP. 19, page 22.

- 1 **Vetusius.** Between 450 and 350 B.C. *s* between vowels became *r* in Latin, hence the form of this name in the classical period is *Veturius*. Similarly *Poplicola* certainly called his gentile name *Valesius*, but as he was not a mere shadow like this *Vetusius* but a conspicuous figure in the traditions and often spoken of, especially in the funeral orations of the noble family descended from him, the name appears always in the form which it had taken since his day, *Valerius*. For the same reasons the heroic *Veturia* (c. 40. 1) is called by the later form of her name. In 3. 4. 2 and 3. 8. 2 we find competing the contemporary form with *s* and the later with *r*.
- 2 **Crustumeria, Praeneste,** see the map. Praeneste had a large Etruscan element in its population, and hence was likely to act independently of the purely Latin towns, just as *Tusculum* did, for the same reason; see *Ital. Dialects*, p. 310.
- * **gliscens,** 'smouldering.' The root meaning of the word is to glow, be bright, as appears in the cognate Gr. *χλιδή* 'brightness, rich apparel.' The inceptive termination adds the notion of gradually increasing. Livy and Tacitus are very fond of the picturesque metaphor contained in the word.
- 3 **lacum Regillum.** This lake seems to have dried up before the classical period, and its exact site is unknown.
- 4 **ira,** Nominative, scil. *Romanorum*. ✕
- 5 **suismet ipsi.** So I. F. Gronov, MSS. *ipsis*, a very common corruption when *ipse* in the Nom. follows immediately on some case of *suus*. How regular this order was may be seen from the Fr. *même*, which is a contraction for *met-ipsimum*, earlier *met-ipsissimum*, where the enclitic *-met* which properly belonged to a preceding *suus* (or *se*, or *meus* etc.) came to be regarded as a strengthening prefix to the following *ipse*.
- miscuere certamina,** 'joined in conflict,' a poetical, and especially Vergilian phrase. Equally Vergilian are the construction *infestus admisit* (§ 6), and the phrases *proelium ciet* (§ 10), *defluxit* (c. 20. 3), *rapit* (ib. 7), *aduolat* (ib. 10). The tone of Livy's diction always rises in heroic scenes.
- 6 **Tarquinius...quamquam iam aetate...gravior.** Heroic deeds in extreme old age are the order of the day in the legends of the Roman Kings: Ihne reckons (*Early Rome*, p. 66) that Tarquin himself was at least 70 years old when in a fit of youthful passion he threw his father-in-law

down the senate-house steps (Liv. 1. 48. 3) and so ascended the throne! The explanation is that the dates both of the foundation of Rome and of the expulsion of the Kings were established by fairly strong traditions, but the number of the Kings was unknown. When seven came to be regarded as the orthodox number—it must in fact have been far larger—the lives of the seven chosen individuals had to be stretched (by the early annalists) in proportion so as to fill up the two and a half centuries.

equum...admisit, 'let his horse go at full speed,' so 25. 19. 3; *immittere* and *permittere* are commoner in this sense.

7 **et**, 'furthermore, on the other side also' as in c. 48. 6; see c. 11. 6 n.

impetum dederat, an old and probably colloquial phrase, often used by Livy (e.g. c. 51. 4) for the common *imp. facere*; cf. c. 5. 5 n. on *dedit*.

nec fefellit ueniens Tusculanum, a Grecism in imitation of the constr. of *φθάνω* and *λανθάνω* (*ἔφθασά σε προσελθὼν* 'I anticipated you in getting there'), very common in Livy, both with and without an Acc.

contraque et ille, MSS. *contra quem*, corr. Madvig; on final *-m* see c. 7. 10 n. If Livy had written *quem* referring to Aebutius, he would certainly not have arranged the preceding clause so as to imply that it referred to *Tusc. ducem*, i.e. the order would have been *nec Tusc. d. fefellit ueniens*.

10 **L. Tarquinii filius**, Titus, the only surviving son after the death of Sextus (1. 60) and Arruns (2. 6. 6—9).

quo maiore pugnabat ira. This *quo* with a Comparative is commonly followed by *eo* with either another Comparative or some word like *crescere* implying comparison with a previous condition. This *eo* is often omitted in Livy and later writers, e.g. c. 45. 9 *quo minus...credunt, crescit ardor*. Occasionally the comparative notion has no direct expression in the second clause, but has to be understood from the context; e.g. 23. 15. 14 *quo frequentior necum fueris, senties eam rem tibi...emolumento esse*, i.e. 'the more clearly you will perceive,' etc. This is common in Tacitus, e.g. *Hist.* 1. 14 *ea pars morum, quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat* (Mor. Müller). Here the comparison lies concealed in *restituit*, 'he succeeded in renewing the struggle for a short time.'

CHAP. 20, page 23.

2 **gloria accensus, ut**. The *ut*-clause depends on the main verb *petit*, but it is connected in sense also with the notion of 'hope' implied in *gloria*: 'fired with the thought of the distinction that would come to the

Valerian house, in the hope that etc.' In this sense *si* is commoner than *ut*.

infesto spiculo, 'with levelled spear' (c. 5. 7 n.)

- 3 **infenso cessit hosti**, a slight departure from the usual prose order, for variety's sake. Livy is very fond of parting Substantive from Epithet, esp. in descriptive passages; so § 6 *fessos adorti exules*.

temere, 'blindly,' which is almost the literal meaning of the word. It is Locative from an old noun **tēmus* **temeris* (Sansk. *tamas*) meaning 'mist, darkness,' whence *tenebra* (for **temes-ra*) is derived; *tēmu(s)-lentus* comes from another form of the same stem.

nec quicquam...retardato. For this Adv. use of a Neut. Pron. Acc. cf. *nihil aliud auersus* c. 8. 8 n.

defluxit, Vergilian, see n. on *miscuere certamina*, c. 19. 5.

- 4 **exules.....suos**, Coupling Contrast (c. 1. 8 n.).

- 5 **metu ancipiti**, 'danger on both sides,' lit. 'double-headed' (*amb- and caput*); so again in c. 24. 3, c. 45. 2.

- 8 **tanto ui maiore...ut et...occiderit...et ipse...percussus**, etc. If *ui* is taken in the usual sense of 'force,' the second Verb after *ut* is in a Zeugma, since Herminius' death was not the direct result of the force with which he charged. But it may perhaps mean 'fury,' of which his recklessness in stopping to spoil his fallen foe was a consequence.

- 10 **dicto paruere**, c. 18. 8 n.

pro antesignanis, 'in the place (or, 'in defence') of the first line.' The *signa* stood in the front of the second line.

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- 11 **impulsi**, 'felt, gave way to the shock.'

- 12 **equiti**, Collective Sing., c. 6. 6 n.

Castori uouisse fertur. Castor, as often, is put for Castor and Pollux. Livy tacitly rejects the popular legend (Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 2. 2. 6.) of the appearance of Castor and Pollux in person to re-inspire the Roman ranks, which Macaulay's 'Lay' has made familiar to English readers. The dedication of this temple follows in c. 42. 5. The Dioscuri were no doubt connected with this battle as being in particular the patrons of the Roman Knights, the fight being mainly fought by the cavalry.

intrasset, Oblique, for Fut. Perf. in O. R.

CHAP. 21.

1 **triennio**, 'in the course of the (next) three years.' This is half-way between the regular Ciceronian Abl. of 'time within which,' and the post-Augustan use of the Abl., instead of the Ciceronian Acc. to denote 'time throughout which.'

2 **aedis Saturno dedicata**. This temple in later times served as the public treasury, the office of the Quaestors. It was at the foot of the Capitol, where eight of its granite pillars are still standing.

aedis. So the MSS. here, cf. *stirpis* I. I. 11; and this form in *-is* is said to be commoner in Livy than the regular *-es* in this class of Nouns. But in § 7 we have *aedes*. Etymologically, *-es* is original in *sedes*, *nubes*, *plebes*, *pubes*, where the original stem ended in *-es-*, and on the pattern of these the ending spread to a certain number of *-i-*stems, resembling them in sound or meaning (*caedes*, *aedes*, *labes*, *tabes*). Hence, as in other discrepancies due to analogy, the usage varied, and it is quite likely Livy wrote now *aedis* and now *aedes*.

Saturnalia...festus dies, Dec. 19. It seems likely that this festival, to the god of Agriculture, merely embodied a primitive feast in honour of the winter Solstice, when the sun's path begins to rise again in the sky. Later on several other days were added, the merrymaking lasting a week or more, see *Dict. Antt.* s. v. It was the custom to make presents to one's friends at this festival, and the practice continued when the Christian festival of Christmas took its place.

3 **A. Postumium**, c. 19. 3 and 6; c. 20. 4.

errores...temporum, 'mistakes about the dates,' a free Gen. of Contents; so *nominum error* I. 24. 1 (where there is no question as to what the names were).

4 **implicant**, scil. *te (tempora inquirentem)*. †

On the origin of these difficulties, which Livy so frankly avows, see c. 16. 9 n.

secundum quos, so Crevier, MSS. *quosdam*, a corruption due to some reader who did not understand the use of the double interrogative, and thought that *secundum* could mean 'according to the opinion of'—a post-classical use. (Some prefer to read *quosnam*, but I doubt if this more emphatic Interrogative would be put in the second place.) For the Interrogatives cf. 30. 42. 18 *ex quantis opibus quo recidissent res*.

5 **Appius Claudius**, c. 16. 4.

Cumis...Aristodemum. See c. 14. 6 n.

- 6 **eo nuntio.** See n. on *ea consultatio* c. 3. 5.
feri coepere. Here Livy follows the older use (Cic. *Brut.* 27. 106) in which *feri* was treated as a Deponent; elsewhere (e.g. in this very phrase 3. 65. 7) he treats it as a Passive and puts *coepitae sunt*; see c. 1. 4 n.
- 7 **tribus una et uiginti factae.** These tribes were essentially local divisions, *φυλαὶ τοπικαὶ* as they are called by Greek writers. The creation of the four first, those comprising the city itself (Suburana, Esquilina, Collina, Palatina), is attributed to Servius Tullius (Liv. 1. 43), but it is not known when the next seventeen were added. Cf. the note on *uctus Claudia tribus* c. 16. 5.

CHAP. 22, page 25.

- 1 **Latino bello.** On the Abl. see n. on *triennio* c. 21. 1.
comparauerant...ni maturatum...esset. Cf. *iter paene dedit ni unus uir fuisset* c. 10. 2 n. The clause *quae mitterent* is of course Final.
Latino Volscoque. Collective Sing., c. 6. 6 n.
- 2 **hac ira = ira hinc orta,** cf. *eo nuntio* c. 21. 6, c. 3. 5 n.
necopinata. In this word, as in *neglegens*, we have the Old Lat. Adv. *nec* meaning simply 'non,' as in the XII Tables *si nec escit* 'si non erit.' The second half is not the Conjunction, but the Indefinite or Generalising *-que* Gr. *τε*, as in *quisque, usque, οὖς τε, ὡστε* etc., so that this *neque* meant originally 'not at any time, never.'
obsides...trecentos. See c. 16. 9 n.
- 3 **Volscis...suum rediit ingenium.** *suus* may be used not merely to refer to the Subject of the sentence, but to any persons mentioned in the sentence, provided that the word denoting them is placed in an emphatic position. It generally precedes both the Subject of the sentence, and the *suus*; cf. *Syracusanis suas res restituit* (Cic.) 'he gave the Syracusans their own property again.' The *suus* is often in agreement with the Subject, as here. Cf. c. 33. 1.
ingenium, 'inborn inclination,' explained by the next clause.
Hernicis. The position of this tribe midway between the Volsci and Aequi (see the map) made their attitude in wars in Latium of great importance to Rome, and the alliance which she made with them in 486 B.C. (c. 41) finally separated her two worst enemies, and made it impossible for them to join in an advance upon the city up the valley of the Treus.
- 4 **recens,** Adv., an old colloquial use, avoided by Cic. and Caes., and in other authors common only with the Perf. Partc.

clades. Some good MSS. read *cladis*; if so cf. *aedis* c. 21. 2 n.

clades...ne ab legatis quidem...abstinuit. This seems a rather awkward inversion for 'excited them as far as even to violate'; the insertion of *ira odioque...suaderet* perhaps makes the negative form of the main Verb somewhat less harsh. *accepta clades* stands in Latin where we should say 'the thought of the reverse they had suffered,' cf. *mouerat eum primi periculi casus* c. 13. 2, with n. (Should we take the *cladis* of some MSS. as a Genitive and correct to *acceptae cladis...ira, odiumque eius* etc.? The position of *Latinos* is scarcely harsher than with the reading in the text since *ira* must mean their resentment at the *accepta clades*.)

suaderet. Oblique Subjunc. 'any one whom they saw to be urging.'

5 **fuit gratum,** scil. *eos hoc indicasse.*

captiuorum sex milia...et de foedere. Nothing was told us of these captives or of the *foedus* in c. 19—20. Livy is here probably following Valerius Antias, an annalist of Sulla's time who contributed a great deal to the falsification of Roman history by his rhetorical additions, especially in the enormous numbers of the killed and the prisoners that he loved to add to his accounts of battles. Cp. the note on c. 16. 9.

reicerent. So modern editors for the MSS. *traicerent* which does not seem to be used in the required sense of 'handing over to,' for which, in relation to official business, *reicere* is the regular word.

6 **enimvero tum,** 'then indeed'; cf. c. 36. 6; this compound shows a use of *enim* which died out of the simple form in later Latin, cf. *etenim*. In Oscan the particle means 'and,' in Umbrian the kindred *enom* means 'then, next, furthermore.'

7 **apud quem quisque seruierant.** On *quisque* beside a Plur. Verb see c. 10. 9 n. on *alius alium*.

hospitia iungunt, 'form ties of hospitality,' a relation of a more formal nature in the ancient world than with us, in proportion as the greater difficulties of travel and communication made the hospitality of one's friends at a distance far more important. The *hospites*, or persons connected by this tie, very often exchanged tokens called *tesserae* (of which many specimens have come down to us, some in the shape of a pair of hands clasped), by which they might identify one another after long intervals, or might be identified by any third person to whom either entrusted his *tessera* by way of introduction.

CHAP. 23, page 26.

- 1 **nexus ob aes alienum.** In Roman law a man was called *nexus*, 'bound,' who had borrowed money on the strength of a pledge he gave to his creditor, with various solemn formalities, that he would pay him interest and capital at a stated time; and that else, in default of payment, he would render personal service to him until he had worked out his freedom from the debt. If the debtor failed to pay, the creditor had the right of treating him exactly like a slave. This barbarous law of debt was not changed until the Lex Poetelia et Papiria of 326 B.C. greatly modified the creditor's power over the person of his debtor; but the institution of the Tribunes of the Plebs, by which the present agitation was brought to an end (c. 33), no doubt served to reduce the hardship in the worst cases.
- 2 **inuidiam eam,** like *hac ira* c. 22. 2.
- 3 **pallore ac macie perempti,** a rhetorical exaggeration, lit. 'dead with pallor and thinness.' Render: 'his bodily condition was still more shocking,—pale, shrunken, half-dead.'
- 4 **ordines duxisse,** 'had commanded his Company more than once,' *i.e.* had been Centurion, the commander of a Century, the military unit.
aliquot locis. Adv. phrase used as an Adj., see n. on *meam uobiscum pacem* c. 15. 5.
- 5 **iniquo suo tempore,** 'at a time difficult for him,' cf. *tempore nostro aduerso* 31. 31. 12 and *magno cum periculo suo* in § 9 inf. With *imperatum* supply *fuert*; it is the last of the clauses depending on *quia*.
- 6 **fortunis aliis,** *i.e.* his farm-stock and furniture. *aliis*=*reliquis*, cf. cc. 13. 7 and 59. 3.
ergastulum et carnificinam, 'place of punishment and torture.' *erg.* was an underground dwelling or prison, for the punishment of unruly slaves. If, for instance, a slave offended his master in his town household, he might be sent to work in a gang on his master's estate in the country, and after hard labour in the day the gang would be shut up in an *ergastulum* at night. *carnificina* was the prison where the *carnifex* strangled criminals, or tortured slaves to extract evidence.
- 8 **uincti solutique,** *i.e.* those who had already been arrested by their creditors, and those who were still at large but feared to be arrested. Others understand that both parts of the crowd were in their creditors'

hands, but that only some wore chains (*uincula* § 10)—a constraint which the creditor could legally impose.

implorant Quiritium fidem, c. 10. 3 n.

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- 10–11 **ostentare, dicere, postulare**. Hist. Inf. of picturesque description.
 11. **haec se meritos**. Ironical, 'these were the rewards they had earned.'

exprobrantes, scil. *consulibus*. The word means 'to make a reproach of,' from *probrum*, which (I believe) is from an earlier **pro-fr-um*, a compound of *prō-* and a form of the root of *fero*, 'something brought forward (against another).'

futuri, 'in order to be'; Livy is fond of the use of the Fut. Partc. to express purpose, a Grecism which rarely if ever appears in Cicero.

- 12 **per infrequentiam**. Yet there does not seem to have been any general rule requiring a fixed quorum in the Senate; we hear even of decrees being hurried through designedly when only a few Senators were present (Liv. 38. 44. 6); but for special purposes a quorum was demanded by various enactments, e.g. in the *S. C. de Bacc.* of 186 B.C., Liv. 39. 18. 9 and *C. I. L.* 1. 43. But there was always a strong feeling against business being done in a thin House, and in this case the consul presiding probably exercised his own discretion and refused to proceed; the consuls had the power of fining any senator who absented himself without excuse (*Cic. Phil.* 1. 4. § 11–12).
 13 **extrahi**, 'put off,' lit. 'prolonged, drawn out.' It is common with an Obj. of the thing (*rem, bellum* etc.) but the only passages quoted for this use with a personal Object are *Stat. Theb.* 1. 323, 3. 575. Livy would hardly have used it without *eludi* to make the meaning clear.
 14 **tandem...ueniunt; frequentique tandem**. This repetition of *tandem* may be a merely accidental blemish;—so *prope* in 1. 14. 4 with other examples. Madvig would excise it.

CHAP. 24, page 28.

- 2 **plebes**, nom. sing., treated as a word of Decl. 5; hence the gen. *plebei*. The word must be identical with Gr. *πληθος* but the history of the suffix in Latin is not clear, nor the relation of this to the shorter form *plebs*.

ultores, as c. 11. 4; see note on *spectator* c. 5. 5.

nomina darent, i.e. to the consul who was holding the levy.

praemia, *i.e.* the booty, and especially the land taken from the enemy, from which the Plebeians were commonly excluded; cf. c. 42. 1.

- 5 **nec posse...bello praeuerti se quicquam.** This seems to be the most likely reading to have given rise to the *praeuertisse* of the MSS., in which neither the use of the Perfect for the Present, nor the Intrans. use of the Active can well be defended in prose. The Transit. use of the Deponent is rare, but seems indisputable in 8. 13. 1 *coacti consules omnibus eam rem praeuerti proficiscuntur* as well as in one or two passages in Plautus (*e.g. Amph.* 3. 2. 39). Madvig however prefers to cut the knot and read *praeuerti* (Passive) simply. The Verb means 'to put, or turn in the first place,' always implying a Comparison; and its constructions vary remarkably, according to what the things are which are compared and according as the Verb itself is Transitive or Intransitive. The ordinary uses, which are given very confusedly by the Lexicons, are as follows:

I. When two things, generally things to be done, are compared in importance:

(a) Transit. *praeuerto officium huic uoluptati*, 'I put duty before this pleasure.' Often the Dat. is omitted, *praeuerto hoc officium*, 'I put this duty first.'

(b) Pass. (and Intrans. Act.) *praeuertor huic rei* or *ad hanc rem*, 'I turn myself to this business first (before other business).'

II. When the comparison is between the time of the action of the Verb and the time of some other intended action, which is forestalled by it (*-uertere* here meaning 'to turn' in the sense of 'turn aside, divert'): *praeuerto consilium tuum*, 'I anticipate (and prevent) your design,' lit. 'I turn your design (before you can accomplish it).' So sometimes *praeuerto te*, 'I anticipate you.' Hence in Poetry *praeuertere uentos*, 'to outstrip the winds.'

As we have seen the Deponent is occasionally used like the Active in I. (a).

— **si sit laxamenti aliquid**, *i.e.* any abatement of the danger from the Volscians.

- 6 **contioni** denotes the speech delivered before a gathering of the people, as often. No one but a magistrate, or those whom he invited to speak, had a right to address the people.

edicto..., **quo edixit.** Note the care with which Livy avoids letting the Dependent clause be attached merely to a Substantive.

possidēret, 'enter upon, take possession of.' In Latin the word, and its derivatives *possidēre*, *possessio* always denote the actual occupation

of property to which one's legal title may or may not be a good one. *possīdo* denotes the act of beginning the occupation, *possīdeo* the position of being in it.

liberos nepotesue eius moraretur, 'or interfere with his children or grandchildren.' According to Roman Law the Head of the Family (*paterfamilias*) had the same rights of ownership over his children, and their children, as over his slaves or cattle; hence if he failed to pay his debt, they could be seized upon by his creditors, to be sold into actual slavery. With this meaning of *morari* cp. the common phrase *nil moror*, lit. 'I make no effort to delay, I suffer to go by me,' hence, 'I care nothing for.'

- 7 **ut sacramento dicerent**, 'that they might utter (the promise of obedience as soldiers) under (or, in accordance with) the oath.' It appears that Livy regularly uses the Abl. in this phrase, where other writers, Caesar for instance, prefer the simpler Acc., *sacramentum dicere*. Cf. *sacramento rogare*, 'to invite (men) to enlist under the oath,' e.g. 32. 26. 11, and *sacramento adigere*, 'to compel (men) to pledge themselves by an oath.'

CHAP. 25.

- 1 **si qua...posset, temptant castra**. The Historic Present is often followed by Secondary Tenses in Subordinate clauses, and as often by Primary. Some MSS. here give *possit*. On this use of *si*, cf. c. 20. 2 n. on *ut*.

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- 3 **parum-per**, compounded of the Neut. *parum*, i.e. *paruom* and the old Post-position *-per*, 'for, during,' as in *sem-per*, 'for once and all, always' (from *sem-* 'one' = Gr. *ἕν*, cf. *sem-el*), and Old Lat. *top-per*, 'so long' for **tod-per*, **tod* being the Neut. of the Pronoun corresponding to the Greek *ὅ, ἧ, τὸ*.

emittit, a good example of the real meaning of *mitto*, not 'to send' but 'to let go.'

- 4 **pedes...eques**. Collective Singulars, c. 6. 6 n.

cum...pauor expulisset. Turn this by the Passive in English, see n. on *mouerat eum casus* c. 13. 2.

- 5 **ad Suessam Pometiam**. On the nature of this narrative see n. on *obsidibus* c. 16. 9.

6 **decedentem Romam.** Madvig would remove this second *Romam*, but it serves to prevent any possible ambiguity in the *decedentem*.

Ecetranorum. Ecetra was in the Volscian hills, at that time an important town.

CHAP. 26.

1 **tumultus**, 'a passing disturbance'; the word is regularly applied to an outbreak of hostilities in a pacified district, especially in Gallia Cisalpina (*Gallicus tumultus*), which though virtually conquered by Rome at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. was not made part of Italy, *i.e.* did not completely receive the franchise, until it was given by Caesar in 49 B.C., the district S. of the Po having already been enfranchised in 89.

Anienem. On the inflexion see c. 16. 5 n.

3 **legio**, an archaism for 'troops.' The word comes from *legere* and means literally 'a picked body.'

fugae quod satis esset uirium. Subjunctive of Essential Definition (*N. L. P.* § 400 c.), 'strength such as to enable them to run away.'

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4 **ni decedatur...**, **bellum indicentes.** The Protasis depends on the verbal notion implied in *bellum indic.*, 'declaring war (to be waged) unless etc.'

5 **consuli ordine.** The course of procedure in the Senate was determined as a rule by seniority. The Consuls presided, and after stating either briefly or at length the nature of the business to be discussed (*rem ad Senatam referre*), they called on the individual Senators in turn to express their views in the order of their standing (*i.e.* of their names on the roll as drawn up by the Censors), save that they gave precedence to magistrates elect (*designati*), and that they occasionally complimented a distinguished member by calling on him before his turn. Of course the bulk of the members did not speak on any particular occasion but each when called upon might waive his right.

CHAP. 27.

1 **fidem senatus**, Abstract for Concrete, 'the evidence of the Senate's good faith,' *i.e.* their fulfilment of the Consul's undertaking.

cum Appius. On this 'inverted *cum*-construction' see c. 10. 10 n. Here it is followed by the Hist. Inf. as in 3. 37. 5 *cum interim mentio comitiorum nulla fieri*.

insita superbia. The Claudian family were distinguished throughout Roman history as the proudest of all the noble houses, conspicuous for their bitter hatred of the Plebs and their contempt for public opinion; see *e.g.* Liv. 9. 34. 3, Tac. *Ann.* 1. 4. [Yet, as extremes meet, a member of the family sometimes turned demagogue, like Cicero's enemy, Publius Clodius. J. S. R.]

ius de...dicere, 'began to give judgment in cases of'; the regular phrase describing the duties of the magistrate who presided in a Court of Law; it included both the hearing of the case and his announcement of his decision. At this date the Consuls (or Praetors, as they were then called) were the supreme judges, as well as the military commanders of the state; cf. c. 2. 1 n. on *regem sacrificulum*.

2 **exprobrabant,** c. 23. 11 n.

sua quisque. On the Sing. see c. 10. 9 n.

belli, probably Locative, like *domi militiaeque*.

ut aut...aut ut. Madvig cancels the second *ut* as a dittograph; but it is possible the change of order may have been intentional (as in Cic. *Or.* 44. 149) though no other similar case is quoted from Livy. [It is a variation of a common type; see my note on Cic. *Acad.* 2. 12. J. S. R.]

3 **mouebant...cogebat.** Turn by the Passive (c. 13. 2 n.).

plebis...patres. Livy here identifies the party of the creditors with the Patricians, the debtors with the Plebs. No doubt the bulk of the Senate would sympathise with the creditors, but the Plebeians were by no means all poor. Yet the agitation of the debtors naturally led to an attack on the Patricians, since the Law Courts, by which the debtors were handed over to their creditors, were controlled entirely by the Patricians through the Consuls, who were of course always Patrician at this date.

4 **mollem,** 'weak.'

ambitosum, 'courting popularity.' *amb-itiō* literally meant 'going round' to solicit votes for some office, and hence generally any indirect process of seeking favour and advancement; often it means 'flattery.' Notice the two different meanings developed, from the same original, by this word, and by *ambitus* ('bribery').

5 **Mercuri aedem.** This dedication has already been recorded (c. 21. 7), where Livy was following another authority. The story given here of the reference of the matter to the people is extremely improbable at this date; it is probably a guess of one of the annalists of the last century B.C. (cf. c. 22. 5 n.) when such interferences of the Comitia were not uncommon.

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praeesse annonae. This implied not merely keeping the market itself clean and orderly, but regulating the prices and securing a regular supply of corn from the Greek traders of S. Italy and Sicily. Later on these duties were assigned to the Aediles.

mercatorum collegium. Mercury, as appears even from his name (it is derived from *merx*, *mercari*), was the patron of commerce; hence the duty of maintaining his temple and cult is handed over to a formally established 'College' or 'Guild' of merchants, called *Mercuriales*. So when Augustus arranged for his own worship (in Italy and the Provinces) it was entrusted to a guild of Freedmen called the *Augustales*.

pro pontifice, 'in the presence of the Pontifex Maximus' who dictated to him the formula of dedication.

- 6 **primi pili centurioni,** 'a centurion of the highest rank' (lit. 'of the first division'), *i.e.* the senior centurion of the legion. Later on when the legion was divided into ten cohorts, the ten senior centurions, one from each cohort, were called *primi ordines*, and the *primipilus* as he was familiarly called was the senior of these ten. These men were greatly trusted and often summoned to councils of war with their superior officers, the military Tribunes, by the Commander of the Legion.

appareret.....factum, 'must have been felt to be intended,' lit. 'would have been evident (to you, had you been there)'; for the Tense cf. the common *diceres, crederes* (c. 35. 5, c. 43. 9).

fastigio. The word properly means a sloping roof or gable, and hence is used metaphorically to denote 'degree of rank.'

- 7 **consulum alter,** *i.e.* Appius Claudius. ✕

- 8 **cum...uidissent**=the Ciceronian *quotiens viderant* as the following Imperfects show. For this Subjunc., which is frequent in Livy, cf. *ut quisque ueniret* c. 38. 1.

- 9 **libertatis** is omitted by the Medicean, though given by all other MSS., and Madvig omits it. It seems scarcely appropriate to the creditors who were threatened only with the loss of their money, and on the other hand it may be a gloss intended to explain the particular danger which the debtors had stood.

- 10 **ambitionem.** See n. on *ambitosum*, § 4 sup.

rem publicam, 'the interest of the state,' as often.

- 12 **prouocauit,** scil. *ad populum*, c. 8. 2 n.

animi, scil. *Appii Claudii*.

CHAP. 28, page 32.

1 T. Vetusius, c. 19. 1, with note.

Esquiliis. The names of parts of towns are often used by Livy in the Loc. or Acc. like the names of towns themselves; e.g. 26. 10. 1 *Esquiliis contendit*. In § 4 the MSS. insert *in* before this same word, but Madvig removed it on the ground that the omission of the Preposition with this word is regular in all authors. See below.

2 **delatam consulere.** This use of the Acc. of the thing debated with *consulere* appears to be a colloquial construction, cf. Plaut. *Menaechm.* 4. 3. 26 *consulam hanc rem amicos*, but it does not seem to occur elsewhere in Livy. Hence some would read *delata* (Abl. Absol.) understanding *patres* after *consulere*. [Cic. has the Accus. of Neut. Pron. repeatedly; and *consulendis rebus* in *Diu.* 1. 3; it is not unnatural that Livy should go a step farther; cf. *ad eam rem consultandam* Liv. 1. 55 and 5. 25; also *ius consulere* (like *ius respondere*) in 39. 40. 6. Vergil too has *rem consulere*. J. S. R.]

3 **futurum fuisse** = *fuisse* in O. R., see c. 1. 3 n. on *facturus fuerit*.
publicum concilium, a recognised and constitutional assembly, under the presidency of the regular magistrates, i.e. a *contio* (c. 24. 6 n.).

4 **curias**, an ironical exaggeration, 'so-called senates.' [I fancy it is a corruption of *circulos*. J. S. R.]

[**cum alia...concilia**]. Wecklein no doubt is right in regarding these words as a gloss based on § 1, to explain the 'curias contionesque'; a gloss-writer would be likely to insert the un-idiomatic *in* before *Esquiliis* (§ 1 n.).

5 **correpti consules** is Subject to *percunctarentur*, put in front of the *cum* for emphasis, as often; the Subject of *decernunt* is *patres*.

[**cum, quid...uellent...percunctarentur.** On the Tenses of these Verbs beside that of *placeat* in the genuine Or. Obl. see c. 9. 2 n.

6 **iuniores**, in the technical sense, those still liable for military service, i.e. those under 46 years of age.

7 **praestaretur**, 'made good, upheld'; c. 18. 11 n.

8 **et apparebat.** For this *et* = 'and indeed,' cf. c. 11. 6 n.

9 **prius quam...experirentur.** Subjunctive of Purpose, as often after *prius quam*: 'in the hope of avoiding desperate expedients.' It is of course also Oblique.

abdicare consulatum iubentes. This was the utmost they could do towards deposing them; for in theory every Consul resigned his office

of his own free will, when his year came to an end. It seems to have been a legal fiction as though the tenure of office of the supreme magistrate were still unlimited as it had been with the Kings; cp. c. 2. 1 n. on *regem sacrificulum*.

The Construction used here and once or twice elsewhere in Livy, e.g. 5. 49. 9, appears first in Sallust (*Cat.* 47. 3); Cicero writes always *abdicare se magistratu*, and so often Livy, e.g. c. 31. 10.

CHAP. 29, page 33.

- 1 **utraque re**, *i.e.* (1) to persuade the Senate to adopt some means of contenting the people, and (2) to carry out the orders of the Senate and continue the levy.

experta, Passive, see n. on *ultas*, c. 17. 6.

ne praedictum negetis, a Prefatory Purpose Clause, *i.e.* one which gives the Purpose of the remark to be made, not of the action which it states; so *ut* in c. 12. 15, and *ne doleas* (*Hor. Od.* 1. 33. 1) which introduces the whole poem. 'Lest you should deny that you had been warned beforehand (we hereby warn you that).'

- 2 **nominatim unum...dedita opera**. They departed intentionally from the usual practice of calling the names in their order on the roll, so that they might test the intentions of the crowd by calling on a man whom they saw to be present.

- 4 **nihil aliud...prohibito**. For this Adverbial Acc. cf. *nihil aliud auersus* c. 8. 8 n.

irarum, 'manifestations (cries and gestures) of anger.' Abstract Nouns often take a concrete sense in the Plur., so *gaudia*, *ignominiae*.

- 5 **tumultuosius**, *i.e.* the Senators spoke out of their order, see n. on *ordine* c. 26. 5.

quaestionem, a special judicial Commission, implying that the crime of the rioters was too heinous to be dealt with by the ordinary law.

decernente, *i.e.* putting forward the proposal (for the inquiry) which he wished the Senate to adopt; the Verb is often thus used of individual Senators.

- 6 **consuli coepit**. On the Voice of *coepisse* with Passive Infinitives see c. 1. 4 n.

- 7 **P. Verginius**. Unless this should be corrected to *T. Verginius* (c. 21. 2), it is inconsistent with the *ordine consuli* of the previous sentence; since Livy gives no hint that the *ordo* observed at this date differed from that of later times (c. 26. 5 n.) when the consulars were

called upon first, and no P. Verginius has yet been mentioned among the Consuls.

rem non uolgabat, Conative Impf., 'did not wish the charge to be spread widely (among a number of persons)'; a principle which has passed into a commonplace of good government all over the world.

8 **nec sisti posse, ni**, Impersonal, 'there was no help for the situation without'; so in a Positive sentence with an Abl., c. 44. 10 *qualicumque urbis statu sisti potuisse*, 'they could have come through safely whatever the constitution (if only etc.)'. So 3. 9. 8 and elsewhere.

10 **id adeo malum**, 'Indeed that very evil'; *adeo* is put second in order to show that it refers in particular to *id malum*, not to the whole sentence, but it has its regular meaning 'to such an extent,' 'so true was it that,' 'indeed.'

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11 **a quo prouocatio non est**, c. 8. 2 n.

12 **pulset tum**, Rhetorical irony, 'Let a man then strike the lictor (if he dare), when he will know etc.' The Sing. *pulset qui sciet* is picturesque, singling out a particular rioter who will be terrified into silence.

uiolarit, MSS. *uiolauit*, corr. Crevier: the Indic. would state just what Appius wishes to declare impossible.

CHAP. 30.

1 **Verginii Larciique**, scil. *sententiae*. ✕

exemplo, 'because of the precedent they set.'

utique Larcii. After these words the MSS. add *putabant sententiam*, a cumbrous gloss rightly removed by many editors.

quae totam fidem tolleret, Subjunc. of the Cause Alleged; *fidem*, 'credit,' in the financial sense. When a mass of debt is suddenly cancelled whether by State interference or merely by the sudden default of the debtors, people are shy of lending, or even of selling anything except for ready money, and the ordinary course of business is abruptly stopped. Such a situation is called a 'financial crisis.' ✕

utroque, Adv. = *erga utramque factionem*.

2 **respectu rerum priuatarum**, 'consideration for private interests,' *i.e.* those of the capitalists, many of whom were probably members of the Senate. Livy's comment is in what we are wont to call a thoroughly modern spirit.

4 **imperio suo uehemens magistratus.** Some word, such as that here inserted (by Moritz Müller) is needed for Subject to *permitteretur*; it may have been abbreviated (*mag^{rs}*. or the like) and so have dropped out before the *ma-* of *mansueto*. Madvig's *imperii uis uehemens* and Frigell's *imperium sua ui uehemens* are both highly probable palaeographically, but need to be supported by other passages in which *uis* and *uehemens* are together applied to *imperium*, when it means 'office of command.' *uis in oratione uehementissima* (Quintil. 9. 4. 13) might perhaps be quoted as lending some support to Madvig's conjecture, and Liv. 3. 26. 12 *uirum ipso imperio uehementiorem* (Quinctius, the dictator) in favour of Frigell's.

5 **M'. Valerium.** Here and in some passages of other authors the best MSS. give the praenomen as M simply, but in the *Fasti* and one or two inssc. (which represent the tradition of the Valerian house, C. I. L. 1¹. 284, 454, 462) it is M'. (= Manius, c. 18. 6 n.).

creant. On the method of appointment see c. 18. 5 n. on *legere*.

fratris lege, i.e. Publicolae, c. 8. 1.

nihil...triste nec superbum, 'no stern or cruel treatment.' *superbus* always implies a cruel disregard of other people's rights and needs. *Tarquin the Cruel* more nearly represents the nickname of the last King (c. 1. 3) than *Tarquin the Proud*. The word literally means 'over-bearing,' for *super-bhu-os* (cf. Gr. ὑπέρ-φεν and ὑπερ-φ(φ)-ιαλος), containing the root of Eng. *be*, Lat. *fu-i (ama)-bo*, etc. for *-bhu-o*.

6 **sed** contrasts the success of Valerius with the (final) failure of Servilius, cc. 24. 4; 27. 4.

melius...credi, 'that they could (lit. 'did') trust...more safely (than any other man or office)'; cf. c. 7. 11 n.

7 **quattuor, scil. legionibus.**

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8 **capere arma sinerent.** Livy implies that the prohibition was a consequence of the defeat of Lake Regillus (c. 20), just as it was regularly enforced on the allies of Rome in later times (cf. 53. 5); but the stipulation has not been recorded hitherto, not even where a proposed 'treaty' is mentioned (c. 22. 5).

12 **nec clamorem reddi passus.** The negative in *nec* belongs only to *passus*, but the *-que* connects *promouit* with *iussit*.

pilis, a slight anachronism for *hastis*, since the *pilum* is not mentioned in the Servian armament (1. 43) and even in the Latin War (Liv. 8. 8. 3 ff.) of 340 B.C. it seems not to have been in use. The *hasta*

was for thrusting; the *pilum*, a much longer weapon (with $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet of shaft and the same length of blade), was a pike for hurling, which not merely wounded your enemy, but pinned him to the ground.

14 **adepti**, 'catching up,' the literal meaning of the word.

Velitras, an important town of the Volsci, S. of the Alban Hills, whence comes the only insc. we possess in the Volscian dialect. It was the home of the Octavian gens, and Augustus was born there.

CHAP. 31.

2 **ordinibus firmauerant**. Between these words the MSS. insert *aciem*, which editors have rightly removed as a gloss to *quam*.

pedes, Coll. Sing., c. 6. 6 n.

3 **illis annis**, 'in those years,' *i.e.* about that time.

super solitos honores, 'in addition to,' so c. 27. 10; this use of *super* is common in Poetry, and in Livy and later writers, but not in Cicero.

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locus in circo. This appears to be the only example in Roman history of such an honour (similar to the *προεδρία* at Athens) being granted permanently to a particular man or family, but there can be no doubt of the fact since it is confirmed in the *elogium C. I. L.* 1¹. 284. This was composed for or by the Valerian family in the classical period and could not have openly claimed for them a privilege that they did not possess. This and the other extraordinary honours paid to the Valerii (*e.g.* c. 16. 7; with the right of burial within the city, Cic. *Leg.* 2. 23. 58 etc.) were no doubt connected with the half-royal position of this gens in the first years of the Republic, see c. 8. 3 n.

sella...curulis. The chair of honour, inlaid with ivory, used by all the higher magistrates, and no doubt by the Kings in their day. It was so called as being one which could be carried in a chariot (*currus*), a movable emblem of dignity.

4 **et * colonia deducta**. The name of some colony other than Velitrae seems to have fallen out after *et* (Moritz Müller).

5 **extrahi**, scil. *a consule*, in order to thwart the dictator's intention of doing something for the plebs before his office expired.

forte temere, 'by mere haphazard,' a frequent combination (*e.g.* 23. 3. 3), so *forte casu, clam furtim*. On *temere*, see c. 20. 3 n.

agmen erigeret, scil. *consul*; the regular phrase for leading a force uphill.

- 6 **ignaula**, probably Abl. and *uertit* Intrans. as in c. 8. 1 n.
ubi, if it is retained, can hardly refer to anything but *ualles*, though some edd. connect it also with *castris*. Madvig and others correct to *ibi*, which would refer to *castris*.
- 7 **decesserat** with Dat. of Persons Interested, as often in Livy, e.g. 9. 29. 1.
gratia, 'private pressure,' the exercise of personal influence, cf. c. 3. 3 n.
quae, Nom. Pl. Neut., its antecedent being understood as Object to *praeparauerant*.
- 9 **relecta**, 'put off (indefinitely).' The Senate refused to consider the question.
me dius fidius, *i.e.* (*sic*) *mē deus Fidius (adiuuēt, ut uera loquor)*, an abbreviated oath ('so may the God of Good Faith bless me, as I speak truth'), which has become fused into a single word like *mehercule* (*i.e.* *me, o Hercule, ita adiuues ut* etc.), so that the *e* of *deus* has sunk to *i* in an unaccented syllable just as that of *lego* in *col-ligo*. *Deus Fidius* is the God of Good Faith, *i.e.* Jupiter.
- 11 **apparuit**, not 'appeared' but, as most commonly, 'was clearly evident.'
suam uicem, 'for their sake.' Adverbial (contained) Acc. *suam = plebis*.
quoniam per eum non stetitset, quin, 'since it had been no fault of his that.' Generally *quominus* and sometimes *ne* (3. 61. 2) are used after this phrase, *quin* only here (M. Müller).
praestaretur, scil. *fides*. On the origin of this verb see c. 18. 11 n.

CHAP. 32, page 37.

Livy's terse and pregnant outline of this memorable revolution is clearly taken from an ancient and therefore trustworthy authority. It is in striking contrast with the far longer and more elaborate story given by Dionysius (6. 44 ff.), which is no doubt taken from one of the later annalists. For example, the person whom Livy calls (§ 2) *Sicinius quidam* in Dionysius is elected the leader of the Plebeians and in that capacity makes a speech in answer to the Patrician exiles (adapting a well-known reflexion of Thucydides).

- 1 **in consulum uerba**, lit. 'into the words,' *i.e.* after the words dictated by, the regular phrase for 'swearing obedience to.'
- 2 **religionem**, 'the binding power of their oath'; cf. n. on *religiosum erat* c. 5. 3.

- 3 **Piso**, c. 18. 5 n. on *veterrimos auctores*.
in Aventinum. Both traditions are strongly supported, cf. *e.g.* 3. 54. 9; Cic. *Rep.* 2. 58 combines them. But the Aventine was at this date still covered with wood acc. to Dion. 10. 31, being first peopled in consequence of the Lex Icilia of 456 B.C. which assigned it to Plebeians. Hence Schwegler (2. 236) concludes that the mention of the Aventine is merely due to a confusion with the Second Secession of 449 B.C. when the Aventine was held, in military fashion, by the plebs (3. 51. 10).
- 4 **sumendo**, scil. from the neighbouring farmers. This use of the Gerund is equivalent in meaning simply to the Nominative of the Pres. Partc., and its convenience is probably the reason why that case of that Partc. is so much less frequently used than the other cases. In some of the Romance languages this form in *-ndo* has ousted the Pres. Partc. from use altogether. On the real character of this 'Ablative' form see c. 9. 6 n. on *oneri ferendo essent*.
- 5—6 **mallent...secesserit...existat**. On the tenses see c. 9. 2 n., and cf. 28. 5. The Or. Obl. depends on the notion of reflection suggested by *incerti*.
- 6 **quamdiu...fore**. A 'rhetorical' question, *i.e.* one whose answer is clearly foreshadowed (here *nullum tempus*), and therefore equivalent to a statement and taking the construction of a statement in Or. Obl., *i.e.* the Acc. and Inf.
- 7 **ducere**. Perhaps Hist. Inf., like *timere*; in any case the subject to be supplied is *patres*, whether Nom. or Acc.
- 8 **quod inde oriundus erat**. Livy seems to assume, though he does not state, that Menenius was a Senator as well as a Plebeian. The former is improbable, see c. 1. 11 n. on *iungendos patribus plebis animos*. According to other authorities, including Cic. *Brut.* 14. 54 and the Valerian *elogium* (see c. 31. 3 n.), the peacemaker was the Dictator himself, M'. Valerius. And so apparently Livy himself thought in 8. 18. 12.
oriundus. On the form see c. 9. 1 n.
prisco illo...et horrido modo, 'in old-fashioned and homely style.' Compare the picture of this scene in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, 1. 1, which is based on Plutarch; cf. the Introduction § 3. The fable itself is very ancient, and has been used on many occasions; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 2. 3. 18, and St Paul, 1 Ep. Cor. xii. 12 ff.

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- 10 **dentes quae conficerent.** One good MS. indicates that something is lost before *quae*, but no satisfactory suggestion has been made for any restoration. Most editors eject *quae*, but how did it get there? Is it a remnant of *quicquam*? But I am not sure that there is anything wrong. We may render: 'when neither the lips would take in the food offered them, nor the teeth accept what they were (intended) to dispose of';—a very common Past-Future use of the Impf. Subj. Cf. 21. 42. 2 *se quisque eum optabat quem fortuna legeret* and see Hale, *The Anticipatory Subjunctive*, pp. 61 ff.
- 11 **quo uiuimus uigemusque.** On this Indic. see c. 15. 3 n. on *erit*.
- 12 **comparando**, like *sumendo* § 4 n.

CHAP. 33.

- 1 **concessumque in condiciones**, cf. *in unum consentientia* c. 32. 9: 'an agreement was arrived at upon (lit. 'resulting in') the following terms.'

sui, referring to *plebi*, see c. 22. 3 n.

sacrosancti, lit. 'consecrated by a religious penalty,' *i.e.* protected by a sentence of outlawry (from all divine and human privileges) entailed upon the person who laid violent hands upon them; such a person was *sacer* (see c. 8. 2 n. on *sacrando*). In 4. 6. 7, Livy describes the Tribunes as '*quos foedere icto cum plebe sacrosanctos accepissent*.' If this *foedus* is to be taken in a literal sense, as an agreement between two communities regarding one another as strangers (Dionysius 6. 89 adds that it was made by the *fetiales* as treaties always were), it would explain the origin of the religious protection which the Tribunes enjoyed, since a *foedus* was always *sacrum* in Roman Law. This view implies that the Patricians regarded the Plebeians as essentially foreigners even in 494 B.C. (cf. c. 44. 10). Niebuhr and Schweigler (2. 249, 283 ff.) held that this was the case, and it seems to me the most probable view. It is quite certain that the Plebeians were at this period jealously excluded from any share in the State Religion; for example no auspices were ever taken for the *concilia plebis* (see *e.g.* Liv. 6. 41). If this view of the origin of the sanctity of the Tribunes be adopted, it involves the rejection of Mommsen's theory that under the Republic the Plebeians were always members of the *Comitia Curiata*, a theory which cannot be said to have been ever established though it has found its way into many text-books. [Note that the controversy as to the origin of the

sanctity only relates to the period which ends in 449 B.C., since then the plebeian privileges became a recognized part of public law. J. S. R.]

- 3 **duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos.** The uncertainty is only for the period from 494—471 B.C.; in the latter year (c. 58. 1) and subsequently the number was certainly five until 457 when it was raised to ten, which remained to the end of the Republic. X

inierunt. So the MSS.; most editors alter to *inierant*, but the Perfect seems equally possible.

- 4 **cum Latinis populis.** The thirty Latin cities of c. 18. 3, cf. c. 16. 8 n. on *Pometia et Cora*.

ad Volscum bellum. On the historical character of this war see the Appendix. h. 184

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- 5 **cui cognomen postea Coriolano.** On this title see the Appendix.

- 6 **ab Antio.** Livy regularly adds *ab* to the names of towns to denote motion from them; probably the use of the Abl. alone, which is still regular in Cicero, had become somewhat old-fashioned fifty years later. X For the position of Antium see the map.

- 8 **utpote capta urbe,** 'as was natural seeing the city was taken.' *utpote (est)* means literally, 'as is possible,' and is frequently used, like Gr. *ἄρα*, with participial phrases.

- 9 **in columna aenea.** The MSS. omit the Prepn., which is necessary, unless we alter the Abl. into a Dat. The scribe of the archetype seems to have been very sleepy when he copied these two or three sections (see the List of Emendations).

monumento esset. Curiously enough we know from Cicero (*Balb.* § 53) that this monument had been removed some time before the date of that speech (56 B.C.), so that it was not standing when Livy wrote. [After the extension of the full Roman franchise in 89 B.C., the *insc.* would cease to have any use and would naturally disappear. J. S. R.] The remark was probably taken over by Livy from the annalist Licinius Macer, a Tribune after the death of Sulla, who is known to have been an intelligent student of antiquities. On the real significance of the silence of this *insc.* see the Appendix on the story of Coriolanus.

cessisset. The more usual construction would be *cessurum fuerit*, see c. 1. 3 n. A similar retention of the independent Mood and Tense in 4. 58. 3 *cum succurri si maturatum esset, potuisset*. /21

- 11 **sumptus funeri defuit.** This is probably a misunderstanding of the object of the public funeral, like that in c. 16. 7.

CHAP. 34, page 40.

- 2 **ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris.** *plebis* probably depends on *secessionem*; at this period (cf. § 10) Livy does not represent the Plebs as owning much land. On the discrepancy of this statement with c. 32. 4 see the Appendix. /*n. 183*
- qualis clausis solet.** Madvig would insert *esse* after *qualis*, but the ellipse is defended by 1. 25. 9 *tum clamore, qualis ex insperato fauentium solet, Romani adiuuant militem suum.* Often the Verb after the Relative is left to be supplied altogether, e.g. 3. 26. 5, 3. 62. 6.
- 3 **per Volscos,** 'past the territory of the V.,' which then reached to the sea.
- sed in Sicillam quoque.** After *sed* the MSS. insert ^{*græc.*} *quaesitum*, which all editors reject. It has no construction, and may well have been a gloss written by some reader who took *in Sicilia* as an Abl.; see c. 7. 10 n.
- coegerant, scil. Romanos.**
- 4 **pro bonis Tarquiniorum.** See cc. 5. 2; 6. 3.
- Aristodemo, c. 14. 6 n. on Cumis.**
- 6 **remisisset, Intrans., 'had abated';** Oblique for the Fut. Perf. Indic.
- Norbam.** See the map; it lay on the W. edge of the Volscian hills, where they fall away into the Pomptine marshes.
- 9 **ab latronibus, 'from brigands.'**
- 10 **patiar...feram, Deliberative Subjunc.**
- qui non tulerim, Subj. of Essential Definition (N. L. P. § 400 c.):** lit. 'I, being one who would not brook,' i.e. 'though I would not.' This sentence seems to imply that Coriolanus took part in driving out the Tarquins; which contradicts *adulescens* of c. 33. 5. See Appendix I.
- tertio anno.** Between these words Wesenberg would insert *ante*, on the ground that the Abl. alone cannot be defended by phrases like *his paucis diebus*, 'in the last few days,' where the Demonstrative answers the same purpose as *ante*. But the Demonstr. is omitted by some writers, e.g. Sall. *Jug.* 11. 6 *illum tribus proxumis annis adoptione in regnum peruenisse*, where, as here, the backward reference is given merely by the past Verb. If any word is inserted it should be *antehac* rather than *ante*.

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- 11 **potius...quam ut...prohibeant,** 'instead of preventing,' c. 15. 2 n. [The argument is that the Patricians may safely abrogate the privileges of the Tribunes, even if this leads to a new secession; for the Plebeians

will be convinced by their second experience (if they are not already) that a secession involves a dearth and consequently suffering for themselves; and hence they will submit. J. S. R.]

- 12 **condicionibus laxandi annonam**, 'by the terms they might have exacted for lowering the price of corn,' lit. 'by conditions of lowering.'

CHAP. 35.

- 1 **ira**, Nomin.

fame se...sicut hostes, *i.e.* the Patricians were trying to starve them into surrender.

dederit...dedantur...satisfiat. Tenses retained from O. Recta (*dedit, deduntur, satisfiit*), cf. c. 3. 3 n.

de tergo plebis...satisfiat, 'unless he is allowed to satisfy his vengeance on the persons of the Plebeians,' *i.e.* unless the power of scourging is restored to the Patrician magistrates—a penalty from which the Tribunes of the Plebs would protect those who appealed to them.

- 2 **tribuni diem dixissent**. Livy does not state before what assembly this trial took place, but at this date the Tribunes can have had no right to take proceedings before any body but the Assembly of the Tribes. In 450 B.C. the XII Tables ordained that all capital trials should take place before the Comitia Centuriata (see the n. on *prouocatio*, c. 8. 1), and after this the Tribes dealt only with cases where a fine was proposed.

But how did the Plebeians acquire the right of trying guilty Patricians at all? It is clear that the Patricians themselves fully recognised its legality. The answer no doubt lies (Schwegler, II. p. 387 ff.) in the *foedus* which embodied the agreement made between the two orders after the First Secession (c. 33. 1 with note). It was an established principle of Roman law that persons who were accused of having violated a treaty, or having instigated others to do so (as Coriolanus had done by proposing to abolish the powers of the Tribunes, c. 34. 9) were surrendered to the aggrieved community (*dediti*, ἐκδοτοί—the latter word is used of Coriolanus himself by Dionysius). These tried the accused, after taking an oath to be impartial, as the Plebs did (Dion. 7. 45. 2) on this occasion. [The details of the tribunician prosecutions which the traditions give before 449, and even down to 367 B.C., are rather shadowy. The clause of the XII Tables *privilegia ne irroganto* suggests that the method of procedure was by a special Act of 'pains and penalties.' J. S. R.]

- 3 **unius poena defungendum**. *poena* is Instrum. Abl. and the Gerund has no object expressed; 'the Patricians could only escape (from the

danger) by means of suffering one man to bear the penalty.' So 8. 19. 14.

- 4 **restiterunt aduersa inuidia**, 'in the teeth of the unpopularity they aroused'; cf. 1. 46. 2 *de agro plebis aduersa patrum uoluntate senserat agi*. In a physical sense this use of *aduersus* is very common; *aduerso flumine niti*, 'to struggle against the stream,' *aduerso Ianiculo aciem erigere*, 'to march one's troops up the slope of the Janiculum' (c. 51. 7).

* **quā...quā**, 'both...and'—probably an elliptical Relative phrase, arising in such sentences, as e.g. c. 45. 16 *omnium illo die, qua plebis qua patrum, eximia uirtus fuit*, for *uirtus, qua plebis (fuit), qua patrum (fuit, pariter) eximia fuit*; hence it came to be used for *et...et*, like the equally elliptical 'whether...or,' in English ('the valour of the Romans, whether plebeians or patricians').

temptata res est, si...possent. On this use of *si* see c. 20. 2 n. on *ut* and cf. c. 25. 1.

- 5 **quidquid erat patrum**. On this use of the Neut. Pron. see c. 5. 7 n. **reos**. Because, like the accused himself, they dressed in mourning (*sordidati*, as in c. 54. 3), in order to arouse public sympathy for him. This was the regular custom at Rome, when a man felt himself in danger of being condemned on a serious charge.

diceres, 'you would have said (had you been there),' a common use, cf. c. 27. 6 n.

- 6 **ipse cum...non adesset**. The Subject of the *cum*-clause is emphasized by being put in front of the *cum*, as c. 40. 5 and often.

benigne, mss. *-ni*, but this poetical use of the Adj. is out of place here, and all edd. correct to the Adv. Cf. the n. on *infestus* c. 19. 6 (included in the n. on *miscuere certamina*, ib. § 5).

percipiebantur, scil. *ex Marcio*; parallel to *eminebat*, not to *colebant*.

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- 8 **in exoleto iam...odio**. For this use of *in* cf. c. 3. 4 n.

CHAP. 36.

- 1 **ex instauratione**. *instaurare* literally means 'to set up on props,' O. Lat. **staurus*=Gr. *στυαυψ*, hence 'to make good, set up anew,' and is regularly used of any ceremony which has to be repeated, especially when it has been vitiated by some flaw in the religious side of it.

magni. This seems to have been a technical name for games held

in fulfilment of a vow, which are often called *uotivi*; Cicero so describes these particular games, *Diu.* 1. 26. 55.

ludis, 'on the day of the games,' Abl. of Time When; cf. *gladiatoribus*, 'on the day of the gladiator-show.'

sub furca caesum...egerat, so Cic. 1.c. *seruus per circum, cum uirgis caederetur, furcam ferens ductus est*. The *furca* was a heavy, V-shaped, implement of punishment, which projected in front over the victim's shoulders, his hands being bound on to the projecting arms. The infliction of this punishment in the area in which the games were to be held gave a bad omen for them; other ancient authorities (e.g. Dion. Hal. 7. 69) imply that the slave was on his way to be put to death (as any slave could be by his master)—a still worse omen. *caesum* here has the force of a Present Pass. Partc., as often in old or poetical Latin, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8. 407 *medio iam noctis abactae curriculo*, 'in the mid-course of departing night' (not 'departed'); cf. *uectis*, *Georg.* 1. 206, Liv. 30. 30. 19 *sperata uictoria*, 'the victory one is hoping for.' Originally the forms in *-tus* were purely Adjectival (as in e.g. *onustus, ansatus*), and even when attached to Verbs, like Gr. *δωρός*, etc., had no Past meaning. But when the Perf. Indic. Pass. was formed in Latin by their aid, and took the meaning of a simple Past as well as of a Present Perfect, the Partc. also came to be felt as having a Past sense. As we have seen, many traces are left of the earlier and freer use.

- 2 **praesultatorem**, 'the first of the dancers,' i.e. the unhappy slave; the term is chosen in allusion to the procession of the *Salii*, the priests of Mars, who on certain occasions danced through the city bearing the *Ancilia* (cf. 1. 20. 5). [Cicero calls him *praesul*. J. S. R.]

ea consulibus nuntiaret. Many editors object to the emphatic position of *ea* and excise it as a corruption springing from dittography of the *-et* of *iret*. But the formal preciseness of the Pronoun is not out of keeping with the solemnity of the occasion.

- 3 **uerecundia tamen...uicit, ne** etc., 'but his shyness in approaching the majesty of the Consuls determined him (to keep silence), for fear that he should incur public ridicule,' lit. 'come upon men's lips as an object of ridicule.' This absolute use of *uincere*, 'be the deciding motive,' is common, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 824 *uincet amor patriae*. For the meaning of *ora* here cf. Ennius' epitaph: *uolito uiuui per ora uirum*. Contrast c. 38. 3 *traductos per ora hominum*, where *ora*=*oculos*.

Before *uicit* the MSS. give *timorem*, which can hardly stand for *timorem deorum*, and is not likely to have been placed so close to *ne*

without being connected with it. It is probably a gloss to explain what it was that was overcome by his *uerecundia*; but some editors alter to *timorque*, which would govern the *ne*-clause and make excellent sense (for the Sing. Verb after two abstract Subjects cf. c. 5. 8 n.). But it is perhaps not so likely to have given rise to the corruption.

- 4 **magno illi...stetit**, 'cost him dear.' An idiomatic meaning of *stare*, common also in its compound with *con*-.

namque is said not to appear as second word in any author before Livy. It is common in Vergil.

aegro animi. This use of the Locative is regular after words denoting doubt and suspense; in Cicero only after *pendere*, *angi* and their derivatives; Livy follows the freer poetical use, attaching it to many other Adjj. of the same sense, e.g. *incertus* (1. 7. 6).

haberet...eat...nuntiet. For the change of Tense cf. c. 9. 2 n.

- 5 **praesentior...erat**, 'came home to him more nearly.'

- 6 **tunc enimvero**, 'then indeed,' cf. *enimvero tum* in c. 22. 6 n.; the compound particle most commonly stands first in the sentence.

admonuit, 'taught him its lesson'; so 40. 56. 10; in 28. 44. 1 it has a similar meaning, but the 'lesson' is expressed by a Dependent Clause.

consilio propinquorum adhibito. It was a regular custom at Rome to hold a formal council of members of one's family or one's friends on serious questions, and their decision was always quoted as having something like legal force.

repraesentatas, 'actually embodied, carried out in.' The word properly means 'to pay down (a sum of money) in cash'; *praesens pecunia* is 'ready money.' Hence metaphorically the Verb means 'to make actual, bring into concrete shape,' and sometimes (with *uerbis* or the like) 'to bring home to one's mind (by vivid description).'

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- 8 **captus**, 'ailing,' a common meaning of this Participle, regularly with the Abl. of the part affected.

CHAP. 37.

- 1 **uis magna Volscorum uenit**. On this story see the Appendix. *JK 185*
 2 **priusquam committerentur**. Cf. c. 28. 9 n.
 3 **arbitris**, 'outsiders, observers,' a picturesque substitute for *testibus*.
criminatedum...cautum. Supines.

- quod sequius sit**, Subjunc. of Mild Assertion; 'what may seem somewhat discreditable'; cf. *citius defuerit*, c. 43. 10.
- 4 **nimio plus quam uelim**, 'far more than I should like.' Some editors alter to *uellem*, 'than I should have liked,' but the change seems hardly necessary. The use of *nimio* with Comparatives (lit. 'by too much') is a colloquial pleonasm.
- 6 **per eandem occasionem**. For this use of *per* to mean 'on,' 'on the occasion of' cf. c. 18. 2 *per ludos*, 23. 12 *per infrequentiam senatus*.
ab Sabinorum iuuentute, c. 18. 2 and n.
temere. See c. 20. 3 n.
- 8 **ut fit**. See c. 4. 5 n.

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- 9 **in hospitia** depends on *discurrentes*. The Noun is used in the concrete sense, 'the houses of their hosts.'

quodam modo, 'in some sense, almost, practically,' modifying the strong statement contained in *coetu hominum abactos*.

{assembly

CHAP. 38.

- 1 **ad caput Ferentinum**. The source of the rivulet Ferentina, in the hills bounding the Alban Lake to the N., where there was a sacred grove, close to the later Via Appia; on this detail of the story see Appendix I. *p. 185*

ut quisque ueniret. For the Subjunc. (see c. 27. 8 n. on *cum uidissent*). Livy keeps the Ciceronian construction in *ut cuique...erat* c. 44. 5 where there is no notion of time.

secunda irae uerba, 'words which fed the flame of their anger'; *secundus* means literally 'following,' an old Partc. of *sequor* (cf. *oriundus*, 'springing,' c. 9. 1 n.), then of streams or winds which carry one in the desired direction (*secundo flumine*, 'with the stream'); and hence generally 'favourable, auspicious.' With Dat., as here, in 5. 49. 4.

- 2 **cladesque...commemorauit**. Tum, **ut** etc. Some such words as those here inserted by M. Müller seem to have been lost; none of the other attempts to make Latin out of the MS. text are satisfactory.

per nostram ignominiam, 'with (lit. 'amid') ignominy to us,' a modal use of *per* greatly beloved, though not first created, by Silver Latin writers, cf. *uinci se per suum atque illorum dedecus* 3. 42. 2.

3 **an non sensistis.** *an* regularly implies that the question it asks is regarded by the questioner as an alternative ('Or have you not felt?') to some other conclusion: hence it is often used in Indignant Questions (even where the previous sentence did not contain a question), and implies: 'Do you not believe what I am saying? Or (am I to think that)...?'

traductos, 'made a mock of,' lit. 'led across (the stage) like a show,' or 'through (the city) like captives in a Triumph,' a Livian use, cf. 36. 40. 11.

per ora hominum=*per oculos h.*; cf. c. 36. 3 n.

4 **quod...uiolaturi simus** depends upon the following *ideo*: 'must they not have thought that it is for this reason (and no other), viz. that we should defile..., that we are being expelled?'

piaculumque merituri, 'and incur the wrath of heaven,' lit. 'deserve (to have to pay) a penalty for infringing holy rites.' Cf. *supplicium merere* 3. 19. 6.

5 **succurrit,** 'occur to your minds,' so Verg. *Aen.* 2. 317, and c. 40. 7 inf.

si hoc profectio. The Neut. Pron. is not always attracted to the gender of the predicate (as it is *e.g.* in c. 10. 2 n.), cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3. 173 *nec sopor illud erat*. It is natural that it should keep its own gender when the identity is denied, as it is here.

et hanc urbem etc. *et* introducing a question has often the force of Gr. *ētra*, 'And after all this do you...?' Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 807 *et dubitamus adhuc uirtutem extendere factis?*, following the prophecy of the great deeds of Augustus.

moriendum...fuit. The Gerundive, like the Fut. Partc. in Active Verbs, is often put with the Past Indic. Tenses of *esse*, instead of the Pluperf. Subjunc. Passive in the Apodosis of Unfulfilled Conditions. The Potentiality of the statement is expressed entirely by the participial form; see c. 1. 3 n.

magno eorum malo, Abl. of Accompaniment, which, in certain phrases, esp. with *bono* and *malo*, comes to express practically a Result; cf. *pessimo publico* c. 1. 3 n.

6 **instigandoque suos quisque.** The equivalence of the *-do* form of the Gerund to the Nom. of the Pres. Partc. nowhere appears so plainly as when a Pron. or Numeral is attached to it in the Nom.; cf. 4. 31. 2 and *deponendo tutelam ipse* 24. 4. 9, also 22. 34. 10. On the origin of this form and use see c. 9. 6 n., c. 32. 4 n. On the Sing. *quisque* see c. 10. 9 n. The Plur. *suos* seems to be put for *suum* by a confusion;

in *suas quisque domos* c. 7. 1 n. it seems to have a different meaning. It might conceivably mean here 'the communities (*i.e.* villages) nearest to his own home.' [Livy could have written *instig. suos populos* without *quisque*, and he has a peculiar habit of throwing words like *quisque*, *ipse*, *solus* into the middle of a sentence and leaving the construction as it was. J. S. R.]

deficeret. On this 'revolt' see Appendix I. *pl 185*

CHAP. 39, page 45.

- 1 **omnium populorum**, the different Volscian communities; but see Appendix I.
- 2 **Cercelos profectus**. This town lay on the next considerable promontory of the Latian coast to the S.E. of Antium, whence we may assume that Coriolanus started, as being then the chief town of the Volsci (cc. 33. 6; 63. 5; 65. 7). Its communications with Rome can have been only by sea so long as the Volsci held Antium.
- 3-4 **inde in Latinam uiam** etc. The statements of these sentences contain a geographical error. The first set of towns mentioned (*Satricum* etc.) and also Lavinium lie to the S.W. of the Via Appia, whereas the Via Latina ran considerably to the North of it. On the other hand the second set of places, Corbio and the rest, lay to the N. and E. of the Via Latina. Niebuhr cut the knot by transferring the whole clause *in Latinam...transgressus* into § 4, after *tum deinceps*. This would give excellent sense, but it is very improbable that such a corruption should have arisen at an earlier date than that of the archetype of our MSS., and have left no trace of the disturbance in it; when words have got out of their proper place by accident, different MSS. generally vary somewhat in the point at which they put them back into the text, and even in a single good MS. there is often some mark of doubt. It seems likely that we have here a real error, either on the part of an early editor, or on Livy's, or, more probably still, in the annalist whom he is here following. See Appendix I.
- 3 **Mugillam**, mss. *nouellam*, which some edd. alter simply to *nouelia*, rendering 'these newly acquired possessions (of the Romans)' as referring to c. 33. 4 ff. where all but Satricum are mentioned. But this diminutive adj. seems not to occur elsewhere in Livy (except in a Proper Name in 41. 5. 1), and the meaning given to it is strange. Hence most edd.

accept the correction here printed; Dion. Hal. (8. 36) adds *Μογιλαινοῦς*, which may well stand for *Μογιλλανοῦς*, to this group of captured towns, and *Mugillanus* was a Cognomen of the Papirian gens. On the other hand it might be urged that the position of *haec* unqualified immediately after the enumeration was unusual.

- 8 **id modo non conueniebat.** But this was a serious exception! On the real cause of the helplessness of the Romans see Appendix I.
- 9 **Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius.** The *iam* implies that Livy has omitted to chronicle the Consuls of some intervening years (490 and 489), and suggests that he was conscious that he was here recording traditions as to the dates of which it was well not to be too particular (so in c. 51. 1).

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- 11 **responsum rettulerunt: si...redderetur...si...uelint** etc. On this change of Tenses see Appendix II.
- 12 **insignibus, i.e. infulis.**

CHAP. 40.

- 1 **Veturiam.** On the form of the name see c. 19. 1 n. on *Vetusius*. A Roman wife was called by the nomen of her father's family; thus the mother of the Gracchi (Ti. and C. Sempronius Gracchus) was called Cornelia, being the daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.
- 2 **duos paruos ex Marcio ferens filios.** For the position of *ferens*, which of course has nothing to do with *ex Marcio*, cf. c. 20. 2 n. on *in senso cessit hosti*.
- 3 **primo**, MSS. *in primo*, but Livy only uses the Neut. as a Substantive in a local sense (e.g. c. 20. 10); corr. Aldus.
- religione.** Cf. the n. on *religiosum erat* c. 5. 3. Note the 'Chiasmus' in these two clauses, i.e. their arrangement so that the corresponding parts of each occupy different places in each, the resulting order being

$$\begin{array}{cc} a_1 & b_1 \\ & \chi \\ b_2 & a_2 \end{array}$$

which suggested the name, from the shape of the Greek letter Chi.

obstinatior...erat, 'showed himself still more obdurate'; the Impf. is descriptive, indicating the attitude he showed at first.

5 **Coriolanus prope ut** etc. belongs to *cum...ferret*, but is put in front of *cum* for emphasis, as c. 35. 6 and often.

consternatus goes with *ab sede sua*, 'driven by amazement from his seat'; cf. *c. ad arma* 7. 42. 3 etc.

ferret = *offerret*, as in c. 13. 2 n.

sine...sciam. Like *caue* and *uelim*, *sine* often takes the Subjunctive without any intervening particle. The Subjunc. was originally independent ('paratactic'), but came to be felt as really governed by the introductory Impv.

7 **quamuis...perueneras** is said to be the only example of an Indic. after *quamuis* in Livy, who elsewhere uses it with Adj. or Partcc. The Indic. occurs in later writers, never in Cicero.

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succurrit, as in c. 38. 5.

8 **nec tibi turpius usquam nec mihi**. M. Müller's excellent correction of the MSS. reading *turpius quam mihi*, where the *quam* has been abandoned by all editors. The *us-* of *usquam* fell out through 'haplography' after *turpius*; the word is slightly more picturesque than *unquam*, 'under any circumstances': so 42. 34. 15 *cum adulescentes nihil aduersus...senatus auctoritatem usquam feceritis, nunc quoque* etc.

ut sum miserrima, 'miserable indeed, as I am,' a reading preserved only by the Medicean; the other MSS. all give *ut sim*, 'even if I were to be,' which is intelligible but weak after the preceding statement.

9 **uideris, Fut.-Perf.**, as in *uiderint di* ('the gods must see to it'), cf. *uos uideritis* 1. 58. 10; see Roby, Lat. Gr. 2. 1593. An emphatic future statement about another person often implies a command; so *bona uenia me audies, facies ut sciam*, and the like.

comploratio sui. The Pron. refers to the Subject of the action implied in the Verbal Noun: 'their bemoaning themselves.'

10 **Fabium**. On Fabius Pictor see c. 18. 5 n.

11 **inuiderunt laude sua mulieribus**, a variation, commoner in later writers, for the more usual *laudi mulierum*; Livy also uses the Acc. of the Thing beside the Dat. of the Person. *laude* is an Abl. of Circumstance. The Verb means literally 'to look askance upon.' G. L. 346. N. 2

12 **monumentoque**. So Gronov, no doubt rightly, for the cumbrous reading of the MSS. *monumento quoque*. This clause explains, as one added by *-que* often does, the previous statement (*non inuiderunt* etc.),

by mentioning the proof of this. It does not add a new and distinct circumstance. *monumento* is of course Pred. Dat.

Fortunae Muliebris. On the connexion of this temple with the story see Appendix I. *p. 186*

12—14 **Rediere deinde Volsci** etc. This and the following paragraph seem from their conciseness to have been taken from some early annals. In any case it is clear that they come from a different source from that which furnished the elaborate story of Coriolanus, now concluded.

CHAP. 41, page 48.

1 **cum Hernicis foedus.** This was a most important achievement, a very early application of the Roman maxim *diuide et impera*. For the Hernici dwelt in and above the Trerus-valley which parted the Volscians from the Aequians. These two dangerous enemies of Rome could no longer join forces at a safe distance from the city and then make a combined attack; and the Hernici were always likely to be able to warn the Romans of any warlike movement begun by either of their two neighbours. They generally received generous treatment from Rome, and Dionysius' account (8. 71, and 77) that they kept their land sounds far more probable than the statement in the next sentence here, with which stands or falls also the exact truth of *deuicti* at the end of c. 40.

2 **possideri.** See c. 24. 6 n. on *possidēret*. The theory that Cassius intended to take any land which was in the occupation of citizens in order to give it to the Latins must have been invented by some annalist of the last century B.C., whose sympathies were with the Italians. Even C. Gracchus never proposed to hand over land held by citizens to people who were not citizens at all.

struere, 'was aiming at,' lit. 'building up,' always with a notion of something secret or treacherous; so c. 3. 6, Verg. *Aen.* 2. 60.

3 **promulgata.** From Livy's silence, as well as from the more circumstantial narrative in Dionysius (8. 75 f.), it appears that the proposal was never actually passed.

4 **munus uolgatum...exisse in socios.** The MSS. variously give *egisse, isse, esse*, of which *exisse* seems the best correction. The Acc. and Inf., I think, is best taken as depending on *fastidire* (as in 6. 41. 2 *qui se inspici fastidiat*). Madvig puts a stop at *uolgatum*, treating the next brief clause as expressing the reflection of the plebs, but this seems

somewhat abrupt. I am inclined to think that *uolgatum* should be expelled as a gloss which has crept into the text to explain *exisse*.

5 **acceperint**, an old correction of the MSS. *-rant*, which, as the whole arrangement was only in prospect, cannot be justified. Contrast c. 15. 3 n.

6 **quid...adsumi socios**. The Infin. clause depends on *attinuisse* no less than does *Hernicis...partem tertiam reddi*, the two being connected by the repetition of *quid*. This is shown, I think, by the Plur. *eaegentes*, which it is difficult to apply to *Hernicis* only and which must therefore include the *socios et nomen Latinum*. But since these latter folk have nothing to do with the land left to the Hernicans (see § 1), it follows that the *nisi*-clause must apply equally to both the preceding questions. For the order cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9. 12 *nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus*, where the position of *tempus* corresponds to that of *ita enim* here, securing a balance in sound with the following clause. So Cic. *Rosc. Am.* § 30 *testes in hunc et accusatores huiusce pecunia comparant*, where *in hunc* and *huiusce pecunia* apply to both *testes* and *accusatores*. See further my note on 'Interweaving,' *Class. Rev.* 1900 (Oct.), p. 357.

socios et nomen L. The phrase is a slight anachronism, since at this date the Romans had no allies save the Latins (and Hernicans, who were not '*adsumpti*' in this grant of land).

quid attinuisse. Rhetorical Question, see c. 32. 6 n. If *quid adsumi socios* is taken as a question by itself, it is one whose answer is not quite so immediately foreshadowed, so that one might have expected the Subjunct. as in *quis dux viae?* (*Tac. Hist.* 4. 62 in Or. Obl.).

8 **ambitiosus**. Cf. c. 27. 4 n.

pro Siculo frumento, with *acceptam*; see c. 34. 7.

9 **praesentem mercedem**, 'a palpable bribe,' see n. on *repraesentatas* c. 36. 6.

suspicionem insitam, 'their instinctive dread.' In the following clause I have accepted part of a suggestion of Vielhaber's (ap. Weissenb.) and cut out the words *in animis hominum* which precede *respuebantur* in the MSS. The phrase seems to be quite unparalleled with such a metaphor, and I believe it is simply a gloss (to explain *insitam*) which has crept into the text at the wrong place.

uelut abundantem. *uelut* here and often is put for *uelut si*, 'just as if,' cf. cc. 36. 1, 50. 4.

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10 **ubi primum magistratu abiit**, for a Roman magistrate was hardly ever prosecuted while his office lasted, however he abused it.

patrem auctorem. In virtue of the *patria potestas* the Head of the Family had the same power of life and death over his children (unless and until he renounced his rights over them by formal emancipation) as he had over his slaves (cf. c. 36. 1 n.). In strict law the *paterfamilias* was responsible for the acts of his slaves and his children, and therefore for punishing their misdeeds.

cognita...causa. Cf. n. on *consilio propinquorum adhibito* c. 36. 6.

peculium denotes the money or property which a slave was permitted to hold by his master's permission; in law whatever was his belonged to his master, but custom protected his hoardings, and a favourite slave sometimes had a slave of his own (whence the Papal title, denoting the humblest position conceivable, *seruus seruorum*). The word was also applied to the property of children still 'in *patris manu*,' since the father had the same rights over them. Like *pecunia*, the word is derived from *pecus*; cattle was at one time the universal medium of exchange in Europe, and metallic currency was first devised simply as a symbol standing for so many cattle.

Cereri consecrauisse. Cf. c. 8. 2; it was no doubt in a violation of the law there recorded that Cassius' treason was held to consist.

11 **apud quosdam**. This second tradition is amalgamated with the first by Cic. *Rep.* 2. 60, who represents the father as a witness against his son at the trial.

propius fidem. The Advv. *prope*, *propius* and *proxime*, when used to govern a Case, always take the Acc. (cf. c. 48. 5). But the Adj. *propior* and *proximus* regularly take the Dat.

a quaestoribus...diem dictam perduellionis. These officers, who are more commonly called *Iuiri perduellionis*, were instituted under the Kings, no doubt in order to relieve the King himself of the odium of passing sentence on traitors. The *Quaestores Paricidii*, who dealt with cases of murder, are probably equally ancient. After the institution of the *prouocatio* (c. 8. 2 n.) these officers, originally judges, became merely the prosecutors before the Court of the People. They condemned the accused as a matter of course; he then appealed to the people, and so the real trial began. [Note that the *Iuiri* were appointed for each particular trial and for that only. J. S. R.]

perduellionis from *perduellis*, 'a deadly enemy,' and that from *duellum* (trisyll.) a bye-form in Old Lat. of **duellum* (disyll.), which gave the later *bellum* by the regular change of initial *d*+consonant *u* (usually written *u*) to *b*, as in *bonus* from O. Lat. *duonus*, *bis* from **duis*.

CHAP. 42.

2 **redegit in publicum.** The technical term for handing over moneys, with the account of them, to the Treasury.

tenuere, 'made good their point,' with the *ut*-clause for Object, as 23. 20. 10, cf. *plura tenuit* 4. 10. 9; so *obtinuere* in c. 43. 11, 44. 5. They did this, probably, in part at least by the aid of the presiding Magistrate, who was of course a Patrician, and who would obey the orders of the Senate and declare the election of a particular candidate, over-riding the votes given, if necessary. Cf. c. 43. 11 n.

patres=patricians as in § 3, see the n. on *patres conscripti*, c. 1. 11.

5 **Castoris aedes**, on the S.W. side of the Forum. It was restored with magnificence by Augustus, and three of the Corinthian columns then erected still stand in their places.

uota erat Latino bello, c. 20. 12 n.

a **Postumio**. The Prepn., which most editors insert, may easily have fallen out after the *o* of *bello*.

6 **tribuni plebi**. In this phrase the Gen. of *plebes* is often so written; it appears to be a bye-form of the 5th decl. Gen. *plebei*, which also appears, in this phrase and in *plebei scitum*.

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celebrabant, 'kept before men's eyes.'

gratuiti, 'spontaneous,' *i.e.* not stimulated by the hope of grants of land.

largitiones, *i.e.* the proposed grants of land.

8 **uana lex** etc., 'the proposal was brought into contempt, and its authors also, through etc.' *uanus* means lit. 'empty,' or 'shown to be empty.'

uno uelut tenore, a proverbial phrase meaning 'uninterruptedly'; used by Livy, both with and without the apologetic *uelut*.

locatus, 'well-placed,' a metaphor from the investment of money.

mansit in ea familia. This concentration of power in a few noble houses continued down to the closing century of the Republic; Mommsen

has pointed out that for about two centuries only some sixteen gentes are represented in the list of Patrician Consuls. (*Rom. Hist.* 2. 325 n.)

- 11 **tandem eo.** So Madvig; the mss. give *tamen*. If this were genuine it must mean 'in spite of the general apprehension of having incurred divine displeasure' (it was only one person who proved guilty). But this is rather forced, and the contrast is one which would occur more naturally to a modern writer; to Livy the guilt of a Vestal would seem a public reproach.

poenas dederit. The penalty was terrible, to be buried alive; cf. 22. 57. 2.

CHAP. 43.

- 1 **agrum quoque.** They not only threatened war but made a raid.
2 **Ortonam.** The site of this town is unknown. It must not be confused with the better known Ortona on the coast of Frentanum.

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- 3 **redierat...plebi mos.** For earlier refusals see cc. 24. 2, 27. 7, 29. 2. **legis agrariae...iniungendae** depends on *tempus*.
susceperat...impediendam, a concise and somewhat contemptuous phrase. *suscipere* with a Gerundive was the Construction used regularly of contractors who undertook some public work.
4 **auxilioque eorum,** *i.e.* the other tribunes protected the Consuls from arrest by their colleague, who would accuse the Consuls of infringing his sanctity by continuing the levy in the face of his veto.
6 **negotii,** 'trouble,' as in the phrase *negotium habere*.
unus ille uir etc. looks like a reminiscence of *Aen.* 6. 846, written of a greater Fabius; *tu Maximus ille es Unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem*; a line of course taken from the Ennian *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*. Livy's phrase is more like the Vergilian line. Cf. n. on c. 50. 9.
quantum in se fuit, prodebat, 'was doing its best to betray.' Since the Indic. *fuit* gives us a remark of Livy's, not a reflection of the Subject of *prodebat*, the *se* is out of place; contrast Cic. *Phil.* 2. § 29 *quantum in ipsis fuit*. But Livy occasionally writes *se* in such cases; cf. c. 55. 6 *ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eo se recipit*. So 1. 17. 2 *quia...ab sua parte non erat regnatum*.
7 **pedes.** For the Sing. cf. c. 6. 6 n.
8 **nec illos...cogere potuit.** This sentence must be inverted and turned

by the Passive in English; 'and these soldiers, granting that they might not be moved by the exhortations of a leader they detested, could not even be stirred by the sense of their own....' Even this is cumbrous. The only way to reconcile the sentence with English idiom is to paraphrase instead of translating it. ('One would have expected that etc.... But it was not so.')

in praesentia, 'for the moment,' is best regarded as containing a Neut. Pl. of the Partc., as its regular antitheses in Livy are phrases like *in posterum*, *in perpetuum* (cf. c. 44. 2). [Yet there are passages like Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 100, *Clu.* 10, where it is contrasted with an Abl., and in these at least it seems hard to deny the same Case to *praesentia*. J. S. R.]

- 9 **crederes**. Cf. c. 27. 6 n.
- 10 **citius defuerit**, 'may often be found wanting.' Subjunc. of Mild Assertion, cf. c. 37. 3 n. and 21. 27. 5 *ea uix fidem fecerint*.
- 11 **obtinuere...ut**. Cf. c. 42. 2 n.
- creant...datur**. Here as in c. 42. 2 and c. 56. 5 inf. the wording suggests that a kind of bargain was made; the Patrician presiding over the election allowed a free choice to the Comitia of the second Consul (Manlius), but forced through the election of the first, the Patrician candidate (Fabius), without regard to the votes cast.

CHAP. 44, page 52.

- 1 **uelut**, as in c. 41. 9 n.
- processisset**. Impers., 'as if the attempt had been successful.' Livy generally uses this with *res* as Subject.
- 2 **in praesentia**, as in c. 43. 8. Note the Chiasmus (c. 40. 3 n.).
- inuentum sit**. On this Retention of Primary Tenses in Or. Obl. see c. 3. 3 n.
- suis ipsam uiribus**. Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 16. 2 *suis et ipsa Roma uiribus ruit*.
- 3 **bono publico**. See n. on *pessimo publico* c. 1. 3.
- uelit quaesitam**. This is the oldest and most idiomatic construction after *uolo* (just as after *opus est* c. 3. 3 n.) and is no doubt identical historically with the same in English ('I want this done'). The *-to*-Partc. was in use in Indo-Eur. languages many centuries before the Infinitive was attached to Verbs of wishing or even formed at all (cf. n. on *religiosum erat* c. 5. 3).

It was the influence of this old and familiar construction, I believe, which, when the Inf. came into use, made the Passive Inf. preferred

to the Active after *uolo*, *iubeo* and similar Verbs; *iubet parari arma* is better Latin than *iubet (milites) parare arma*.

si pluribus opus sit. On the constr. of *opus est* see c. 3. 3 n.

satis esse. Because in Roman usage a magistrate who forbade a particular step was held to have superior authority to one who commanded it.

4 **darent.** Impf. Subj. as regularly for the Impv., in spite of preceding Presents; see c. 6. 3 n., 10. 4 n. It attracts the following *conciliarent* into the same Tense; see Appendix II.

5 **patres** is constructed both with *uniuersi* and with *consulares*, the latter being in Apposition and limiting it at the same time.

priuatim aliquid iuris etc., 'any claim upon individual Plebeians in their private relations with them.' This is meant to include both the pressure a creditor may exert on his debtor, and more friendly kind of influence, such as a claim on a man's gratitude for past kindness.

6 **nouemque tribunorum** depends upon *auxilio*. The numeral seems a slip for *quattuor*, see c. 33. 2 with c. 33. 3 n.; or perhaps a mere scribe's corruption of IV into IX.

7 **conciatâ** agrees with *auxilia*.

8 **saeuiant**, like *inuentum sit* in § 2. The following *repertam ut... essent* represents *reperta est ut essent* in Or. Recta. The phrase recalls Verg. *Aen.* 1. 148 *cum saepe coorta est Seditio saeuitque animis ignobile uolgens*; cf. c. 50. 9 n.

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9 **suos culque parti magistratus, suas leges.** This expresses exactly what seems to have been the original conception of the Tribunate (cp. the n. on c. 33. 1), as an office confined to Plebeians counterbalancing the Consulship, an office confined (at this date) to Patricians.

10 **sisti potuisse.** See c. 29. 8 n.

11 **Aequis.** But in c. 43. 6 the Consul Fabius was fighting the Veientes when his men mutinied. From here to the end of c. 50, as Weissenborn points out, Livy is following, at first or second hand, some writer whose object was to glorify the Fabian house. But in c. 43 the tone is somewhat different (see esp. § 10), so that Livy was there probably drawing from another source. This may account for the discrepancy; and that it is a real one appears from the repetition of the statement about the Aequi in c. 46. 1.

12 **suo milite.** The pron. Adj. of course refers to *Romam*, not to the speakers.

CHAP. 45.

- 1 **pestimi proximo bello exempli**, c. 43. 6.
- 2 **tam ancipiti periculo auersi**, 'pre-occupied by the thought of so insidious a danger.' Cf. c. 5. 6 *a ceteris omnium in se auerterant oculos*, and I. 12. 10 *auerterat ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo uiri*, where *res* refers to the plight of the Sabine King who had ridden into a morass, and *periculo*, as here, is Abl. Instrum.; so *auersi turbatique* c. 53. 3. These and similar examples show that we must not render 'averse from (facing),' which Livy would have expressed by *auersi a periculo*; and which would suggest a slur upon their courage.

forsitan. Used by Livy like *fortasse*, as a mere Adv.; cf. c. 2. 7 where it is attached to an Adj. merely, and Praef. 12 where an Indic. follows (*forsitan necessariae erunt*).

- 3 **obequitando...prouocando**. On this half-Instrumental, half-Circumstantial use of the Gerund in *-do* see n. on *sumendo* c. 32. 4.
- qua...qua**. See c. 35. 4 n. It is curious that this not very frequent idiom occurs three times in this chapter.

- 4 **remedium timoris**, *i.e.* an expedient for concealing their cowardice.
- magis non confidere quam non credere**. The difference between these Verbs may be seen in such a sentence as *confido dextra mea, credo amico*. You have confidence in the strength of an instrument, but in the loyalty of a friend. Render: 'lacked confidence in their valour rather than trust in their loyalty.'

nouum seditionis genus. They point in derision to the inactivity of the Romans, as evidence that the story of their disaffection was untrue. 'Why don't you murder your officers, if you have mutinied?'—is the Etruscan feeling.

nouitatem generis originisque. Cf. *illa pastorum conuenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis* c. 1. 4 with n.

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- 5 **nolle inultos hostes** etc. The Inf. is no doubt Historic, like those before and after it; 'they began to be unwilling that etc.' On the construction of *inultos* see c. 44. 3 n., and on its Passive meaning c. 17. 6 n.
- successum**. Impers. Pass. Partc., the constr. being otherwise parallel to that of *inultos*, and having no past meaning; the Impers. Active is commoner. The negatives contradict that of *nolle*; 'they were unwilling that the patricians or even the consuls should (still) fail of success.'

- 6 **eludebat**, 'plied their ridicule,' absol. as in I. 48. 2.
- 8 **tenerent**. Impf. for Impv. as in c. 44. 4. The following *abstineant* takes its Tense from *edicunt*.
- 9 **quo minus...credunt**. The parallel Comparative phrase is replaced by *crescit*; cf. c. 19. 10 with n.
- 11 **enimuero**. Cf. c. 22. 6 n.
- 12 **concedente**, 'seeing that his colleague was already inclined to give way.'
- uelle ne scirem ipsi fecerunt**, 'they have themselves caused my ignorance of their wish to do so.' After *facere* and *efficere*, *ne* often replaces *ut non*, even where, as here, the notion of Purpose is comparatively faint, e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 4. 10 *quae (uia) efficit ne necesse sit*, and Liv. 5. 32. 4.
- 13 **nisi...iurant**. In colloquial Latin the Pres. is often put for the Fut. after *si*; so 6. 15. 6 *nisi facis*; Cic. *ad Brut.* 1. 13. [In some phrases, e.g. *nisi caues*, the Pres. is constant. J. S. R.] This use of the Pres. for the Fut. occurs in English and many other Indo-Eur. languages, and it is probably a survival from very early times when neither the Future nor the Subjunctive had been invented.
- 14 **si fallat** governs *fidem* understood, and depends on the Verb of punishing implied in *iratos inuocat*; the construction of this phrase is like *nolle inultos* in § 5.

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- 15 **armati**. So all the best MSS.; the later, followed by many editors, read *armatis*, which gives a smoother construction. The -s might have fallen out, or, with almost equal ease, have been inserted, before *sibi*. The Nom. is possible; the attraction of some word in the subordinate sentence, which happens to denote the same people as the Subject of the main sentence, into the Case of that Subject is not uncommon, e.g. 9. 43. 11 *passi* for the more logical (*sibi passis*, (*ut qui...coniungi...passi duos exercitus nihil crederent superesse spei*). On the whole therefore it is best to follow the best MSS.
- 16 **Fabium nomen**. After this the MSS. insert *Fabia gens*, which most edd. reject as a gloss. There is hardly a perceptible difference of meaning between the two phrases; *F. nomen* is literally 'everyone called a Fabian.'

CHAP. 46.

- 1 **prope certa spes erat**, scil. *Etruscis*.
pugnaturos, scil. *Romanos*.
cum Aequis. See c. 44. 11 n.
in tam irritatis animis etc. For this meaning of *in* cf. c. 3. 4 n.
occasione ancipiti, i.e. the Roman soldiers might be expected to regard their own leaders as not less hostile to them than were the Etruscans themselves; cf. c. 24. 3 *ancipiti metu et ab ciue et ab hoste*. Render, 'and seeing that it was doubtful what they would do in the hour of battle.'
- haud desperandum**, scil. *sibi*, the Etruscans, whose thoughts are represented by this Or. Obl.
- 3 **pilis**. See c. 30. 12 n.
abiectionis temere, 'thrown away aimlessly.' *abicere* always means to cast a thing away from one without any heed where it goes to; so metaphorically the Partic. *abiectionis* means 'cast off, fallen to the ground, worthless.'
- ad gladios**, 'a hand to hand fight.'
- uenerat**. Instantaneous Pluperf., see n. on *se intulerant* c. 14. 6. On the 'Inverted *cum*-clause' see c. 10. 10 n.
- 4 **confertos**, earlier *-ferctos*, from *farcire* compounded with *con-*.
ferox uiribus etc., 'proud of his strength and skill at arms.' Remember that *ferox* never means 'fierce.'
- incautum** is equivalent to an Adv., and goes closely with *uersantem*; cf. c. 19. 6 *infestus admisit*.
praeceps...in uolnus abiit, 'fell fainting headlong over his wound'; cf. 1. 58. 12 *prolapsa in uolnus moribunda cecidit*, and Verg. *Aen.* 10. 488 *corrui in uolnus*. *abire praeceps* is a common phrase for 'falling headlong.'
- 5 **parma**, the small round shield used by horsemen. The Consul has dismounted, and carries only the *parma*, though he is now among the infantry who are armed with the heavy oblong *scutum*.

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- 7 **infensis hastis**. So the MSS. Some editors alter to *infestis*, but it seems likely enough that *infensus*, which means lit. 'thrust against, aimed at' (from **fendo*, 'to strike,' Gr. *θελω*), should be used here somewhat more literally than usual; it is commonly applied to persons, meaning 'with hostile intent.' [It is applied to weapons by Vergil and some other poets. J. S. R.]

CHAP. 47.

- 1 **pugnam ciebat**, 'revived the fight,' a poetical phrase, covering the notions of (1) stirring one's men to battle, and (2) forcing the enemy to fight. The first is more prominent here, as in c. 19. 10.
- 3 **cessissent loco**. The technical term for 'giving ground.' *loco* is a pure Abl.
rem inclinatam, 'the tottering fortune of the day,' a favourite phrase of Livy's. *inclinare* is to make a thing lean to one side, without causing it to fall completely.
- 5 **cum praedae magis...tererent tempus**. So Gronov and Madvig for *dum*, which some editors are content to retain, both here and in 1. 40. 7. The examples of *dum* with the Subj. in precisely the same sense as with the Indic. are too few to be convincing, and even if there were more of them, it is extremely unlikely that Livy would use this rare construction in a clause immediately following one with *dum* and the regular Indic. Pres.
triarii Romani. Livy applies this term to the reserve left to guard the camp, as in later times; it does not imply that the division of the line into Hastati, Principes, and Triarii (Bk. 8. 8) had yet been established.
quo loco res essent. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2. 322 *quo res summa loco, Panthu?*
- 6 **quacumque...ostenderet**. On this Subjunc. in a General Temporal Clause see c. 27. 8 n.
- 8 **Tuscis...Romanos**. Coupling Contrast, see c. 1. 8 n.

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- trepidus agit**, a poetical phrase, like many others in these chapters of heroic deeds (e.g. *pugnam ciebat* § 1, *cumulatior* § 11).
- 10 **pro eximia eo bello opera**. For this adjectival use of a phrase (*eo bello*) cf. *multis in uicem casibus* c. 44. 12; c. 15. 5 n.
facile passurum respondit. The Subject of *passurum* is of course *se* understood, as often, almost regularly, where there is no ambiguity. But the *se* of the next clause is emphatic, representing an *ego* added to the Verb in Or. R.
familia funesta, as in c. 8. 7 n.
[consule altero amisso]. These words simply repeat the meaning of the preceding more picturesque phrase, and they are so weak an addition to it that I venture to bracket them as a gloss. [I hesitate;

Livy's striving after fulness of expression often leads him into what looks like weakness. J. S. R.]

lauream, the wreath of bay leaves worn by the general in a Triumph, which he laid at the feet of Jupiter in the Temple on the Capitol.

11 **depositus triumphus**, 'his refusal of the triumph.' Cf. *provinciam deponere*, 'to lay aside a provincial governorship,' Cic. *ad Fam.* 5. 2. 3.

in tempore, 'at a suitable time,' a standing phrase. Contrast *in tempus*, 'for the moment,' *ad tempus*, 'up to time,' or 'at the moment.' Cicero uses *tempore* alone = *in tempore*.

cumulator, 'with all the greater increase.' Cf. the famous message of Dido to Aeneas (*Aen.* 4. 436) (*ueniam*) *Quam mihi cum dederis cumulatam morte remittam*, 'a kindness which I will return...enhanced by (my own) death.'

redit, Gnostic Perfect, 'has often been found to come back.' It seems unnecessary to alter to *redit*, as some edd.

laudator. On the use of nouns in *-tor* see c. 5. 5 n.; the custom of *laudationes* at funerals was typical of the Roman nobility. When the member of the family who was being buried had done nothing in particular, and even if he had, the speaker would dwell on the ancient glories of the house. In this way, by constant repetition, strong family traditions were developed, and often committed to writing. No doubt it is some Fabian tradition that Livy is here following, at first or second hand; cf. c. 44. 11 n. on *Aequis*, also c. 19. 1 n. on *Vetusius*.

concedendo is merely Circumstantial, not Instrumental, *i.e.* Livy does not imply that his modesty was assumed on purpose to enhance his glory. See n. on *sumendo* c. 32. 4.

12 **eius, quod**. This use of the Neut. Pron. is comparatively rare in any Case but the Nom. or Acc., cf. c. 28. 2 *quod...exsequendum esset, inuidiam eius*, where, as here, the Relative is in a Case which prevents any ambiguity.

reconciliandi, in Apposition to *eius*, a somewhat rare construction; cf. 6. 11. 9 and 21. 4. 3 where the Gerund is in App. to *res*.

nec ulla re nisi salubri reip. arte. The MSS. read *parte*, a typically stupid corruption; corr. Gruter. The same scholar, followed by Madvig, would remove *re*, so as to make *ulla* agree with *arte*, in its common sense of 'means,' and *reip.* Dat. after *salubri*. I do not know any precise parallel to the phrase *reipublicae ars* in the sense of *reip. gerendae ars*, but I do not feel sure that it is corrupt. [Is not *reip.* Dat. after *salubri* whichever reading be adopted? J. S. R.]

CHAP. 48.

- 1 **K. Fabius**, i.e. *Caeso Fabius*. Though usually spelt with C when written in full, this praenomen is abbreviated K. Compare the use of the archaic C (=g) and CN (=gn) for the praenomina which when written in full are Gaius and Gnaeus respectively.

neque belli. So Duker, rightly, for *bella* of the MSS. *bella agere* is nonsense here.

incohata. This (not *inchoata*) is the correct spelling of this word. The parallel form is preserved in the Osc. Pres. Subj. *kahad*, meaning 'he may take or attempt' which in point of the vowels stands to *incohare* in much the same way as, say, *regat* to *rogare* (*rogare* being originally only a Frequentative of *rego*, meaning 'to direct one's self to a person frequently,' hence 'to question or entreat' him, just as *adire* and Eng. 'approach' have come to mean 'make a petition to'). In both cases the derivative verb shows the form of the root which contains *o*.

primo quōque tempore, 'at the earliest possible moment' (lit. 'at any first opportunity'), a regular phrase.

cum patribus for *cum patrum animis*, a frequent type of abbreviation. Cf. c. 13. 8 *supra Coclites id facinus*, i.e. *supra Coclitum facinora*.

- 2 **priusquam...exsisteret**. On the Subjunc. see c. 28. 9 n. It is because of the notion of preventing that *quisquam* is used.

occuparent...darent...partus sit. See Appendix II.

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uerum esse, 'the straightforward course was,' a common use of *uerus*, cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1. 7. 98 *metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede uerum est*.

- 4 **eo cum exercitu**, i.e. *in Latinum agrum cum ex*.

eo nulla pugna. Another use of the same Adv., 'therefore.'

- 5 **in tempore**. See c. 47. 11 n.

proxime formam. See c. 41. 11 n.

- 6 **in urbem**, i.e. *Veios. legionibus* is Dat.

eludentes, 'frustrating,' the commonest use of the word; in the two phrases *bellum* means 'active hostilities' on the Romans' part and on the Aequians' respectively.

et alia bella. For this use of *et* cf. c. 19. 7 n.

non diutius quam...transiret quiescentibus=*quos Romani sciebant non diutius quieturos quam* etc. Hence *transiret* is Virtually Oblique and therefore Subjunc. Tacitus would probably have written *quieturis*, but in earlier writers this Partc. is rare in the Abl. Absol.—one of many proofs that it was invented (out of the originally indeclinable Infin. in *-urum*) at a comparatively late period of Latin.

aut mox moturos. The MSS. add *se* which Madvig rightly excised, as inserted by a scribe who did not realise how easily a Neut. form may serve in Latin in one clause as Nom., in the next as Acc., e.g. Cic. *de Or.* 2. 43 *quod et a Crasso tactum est et Aristoteles adiunxit*, cf. Madvig's (3rd) edition of Cic. *de Fin.* p. 650. Madvig's correction gives us the required antithesis between the two halves of the sentence. [And yet I do not feel sure of it. *aut* is so frequently out of place in one of two alternative clauses (cf. c. 27. 2 n.) that Livy may have only meant *aut alia bella praesentia instabant*. J. S. R.]

7 **auerti aīo.** Cf. c. 45. 2 n.; *alio* is of course an Adv.

8 **uos alia bella...Fabios...Veientibus.** Coupling Contrast (c. 1. 8 n.). **auctores sumus tutam...fore**, 'we are responsible, we guarantee that...shall be safe.' The phrase *auctor sum* with Acc. and Inf. generally means 'I am responsible for the statement that'; here, as the Future Statement is equivalent to a Promise, a fuller but not unnatural meaning is forced upon *auctor*; no precise parallel is quoted.

10 **domos.** On this Acc. see c. 7. 1 n.

CHAP. 49, page 59.

1 **familiam** means strictly a 'household' including its dependents, but often in the sense of 'a (noble) house,' as here. This sentence Ovid neatly reproduces in his versification of the story, *Fast.* 2. 197

una domus vires et onus susceperat urbis.

2 **si sint...deposcant.** On the retention of Primary Tenses, c. 3. 3 n. *deposcant* is parallel to *sint* (no connecting particle being needed in this rapid summary of public feeling); the main Verb of the Apodosis is *posse*.

postera die. But *postero die* c. 48. 10. Livy is fond of playing with the varying gender of *dies*. The word was originally Masc., being identical with Gr. *Zeús*, but the influence of the other words of the *ē*-declension into which it had fallen made it natural to treat it as Fem. The orig. inflexion was Nom. *diūs*, Acc. *diēm*, Dat. *diēi*. The old Nom. still appears in *nudius tertius*, 'two days ago' (lit. 'now it is the 3rd

day'), *nu* being a parallel form of *nunc* (for **num-ce*) as Gr. *vv* of *vûv*, *vuv* (for **vûµ*, **vυµ*).

- 3 **paludatus**, *i.e.* wearing the military cloak of a General; it was generally of purple, trimmed with gold. Although this was a strictly private expedition, the commander assumes the status of a General officially commissioned. Livy must, I think, have been conscious that this is what this sentence would convey to an ordinary Roman reader, though he may be (Prof. Reid thinks he is) using the word here in its archaic sense referring to any soldier's cloak (as *paludatis lictoribus* 41. 10. 7 and 45. 39. 11, and *paludamentum* 1. 26. 2), not the General's in particular.

signa ferri iubet. On the Passive, see the n. on *velit quaesitam* c. 44. 3.

- 4 **sex et trecenti...omnes patricii.** Livy does not here mention the clients and servants, who according to some authorities (e.g. Dionys. 9. 15) numbered several thousand. [The numbers are very odd in the Fabian legends. In 7. 15. 9 a Fabius attacks the Tarquinienses and loses precisely 307 men; cf. 7. 19. 2. J. S. R.]

quorum neminem ducem sperneres. Reproduced by Ovid (*Fasti* 2. 200) *e quis dux fieri quilibet aptus erat.* For the Indef. 2nd Pers. in this Tense cf. c. 35. 5 and c. 27. 6 n.

egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, '(a body of men which would have formed) an admirable Senate at any time.' The remark no doubt refers to the number as well as to the personal qualities of the Fabii; three hundred was the traditional number of the Senate (c. 1. 11).

The MSS. give *sperneret* and the text is Madvig's brilliant correction. If the words are Subject to *sperneret* as the defenders of that reading suppose, they must mean "the-at-all-times-admirable Senate," at once a feeble, an exaggerated and an irrelevant commendation, which could hardly be paralleled elsewhere in Livy; and the reference to the Senate at all is quite unnecessary. On the other hand the slight difficulty of seeing the construction and meaning of the phrase with the true reading was quite enough to tempt a scribe to corrupt *sperneres* into *sperneret*.

- 5 **propria alia...excitata**, Coupling Contrast (which of course is regular with pronouns like *alius*) with a slightly Chiastic inversion of order (so below § 9 *sua tuta...infesta hostium*). *publicā* of course with *sollicitudine*.

6 **ab se = a nobis** in Or. Rect. †

7 **praetereuntibus**, scil. *Fabiis*; probably Abl. Absol., but conceivably

Dat. Comm., giving the persons for whose benefit the people made their prayers.

quidquid deorum. For the Neut. cf. c. 5. 7 n.

ad parentes restituant. For *ad* with *restituere* cf. c. 13. 6 n.

in cassum missae, 'fell fruitless,' a poetical phrase, like many others in this chapter.

- 8 **dextro iano.** This phrase and one or two others preserve the literal meaning of *ianus*, 'an arch' (this gate having two). So we have the *summus*, *inrus* and *medius ianus* on the N.E. side of the Forum (Hor. *Epist.* I. I. 54). As a deity, Janus was represented by a double-faced head, surmounting an arch through which a street passed.

portae Carmentalis...Cremeram. See the map. The name of the gate was derived from an ancient altar of the goddess Carmenta or Carmentis which stood hard by.

- 9 **sua tuta...infesta hostium.** See § 5 n.; the contrast with *sua*, 'their own territory,' makes it possible to use the Gen. *hostium*—to mean 'that of the enemy,' as though it were Acc. Neut. Pl. of an adj. meaning 'belonging to the enemy.'

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- 10 **quamquam uix...fuit.** This use of *quamquam* to introduce what is practically an Independent sentence, giving a correction or modification of a preceding statement, is fairly frequent in Livy, e.g. 3. II. 13, 21. 19. 4.

- 12 **Saxa Rubra.** On the Flaminian Road, not far N. of Rome.

ab insita...levitate goes with *paenituit*, 'thanks to their characteristic fickleness'; *ab* gives the inward source of the feeling, as often, cf. *tantus ab imprudentia...pauor* 4. 39. 6.

ante deductum...praesidium, 'before the garrison was withdrawn,' like *post conditam urbem*, etc.

CHAP. 50.

- 1 **impetus in incursantes.** The loss (by 'haplography') of the Preposition which all edd. agree in restoring before *incursantes* gave rise to the corruption *incursantium*, which appears in most of the MSS.

- 2 **opulentissima, ut tum res erant.** Dionysius (2. 24) tells us that Veii was in size comparable to Athens at this date. Before the rise of Rome it was no doubt the chief mart of the Tiber valley.

- 3 **ferocem,** c. 46. 4 n.

gaudere is Hist. Inf., to which supply *Veientes* as Subject, and take the following Acc. and Inf. clause as Object.

Fabiis, Dat. Comm., or of the Possessor, after *audaciam cresc.*

4 **uelut** as in c. 41. 9 n. As Subject of *incidissent* supply *pecora uasti*, in its literal meaning, 'empty, unpeopled.'

6 **superassent** 'had passed beyond,' a common use of the word, especially of crossing a hill or a narrow pass—the latter is suggested here. **uaga, ut fit pauore iniecto.** On *ut fit* see c. 4. 5 n.

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7 **et ipsi**, like Gr. *καὶ αὐτοί*, 'on their side too, in response.' Cf. c. 3. 2 n. on *neque ei*.

orbem colligere, 'to draw into a ring,' with the same object as the modern 'forming in square to receive cavalry.'

8 **et paucitatem...insignem et multitudinem...faciebat.** The Predicate *insignem faciebat* belongs to both *et* Clauses, but is distributed between them for the sake of rhythm ('Interweaving,' see c. 41. 6 n.).

9 **rupere cuneo uiam.** The phrase *rumpere uiam* is highly poetical and is said not to occur elsewhere in Livy. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2. 494 *fit uia ui, rumpunt aditus*, and 10. 372 *ferro rumpenda per hostis Est uia*. When beside these two lines we place Liv. 4. 38. 4 *ui uiam faciunt* and the present passage, it is hard to think that the resemblances are accidental. And we have already seen others in this Book, cc. 19. 5; 38. 5; 43. 6; 44. 8; 47. 5 and 11). Further M. Müller in the App. to his edition of this book gives about a score of other parallelisms between the *Aeneid* and the First and Third Decades of Livy; and in fact every reader of Livy who is at all familiar with Vergil's text will recognise some resemblance, faint or clear, on nearly every page.

But the *Aeneid* was not published as a whole till after Vergil's death in 19 B.C., while Livy in 1. 19. 3 mentions the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 B.C., but *not* that of 25 B.C.; and in 9. 18. 9 he makes no mention of the restoration of the Roman standards by the Parthians in 20 B.C. Hence some scholars conclude either that Vergil borrowed from Livy, or (as M. Müller) that all the parallelisms are due to their both having borrowed from Ennius. Some resemblances (not included in those mentioned above) certainly come from Ennius (but cf. c. 43. 6 n.); but it is very hard to believe that they all do. Again, similar resemblances appear in the Fourth Decade of Livy, which was certainly not even written till after Vergil was dead. And while such vivid

phrases as *fit uia ui* and *animos aequabit Olympo* (*Aen.* 6. 783) might well become the quieter *ui uiam faciunt* and *cuius magnitudini animum semper aequauit* (*Liv.* 33. 21. 3), the converse process is less likely. Add to this the far greater probability that a metrical phrase will remain in one's memory and be reproduced, than a sentence of prose, and we have, I think, quite satisfactory ground for believing that Livy was thoroughly familiar with the text of the *Aeneid* long before it was published, and must have been included in Vergil's circle of friends. Even Propertius, who must have been comparatively an outsider (see Postgate, *Select Elegies of Propertius*, Introd. p. xxxii), heralded the appearance of the *Aeneid* as early as 26 B.C. (3. 32. 65 ff.).

10 **uincebat...ni...euasisset.** As in c. 10. 2 n.

11 **prope puberem aetate.** The Abl. is Complementary to the Adj., like that in *maior natu* etc.: 'hardly more than a boy in years.' Some editors alter the text to *propter impuberem aetatem*, which seems needless.

This 'boy' became consul a few years' later (3. 1. 1), one of many difficulties in the chronology of this story, placed where it is.

domi bellique. The allusion is probably to Q. Fabius Maximus (9. 45 ad fin.), who settled a burning question in 304 B.C. by admitting freedmen-citizens to the four City Tribes and to those only; and to the Dictator who wore down Hannibal by his policy of refusing to fight ('Cunctator,' cf. 30. 26. 7 and the lines quoted in the n. on *unus ille uir* c. 43. 6).

uel maximum, 'even the greatest, perhaps the very greatest.' This use of *uel* shows very clearly its origin as an Impv. of *uolle*; literally, it is 'take it to be greatest, have it the greatest if you like,' or as in English, 'call it the greatest,' 'say, the greatest.' In the Alternative use it meant 'take this.....(or) take that.' In Oscan, *heri*, the Impv. of the Verb meaning 'to take, choose,' is used in exactly the same way to mean 'or.'

CHAP. 51.

1 **cum...accepta...est, iam.** On the significance of this *iam* at the end of a story see c. 39. 9 n. The MSS. give *esset*, but Crevier's change to *est* seems necessary in a sentence which merely states a date.

3 **paruo momento,** 'by only a small turn of the scale,' cf. c. 7. 10 n.

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4 **uelut ab arce Ianiculo.** For the (fairly common) omission of the Prep. with the second noun, cf. Ovid *Heroid.* 8. 110 *quaque licet fugio sicut ab hoste uiro.* The MSS. give *Ianiculi*, which must mean 'from their camp, as though they were coming from the stronghold of the Janiculum.' But since this was in their hands, see § 7, most editors adopt the slight change to *Ianiculo*.

impetus dabant. As in c. 19. 7 n.

5 **deditā operā,** 'on purpose,' goes with *propulsā*.

praecipitauere, Intrans., in the sense of 'falling unawares into,' for which, in later Decades, the Passive is commoner; in the meaning 'hurl one's self into (intentionally)' *se praecipitare* is used (M. Müller).

7 **et ipse.** See c. 50. 7 n.

hesterna felicitate pugnae, 'by yesterday's success in battle,' a slight variation on the more prosaic *hesternae pugnae fel.*, which is not uncommon; cf. 4. 10. 8 *pacis domesticam curam* (instead of *domesticae*).

ferox, c. 46. 4 n.

quamuis in praecipitia, 'into any plans however headlong,' lit. 'into plans as headlong as you like.'

dum celeriora essent, Virtually Oblique; 'provided only they were speedier' was the Consul's thought.

agebat, scil. *consulem.* Cf. *mouerat eum casus* c. 13. 2 n.

aduerso Ianiculo. See c. 35. 4 n. on *aduersa inuidia*.

aciem erexit, as in c. 31. 5 n.

9 **occidione,** 'with a killing,' *i.e.* 'with great slaughter.'

oppressum. On the meaning of this verb see c. 4. 7 n.

CHAP. 52.

2 **suo ueneno,** the same metaphor as in c. 44. 8. But the addition of *suo* gives it a contemptuous turn.

incitare, scil. *plebem.*

3 **diem dicunt.** The precise charge is not mentioned; possibly, as Weissenborn suggests, it was that of having needlessly caused the death of so many Plebeians in the battle which followed the disaster of the Cremera (c. 51. 1).

cum haud procul etc. This statement seems to come from a different source from that whence the account of the actual reverse is taken (c. 51. 1 *Menenius missus*).

4 **ea oppressit.** MSS. *eam*, a common corruption (c. 7. 10 n.). *ea* of course = *invidia*.

5 **in multa temperarunt** may, I think, be rendered 'contented themselves with a fine' on the analogy of phrases like *consistere in, niti in, morari in, persistere in*. For the use of *temperare* without Obj., meaning simply 'to restrain one's self,' cf. Plaut. *Epid.* 1. 2. 8 *cum in amore temperes*. Some take *in* so here also, rendering 'were moderate in fixing the amount of the fine,' but that is not the sense that seems most natural to the context, though 2000 *asses* (see the next note) was only a moderate fine. For similar clemency on the part of the Tribunes cf. 3. 58. 10. [I think the second interpretation is right. The parallels *consistere in* etc. do not seem to me close enough. J. S. R.]

cum capitis anquisissent, 'though they had begun his trial on a capital charge,' *i.e.* a charge involving, if proved, the loss of the accused's *caput* or status as a citizen.

duorum milium aeris...multam dixerunt. This [J. S. R.] seems the most probable reading; the MSS. give *multam edixerunt*, but the compound Verb is not so used, but only in the sense of 'to announce a fine beforehand (in case some expected offence is committed).' The numeral of course was written originally simply MM.

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aeris, 'two thousand (pounds) of bronze,' *i.e.* 2000 *asses*, since the *as* was originally a rod of bronze weighing a pound.

ea in caput uertit, 'but the punishment (after all) affected his life'; with something like a play on the word, *caput* is here used to mean 'physical existence,' as in 27. 23. 4 *in capita consulum prodigiorum euentus uertit*.

7 **exprobrando.** On this Verb see c. 23. 11 n.

quibus tum saeuiret, 'who were the instruments of their rage.' When persons are regarded merely as instruments or circumstances, the word denoting them can be used in the Instrumental Abl.; cf. *suo milite uinci* c. 44. 12. Cf. Cic. *Mil.* § 20. 54 *uxore constrictus*, 'hampered by his wife's presence.'

8 **iuuit.** Notice this method of linking sentences together by beginning the second with its main verb. It is not infrequent in Livy and very common in Tacitus. The connexion lies simply in the contrast between the actions of the two sentences, which is brought out as sharply as possible when the most significant word of the second stands first in it.

CHAP. 53.

1 **Veiens bellum...quibus.** The Antecedent to the Pron. is contained in the ethnic Adj., as often.

ut, dum...excurrunt...caperetur. *dum* has a great affection for the Pres. Indic., which it continually retains in subordinate sentences, and, in post-Augustan writers, even in Or. Obliq.

aliā, Adv. 'by one path.' It is probable that these Fem. Abl. Adv. arose by omission of *uia*, just like τὴν ταχίστην, τὴν ἄλλην (ὁδόν) etc. in Greek.

2 **in urbem,** i.e. *Veios*.

pars...eunt. This construction is exceedingly common in Livy.

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3 **paulisper.** On the Postposition see n. on *parumper* c. 25. 3. It seems to have meant very much the same with both Acc. and Abl.

auersi. See c. 45. 2 n.

duae...maximae finitumae gentes, 'two of the greatest of the neighbouring races'; cf. 25. 8. 1 *duarum nobilissimarum in Italia Graecarum ciuitatum*, which shows a similar application of a Superlative to a Noun phrase containing another Adj.

5 **mos...non placebat.** So a Roman leader was sent to the Latins in c. 30. 9. This was a fixed principle in Roman politics, and was later embodied in all their treaties with their "allied" i.e. subject states.

6 **calamitatis,** i.e. in the shape of injury to their lands and homesteads.

CHAP. 54.

1 **prouincia** was the technical term for the external duties assigned to any Magistrate who possessed the *imperium* (i.e. the Consuls, and the Praetors when in command of an army; also the Dictator, and in later times Proconsuls and Proprætors). It was especially often applied to the duty of conducting a particular war, and in later times, to a particular conquered territory which it required military force to administer, a 'province.' The word is probably derived from *uincere*, meaning originally 'what a man goes on (or 'forth') to conquer'; cf. *prospectus*, 'what a man can see before him.'

euenit takes its Number from the adjacent predicate Subst.; so cc. 40. 14; 58. 4; cf. 1. 35. 9 *ludicrum fuit equi*.

frumento stipendioque imperato. Note the meaning of this Verb when Transitive; 'to impose, enjoin upon.'

2 **arripuit**, 'brought into Court, put on their trial,' as in 3. 58. 7; it is more commonly used of the actual arrest. Their offence was probably some unconstitutional violence in resisting the Tribunes' proposal.

3 **rei...sordidati**, see n. on *reos diceret* c. 35. 5.

4 **abstineant...putent** depend directly on *suadent*, *monent* by 'Parataxis' (c. 40. 5 n.), and take the same Tense.

consulares uero fasces. Here, as often (e.g. 4. 1. 3), *uero* denotes a climax.

infulis uelatos, like victims at the altar.

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6 **exilium Cn. Marci**, see c. 35. 6.

Meneni damnationem, c. 52. 5. Note the Chiasmus (c. 40. 3 n.) in these two phrases.

7 **iure an iniuria.** In these half-parenthetical clauses *an*, which is properly used in questions, Direct or Indirect, comes to be used instead of *siue*. Cf. 28. 43. 3 *ea suspicio, uitio orationis an rei, haud sane purgata est*. If *nihil curabant*, or *incertum erat*, were inserted here before *iure an iniuria* we should have a perfectly regular Indirect Question in a parenthesis, the Verb of the Dependent Clause (*eriperentur*) being at once supplied from *eripiendos esse*.

quamuis audaci, like *quamuis in praecipitia* c. 51. 7.

8 **susceptor.** On this Adj. see c. 7. 11 n.

9 **domi mortuum...inuentum.** Livy, like people at the time, assumes that Genucius died by foul play. But so little was commonly known of disease at Rome that it is extremely probable that many sudden deaths which were supposed to be murders were really due to natural causes, e.g. those of Scipio the younger and Germanicus.

quam nihil auxilii, cf. *quam nihil in Hannibale auxilii* 26. 16. 13; 'how absolutely powerless to protect them were.'

sacratae leges, c. 33. 3.

10 **noxiae** 'guilt, guilty deed.' This is the proper meaning of the word, being the Abstract Noun corresponding to the Adj. *noxius* 'guilty,' though our MSS. occasionally give it in place of *noxa*, 'injury, harm suffered.' This latter word however, derived directly from the root of *noceo* (as Gr. *δόξα* from that of *δοκέω*), has a broader use, like Eng. *harm* or *ill*, including also (1) the pain of punishment (as in c. 59. 6), and (2) active harm, evil-doing.

malo, 'by chastisement,' as in c. 34. 11 *hoc malo domitos*. Compare the stolid retort of the noble Metelli to Naeuius' epigram (which asserted *Fato* (i.e. not by merit) *Metelli Romae fiunt consules*). They replied in a single Saturnian

At Naeuius poetae dabunt malum Metelli,

and put him in prison forthwith.

CHAP. 55.

- 1 **sub hanc...uictoriam**, 'immediately after this victory.' The MSS. give *sub hac uictoria*, which some defend giving *sub* the sense 'under the shadow of'; but the only passages quoted for this (where there is no mention of the persons who are submitting, suffering, or the like) are all (e.g. 25. 15. 8) with Ablatives which can be changed (and are changed by most edd.) into Accusatives by the mere addition of *-m* (see c. 7. 10 n.).

pessimi exempli, 'of disastrous omen,' 'ominous.'

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- 2 **resistatur...defendat** with the Presents in the following sentence are 'retained,' as in c. 3. 3 n.
- 3 **quattuor et uiginti lictores**, '24 lictors (and no more).' Livy here implies that each Consul was regularly attended by his lictors, although, according to c. 1. 8, it was only in alternate months that the lictors of a particular Consul carried fasces; according to Dionys. (5. 2) the Consul who was not acting as senior for the month had fasces, but without the axes in them—a view which seems to be supported by Liv. 3. 36. 4.
- apparere**, 'were in attendance on,' a meaning from which is derived the word *apparitor*, 'official attendant.'
- nihil contemptius**, 'no force could be more contemptible'; for this adjectival use of Partcc. cf. *optatus*, 'desirable,' *conspectus*, 'conspicuous,' *inuiolatus*, 'inviolable.'
- si sint qui contemnant**=*si sunt qui contemnant* in O. Recta.
- 4 **quod ordines duxisset**, see c. 23. 4 n. This was Volero's plea.
- militem**, scil. *gregarium*, a soldier of the rank and file.
- 5 **appellat tribunos...prouoco...ad populum**. Note this, the regular difference in the use of the two words meaning to 'appeal.'
- spoliari**, i.e. *nudari*, as often, e.g. 8. 32. 10.
- uobis**, i.e. the Patricians.

- 6 **ubi...pro se...erat.** See c. 43. 6 n.
fidem plebis imploro. See c. 10. 3 n.
- 8 **omne discrimen adesse,** 'that everything was in peril,' lit. 'that every kind of peril was at hand'; *discrimen* denotes especially the kind of crisis produced when established principles or institutions are challenged. With this sinister use of *omnis* cf. phrases like *omnia turbare*, 'to overthrow the whole constitution,' and the like.
non publici fore, non priuati iuris, 'Interweaving,' see cc. 41. 6 n., 50. 8 n.
- 9 **parum.** For the derivation of this word see n. on *parumper* c. 25. 3. **exerceret uictoriam,** 'would push his victory'; as 6. 22. 4.
- 10 **in senatum uocari, scil. patres.** For the Passive after *iubeo* cf. 49. 3; 44. 3 n.

CHAP. 56.

- 1 **tribunum plebi.** On the form of the Gen. see c. 42. 6 n.

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- 2 **permissurum tribunatum,** 'would devote his year of office as a tribune to'—a construction of *permittere* which seems to occur nowhere else. The metaphor is from giving a horse the rein. In the MSS. the gloss *administraturum* is inserted in the text.

post...habito. This use of *habere...post...* for the compound *post-habere* is said not to occur elsewhere in Livy. It appears also in Tacitus (*Hist.* 3. 64 ad fin.), probably by imitation.

ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent. Livy does not say how the Tribunes had been previously elected. After the struggle of 494 B.C. (c. 32 f.) it is simply inconceivable that the Plebeians should have allowed their newly created defenders to be elected by any one but themselves; nor is it even clear by whom Livy conceived them to have been first elected. What then was the object of the Lex Publilia? In c. 60. 5 Livy describes its effect in the phrase *patribus ex concilio submouendis*, and Dionysius (9. 43) adds that the Law also empowered the Tribes to pass formal resolutions under the presidency of the Tribunes. Hence it is inferred (by Schwegler 2. 553 ff.), and rightly, I think, that the real object of the law was to give precise form and legal recognition to the Comitia Tributa, so that it was not a mere assemblage (*concilium*) of chance persons, but a regular body (*Comitia*), parallel to the Comitia

Centuriata. And one of the regulations to secure this would naturally be that Patricians had no right to be present, cf. § 10 and 3. 11. 4. Later on (*e.g.* Liv. 5. 30. 4) when the Plebeians had learnt to trust to their numerical superiority, and still more after 339 B.C., when in consequence of the *Leges Publiliae* the distinction between the Orders had lost all political importance, the prohibition dropped out of notice.

Schwegler's view seems to me clear and probable so far as it goes. For a discussion of the difficult questions that remain in the early history of the Plebeian assembly (or assemblies) the student may be referred to Willems, *Droit Publ. Rom.*, Ed. 5, pp. 165 and 293, and the authorities he cites.

- 4 **quae una uis ad resistendum.** For this construction after *uis* cf. 5. 9. 7 *inuentam esse uim maiorem ad coercendos magistratus*; so 30. 16. 3. For the fact cf. cc. 43. 4; 44. 2.

ex collegio, scil. *tribunorum*.

in annum, 'over the whole year.'

- 5 **a paternis certaminibus.** See c. 27. **inuisum infestumque**, 'hateful to and hating,' a common combination.

consulem faciunt; collega...datur. See c. 43. 11 n.

- 7 **aetatis eius haud quisquam**, 'no one of that day.'

- 8 **rudis in militari** etc. 'his untrained soldier's tongue could not keep pace with his audacity and indignation.'

- 9 **non facile loquor...quam.** The omission of *tam* in the first half of the Comparison before *facile* (where Madvig wished to insert it) is paralleled by many other cases in Livy, which like this seem to be all negative; *e.g.* 25. 15. 9 *non militum fiducia...quam iuuentutis Thurinae*. But cf. Verg. *G.* 3. 309 where there is no negative.

praesto, 'make good'; on the origin of this use see c. 18. 11 n.

- 10 **occupant**, in its regular meaning, 'seized (before any one else could).'

templum, *i.e.* the *rostra* in the Comitium from which assemblies of the people were regularly addressed; the same term is applied to this platform in 8. 14. 12. It denotes properly any space (of ground, or even in the sky) which has been marked off by the regular augural ceremonies (*augurato*), so it is regularly applied to the Curia Hostilia where the Senate met. But *aedes* denotes a building used for religious purposes only.

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- 12 **illum ipsum**, i.e. *magistratum populi*, such as a Consul.
pro imperio, 'in virtue of his office,' in the ordinary exercise of his power. Even a Consul requested (not commanded) the people to disperse.
- 14 **concursum hominum...multitudinis**, Madvig would excise *hominum*, but it hardly seems likely to have been added as a gloss, and *multitudinis* can be taken in Apposition.
- 15 **saeuientem...lenisset**. Elsewhere Livy seems generally to use *lenire* with an Abstract Noun like *iram* as Object; but cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 393 *lenire dolentem*.
- 16 **non uim suam illis**. The Possessive Adj. refers to *illis*, not to *tempus* though it is the subject of the clause. See c. 22. 3 n. *illis* would have been put before *uim suam* but that the latter phrase had to follow the Negative directly, and Negatives are by preference put at the beginning of their clause.

CHAP. 57.

- 2 **sententias uariassent**, 'produced conflicting opinions'; cf. 23. 5. 8 *variante fortuna euentum*.
quo magis goes with *auocabantur*, the phrase *spatio interp.* giving the reason for their change of mind.
eius opera, 'by his efforts, thanks to him,' a convenient substitute for *ab eo*.
- 3 **petitur, ut...uellet...posset**. The Hist. Pres. takes Past Sequence, as often.
tantam, 'only so great.' *esse uellet*, 'would consent to leave.'
dum...trahant...sit...sit. On these Primary Tenses Retained even after the introductory Imperfects in the Purpose Clause, see Appendix II.
nihil relictum...in medio, because the two contending parties wasted the whole strength of the community in their contentions.

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- 4 **in Sacro monte**. See cc. 32 f.

CHAP. 58.

- 1 **perinde ac**, for *perinde ac si*, like *uelut* for *uelut si* c. 36. 1.
duo. See c. 33. 3 n. ✕
Piso. See c. 18. 5 n.
- 3 **uastauerant...ut**, 'they had been laying waste...in the hope that.' The reason for their hope was not the ravaging of the fields, but the nearness to Rome which it implies. The Volscians hoped that as they were so near the Plebs might come over to them, and leave the Patricians in Rome at their mercy.
- 4 **prouincia**. See c. 54. 1 n.
eadem...saeuitia...esse...odisse, Hist. Infinitives.
- 5 **quid?** 'nay, indeed...?' This conjecture of Weissenborn's seems the best correction of the MSS. *quod*.
electo aduersus, 'chosen on purpose to resist.'
quam...impedierunt. So the MSS. Editors generally change to *impedierint*, which may be right, but the retention of the Indic. seems scarcely any harsher here than in *qui erit finis* c. 15. 3, ubi v. n.
- 6 **ira indignatioque...stimulabat**. On the Singular Verb see c. 5. 8 n.
poterat, scil. *exercitus*.
certamen. In an abstract sense 'spirit of contentiousness'; so in c. 59. 1.
- 7 **si...uellet...si...adesset**. This use of the Subjunctive in General Conditions (*si* = 'if ever') is a mark of Silver Latin and hardly appears in Cicero. Cf. 3. 36. 8 *si collegam appellasset, ita discedebat ut paeniteret*, 'if ever a man appealed from Appius to one of the other Decemvirs, he always went away regretting it.' [A few examples must be admitted even in Cicero, e.g. *De Or.* 1. § 232. J. S. R.]
- 8 **praesenti**. Dat. of Disadvantage: 'they would not look him in the face when he stood before them.'
tacite goes, probably, with *exsecrari*, 'under their breath.'

CHAP. 59, page 70.

- 1 **nihil eorum** = *n. earum rerum*.
- 2 **Appio...Fabio**. Dat. Incomm., like *praesenti* c. 58. 8. Their treatment of Fabius was related in c. 43. 6 ff.
- 3 **expressa uis**, 'an effort was wrung from them.'
alia...sua clade, 'in any other kind of defeat they suffered,' = *alia*

reliqua, as in c. 23. 6. This is Crevier's correction of the MSS. *alii*. Others read *alibi* which is simpler, but less likely to have been corrupted.

4 **infractus**, Partc. of *infringo*.

ne utique, 'not in any case, by all means not.' Whatever else he did, he must not rely upon the soldiers' obedience to any command bidding them execute punishment on their fellows.

5 **negare...milites...exaudiri...fuisse**, etc. Or. Obl., the reasons urged by Appius' advisers. On the Retained Present *moucantur* see App. II.

6 **quando quidem...lucrarentur**, Oblique, the reason Appius gave for yielding.

noxae=*poenae*, see n. on *noxiae* c. 54. 10. ✕

remissa contione, 'abandoning his project of haranguing them.'

Cf. *remittere iustitium, intercessionem*.

iter...cum iussisset, prima luce. On the leap in this sentence from one day to the next see the *Hints on Livy's Style*, p. 80 sup. On the postponement of *cum* see c. 40. 5 n.

7 **cum maxime**, 'just when.'

ullius, Neut., like *eorum* in § 1, and *eius* in c. 47. 12, ubi v. n.

This is a rare use of *ullum*.

8 **ita...euasere**, 'with such speed did they rush out of the battle.'

9 **reuocando...persecutus esset**. The Gerund=*reuocans*, or *ut reuocaret*, see c. 32. 4 n. on *sumendo*.

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10 **signo amisso signiferos**, 'standard-bearers who had lost their standards.' Abl. of Description. Beware of rendering it here by 'with.'

11 **duplicarios**. Because these specially privileged soldiers ought to have set a better example to their fellows. A man was so called when he was allowed double rations, in reward for some special act of valour.

sorte decumus quisque. The motive of this grim institution ('decimation' in the strict sense) is explained by Cicero (*pro Cluent.* 46. 128) *ut metus ad omnes, poena ad paucos proueniret*. ✕

CHAP. 60.

1 **contra ea**, 'on the other hand,' cf. *inter-ea, post-ea* etc., which preserve the original length of the *-a* of the Neut. Pl.

quo is magis. With the Comparative *magis*, *quo* takes the place of *ut* after *effecerat*. *is* is of course Quinctius.

gauderet, *i.e.* indulge, give the rein to.

- 2 **acta praeda. ea omnis.** This (Frigell's) seems certainly the right interpretation of the reading of M *prae de eadomn* (at the end of a line). The vulgate *actae praedae* [plur.] *omnis* [sing.] can hardly, I think, be defended.
- 3 **quibus...gaudent.** Not Hist. Pres., but a general observation.
- 4 **maior uictoriā...quam usu,** 'more important because it marked the victory in a set combat than in its practical effects.'
- 5 **patribus ex concilio submouendis.** Since the Plebeians always outnumbered the Patricians in the Assembly of the Tribes, where the voting, in each Tribe, was by heads, it made no difference in the majority of votes whether Patricians were present or not. But no doubt the poorer Plebeians escaped some terrorising. On the nature of the change legally, see c. 56. 2 n.

CHAP. 61.

- 1 **excepit**, 'followed,' used absolutely, as in 25. 23. 8 *alia subinde spes, postquam haec uana euaserat, excepit.* But more commonly an Acc. is added, as in *nox diem excepit* and the like.
- 2 **possessorum publici agri.** See c. 24. 6 n. on *possideret.*
tamquam tertio consuli. When the Verb of a Comparative Clause after *ut, tamquam* or the like is left to be supplied, the Subject of that Verb is regularly attracted into the case of the word which denotes the thing or person compared to that Subject: *cui...tamquam tertius consul esset (qui hoc fecisset)* is abridged into *cui...tamquam tertio consuli.*

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- 3 **ad iudicium...populi.** On the right of the Tribes to try such cases see c. 35. 2 n.
plenus suarum, etc. 'laden with the grudges cherished against both himself and his father.' The Adjj. represent Obj. Genitives.
- 4 **dumtaxat**, 'strictly speaking, only.' The Adv. is taken from an old legal phrase limiting the amount of fines which one could impose (*taxare*) under a particular law. The formula ran generally thus; 'For a breach of this statute the magistrate may inflict any fine he chooses provided that he (only) levies (*dum taxat*) such and such a proportion of the guilty person's property.' Hence the phrase came to be attached to particular words meaning 'so far forth as (so and so),' '(so

and so) in its strict sense.' Hence it has a double colour, sometimes, as here, 'no more than,' 'only'; sometimes 'no less than,' 'at least,' as in Hor. *Sat.* 2. 6. 42 *Maecenas me coepit habere suorum In numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere reda Vellet, iter faciens*, 'at least so far as this, that I was one he liked to have with him on a journey.' Prof. Reid connects *taxare* with Osc. *tanginom* 'sententiam' and O. Lat. *tongere, tongitio*, Eng. *think* etc., which is quite possible phonetically and gives a better sense than the usual derivation from *tangere* 'to touch': 'provided he estimates the fine at (less than half etc.)'

- 5 **non modo...sed ne...quidem**, 'not only not...but not even so much as to,' the regular use of *non modo* when *ne...quidem* follows. *modo* means literally 'by the limit' and hence 'just, exactly'; *non modo* therefore may mean either 'I do not say (so much as) this, not only not this,' or 'I do not say (so little as) this, not only this.'

uestem mutaret. See c. 35. 5 n. on *reos*.

- 6 **spiritus**, 'lofty tone.' ✕

- 7 **diem...prodicerent**, 'adjourned the trial to another day,' lit. 'announced the day for trial onwards.' In this phrase *dies* is always Fem., see c. 49. 2 n.

trahi, 'drag on indefinitely.' 7

- 9 **supremum diem**, 'the day of the burial,' as often (*e.g.* Cic. *Mur.* § 75). But it often means 'the last day of life,' *e.g.* Cic. *Phil.* I. § 34.

CHAP. 62.

- 2 **religio fucrit**, with Inf., see c. 5. 3 n.

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- 4 **quibus frequenter habitabatur**, Impers., 'in which the folk lived not far from one another'; cf. 9. 28. 5 *frequenter ibi habitabatur*, and for the Abl. 8. 22. 5. When the Verb is used transitively (*e.g.* I. 30. 1) it has a somewhat different sense, 'inhabit,' instead of 'live (after such and such a fashion).'

postero die. For the change of time in this sentence cf. c. 59. 6 n.

- 5 **pro uicto**, 'as vanquished'; cf. *pro uictis* c. 7. 3.

integro...bello, 'with the war not yet begun.'

CHAP. 63.

- 2 **ultima uis**, *i.e.* open civil war; so 3. 17. 9.
 4 **nihil aliud quam**. For the Advl. Acc. cf. c. 8. 8 n.
perfusis uano timore, lit. 'bathed in'; render 'with no other result than to plunge the Romans into empty terror.'
 5 **ex insidiis**=*ab hoste ex insidiis erumpente*.
 6 **Caenonem**, the port of Antium, somewhat to the E. of that town.
 7 **tenent**, 'occupy, employ.'
populantes. On the literal meaning of this word see c. 12. 5 n.

CHAP. 64.

- 1 **interesse consularibus comitiis**. The Consuls were elected by the Comitia Centuriata, of which the Plebeians were, of course, members: each man ranked in one or other of the five Classes according to his property. On this occasion they refused to vote.

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- 3 **Crustuminos campos**, the former territory of Crustumeria, captured, according to the tradition, in 501 B.C. (c. 19. 2); see the map.
a porta prope Collina, 'from (what was) almost the Colline gate,' *i.e.* from a point hard by that gate. [Cf. 1. 14. 4 *in ipsis prope portis*, so 27. 18. 3; 30. 30. 8. J. S. R.]
 4 **ipsum quidem agmen...populationem...fecit**. Coupled by Contrast, but with *quidem* (=Greek *μὲν*) added to the first clause, to emphasise its real subordination in sense to the second: 'although he did not succeed in.....yet he pushed his ravages so far afield.'
adipisci, 'catch up,' as in c. 30. 14 n.
multipli...praeda, 'many times the quantity of booty (previously lost).'
 5 **et in Volscis**. For this emphatic use of *et*, 'and indeed,' cf. c. 28. 8 n. and see c. 11. 6 n. In § 6 just below it has a slightly different colour, implying more contrast; 'and the Romans for their part.'
caede...sanguine denote the killed and the wounded respectively.
 6 **paucitas damno sentiendo propior erat**, 'their small numbers made them more quickly conscious of their loss,' lit. 'were nearer to feeling their loss (than the large army of the enemy).'
dum se putant uincere, uicere. Perhaps suggested by the famous *possunt quia posse uidentur*, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 231 (cf. c. 50. 9 n.).

- 8 **haud dubitans...abituos.** Livy frequently puts the Acc. and Inf. after *haud dubito, non dubito* (e.g. I. 23. 7) in the sense of 'I do not doubt (a fact),' a colloquial construction for which *quin* with the Subjunc. is regular in earlier prose writers.
- 9 **ueniunt.** It appears from what follows that they did not come right up to the camp, but halted some little distance off.
- 10 **Hernicorum cohortem.** The Hernici were bound by their treaty (c. 41. 1) to send auxiliary troops when Rome was at war.
in stationem, 'to a picket,' which must have been just outside the camp.

X

CHAP. 65, page 75.

- 2 **post principia,** 'under shelter of the front ranks.' These stood their ground and kept off the enemy, while the rest of their own army moved backward up the hillside in good order (*integris ordinibus*).
- 3 **euaderent,** 'surmount,' with Acc. as often in Livy (e.g. 7. 36. 2) in this sense; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 685. It is commoner however in its ordinary use with *in* as in § 6.
- 4 **simul...simul,** 'now...now,' 'both...and'; a poetical use very common in Livy, cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 631.
 pudore metum excussisset. *excutere* is a strong and picturesque metaphor; one may perhaps render; 'stung them out of their cowardice by rousing their shame.'
- 5 **ut obtinentes locum,** etc. 'as, while holding their ground steadily, they gradually recovered their strength.'
- 6 **prope erat, ut,** 'it had nearly come about that,' 'almost,' as in c. 23. 15.
- 7 **Antium.** The capture of the chief town of the Volscians makes a fitting end to a Book in which they have appeared as the most dangerous enemies the Romans had to face after King Porsenna's retreat.

APPENDIX.

I. ON THE STORY OF CORIOLANUS. (cc. 33—40.)

In looking back on this story as a whole it is worth while to separate its central features from the rest. Probably everyone would agree to include among these the proud and tyrannous character of Coriolanus, his hatred of the Plebs, his trial and banishment; his march upon Rome, the danger of the city, and his retreat in deference to his mother's entreaties. If this much is given us, we have nearly all that our imagination values. Now in these things thus barely stated there is no reason for doubt¹; none of them are at all inconsistent either with one another or with our general knowledge of Rome and the surrounding tribes in the V Century B.C. But the story as the tradition presents it is wrapped up in a mass of details which it is difficult to accept, such as the marvellous number of towns which Coriolanus captured in a single campaign (c. 39. 3—4), and the even more marvellous complacency with which the Volscian army first accepted a Roman commander, and

¹ An exception should perhaps be made of the trial, which, as has been recently pointed out by the distinguished Italian historian Prof. Pais (*Storia di Roma*, I. I. p. 498, indicated to me by Prof. Reid), presents many strange features (cf. Prof. Reid's n. on c. 35. 2). But, if I have rightly understood Prof. Pais' ultra-sceptical treatment of the whole story (as a fiction based upon the worship of Mars at Rome and Corioli), it appears to me to involve a far greater number of improbable assumptions than those it professes to remove.

then sacrificed the fruit of all their fighting and turned back from Rome when it lay within their grasp, because their leader listened to the entreaties of his mother and the other Roman matrons. One can hardly doubt that an army of half-barbarous Volscians, if it had really followed Coriolanus to the walls of Rome, would have made very short work of his filial scruples. The truth is, as we shall presently see in detail, that the mythical elements in the story all spring from the part these Volscians play in it; and it is extremely probable, as Schwegler conjectures in his brilliant analysis of the tradition¹, that they were brought into it by early Roman annalists from patriotic motives. Now in the Great Volscian Wars, lasting from 466 to 441 B.C. (see Book III. *passim*), the Romans did suffer a whole series of defeats; once the Volscians advanced to within three miles of the walls (3. 6. 7)². But the story of these reverses would be much less offensive to a Roman ear if they could be represented as having been due to the prowess of an exiled Roman, not of the Volscians unaided; and the story of Coriolanus gave just the handle which a patriotic historian desired for such a shift. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that the descent of Coriolanus upon Rome and the series of defeats which the Romans suffered from the Volscians were entirely distinct events; and that the troops which were led to Rome and away again were not the Volscian army but some force raised by Coriolanus and entirely dependent upon him.

This theory is rendered very probable by the double account which Dionysius gives of Coriolanus' exploits. One of his versions (8. 17—56) corresponds on the whole to Livy's much shorter and soberer narrative; the other (8. 12) represents Coriolanus as making a preliminary descent on Rome at the head of a band of volunteers and ravaging only the lands of Plebeians. Now in the struggles between the Orders such banishments as his were frequent (cc. 52, 54 and 3. 66. 2); and one may well accept Schwegler's conjecture that the troops he

¹ *Röm. Geschichte*, II. p. 349 ff.

² We may note that both in this year 466 B.C., and in 453, Rome was crippled by a pestilence (3. 2. 2, and 3. 22. 2).

was leading consisted in fact of other exiled nobles like himself, with their dependants. Appius Herdonius, a Sabine, put himself at the head of just such a band in 460 B.C. (3. 15. 5), and seized the Capitol. The return of a band of political outlaws was always dreaded, as a source of fresh conflict, in ancient communities (*e.g.* at Corcyra in 432 B.C.); and this theory would account very well for the willingness of the Romans to stoop to entreaties when Rome was at the mercy of Coriolanus, and for the retreat of the troops at his command:—an act which is natural enough in a band of men linked together only by their leader, and partly, perhaps, touched by the same feelings as he, but altogether incredible when attributed to such bitter enemies of Rome as the Volscians.

All the confusions due to the interpolation of these Volscians become worse confounded by the reference of the whole story to the years 493—488 B.C. This was probably due, as we shall see, to its supposed connexion with the temple of Fortuna Muliebris, which was completed in 488.

It is of course quite possible that Coriolanus may have had some kind of understanding with the Aequians and Volscians, who were, no doubt, at war with Rome at the time of his raid. As Schwegler points out, Cicero refers to the story in a way which suggests this view; *bellum Volscorum illud grauissimum cui Coriolanus exsul interfuit* (*Brut.* 10. 41) is a phrase which would more naturally have been worded otherwise if Cicero had conceived of Coriolanus as actually commanding the Volscian Army.

We may now take one by one the points in Livy's story which call for comment.

33. 4. ad Volscum bellum. This war, with the capture of Corioli, is clearly mythical. Corioli was actually one of the thirty Latin cities included in the league mentioned in the preceding sentence (Schwegler II. p. 363, 326). See the next note.

5. cui cognomen postea Coriolano. Livy seems to imply that the hero owed this name to his exploit in capturing the town. It seems probable that the converse is the truth, *i.e.* that this exploit was put down to him to explain his name (which, like *Collatinus*, *Regillensis*

and many more, probably implies no more than that his family once migrated from the town to Rome). At all events there is no other example of such a name being taken by any one but the General in command of the whole army, nor any other example of such a title at all until more than a century later; according to Liv. 30. 45. 7 *Africanus* was the first.

9. **memoria cessisset.** This shows that there was no record of this Volscian War in the *Fasti*. Livy, accepting the tradition of its having been waged in this year, infers that Cominius conducted it, merely from his not being mentioned in the treaty with the Latins.

34. 2. **ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris.** But in c. 32. 4, where Livy was probably following a different and older authority, the length of the Secession is given only as *aliquot dies*. The reason given for the famine, if not the famine itself, is no doubt one of the mythical additions to the story; and the details bear a suspicious resemblance to those given of the famines in 433 and 411 (Liv. 4. 25. 4, and 4. 52).

37. 2. **uis magna Volscorum uenit.** The constructors of the composite tradition which Livy is following found nothing incredible in this friendly visit of the Volsci to Rome immediately after the loss of Corioli (c. 33. 5) and their refusal to sell corn to Roman envoys (c. 34. 4)!

38. 1. **caput Ferentinum** was a place of assembly for Latins (1. 50 and 51), not Volscians; see the map. The scene of this mythical oration must have been fixed at a later date, when there was no distinction, much less any enmity, between Latins and Volscians.

6. **deficeret.** The Volscians were in no sense allies of Rome at this date, so that one does not expect to hear of their 'revolting.' But no doubt some such phrase appeared in the traditional account of this "Volscian War," which was unencumbered by dates.

39. 1. **omnium populorum.** The phrase probably comes ultimately from some account which reckoned the Aequi among the followers of Coriolanus (cf. c. 40. 13); the towns enumerated in § 4 are in or near Aequian territory. See below. The election of a Roman exile by the Volscians as their leader is of course one of the most incredible points in the story. Tribal feeling was bitterly strong in ancient Italy, and there is no other example of such a choice in all its history.

3—4. When we compare the account in Dionysius, it is not hard to conjecture a possible source for the confusion which these sections exhibit in the mind of a writer in whose day there were no maps in our

sense of the word, and when all the towns mentioned, save Pedom and Labici, if they still existed at all, had sunk to small hamlets, so that their exact position would not be familiar to him. Dionysius (8. 17—36) enumerates the two sets of conquests in the reverse order; and it is conceivable that the account which underlies our text began with a phrase taken from the tradition which Dionysius accepts, and then went on to follow the other version without the writer's being conscious that his prefatory phrase was inconsistent with the rest. It can hardly be an accident that we should find a confusion in Livy's narrative exactly where we know the traditions varied.

But why did the traditions vary on just this point? Because of the attempt to ascribe to Coriolanus two separate series of defeats which, no doubt, the Romans did suffer, rather later on, at the hands of (1) the Volscians, who would take the S. group of towns, and (2) the Aequians, who would take the N.E. group. The fiction betrays itself by its extravagance as well as by this discrepancy of order; for in no historical war in ancient Italy were so many towns captured in one campaign.

40. 12. templum Fortunae Muliebris. But there was also a temple to *Fortuna Virilis*, ascribed to Servius Tullius, and its feminine counterpart was probably not less old. A temple in commemoration of Volumnia's success should have been to *Pietas Muliebris*, not *Fortuna*; and, in fact, this particular temple did not stand at the *Fossae Cluiliae*, where Coriolanus is said to have halted (c. 39. 5), but a mile nearer Rome (Fest. p. 242 M.). Hence Schwegler concludes (II. 382) that the connexion of Volumnia with this temple was a popular myth.

But the date of the first sacrifice at this altar, Dec. 1, 488 B.C., was recorded in the Commentaries of the Pontifices (Dion. 8. 55); and this is probably the reason why this date was taken for the march of Coriolanus by the annalists, who were concerned to bring his story by hook or by crook into the course of recorded history. We have seen already that this date is certainly too early. It was not till some twenty-five years later that Rome was so reduced by the Aequian and Volscian wars. and by pestilence (463 B.C.), as to have been at the mercy of an invader.

II. ON THE VARIATION OF SEQUENCE IN ORATIO OBLIQUA.

§ 1. Every reader of Livy is familiar with the curious alternation of Secondary with Primary Tenses of the Subjunctive in passages in the Oratio Obliqua where what is called *repraesentatio* is admitted; that is, where some at least of the Primary Tenses which would have stood in Oratio Recta are retained in spite of their subordination to a Past Verb of saying or thinking. We have found a number in this Book, for example:

2. 39. 11. *Atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praeda belli per otium frui uelint, ...se...adnisurum, ut appareat* etc.

In Cicero this variation is practically¹ unknown, and the sentence just quoted, had it been written by Cicero, would certainly have shown *uellent* and *appareret*. But in the Historians we find very frequent variation. Caesar sometimes uses the Secondary Tenses continuously in a passage of some length (e.g. *B. Gall.* I. 13), but in Livy this uniformity is extremely rare;—for example, I can find no case of it in either Book I.² or Book II. It is clear, then, that although the use of Secondary Tenses throughout a Reported Speech was established as an intelligible idiom before Livy began to write, Livy himself did not regard it as either obligatory or beautiful. What we need to have made clear is the principle or principles which he followed in using both Primary and Secondary Tenses in the same passage.

§ 2. No tenable explanation, so far as I know, has been offered; after disproving with ease a conjecture of Kühnast's,

¹ See B. (3) below (p. 190) for the solitary type of variation in Cicero.

² The largest sets of Secondary Subjunctive Tenses in Book I. are such passages as 17. 9, 40. 4, 47. 6, in each of which all the Verbs are included in one sentence; in none is any actual speech reported.

Draeger (I. p. 279 ff.) is content to suggest that the Tenses are changed to secure variety of endings. But an examination of a very large number of passages (including all those in Books I. and II.) has convinced me that the secret of the variation lies in the poverty of the Subjunctive in Tense-forms. It has no Tenses which can reflect precisely the Future or Future-perfect of the Indicative, nor the Imperative; so that if one started, as I believe Livy did, with a desire to retain precisely the Tenses of the Oratio Recta, that principle could not be carried out in these three cases, and in default of it, it was natural that the ordinary custom of Sequence in single dependent Clauses should influence his choice. The general principle which represents Livy's use, may, I believe, be stated as follows:

A. *In passages of Or. Obliqua in which Livy is using Primary Tenses after a Past governing Verb, the Primary Tenses appear, as a rule, only where they are actually retained from the Or. Recta; i.e. (1) all retainable Tenses are retained with great regularity; but (2) where a change of Tense is unavoidable (as in converting the Imperative and the Future of the Or. Recta), there Livy's usage varies but the Tense chosen is most often Secondary: e.g. 1. 40. 3.*

Livy's text (Or. Obliqua).

Tum impensius eis indignitas crescere (Hist. Inf.) si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se REDIRET regnum sed...ad seruitia CADERET, ut...quod Romulus ipse TENUERIT regnum donec in terris FUERIT, id seruus serua natus POSSIDEAT. ...id domus suae dedecus fore si...seruis etiam regnum Romae PATERET."

The same in Or. Recta.

"(Etiam foedius nobis erit)si ne ab T. quidem ad nos REDIBIT regnum, sed.....ad seruitia CADET, ut...quod R. ipse TENUIT regnum donec in terris FUIT, id seruus serua natus POSSIDEAT.id domus nostrae dedecus erit si..... seruis etiam..... PATEBIT."

In this passage it is surely incredible that after *ut* Livy should suddenly fall into Primary Tenses unless there were some reason for it. Such a theory can only be properly tested by the examination of a very large number of examples, and to discuss

all those I have noted in Livy and other authors would take us far beyond the limits of an Appendix. All I can do here is to present a *prima facie* case for my contention; to deal with all the constructions which bear upon it, favourably or otherwise, occurring in Book II.; and to show the reason for such a rule in the origin of the construction. I shall be content if the reader is persuaded of two things: (1) that in order to understand a Tense in Or. Obliqua it is absolutely necessary to consider what it represents in the Or. Recta—an elementary precaution which Draeger and others have singularly disregarded¹; and (2) that the distinction between what may be called 'retainable' and 'non-retainable' Tenses which is laid down by the canon I propose gives us a fair working hypothesis by which to explain the great mass of the examples in question, and from which to start in dealing with the cases that remain over, the number of which, though in itself it is considerable, is very small when compared to the rest.

§ 3. One or two limitations to the rule may be stated at once.

B. (1) *The Subjunctives which depend directly upon the Main Verb which introduces the Oratio Obliqua, take the regular Sequence; thus, they are Secondary after a Past Tense, whether or not the Primary Tenses are retained in the body of the speech itself, e.g.*

2. 28. 5: *Correpti consules cum quid ergo se facere uellent—nihil enim segnius...quam patribus placeat acturos...percunctarentur, decernunt ut dilectum...habeant.*

Here *uellent* takes its Tense from *percunctarentur* on which it depends and which is the ordinary Past Subjunctive after a Circumstantial *cum*. But *placeat* reproduces *placet* of the O.R. The Historic Present *decernunt* is treated as a Primary Tense, a very common construction.

So in c. 9. 1—2: *Nunc orabant ne...pateretur, nunc...ne...sineret. Nisi quanta ui ciuitates (libertatem) expetant tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis.*

¹ Though it seems to be implied, for instance, by Postgate, *N. L. P.* § 430 (10).

This in O.R. would be *Nisi quanta...expetunt, tanta... defendunt, acquantur*, etc. Other examples are in cc. 32. 5; 57. 3; 59. 4—5; see below.

(2) *Similarly the Imperfect Subjunctive which is regularly used to give a Past Command throws any Verbs that may depend upon it into Secondary Tenses; and this influence sometimes extends even into the next sentence, e.g.*

6. 39. 6—12. After seven Primary Subjunctive Tenses the Command appears in the Impf. *Proinde ipsi primum statuerent...quid uellent, deinde...deklararent*. This seems to infect the two Subjunctives of the next sentence (*si uellent...esse quod eosdem reficerent*), after which the Primary Tenses are resumed.

2. 48. 2. *Itaque principio anni censuit priusquam quisquam...tribunus existeret, occuparent patres ipsi suum munus facere, captivum agrum plebi...darent. Verum esse habere eos quorum sanguine...partus sit.*

Many other examples will be found below.

I may add, though no example appears in Book II., this further clause.

(3) *A Clause of Purpose depending upon another such Clause which, though relating to the past, is in the Present because depending directly upon a Main Verb in the Historic Present, is often, perhaps regularly, put into a Secondary Tense.*

28. 31. 4. *Nuntios ad Senatum mittit qui...hortentur ut auxilia mitterent, quibus...imperium Hispaniae repeti posset. Compare Verg. Aen. 1. 298 Demittit...Ut terrae...pateant, ne...Dido Finibus arceret.*

Draeger (i. p. 235) recognises this as a common construction in Cicero, e.g. *Verr. 2. 2. 50 Agrigentini...mittunt qui eum leges doceant...ut intelligeret*, etc.

Here the decisive factor is probably the degree of nearness to the Historic Present of the Main Verb.

§ 4. We may now consider some examples of the Representation from other Books than the Second. In order that the truth of the canon may be easily tested, I add in a parallel column what I believe to have been the Oratio Recta of each extract.

LIVY'S TEXT.

1. 51. 4—6. Ab Turno...sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. aggressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse, quod auctor concilii afuerit quem maxime peteret. inde illam absentis insectationem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit. non dubitare, si uera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi uentum in concilium sit, instructus...armatusque uenturus sit.....id uanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. rogare eos ut inde secum ad Turnum ueniant.

EQUIVALENT IN OR. RECTA.

Ab Turno.....
mih
paratur mors ut.....
solus imperium teneat. aggressus esset heri.....
.....*dilata res est, quod auctor concilii afui, quem maxime petebat. inde*.....
est nata, quod.....
.....*spem destitui. non dubito, si uera deferantur, quin*.....
.....*ubi uentum in concilium sit, instructus*.....*uenturus sit.* *id uanum necne sit*.....*sciri potest. rogo uos ut*.....*ad Turnum ueniatis.*

This extract gives us 9 examples of A. (1) (p. 188 sup.).

22. 34. 4—11. Ab hominibus nobilibus per multos annos bellum quaerentibus Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab eisdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. cum quattuor legionibus uniuersis pugnari prospere posse apparuisset, eo quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedam obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius uincere prohibuisset Romanos quam uinci. consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros, quam con-

Ab hominibus nobilibus.....
.....*Hannibal*
.....*adductus est; ab eisdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahitur. cum quattuor legionibus*.....
.....*pugnari prospere posse apparuisset, eo quod M. Minucius* *prospere pugnasset, duae legiones*.....
.....*obiectae sunt, deinde*.....
.....*ereptae, ut pater*.....
.....*appellaretur, qui prius uincere prohibuisset*.....*quam uinci. consules deinde*.....
.....*cum debellare possent, bellum traxere. id foedus inter omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli habituris, quam consulem uere*

sulem uere plebeium.....fecissent. nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni a patribus desierint, coepisse. cui non apparere, id actum et quaesitum esse ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id postea, quia inuitis eis dictator esset dictus comiti-orum causa, expugnatum esse ut uitiosusdictator perauguresfieret. habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse, et populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei qui mature uincere quam diu imperare malit.

*plebeium feceritis. nam plebei nobiles iam...
..... contemnere plebem,
ex quo contemni a patribus
desierunt, coepere. cui non ap-
paret, id actum.....
.....esse ut interregnum
iniretur, ut in patrum potestate
comitia essent? id consules.....
.....quaesiere; id
postea, quia inuitis eis dictator
erat dictus.....
expugnatum est ut uitiosus.....
.....ficret. habent igitur
interregnum ei; consulatus unus
certe plebis.....
.....est, et populus liberum
habebit ac dabit ei qui mature
uincere
mauolt.*

This extract gives us 12 examples of A. (1), 1 example of A. (2), *fecissent*=*feceritis*.

In the long speech reported in Book IV. c. 2 there are 30 Subjunctives, and of these none are in Secondary Tenses except (1) those which represent the same Secondary Subjunctive Tenses of Or. Recta (e.g. *si diuinassent* in § 9); (2) Imperfects representing Imperatives with the Subjunctives directly depending on them (§§ 4 and 8); and (3) *donec...essent*=*donec...erunt* (§ 4). And the remaining Subjunctives equally conform to the rules here given, whether the two Perfects in § 12 be taken to represent the Future Perfect, or, as I am inclined to prefer, the Perfect Indicative¹.

¹ Other passages which show what I believe to be the regular use without any exceptions are the Speeches which begin in 1. 46. 8; 1. 53. 7; 3. 50. 8; 10. 24. 8; 24. 33. 8; 28. 32. 4. On the other hand the Speeches in 3. 24. 4—5 and 3. 56. 9 each present one exception (*coniecisset* and *abisset*), i.e. a Secondary Tense in place of one which might have been retained (A. (1) sup.). For these I believe there is a

§ 5. We can now deal briefly with the cases occurring in Book II. For convenience all those that I have noted are cited here, though for such as have been already discussed, the reference will be enough.

LIVY'S TEXT.

2. 6. 3. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno uisus sit, partes regni rapuisse...ne quis expers sceleris esset...ferrent opem, adiuuarent; suas quoque...iniurias ultum irent.

2. 9. 1 ff. See p. 189 sup.

2. 10. 4. Deum...fidem testabatur nequiquam...eos fugere. si transitum pontem a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio...quam in Ianiculo fore. itaque monere, praedicere, ut pontem ferro, igni, quacunquē ui possint, interrumpant; se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum.

The present *possint* would probably have been used after *interrumpant* even if it represented a Future as it may (conceivably a Pres. Subj.), though the Pres. Indic. seems more natural in this brief and energetic call to action. But I think the Impf. *posset* points definitely to a Future in the Recta, as in the closely parallel pair of Tenses in 1. 26. 1: *imperat Tullus uti iuuentutem in armis habeat; usurum se eorum opera si bellum...foret.* The Future after *si* is more formal, less colloquial, and somewhat less confident a Tense than the Present.

2. 12. 2. Indignum uidebatur populum R...cum sub regibus esset nullo bello...obsessum esse: liberum eundem ab...Etruscis obsideri quorum saepe exercitus fuderit.

EQUIVALENT IN OR. RECTA.

Ei inter se, quia nemo..... uisus est, partes regni rapuerunt, ne quis.....esset. ferte opem, adiuuate; uestras quoque...iniurias ultum ite.

Deum...fidem testor nequiquamuos fugere. si..... reliqueritis, iam plus hostium in Palatio.....erunt. itaque moneo..... ut pontem..... quacunquē ui potestis, interrumpatis; ego... quantum corpore uno poterit obsisti, excipiam.

Indignum est si populus..... cum esset, nullo bello.....obsessus est: liber.....obsidetur ab.....Etruscis quorum..... fudit.

definite reason; but I cannot do more here than state it dogmatically; the Perf. Subj. in these passages represents a Past Aorist, the Pluperfect represents a True Perfect.

2. 15. 3—4. Ea esse uota...ut qui libertati erit...finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde si saluam esse uellet Romam, ut patiatu liberam esse orare.

Ea sunt uota..... ut qui.....erit finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde si saluam esse uis Romam, ut patiaris liberam esse, oramus.

The Impf. *uellet* in spite of *sit* and *patiatu* seems to be due to the influence of *proinde*, which is closely associated in Or. Obl. with the Impf. Subj. of a Past Command (e.g. 6. 39 sup.), for which the *orare ut* is here substituted. Prof. L. C. Purser thinks *si uellet*=*si uoles* 'if you will be pleased that Rome be safe'; this would of course fall in with my canon better, but *si uis* is so much commoner than *si uoles* that I hesitate.

2. 28. 5. See above, p. 189.

2. 32. 6. Quam diu...tranquillam, quae secesserit, multitudinem fore? Quid futurum deinde si quod...bellum existat?

Quam diu...tranquilla quae secessit, multitudo erit? Quid futurum est deinde si quod...bellum existat (or existet, or, less probably, existit).

The preceding *mallent* falls under B. (1) p. 189 sup.

2. 32. 9. *fuerit*=O. R. *fuit*. The remaining Subjunctives down to the end of the speech would have stood as they are in O. R., except *dum uellent...uenisse* in § 10=*dum uolunt...uenerunt* in O. R., where the conversion is not surprising, since *uenerunt* is a Past Aorist, contrast c. 57. 3 inf.

2. 36. 4. *haberet* falls under B. (1) p. 189. *instare ni eat ac nuntiet* =O. R. *instat ni is ac nuntias* (cf. *nisi caues* and n. on c. 45. 13).

2. 39. 11. Atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praeda belli per otium frui uelint, ...se...adnisurum ut appareat etc.

Si.....reddetur ('if the land is to be restored'), *potest agi de pace: si.....frui uoltis, adnitar ut appareat* etc.

The Impf. *redderetur* might be ascribed to its nearness to *rettulerunt*, but the parallelism of the two Clauses, which are Coupled by Contrast, seems to suggest that there must be some other reason for the difference between *redderetur* and *uelint*. [Certainly. L. C. P.]

2. 41. 5. Consulem.....uelut
uaticinantem audiebat.....agros
illos seruitutem eis qui acceperint
laturos.quid attinuisse
Hernicis.....capti agri partem
tertiam reddi, nisi ut.....pro Co-
riolano duce Cassium habeant?

*Agri illi seruitutem eis qui
acceperunt ferent.quid
attinuit Hernicis.....
.....partem tertiam reddi,
nisi ut.....
habeant?*

acceperint here, I think, represents a Perfect, not a Future Perfect, because the Perfect in *quid attinuisse reddi* ('what was the good of restoring?') seems to shew that the speaker is rhetorically describing the proposal as already enacted. *ut habeant* was Present in the *Recta* to denote a Purpose that still continued.

2. 44. 2—4. *quando inuentum sit=quando inuentum est.*

defuturum qui uelit=deerit qui uelit.

si opus sit, fore=si opus est (or erit), erunt.

darent operam ut conciliarent=date...ut concilietis (B. (2) sup.).

2. 44. 8. *nisi saeuiant=nisi saeuunt.*

reperitam ut essent=reperita est ut esset.

2. 45. 8. *tenerent=tenete.*

(*Edicunt inde...*) *si...pugnauerit* (Perf. Subj.)=*si...pugnauerit* (Fut. Perf.). Note that the governing Verb is Hist. Pres.

2. 48. 2. See above, p. 190.

2. 54. 4—7. The speech begins with two Imperatival Subjunctives depending directly on a Historic Pres. (*suadent, monent...abstineant...putent*) and the same Tense is maintained in the next two commands (§ 5 *inducant*, § 6 *proponant*) although they are in separate sentences. Note that no Secondary Tense has intervened. In § 5 *quod si...sit=quod si...est*. In § 6 we have 3 Perf. Subj.=Fut. Perf.

2. 55. 2—3. *resistatur, defendat, contemnant* would have stood in O. R. *quando habeat=quando habet. nihil contemptius si sint qui contemnant=n. c. si sunt* ('whenever there are') or *si sint* ('if only there were'), rather, I think, than *si erunt*. [*sint*, I think. L. C. P.]

2. 57. 3. *uellet, posset* fall under B. (1). *dum trahant...nihil relictum esse=dum trahunt nihil relictum est* (i.e. *restat*, contrast c. 32. 10 sup.).

quorum sit, ut sit as in O. R.

ib. 4. *quam acceptae sint=quam acceptae sunt.*

2. 59. 4—5. *uellet, esset*, B. 1. *ut moueantur*, as in O. R.

§ 6. In Book II. therefore we have found only 2 at all likely exceptions to A. (1) (*uellet* c. 15. 4, *uellent* c. 32. 10) against at least 34 regular examples, not counting the doubtful cases like c. 44. 3 (*sit*) where the Pres. or Perf. Subj. is ambiguous. Of the non-retainable Tenses (A. (2)) we have found (again excluding the ambiguous cases)

<i>Secondary.</i>	<i>Primary.</i>
7 Imperfects for Imperatives.	4 Presents = Imperatives,
2 „ depending on a preceding Imperfect.	and
2 „ for Futures.	4 Perfects = Fut. Perfects,
1 Pluperfect for Fut. Perfect.	but all these 8 examples depend upon Main Verbs in the Hist. Present.

In the passages previously quoted from other Books (not including any cited in the footnote to p. 192) there were

- 4 Imperfects = Futures.
- 1 Pluperfect = Fut. Perfect.
- 2 doubtful Perfects.
- Several Imperfects = Imperatives.

§ 7. After the evidence we have seen, the origin of the variation is clear, namely, the influence of the Tenses actually used in the speech when it was made. Where Livy could actually reproduce these, he felt free to do so except in certain definite cases (B. (1) and B. (2)). It remains to ask, why did he feel that these cases, the Subjunctives immediately dependent on the Introductory Verb, and the Past Command (which, as we have seen, is very regularly indeed given by the Imperfect)—stood on a different level? The answer is one of some importance in Historical Syntax. In these cases Livy was using an idiom which he felt to be fixed, which he could not depart from; in the other, though he was aware of the Ciceronian practice, he did not feel it binding; in other words—the extension of the Rules of Sequence over the whole area of a Reported Speech was a much later development than the growth of the Rules in single Dependent Clauses, and a development which was in truth never completed. But we can

go further than this. Livy's use shows the points from which the extension started ; not merely Clauses of Purpose and Indirect Question depending on a Past Main Verb, but the Imperfect Subjunctive of Past Commands, which, like the Plautine *non redderes* 'you ought not to have paid it,' was felt to be really an Independent Past Tense. In the Ciceronian use the Secondary colour spreads from these Verbs over the whole of the Speech ; in Livy what we may call the earlier stratum of the Secondary Tenses remains remarkably distinct, though we can discern the points of difficulty and uncertainty outside this stratum which inclined more precise writers to abandon the Primary Tenses altogether. More extended enquiry will very likely reveal further principles which guided Livy where at present his usage appears to vary without reason ; but it will be admitted, I think, that our investigation has already confined the apparent "irregularity" to very narrow limits, and by so doing has vindicated Livy's character as a writer from a tacit but somewhat serious reproach.



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INDEX II

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This Index refers primarily to the **Notes** and contains many words that do not appear in the Text of Book II. On the other hand more than one reference is given to all but the commonest of the phrases, or idioms, or historical names dealt with in the Notes and occurring more than once in the Text; and **all** the references to such as are in any way rare or remarkable.

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