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COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

EDITED BY

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

LIVY. Books I. and II.

GREENOUGH
LIVY

Books I. and II.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

J. B. GREENOUGH

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preface.

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

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

December 19, 1890.
INTRODUCTION.

Livy.

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

We do not hear of him as an advocate nor as a teacher of rhetoric or philosophy, but he wrote some instructions in rhetoric addressed to his son and some essays on philosophy. To these branches of study he seems to have devoted himself. It was probably as a branch of rhetoric that he took up the composition of history. He appears in no public capacity, but he enjoyed the friendship of the imperial family, and lived a quiet literary life, engaged in the composition of his great work. This he began between 27 and 25 B.C., and did not finish, or at least did not publish completely, until after the death of Augustus,—a few years, that is, before his own death. This work must have been, as it seemed to the ancients, an enormous undertaking. Beginning with the coming of Æneas, it contained the detailed
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history of the Roman people down to the death of Drusus, 9 B.C., and probably was intended to be continued to the death of Augustus. There were originally one hundred and forty-two books. These were divided into series of fives and tens, each series embracing some marked epoch of history. Thus, at the beginning of the sixth book, he says, 'Quae ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani gessere . . . quinque libris exposui.' The first ten books describe events to the establishment of Roman supremacy in Italy, at the end of the Second Samnite War. The twenty-first begins with the Second Punic War, and seventy-one to eighty embraced the Social War. This division is not systematically carried out, but in later times the "Decades of Livy" has become a common expression. Of this great work we have preserved the first decade, the third and fourth, and part of the fifth (i.e. five books, two of which, however, the forty-first and forty-third, are incomplete), — in all thirty-five. All the rest, one hundred and seven books, have been lost. Of the "Lost Decades," epitomes (periocchae) by an unknown hand, which have been preserved, give a meagre account of the contents. The title of the work seems to have been Ab Urbe Condita Libri, though Livy himself once (XLIII. 13. 1) speaks of the books as Annales, and Pliny the Elder (N. H. Praef. 16) calls them Historiae.

His Qualifications for Writing History.

2. Livy was not in our modern sense a historian. He was a rhetorician, who, with honesty, patriotism, and moral fervor, devoted himself to setting forth the received account of Roman history in a manner that should be interesting, instructive, and elevating. Of law, politics, religion, and tactics he had no special knowledge, even as they were in his own day, much less as they were in the early times of which he writes. Of the events narrated in his earlier books, especially in the two in this volume, historic truth was then and still is unattainable. There was in most cases absolutely no contemporaneous record.
of events. Even the ordinary evidence in documents and the like had perished before critical skill had been developed to make use of them. In the place of true history had sprung up fables, legends, and falsified traditions, sometimes the natural outgrowth of popular imagination, and sometimes of family pride or political partisanship. The most important events in the history of the Roman constitution were enveloped in a cloud of inconsistent traditions, wild guesses of ancient writers, and deliberate lies.

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

EARLY HISTORY OF ROME.

4. No doubt, as in all traditions, there is a germ of truth somewhere in these stories relating to the founding and earliest history of Rome. But what it is and where it is, is as difficult to find as the woman’s leaven in the three measures of meal after the whole was leavened. The site of the city appears to have been the home of shepherds that pastured their flocks on the Campagna. The Romans thought these shepherds came from Alba, and referred their Latin customs to that city as their origin. They clearly were of Latin stock, and may have come from Alba as well as anywhere. But that they as such founded any Rome, with or without a Romulus, seems
utterly incredible. Rome owes its importance, as all cities do, to its geographical position. It commands the Tiber, the only avenue to the interior for miles along the coast. There can hardly be any doubt that a nomadic and later agricultural people came down the peninsula from the North, without any thought of communication by sea with any part of the world. When the Greeks and Phœnicians 'discovered' Italy, its inhabitants were in much the same situation in regard to the rest of the earth as the North American Indians at the discovery of America. What the foreigners wanted was the raw materials which this wild country furnished, and which were paid for by the products of civilization. This foreign commerce seems to have lighted upon Etruria first, as is indicated by the early importance of Cære and other towns on or near the coast. Presently it attacked the Tiber, and of this river the shepherds of the Palatine had the command. Rome therefore became the entrepôt, or at any rate the toll-house, of Italian commerce. The earliest significance of Rome is attached to the region along the Tiber, the haunt of the merchants, where the Circus Maximus afterwards stood (see I. 7. 3 n). The Palatine was of no importance except as a stronghold to defend the traders (and probably blackmailers), who could by means of it control all commerce with the interior, whence the raw materials wanted by the foreigners must come. Hence Rome, from being a station of shepherds, became a centre of commerce. The Sabines, a kindred stock, were close by in the mountains, and wanted to have their share in the foreign wealth. They took or had already occupied, for the same purpose as the Latins (Albans), other hills close by. After many contests they early became united into one community with the Latins. In the course of this development foreign influence made itself felt, probably by permanent settlement rather than by mere commercial intercourse. Why Lavinium should have been selected as the point around which the legends of foreign settlement should crys-
tallize it is not easy to see. By no possibility could *Lavinium* be derived from *Lavinia*, any more than *Rome* from *Romulus*. It is possible, of course, that foreign settlers may have established themselves there before the Tiber was opened, and afterwards removed to the new entrepôt. That around a growing city of the kind referred to a miscellaneous population of adventurers and refugees should have gathered is what one could expect from more modern examples. In time, after wealth had accumulated, it would be natural that agriculture should again become prominent, and thus give rise to the prevailing agricultural character of Roman society. For it was not by manufactures that Rome grew, but by the raw products of the soil, for which she served as the great collector and distributor. Again, at a later time, war became the prevailing occupation of the Romans, and the world-conquest which they effected began.

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

But such a history as this, even if Livy had known it, would
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have been but a meagre field for a patriotic rhetorician, and so we have, fortunately perhaps, the received accounts, full of poetry, legend, and materials for national pride.

Livv's Authorities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The change in his sources sometimes leads Livy into inconsistencies. A case of this kind is found in this volume. At Bk. II. chap. 21 he seems to abandon his authorities, and begin chap. 22 from a new source. In doing this he displaces the chronology, giving a new date to the battle of Lake Regillus, and repeating some of the events he has already narrated (cf. 17.6 and 22.2).

His Qualities as a Narrator.

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

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

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

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

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

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

c. A rapid flow of narrative, which causes many breaks in construction, constructiones ad sensum, omissions of connec-
tives (see I. 6. 4), and omissions of words to be supplied from the context, together with a general carelessness of grammar and occasionally a want of perspicuity; e.g., darent, Praef. 13; I. 15. 1; and the indicative for subjunctive in I. 17. 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

i. The use of adjectives agreeing with subject or object to
express modifications which really belong to the verb is not uncommon: e.g., *serae immigraverint*, *Praef.* 11; *adeo mitem praebuisse*, I. 4. 6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AB VRBE CONDITA

PRAEFATIO.

Facturusne operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vul-gatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid adlatus se aut scribendi arte

Livy’s Doubts as to his Success Compared with that of Others.

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

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

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

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

rebus, in the facts, or matter; i.e. the investigation side of history. certius: i.e. than their predecessors. — scribendi, etc.: i.e. the rhetorical side. — rudem: as the taste of the time changes, the old is considered less cultivated and elegant. Cf. prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo, II. 32. 8.
rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Vtcumque erit, iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse, et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscurum sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nominem officient meo, consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret sua, et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam pridem

THE CERTAIN SATISFACTION IN THE WORK.

3. utcumque erit: *i.e.* whether I succeed or not.—iuvabit (*sc. me*), *I shall be glad*: notice the emphatic position.—pro virili parte ... consuluisse, to have done my part also, etc. The expression seems to come from military or official usage (*cf. viri tim*), referring to the proportion that belongs to a single man out of a body. — ipsum: the *me has already been implied with iuvabit.* in obscurum: this use of the neuter adjective instead of a simple predicate or an abstract noun is characteristic of the later writers.

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

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

4. res: emphatic, opposed to scriptorium; the subject, too, is one, etc.; another consideration which prevents him from being sure of success.

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

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

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

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

haec: *i.e.* of our own time.—quibus: the deeds and the his-
praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae, quae scribentis animum etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.

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

**THE INWARD COMPENSATION**

5. quoque: *i.e.* besides any success in the undertaking.
malorum: *i.e.* the civil war.

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

curae: *i.e.* the fear of giving offence in the treatment of recent occurrences. *Cf.* Hor. *Od.* II. 1. 6, *plenum opus aleae.* — scribentis: *cf.* note on *legentum,* 4. — flectere: *i.e.* so as to warp his account through fear or favor: 'It could not make the historian untrue, but might worry him.' — posset: contrary to fact; *i.e.* 'if I were not expers curae.' Livy is speaking now only of the earlier history, and in this he is *expers curae.*

*His Attitude Towards the Early History.*

6. conditam condendamve: *i.e.* built or building; the first referring to the accounts of the immediate founders; the second, to the adventures of Æneas and their consequences. For construction, see Gr. 292 a, 300, and *cf.* *inter bisdem* and the like, and *ante damandum,* *Georg.* III. 206. The construction is no doubt an old one retained in colloquial use. — decora, becoming. — poeticis: *i.e.* when truth is not required. — incorruptis, unfalsified; *i.e.* untainted by any suspicion of untrustworthiness. — monumentis, *records,* as the sources of history. — adfirmare, refellere: not merely *affirm* and *deny,* but establish and attempt to refute.

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

divinis: the neuter in the cases which are alike in all genders is rare in Cicero, but becomes common later. Here it is more natural on account of *humana preceding.*

si cui populo, etc., *if any people ought to be allowed.* — consecrare,
deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano ut, cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiuntur aequo animo quam imperium patiuntur.

8 Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine; ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possimus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue

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**Instruction to be got from Later History.**

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

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

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

10. hoc illud est, this is the
in cognitio ne rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in insti ri posita monumento intueri; inde tib i tuaeque rei publicae quod imitère capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu quod vites.

Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepi fallit, aut nulla ii um quam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaeque immigraverint, nec ubi tans ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit; adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divin is tiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perpendique omnia in.

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

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

RICHNESS OF MATTER FOR EXAMPLES.

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

me: the emphasis gives a force like 'I feel sure, unless, etc.' — amor: i.e. his fondness for the subject he has himself chosen. — nullum unquam, etc., there never was any. — nec . . . nec: Gr. 209. a. 2. — maior, grander. — sanctior, more devoted to justice and piety. — ditiore: and hence more valuable for the purpose expressed in 10.

civitatem, etc.: Cicero would probably say nec una civitas in quam. The change is irregular, but natural in a careless writer. — serae: a somewhat poetical use of adjective for adverb; Gr. 191. — immigraverint, gained an entrance; as if they were of foreign origin. For mood, see Gr. 320. a.

— paupertat: Livy is thinking of the Cincinnati, Fabricii, and Curii of ancient times.

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

UNFAVORABLE COMPARISON OF LATEST TIMES.

12. nuper, but of late; cf. XXXIX. 6. — desiderium, a longing: almost what we should call a mania. — pereundi, of ruining themselves: a kind of passive (or middle) of perdò.
vexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe tantaæ ordiendae rei absint. Cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precatio nibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tanti operis successus prosperos darent.

But one should not begin with Complaints, but rather with Good Omens.

sed: he corrects himself after the preceding utterance. — futurae: see Gr. 293. 6.
necessariae: i.e., when we come to treat of those times. — erunt: here forsitan is equivalent to fortasse, and has no effect on the mood of the verb, a usage which became more and more common in the later writers. — ordiendae: pleonastic, as is common with words of beginning.

13. bonis: complaints would be of bad omen. — poetis: as Homer and Virgil.
nobis: prose writers. — libentius, etc., be more disposed to, etc.
orsis: a poetic word. — successus: the plural where we use in English the singular; Gr. 75. c. — darent: thrown into the imperfect by the tense of the preceding (contrary to fact) condition; see Gr. 287. g.
TITI LIVI
AB VRBE CONDITA
LIBER I.

Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Aeneae Antenore, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse; casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlaugia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quarebant, venisse in intimum Hadriatici maris sinum, Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incoelant, pulsis

AENEAS IN ITALY.
(Cf. Virg. Aen. V. 827 seq., VII. 25 seq.)

1. iam, well then; forming the transition from the preface.—satis constat, it is sufficiently settled, generally agreed; not necessarily that Livy believed it. Cf. Pref. 6 and 8. saevitum esse, the Greeks vented their rage; i.e. the others were slain. — duobus: a poetic dative instead of ablative; cf. arcer, depellere. — Antenori: cf. Aen. I. 242 seq.

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

auctores: for Antenor, cf. II. III. 148–264, VII. 345 seq.; for Aeneas, II. XX. 298, XIII. 460; where, however, it is not definitely asserted. — ius, etc.: i.e. they let them go free. — Achivos: a poetic word. — abstinuisse, gave up; refrained from exercising.

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

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

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

rege, etc.: explaining ducem . . . quarebant: cf. II. V. 576. — venisse: the emphasis may be represented by ‘finally landed’ or ‘immigrated,’ as opposed to his wanderings on the way.

3. Euganeis: a tribe once settled about the Italian lakes. They may have been of Italian stock. See
Enetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primo egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pagoque Troiano inde nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati.

4 Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves super-

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

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

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

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


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

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


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

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

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

5. Troia: the emphasis causes the nominative instead of the more common dative; cf. Troiano, 3. — et huic: the name seems to have become attached to several places, probably only through the influence of the myth.; cf. Cic. Att. IX. 13. 6, Troianum (praedium).—ibi: Virgil puts the landing farther north, by the mouth of the Tiber. — ut quibus: explanatory of the Trojans' predatory excursions; in the characteristic relative construction, 2
esset, cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt.

Duplex inde fama est: alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt; alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percunctatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, postquam audierit multitudem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria

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

Latinus: see Aen. VII. 45. — urbe: i.e. Laurentum. The ancient commonwealths consisted of an oppidum, a fortified city which was the centre and citadel, and the ager, as much land — usually ten or a dozen miles across — as could be cultivated and defended by operations from the city. In case of invasion, the persons and property were taken into the city for security, and the country abandoned, or else the militia was rallied to repel the invaders.

Aborigines: it is uncertain whether this has a real or only a popular Latin etymology. It may have been a tribe, but was supposed to mean the original inhabitants of Italy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Union of the Two Races.


penates: the gods of the household. Exactly what they were is very uncertain; perhaps the Romans didn’t know themselves. Their name is evidently connected with penes, penitus, penus, so that they represent the gods of the inner family life of the Romans.

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

II. Lavinium: the name of the woman is probably made up from the name of the town; see Introduction, 4. — brevi: often thus without tempore. — stirpis: a longer form, retaining the original i — quoque: i.e. an heir to the line as well as a founder of it. — novo: in reference to the earlier marriage of Æneas, see Æneid, passim, where this son is assigned to the first marriage; cf 3. 2.
Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique simul petiti. 3 Turnus rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre patientis, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiiit: victi Rutuli, victores Aborigines Troianique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde 3 Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque regem eorum confugiant, qui Caere, opulento tum oppido, imperitans, iam inde ab initio minime laetus novae origine urbis et tum nimio plus quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit.

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

War with Turnus and Death of Aeneas.

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

2. victores: as if ‘were victorious, but,’ etc.

3. Rutulique, and the rest of the Rutulians; as often with -que. —diffisi rebus, despairing of success; properly, not having confidence in the condition of their affairs.—florentes: emphatic as opposed to diffisi rebus.—Mezentium: Virgil makes him a king of a small portion only of the Etruscans.—Caere (ablative): one of the twelve cities of the Etruscan league; here represented as master of all.—oppido: Cicero would use in; but poetic constructions begin to appear in Livy.—turn: in Livy’s time it was in ruins.—nimio, very much, as in comedy. —satis tutum: like our very safe; cf. satis scio, Pref. 1.—rem: in the usual sense of power. —gravatim: i.e. without making any objection to the request implied in confugiunt.—socia, in alliance; proleptic; of course they were not such until after the action of iunxit.

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

iure . . . nomine: their position had been the same, but from the
3 appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere; fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum, sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implesset, tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum mortalium operum fuit. Situs est, quemcumque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum fluvium, Iovem indigetem appellant.

8 Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat, tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incoluere
difference of name there was a lack of common national feeling which was now secured.

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

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

6. secundum, etc.: as if it were 'Then there was a battle in which the victory rested with the Latins; but for their commander it was,' etc. It is only by following Livy's unexpressed thought, as shown by the order, that the sense of his words can be made out. — Latinis: Livy follows poetic usage in the very free use of the dative of possession or reference. — operum: not exactly deeds, nor toils, but something between, say efforts. — situs est, his grave is: the regular expression on tombstones. The disappearance which is implied is not expressed definitely; cf. Pref. 7. — quemcumque, etc.: i.e. whether god, hero, or man.

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

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

THE ALBAN DYNASTY.

8. maturus: the emphasis means something like 'His natural successor wasn't old enough yet to take his place, but the place was kept safe for him till he was,' or 'the youth of Æneas' son prevented his
mansit. Tantisper tutela muliebri — tanta in
doles in
Lavinia erat — res Latina et regnum avitum paternum-
que puero stetit. Haud ambigam — quis enim rem tam
veterem pro certo adfirmaet? — hicine fuerit Ascanius an
maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus co-
mesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia
gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, 
ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus — certe natum
Aenea constat — abundante Lavini multitudine flore-
tem iam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri
seu novercae reliquit, novam ipse aliam sub Albano
monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis
Longa Alba appellata.

Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam deductam coloniam

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

2. ambigam, discuss; properly,
question, implying that there was
doubt; hence haud is more admissi-
able; cf. haud dubito. — adfirmaet:
see Gr. 268. — hicine: the collo-
quial old form of hic with the inter-
rogative — ne; see Gr. 100. ft.n.

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

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

florentem: and so not needing
a hero to foster it. — iam, getting to
be. — seu: often used, especially by
later writers, as an abbreviation for
two appositives with sive . . . sive;
i.e. Lavinae seu matri seu no-
vercae; whether one or the other.

— sub, at the foot of. — porrectae:
cc. coalescentium, 2. 5 n. — Longa:
emphatic; cf. the same words again
in the next line. The whole tradition
is probably manufactured. It is diffi-
cult to see how any white town could
have been built in this position. The
word Alba is probably from some
pre-Latin language; see Helbig
above cited on 1. 3.

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

tamen: i.e. notwithstanding the
shortness of the time.
fusis Etruscis: this gives a chief
reason for the rise in power.
morte: i.e. when there was no
king.
inter: often thus used of time
combined with circumstance or situa-
tion.
muliebrem: i.e. when there was
only a woman at the head of affairs.
rudimentum: not merely begin-
ing, but inexperienced attempts.—
movere arma, make any hostile
demonstration.
Etruscique: cf. Turnus Rutul-
ique, 2. 3 n.
ausi sint: for tense see Gr.
287. c.

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

ita, with the proviso; often a
clause which seems like a result
clause as defining a correlative,
is really a purpose clause express-
ing something which is originally a
command or the like. Cf. Gr. 317. a.
—Etruscis: a free use of the dative
of reference.

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

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

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

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

Plus tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia aetatis. Pulso fratre Amulius regnat. Addit 11 scelere scelus: stirpe fratris virilem interim, fratris filiae Reae Silvae per speciem honoris, cum Vesta-lem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis 4

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

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

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

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

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

BIRTH AND EXPOSURE OF ROMULUS AND REMUS.

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

Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat,

Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dixi nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant: sacerdos vincit in custodiis datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.

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

had a divine purpose which couldn’t be thwarted.

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

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

4. *forte quadam divinitus, it happened providentially*. There is no inconsistency in the expression in Latin any more than in English. Cf. also the Greek ἰδεῖν τοις τῷ χείρι. — *Tiberis*: the subject of the whole. — *lenibus*: *i.e.* in comparison with the current in the channel. — *nec...et, not...and at the same time*: the common set of correlatives where one branch is negative and the other affirmative. — *ad iusti, etc.*, an explanatory phrase used loosely, as if he had before said *adire Tiberim*, like an English colloquial, ‘The fire couldn’t be got at, to the centre of it.’ — *iusti amnis*, the river proper. — *posse*: emphatic; *that it was possible*. The two ideas are, ‘They couldn’t get at the river bed, and didn’t need to either.’ — *languida*: cf. lenibus above. — *infantes*: *i.e.* being mere babies, they might be drowned in any pool. The word is properly subject of *mergi*, but as so often in Latin, is conceived as repeated with *ferentibus*, where we express a pronoun. — *ferentibus*: cf. legentium, Pref. 4 n. — *dabat*: the subject is grammatically Tiberis effusus, but logically the situation indicated as far as stagnis. The case differs from the common ones of the sort in that Tiberis is used first in its simple sense, and afterwards in combination with effusus, etc. It is to be remembered, however, that to the Romans *Caesar mortuus* meant *Caesar dead*, even when we are obliged to translate it the death of Caesar.

5. *velut*, supposing *that*, etc.; cf. the common Latin use of *lanquam*, and (rarely) *ut*; see 54. 7. — *defuncti*: *i.e.* by so doing they had done what they had been ordered. — *nunc*: Ovid (F. II. 412) says
mularem vocatam ferunt — pueros exponunt. Vastae 6 tum in his locis solitudines erant.

Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus, qui circa sunt, ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam summissas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse mammas ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit — Faustulo fuisse nomen 7 ferunt; ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam putent, inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

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

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

tenet, is preserved; not given up or exploded. — fluitantem: i.e. floating and not sinking as they expected it would. — lupam: such stories are found in the myths of many nations. — puerilem, of the babes. — flexisse: i.e. was attracted by and turned to, etc. — eam, and that she. This use of a pronoun in accordance with the English idiom is not usual in Latin, but here makes the statement more significant by separating it from the rest. — summissas, crouching over, thereby accomplishing the action of praebuisse by lowering the dugs. — mitem: where we should expect an adverb; cf. serae, Pref. 11. — magister: i.e. the king’s shepherd.

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

invenerit: for tense cf. immigraerint, Pref. 11.

7. Faustulo: cf. Troiano, I. 3. The word is a diminutive of Faustus, and is drawn from the early mythology of the Romans. Cf. Faunus from the same root in faveo. — ad stabula: because datos implies that they were taken there. The shepherds’ hut is referred to, where the sheep were folded at night. — Larentiae: another name from the mythology. She is represented with the name Acca (mother ?), as mother of the Lares Præstites, and called also Luperca or Lupa. Her festival was the Larentalia. — sunt qui. etc.: the Euhemerising, or realistic interpretation of the old myths, came very early in Rome, and was especially practised by Ennius; cf. Gellius, VII. (VI.) 7, and Macrob. I. 10, 16. — fabulæ ac miraculo, to the marvellous story. The Romans were fond of taking an idea apart and presenting its component parts separately. This is hardly a rhetori-
Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragrare saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere pastoribusque rapta dividere et cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos celebrare.

Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein cal figure in most cases, but it is usually called hendiadys.

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

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

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

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

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

**DISCOVERY OF THE TWINS’ PARENTAGE; AMULIUS KILLED.**

5. *Palatio*: probably connected with *palatum* and meaning ‘the round hill.’ Still *Pales*, a god (or goddess) of shepherds, *Palatua*, perhaps the same divinity, and *palea*, chaff, are suspiciously near. It may be that the words all belong together through some more remote association. — *Lupercal*: a very ancient festival was celebrated at the Palatine to the god Lupercus, identified with Faunus, originally, however, the defender of the flock against wolves (*Lupercus, arceo*). The regular name is, as usual, in the plural, for which *Lupercal ludicrum* is here substituted with a reference to *icos* above. This god had a grotto called *Lupercal* (also the neuter adjective) near the Ficus Ruminalis; see 4. 5. The whole cult probably belongs to the early nomadic life of the Italians. — *hoc*, the present. — *Pallanteo*: of course, a later invention, but made to accord with the Evander story. The association was no doubt assisted by some likeness to the Greek Δάκα, so called from Mount
Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi iuvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum.

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

Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat, regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id

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

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

3. deditis (dative after insidia-): sc. iuvenibus. — notum: i.e. so that the brigands could take advantage of it.

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

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

5. iam inde, etc., already from the very first. — se: representing Faustulus in the indirect discourse. — et... et: the fact and the time are opposed with emphasis. — id
ipsum congruere; sed rem immaturam nisi aut per occasio
tem aut per necessitatem aperiri noluerat. Necessitas
prior venit. Ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte
et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque
geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetaten eorum et
ipsam minime servilem indolem tetigerat animum memo-
ria nepotum, sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud pro-
cul esset quin Remum agnosceret.

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

6 Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse
urbem atque adoptos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Alba-
nam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelus in se fratriis, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit. Iuvenes per medium contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albinorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent, parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe quae conderetur fore. Inter venit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni command, ready for the concilium below. — in arcem, etc.: a short form for in arcem ad eam obtinendam, etc. — avocasset, called off; i.e. from the palace, (under the pretence of defending the most important point,) so as to leave the king to his fate. — se: referring to the subject of vidit. — gratulantes, to congratulate him; the pres. part., as often, with the force of a future to denote purpose. — concilio: i.e. an assembly of the people. — cogniti, recognized, as belonging to him. — auctorem (sc. esse), responsible. — ostendit, made known.

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

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

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

4. cogitationibus: i.e. the spes above mentioned. — avitum: cf. 3.
cupido, atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis ver-recundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templar capiunt.

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

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

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

qui: relative; the one to give.

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

Killing of Remus.

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

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

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

2. altercatione, a war of words. — certamine: abl. of cause. — irarum: the plural assigns more vividly the angry feeling to each of the two parties; see Gr. 75. 3. *c.* — ad caedem, to bloodshed; not the murder of Remus, but the mutual violence. — vertuntur, are excited; *i.e.* beginning with words, they at last come to blows. — ibi, thereupon; in the caedes. — in turba, in the mêlée; emphatic as opposed to ab irato Romulo.
ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama est ludibrio fratris
Remum novos transiluisse muros, inde ab irato Romulo, 
cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset 'Sic deinde 
quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea!', interfectum. 
Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs condi-
toris nomine appellata.

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

muros: see 44. 3, and note.
The act was a kind of sacrilege.— 
verbis: with increpitans.—quo-
que: i.e. as well as a blow.—sic:
sc. percat; or cf. 26. 4.—inter-
fec tum: other accounts are given 
or implied in Ov. Fast. V. 469; 

FOUNDED OF ROME; CULT OF 
HERCULES.

3. condita: the city was not fully 
built until after the fracas, so that 
Romulus was the founder in either 
case. Livy derives Roma from 
Romulus, which is etymologically 
impossible.—nomine: abl. of sep-
oration; cf. ab nomine, 23. 3.— 
Palatium: the hill which was the 
site of the earliest city, or at least 
the citadel of it. Remains of the 
earliest walls are still to be seen 
on the hill. They did not occupy 
the whole of the summit, which 
was originally divided by a ravine 
to into two parts, of which only the 
northwestern, one was occupied 
by the citadel or Roma Quadrata. 
—sacra: in the minds of the 
ancients, an idea inseparable from 
the founding of a city, and hence 
next mentioned.—aliis, the other; 
as often in Livy.—Albano: i.e.
old Italian. See Intro. 4.— 
ritu: the ritual of Greek worship 
and of Italian seems to have been 
distinctly different.

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

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

4. Herculem: this divinity, who 
came to the Greeks from the Pho-
nicians, had as his tenth labor to 
steal the cattle of Geryon, the three-
headed monster of the island of 
Erytheia. To accomplish this feat, 
he passed westward along North 
Africa, and, crossing at the Pillars 
of Hercules into Spain, on the coast 
of which the island was supposed 
to be, returned with the cattle 
by way of Europe. It was on this 
return that he was supposed to have 
come to Italy.
nando traiciet, loco herbido, ut quieta et pabulo
laeto reficret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse.
5 Ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum soror oppressisset,
pastor accola eius loci, nomine Caicus, ferox viribus, cap-
tus pulchritudine boum-cum avertere eam praeedam
vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compul-
isset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura
erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine,
caudis in speluncam traxit.
6 Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus cum
gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse numero
sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo
vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec
in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi ex
7 loco infesto agere porro armentum occipit. Inde cum
actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum

loco herbido: the low land between the Capitoline and Palatine
and the river. — laeto, luxuriant; as in poetry. — reficret: the purpose
of procubuisse; i.e. he stopped, and being tired himself
from his journey (as well as the cattle, implied in quieta) lay down.
5. ferox viribus, arrogant on account of his strength; what we
express in other connections by 'a bully.' — avertere: a technical term
agendo: opposed to aversos traxit below. — compulisset: a
kind of indirect discourse, representing the thought in Cacus' mind.
This construction easily passes into the contrary-to-fact form, of which
it is, no doubt, the origin; see Gr. 307. f., and compare 308. d.
aversos: opposed to agendo. —
eximum: here equivalent to a superlative; see Gr. 93. c. — quem-
que: limiting partitive apposition with boves. — caudis: evidently
an imitation of Hermes' trick; see Hymn to Apollo, 413.
6. pergit: a continuance of the action implied in perlustrasset;
i.e. having looked over all that were directly in sight, he proceeds
farther, thinking they might have stayed. — si ... ferrent: i.e. to
see whether, etc. Properly a construction of omitted apodosis; cf.
Eng. in case, and Goodwin's Moods and Tenses, 494. — foras, out; i.e.
from the cave. — incertus animi, perplexed; for constr., see Gr.
218. c. r. — porro, away, farther on. — occipit: rare with the com-
plementary infinitive, but here used like other words of its class.
7. actae, as they were driven
away. — ad, from; properly, 'in accordance with'; cf. ad famam
delli, VI. 27. 9. — ut fit, as usual; i.e. cattle usually miss their absent
mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem cum ad speluncam vadentem Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans morte occubuit.

Euander tum ea profugus ex Peloponneso auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines, venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae eae gentes fuerant. Is tum Euander concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis excitus postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augus-

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

8. Euander: cf. Virg. Aen. VIII. 51. seq. — Peloponneso: i.e. from Arcadia. — auctoritate, personal influence, from respect for his character. — imperio, power, as a recognized monarch. — miraculo: i.e. as an apparently miraculous invention. — litterarum: i.e. the art of writing, which evidently came to the Latins by way of Cumæ, an Æolic colony.

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

9. pastorum: cf. 7. — trepidantium, crowding around; properly, hurrying hither and thither around Hercules, not venturing to arrest him, but holding him at bay. — manifestae, etc., caught in the act of open murder. — ampliorem: properly, with formam; augus-
tioremque humana intuens, rogitat qui vir esset. Vbi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, 'Iove nate, Hercules, salve,' inquit. 'Te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit tibique aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat.' Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata ara condita ac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi adhibitis ad ministerium damenumque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime in-

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

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

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

Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium 8 multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit; quae ita 2

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

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

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

The Constitution of the New State.

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

2. ita, only; properly, so (and so only), on this condition; a very com-
sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant; me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et appari- tores et hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimus, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, et numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet, et ita habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis committere creata rege singu- los singuli populi lictores dederint.

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

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

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

**Growth of the State.**

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

5. *vana, weak and feeble*: a mere extent without corresponding internal strength. — *vetere consilio*:
terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit.

Cum iam virium haud paeniteret, consilium deinde; viribus parat: centum creat senatores, sive quia is numeros satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant qui creari patres possent. Patres certe ab honore patriciique progenies eorum appellati.

cf. the example of Cadmus, Ov. Met. III. 105. — saeptus, enclosed for some purpose. — descendebus, as you go down. Gr. 235. 6. — lucos: the Capitoline Hill had two summits, on each of which seems to have been a sacred grove, and between these a depression. — asylum: there were in Greece and Italy many such places of refuge (cf. Tac. Ann. III. 60 seq.), to which persons might flee and be under the protection of the divinity. This sanctity was often violated, but was in the main respected. There is no reason to believe that the statement here is not true. The growth of Rome seems to indicate an influx of adventurers (avida novarum rerum) who were attracted by the sudden mercantile importance of the city. It is more probable, however, that the asylum already existed than that it was opened expressly; cf. 30. 5; XXXV. 51. 2.

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

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

ab honore, as a distinction, as a council of the elders; cf. senatus, earl, alderman, and similar words. This would agree with the first supposition tolerably well, but not at all with the second, unless we suppose the name to have become accidentally attached to them, as fathers par excellence. — patricii: this part is no doubt true, as the word is an adjective, like other words in -icus; cf. Cic. de Rep. II. 12. 23, Romuli senatus, qui constabant ex optimatibus, quisque ipse rex tantum tribuisset si eos patres vellet nominari patriciosque eorum liberis.
9 Iam res Romana adeo erat valida ut cuilibet finitima-
rum civitatium bello par esset, sed penuria mulierum
hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus
nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent.
2 Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas
gentes misit qui societatem conubiumque novo populo
peterent: urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein,
quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnum-
que nomen facere; satis scire origini Romanae et deos
adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem: proinde ne gravae-
rentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus
miscere.
5 Nusquam benigne legatio audita est, adeo simul sper-
nebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi
ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogantibus
dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent: id

Efforts to Secure Wives.

9. iam, by this time. — hominis aetatem, only one generation. — quibus: referring to the persons implied in res Romana. — domi: because there were so few Roman women. — conubia, right of inter-
marrage, a relation which seems to have been carefully guarded among the ancients; cf. the struggle later between plebeians and patri-
cians.
2. ex consilio: Livy conceives the proceeding as it would be under a consul later. — circa, around among; a very common use of the word in Livy. — societatem: not necessarily for any other purpose than the conubium, for even that would require a treaty of alliance.
3. urbes, etc.: the learner must not forget the ease with which the Latin drops into indirect discourse whenever anything is to be quoted. The apologetic tone here is on account of the youth of the state (novo populo). It was young, to be sure, but had a great future before it.
4. deos, etc.: referring chasically to virtus and dii. — proinde: the regular illative particle before any exhortation, summing up the reasons for the request or command. — homines, etc.: an additional reason, through an intimation of equality.
5. adeo, to such a degree (as is indicated by the preceding); a very common trick of language in Livy, giving the reason in the form of an antecedent to a result clause, as if it were, 'to such a degree did they, etc., that they nowhere received them.' — spernebant, etc.: i.e. they scorned them, and at the same time didn't wish to perpetuate them. — ecquod, etc.: a question implying a recommendation, as one might say, 'have you tried this means?' — feminis: of course, a most insult-
enim demum compar conubium fore, Aegre id Romana pubes passa et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit.

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

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

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

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

7. concelebrant: (sc. the people who were to take part) just as is the case in modern fêtes, and for the same object (ut rem, etc.).

Rape of the Sabines.

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

9. iam, then again. — situm: the situation of Rome has always been famous; cf. V. 54. 4; Cic. Rep. II.3.5.

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

11. forte, just as it happened. — in quem: sc. ab eo (raptae).
lentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe homines,  
quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Vnum  
longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo  
Talassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitan-  
tibus cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret,  
Talassio feri clamitatum. Inde nuptialem hanc vocem  
factam. Turbato per metum ludicro maestis parentes  
virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus  
deumque invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per fas  
ac fidem decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se  
melior aut indignatio est minor.

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

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

13. turbato, broken up in confusion.

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

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

Reconciliation of the Women.

sed, etc.: as if it were, 'but when R. went about as he proceeded to do, and showed them, etc., they began to abate their wrath (iam admodum).’ — tamen: i.e. notwithstanding that the act of carrying off the women was one of retaliation, as had just been said. — in societate, etc.: i.e. not as slaves, but as free-born citizens whose offspring would be entitled to all legal rights.

15. melioribus viris: a predicate ablative, a common Latin idiom with utor. — adnisurus pro se, will do his utmost. — vicem: adverbial accusative; Gr. 240. b. — officio: i.e. simply as a husband (suam). — expleat, etc.: i.e. by greater kindness to supply the want of other objects of affection.
rium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum, factum purgandum cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebrem ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant. At raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Nec Crustuminini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus levique certamine

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

WAR WITH THE CAENINENSES.

10. raptarum parentes: one would expect parentes raptarum, but the two words are artificially made into one expression, repeating with emphasis raptis, which has not been emphasized before. — tum maxime, at that very moment; i.e. after the brides themselves were reconciled.—sordida veste: the usual sign of mourning with the ancients, assumed whenever it was desired to excite compassion. — continebant, etc.: the imperfects describe the state of things, as if ‘nor were the expressions of indignation confined to their own cities; there was a flocking,’ etc.—regem: apparently ruling only in Cures, but exercising a general control over the Sabine stock. — legationes: i.e. officially from these states.

2 lente agere, not to act with sufficient vigor.

3. nomen Caeninum: an almost regular expression for different peoples of one stock. Cf. nomen Latium.

4. vastantibus: the usual way of making reprisals in those times.—
docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur, regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliat, duce hostium occiso urbem primo impetu capit.

5 Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit, ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis finis cognomenque addidit deo. 'Juppiter Feretri,' inquit 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero templumque his regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico sedem opinis spolis, quae regibus

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

THE SPOLIA OPIMA.

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

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

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

animo: later the augur marked out the space in the sky with the
ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent."

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

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

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

7. templi: i.e. of Jupiter Capitolineus. — primum: perhaps not inconsistent with chap. 7. 3, because this might be the first templum proper; but no reliance can be placed on these stories. — ita: referring to what follows. — nec, not on the one hand. — nuncupavit, solemnly declared; a religious word implying solemn forms. — nec: cf. nec above, by which the two statements are opposed to each other. — compotum, partakers, but with the idea of a privilege enjoyed. — bina: on account of the plural, spolia; Gr. 95. 6. These were won by A. Cornelius Cosus (IV. 20. 2) and M. Claudius Marcellus (B.C. 222).

WAR WITH THE ANTEMNATES AND CRUSTUMINI.

11. per: cf. note to 3. 11. — occasionem ac solitudinem: a hendi-
adys; i.e. the army going home gave the enemy an opportunity for an inroad.

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

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

3 Inde contra Crustuminos profectus bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniae missae; plures inventi qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustumimum nomina darent; et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

5 Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit; nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Spurius Tarpeius Romanae praererat arci; huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat, — aquam forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat; accepti obrutum armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx vide-retur seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum

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

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

**War with the Sabines.**

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

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

**THE MAID TARPEIA.**

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

7. potius: sc. quam dolo.— ne quid, etc.: the purpose (object)
proditori esset. Addituri fabulae, quod vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis bracchio laevo gemmatoque magna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt qui eam ex facto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus haberent directo arma petisse dicant et fraudem visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercedem.

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

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

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

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

The Sabines in the Capitol.

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

2. principes (subject), great warriors. — utrimque, on the two sides. — pugnam ciebant, led the fight. — ab, on the side of. — hic: joined chiasmically. — iniquo loco: as the enemy were above. — ad prima signa, in the front rank: with reference to the later order of battle; cf. VIII. 8. 3 seq. — animo, etc.: thus making up for the disadvantage of position. — sustinebat: the imperfect stops
mana inclinatur acies fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus, arma ad caelum tollens, 'Iuppiter, tuis' inquit 'iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci. Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent, inde hoc armati superata media valle tendunt. At tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrem Romanis fugam-que foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua praesenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.' Haec precatus, velut si sensisset auditas preces, 'Hinc,' inquit 'Romani, Iuppiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iubet.' Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce iussi, ipse ad primores Romulus provolat.

8 Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat et effusos egerat Romanos toto quantum foro.

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

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

TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR.

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

4. avibus: see 7. 1.

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

6. templum: the substructions are now visible on the excavated Palatine.—Statori: emphatic, with direct reference to siste.—praesenti, direct, of a divinity coming in person, as opposed to indirect means.—servatam esse: cf. ne guid, etc., II. 7 n. Here the lesson taught is one of fact. The whole matter looks like an attempt to explain Stator, which is more likely to mean 'the one who sets upright'; cf. Ἑρμῆς, Ὄμηρος. This view seems to shimmer through servatam. Not much reliance is to be placed on these etymological myths, as it is their very nature to be false; at least, no one about which the truth was known was ever found to be sound.

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

8. princeps, in the front.—effusos, in confusion (a kind of predicate).—quantum: the antecedent tantum would be accusative of extent of space.—foro: without in on account of toto; Gr.
spatium est; nec procul iam a porta Palatii erat, clami-
tans 'Vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes; iam
sciunt longe aliius esse virgines rapere, aliius pugnare
cum viris.' In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocis-

tsororum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo-
tum forte Mettius pugnabat, eo pelli facilius fuit; pul-
sum Romani perseverantur et alia Romana acies auda-
cia regis accensa fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem
sese strepitu sequentium trepidante equo conicicit, aver-
teratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille
quidem adnuentibus ac vocantibus suis favore multorum
addito animo evadit; Romani Sabinique in media convalle
duorum montium redintegrant proelium, sed res Ro-
mana erat superior.

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

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

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

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

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

THE BATTLE STAYED BY THE
SABINE WOMEN.

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

crinibus, etc.: cf. sordida veste,
10. 1 n. — victo, etc.: i.e. their nat-
ural instincts were overborne by the
distressing situation. — ex trans-
verso, from the flank; i.e. a
movement across the direction in
which the lines faced.
transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefan(lo soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum progener. ‘Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos vertite iras; nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivemus.’

Movet res tum multituidinem tum duces; silentium et repentina fit quies, inde ad foedus faciendum duces produnt, nec pacem modo sed civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt, regnum consociant, imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum, eius pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equum Curtius in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

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

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

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

4. movet (emphatic), they were touched. — silentium: of voice; quies: of arms. — ad foedus, etc.: the emphasis gives the sense, 'then it occurred to them to make a treaty, and the leaders advanced for that purpose.' — regnum, the regal power, by making both Romulus and Tatius kings together (con- sociant), referring to the persons; imperium, the seat of empire, referring to the government abstractly.

Union of the Two Peoples.

5. tamen, still; inasmuch as the nationality of the Sabines was thus merged, that some compensation might be given them. — Quirites: according to Livy both peoples were called so. It is more probable that the two words were independent and had nothing to do with Cures, though the name of that town might also be derived from quiris, lance.

— monumentum, as a memorial; for case see Gr. 240. g. — Curtium lacum: cf. VII. 6.
Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque, cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an dignitatisibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint quae nomina curiis darent.

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

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

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**Death of Tatus, and War with Fidenae.**

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

2. illorum: *i.e.* the kinsmen, of course. — Lavini: see 1. 11. — sollemne, *stated*; there were close religious ties between the two cities.
3 sicitur. Eam rem minus aegre quam dignum erat tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni seu quia haud iniuria caesium credebant. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum iniuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.

4 Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat: aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidesates nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Iuventute armata immissa vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est.

5 Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum

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

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

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

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

5. laevam... dextra: from the point of view of the army as it marched somewhat southward devastating the country along the Tiber. They would thus find the Tiber on their right hand, and they turned easterly up the Anio towards their left. — cum magna trepida- tione, with a great panic. The word indicates not necessarily fear, but a hurry-scurry, whether from
magna trepidatione agrestium populantur, tumultuque repens ex agris in urbem inlatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus 6 Romulus, neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat, exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relictio egressus 7 omnibus copiis partem militum locis circa densa inter virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis iussit; cum parte maiore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuosum et minaci genere pugnae adequantis ipsis prope portis hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum velut inter pugnae fugaeque 8 consilium trepidante equitatu pedes quoque referret alarm or any other cause. — agrestium: i.e. outside the towns. — tumultus, disorderly fight. — pro nuntio: i.e. brought the first news, as there had been no declaration of war.

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

7. egressus: from the camp, which was always strongly fortified. — omnibus copiis: as opposed to a mere detachment. Cf. the emphatic modico, which indicates that only a small guard was left behind. — locis, etc.: the reading given here (Weissenborn’s) is doubtful, but perhaps the best conjecture that can be made. The Mss. have densa obsita virgulta. — circa: to be taken as an adverb. Cf. Gr. 188. e. — id quod, etc.: i.e. he succeeded in doing what he aimed at, namely, excivit. Cf. excitus, 6. — tumultuosus: i.e. the irregular action of skirmishing. — fugae: genitive. — simulanda, etc.: i.e. was necessary to draw the enemy into the ambuscade. — mirabilem: the fight would have seemed suspicious, but that sudden dashes and retreats were the regular cavalry tactics.

8. velut: apparently only belonging with inter ... consilium, though grammatically it might go with the abl. abs. This sentence is a good example of Livy’s compression of many details into one complex sentence. Our logical analysis into main clause and successively subordinate ones is almost sure to miss the manner of presentation chosen by the author. The only way to read the sentence is as it is written, something like And as, while the cavalry were wavering between the two courses of battle and flight, the foot also began to draw back, the gates were suddenly seen crowded with men, and from them poured a host of the enemy; so, as the Roman line gave way, the seal of the enemy to press on and pursue hurried them on to the place of the ambuscade.
gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes impulsa Romana acie studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostilium aciem. Addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum qui in praesidio relictis fuerant. Ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates prius paene quam Romulus qui cum eo equites erant circumgererent frenis equos, terga vertunt multoque effusi, quippe vera fuga, qui simulantes paulo ante securi erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen eripuere se hosti: haerens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum obicerentur, velut agmine uno inrumpit.

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

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

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

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

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

WAR WITH VEIL.

15. belli: the emphasis gives an effect like the war with Fidenza excited the Veientes also to war. — et consanguinitate: parallel with et quod, which gives another reason for the excited minds of the Veientes. — propinquitas: about a dozen miles off. — si, etc.: a protasis to an apodosis implied in propinquitas, like, (which would be very near) in case, etc.
arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat. In fines Romanos excucurrerunt populabundi magis quam iusti more belli. Itaque non castris positis, non exspectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris praedam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere, obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent quam inclusi de tectis moenibusque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte adiutis tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes urbe valida muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit; agros rediens vastat ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio. Eaque clade haud minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem petitum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum annos indutiae datae.

Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem credita fuit, non animus in regno avito recipiendo, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam

excucurrerunt: sc. Veientes, implied in Veientium animi.—iusti, regular, as opposed to predatory (populabundi).
2. raptam, etc., they stole booty, and. See note to 14. 8. — hostem: i.e. they went out, but found nobody to fight with. — ultimae: i.e. decisive.—instructus: physically ready; intentus: morally prepared.
3. ponere, accessurum: notice the difference in tense. — de, for, in defence of; properly, about.
4. arte, stratagem; such as he had used against Fidenae. — ulciscendi: the gerund in Latin is practically a noun, and is therefore used in the same construction with one.
6. haec ferme, etc., this is about what, etc. — absonum, inconsistent with. — fidei: see Gr. 234. a. — animus: i.e. the lofty ambition he displayed.—consilium, etc.: which also indicated a great soul.
7. ab illo: i.e. for it was he who gave the city its strength,—a strength that, etc. — tutam, undisturbed.
pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum, sed etiam in pace habuit.

His immortalibus editis operibus cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae Paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo ut conspectum eius contioni abstulerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux reedit, ubi vacuum sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum aliquam diu silentium obtinuit. Deinde, a paucis initio facto, deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent, pacem precibus expo-

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

Death of Romulus; his Character.

16. immortalibus: in reference to the allusions above to his divine origin and the divine character of his actions. — contionem: an assembly of the people in their character as warriors, — a character which the assemblies of the people ever maintained more or less. — campo: the Campus Martius, as in later times. Livy’s traditions, as well as the facts themselves, mingle the usages of different periods in the development of the city. — Caprae Paludem: traditionally located in the prætia Flaminia, where afterward was the Flaminian Circus, just west of the Capitol, between that and the river. — fragore: the noise of the thunder only; tonitribus: including also the lightning. — nimbo: Cicero seems to treat this as an eclipse (Rep. I. 16). — nec, and... not; the usual meaning.

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

3. salvere: i.e. they cried salve, deus deo nate, etc. — universi, they
scunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet proge-

niem. Fuisset credo tum quoque aliquos qui discerptum 4
regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent: manavit enim
haec quoque, sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admi-
ratione viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit.

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

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

suam: the emphasis represents
an emphatic tuam in the prayer,
continuing the emphasis of tu, which
is regularly emphatic in such cases.
Notice the alliteration which is char-
acteristic of religious and other for-
mulas.

4. fuisse, etc., I have no doubt
there were some even then.—ma-
navit: indicating a slender stream
of tradition.—enim: explaining
his mention of the suspicion.—
perobscura, very little known.—
illam: see Gr. 102. b.—pavor:
the alarming nature of the phenom-
ena.—nobilitavit: opposed to per-
obscura.

5. consilio, by the set purpose;
i.e. by an intentional device, as op-
posed to the causes just mentioned.
—addita...fides, additional credit
was gained.—sollicita: cf. obris-
tatis metu, 2.—infensa: from
the suspicion above referred to.—
gravis, weighty; i.e. his authority
carries weight.—quamvis mag-
nae: i.e. however serious the mat-
ter he had to tell might be.

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

7. ut...sit: this is an object
clause proceeding from purpose
(Gr. 331); the use of ita only
shows that the ut clause is coming,
without indicating whether it is re-
sult or purpose. —proinde: the
usual illative word when an exhorta-
tion follows.—posse: of course,
abiit. Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide immortalitatis lenitum sit.

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

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

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

INTERREGNUM; CHOICE OF DECEM-
VIRI AS CHIEF MAGISTRATES.

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

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

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

4. timor: as opposed to the desire before mentioned. — civitatem, etc.: notice the Livian painting by successive strokes: lest, the state being without a ruler, the army without a leader, the feelings of, etc., irritated, they (the country) should be attacked, etc. The items of the description are put in without regard to clear syntax. Whatever can be governed by the verb goes into the accusative, and all the other
imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatum inritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat.

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

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

5. ita, so, under these circumstances. — rem, the government, as constantly. — centum: what became of the other hundred senators (see 13. 5) Livy does not say. Probably in the multitude of varying traditions he didn't know very well himself. — decem, etc.: the statement, as near as can be made out of Livy's words, is that the senators shared the regal power, acting ten at a time as a college (cf. the later decemviri). One senator was chosen from and for each decury (singulis in singulas decurias) as a president of the college and formal sovereign (qui summae, etc.). There were ten who had the magisterial power (imperitabant), but one only who had the insignia. Livy does not distinctly say, and only blindly implies, that the college changed at all. But as Dionysius' account indicates that it did, we may presume that Livy conceived the matter the same way. Neither the hundred senators of Livy nor the two hundred of Dionysius (II.57) divided into decuries holding five days apiece (quinque dierum spatio) would make an even year. If, however, there were three hundred, as is most likely, a hundred of each great stock, then two turns would make out a year of three hundred days. But the subject is a much mootted one. — creatis: this word must be used of the election of the one man who held the insignia. — consociant: the patres divided the power among them, holding it, however, only ten at a time, but all holding it successively (per omnes in orbem).

6. imperium: i.e. of each decury in turn. — ab re, from the fact that it was an interval between two reges. — nunc, etc.: the interrex continued to be the
7 Fremere deinde plebs, multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem, et ab ipsis creatum videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri patres, offerendum ulteriori quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt summa potestate populo permissa, 9 ut non plus darent iuris quam detinerent. Decrererunt enim ut, cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fieren. Hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem ius vi ademp- ta: priusquam populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt.

10 Tum interrex contione advocata ‘Quod bonum faustum felixque sit,’ inquit ‘Quirites, regem create: ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab

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

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

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

9. iussisset: the technical term for a vote of the people. — sic... si, only... in case, with its very common force of a limitation. — ratum, valid. — patres: here mean-... the senate, whether the word is strictly used or not. — auctores fieren, should ratify; auctio is a voucher or responsible party to an action, and so one who ratifies or makes valid. — rogandis: the technical term for the action of the magistrate who put the question to the people, as subevo is for their action; see above. — ius, form properly the right which is still formally recognized. — ademp ta: because the act of the senate was required to be performed beforehand by the lex Publilia in 339 B.C., and about fifty years later by the lex Maenia. — ineat: the subjunctive as a part of the intention of the law; cf. 14. 4 n.

10. tum: as opposed to the modern practice (cf. Hodie, 9), — resuming the narrative. — interrex: the presiding officer of the board of ten. — contione: a mass-meeting for communication (see 8. 1 n.); not as yet a comitia or town-meeting. — quod, etc.: the regular formula, having some variations of words, with which official acts were begun, somethings like “God save the Common-
Romulo numeretur crearis, auctores fient.' Adeo id in gratum plebi fuit ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modo sciscerent iuberentque, ut senatus decerneret qui Romae regnaret.

Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pom-18 pili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris. Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia non exstat alius, falsam Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae centum amplius post annos in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotonam iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem

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

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

ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF NUMA.

18. inclita, etc.: notice the order, which gives a rhetorical effect like famous for justice and piety... was the name of Numæ; (he did not live at Rome, but) Cures of the Sabines was his dwelling-place, etc.— Numæ: probably a later invented surname, connected with ποιος, numerus, etc.—Pompeii: a form in the Sabine dialect, equivalent to Quintilius (cf. ποιτα, πομπεία). The whole name may be invented; but one part is a natural Sabine name, the other a nickname.—Sabinis: the Sabines were famous in later times for their conservative, religious and moral character, whence the mention of the nation here. — ut, so far as; a common use of ut, though the opposite meaning, as is natural, is also common; cf. note to in societate, 17. 2. — quisquam: the underlying negative idea, 'nobody could be,' etc., occasions the use of this pronoun; cf. Gr. 202. b and c. — aetate: for the order see Gr. 344. e. The construction with in hardly differs from the ablative, but is allowed on account of the time being conceived as space and circumstances rather than mere date. — divini: everything relating to religious practice and observance (religio); humani: everything relating to social and international relations (iustitia).

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

3. ex quibus, etc.: the four points are: 1. That he lived more than a hundred years after; 2. That
aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset, quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset? Suopte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina taetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit.

5 Audito nomine Numae patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publi-

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

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

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

6. sicut, just as. — augurato: see Gr. 255 c. — urbe condenda, at the building of the city; a loose use of the ablative of manner. See Gr. 301 and examples. — cui de-
cum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occa- sum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septemtrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum, lituo in laevam manum translato, dextra in caput Numae imposita, precatus ita est: 'Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pomplium, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines quos feci.' Tum peregit verbis auspicia quae mitti vellet; quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

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

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

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

9. Romae: locative. — certa: i.e. about which there may be no doubt. — adclarassis: an old form and a technical word. The construction is an old one of wishing (Gr. 267 δ). For the tense see Gr. 267 a. — peregit, etc.: i.e. he stated what phenomena, according to the established ritual, would be a sign of approval. — templo: Livy probably has in his mind a permanent auguraculum or auguratorium built later on the Capitoline; but the word equally applies to any spot
19 Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse, quippe effrari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta.

4 Claudio eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miracula non posset, simulat sibi cum dea

The Administration of Numa.

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

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

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

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

5. commento, invention, implying that it was only an artifice of Numa’s. Livy generally writes in a religious spirit, but occasionally his
Egeria congressus nocturnos esse, eius se monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere.

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

Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quam-

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

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

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

Religious Functionaries.

20. sacerdotibus: there were two classes of religious functionaries at Rome, — special priests of particular divinities (flamines) and general supervisors of religious matters (pontifices). There was also a rex sacrificulus established after the overthrow of the kings. All religious observances of great antiquity were ascribed to Numa, but some of them evidently
quam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quae nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellica plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis deserentur, flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornsavit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino; virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit, virginitate aliiisque caerimoniiis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit.

Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur,

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

2. regiae vicis, belonging to the office of the king.—adsiduum, in constant attendance; so much so that he could not leave the city to be gone over night. — veste: he wore the toga praetexta, and a peculiar felt cap with a little cone (apex) and a fillet of wool on the top. His life was also surrounded by a great number of religious restrictions. See Gell. X. 15.

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

4. Gradivo: the gods were worshipped in various phases and at various places in such a way that one deity was often multiplied into several, like the later saints. —ancilia: shields of peculiar shape, one of which was supposed to have
ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit.

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

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

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

7. caelestes: i.e. of the gods above as opposed to the spirits of the dead in the world below.—iusta, due, with the proper solemnities which were necessary to ‘lay the spirits’ (placandos manes), which in all early civilizations are regarded as more or less inclined to take offence and do mischief.—quo: indefinite.—susciperentur, taken up, noticed as significant, in contrast to others which would be unimportant and neglected.—curaretur: here equal to procurare, the technical term for doing the things which would avert evils threatened by an omen.—ea: sc. prodigia; a short expression for the knowledge of suscipienda prodigia, in contrast with others,
Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omnia vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant et deorum assidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat ut fides ac iusiurandum proximo legum ac poenarum metu civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violare ducerent nefas.

Lucus erat quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua; quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum

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

OTHER RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

21. haec: i.e. the religious institutions mentioned. — procuranda: here not in its technical sense, but in the general one of arranging. — et animi, etc.: the two results of the policy pursued are co-ordinated by the two conjunctions. The first result accords with ne luxuriaret, etc., 19. 4, and is opposed in a manner to a vi et armis conversa, a condition of which the effect was feared by Numa. There is a double relation between this result and the preceding condition which expresses at once in a condensed form both the difficulty and its remedy. The second result has reference to 19. 1 and 2. — occupati: regularly as an adjective; see Gr. 291. b. — deorum: notice the formal opposition between animi (implying the people) and deorum (the divinities), where the real contrast is between the two results, one affecting their minds, the other their hearts (pectora). — insidens cura: combined into a single idea, which is then modified by assidua. — interesse, have a hand (in). — fides, etc.: religious qualities, opposed to the human institutions (legum, etc.). — proximo: i.e. being second in importance as factors.

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

3. lucus: the grove was just outside the Porta Capena. — quia... inferebat: the reason assigned by Livy, — to ensure privacy. — deae:
sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum coniuge sua Egeria essent. Et soli Fidei sollemne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significationes fidem tutandam sedemque eius etiam in dextris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum eius operum fuit tutela per omne regni tempus haud minor pacis quam regni.

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

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

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

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

5. faciendis: see Gr. 299. 6; an old construction mostly antiquated. — quae: contrary to the usual rule, hoc opus, hic labor est; see Gr. 195. d. — Argeos: these were six chapels for local worship in each of the four regions of the city. There is good reason to believe that Greeks had been buried alive under them. In later times after their origin was forgotten their place seems to have been taken by the shrines of the Lares Compitales. Local arrangements for public worship somewhat like parish churches were regular with the Romans. — pontifices, etc.: as these matters had long gone out of use, they were a matter of antiquity known only to the pontifices. — tutela, maintenance.

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

Accession of Tullus.

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


5 Ab Albanis socordius res acta; excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne comi fronte regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores et neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec renuntiant Tullo.

6 Tum legatis Tullus dicendi posstarem, quid petentes venerint, fecit. Illi omnium ignari primum purgando terunt tempus: se invitos quicquam quod minus placeat Tullo dicturos sed imperio subir: res repetitum se venisse, ni reddantur, bellum indicere iussos. Ad haec Tullus 'Nuntiate' inquit 'regi vestro, regem Romanum deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes

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

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

5. comi fronte: with cele-brant.

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

7. uter, etc.: i.e. the gods were to bear witness which of the two was the aggressor, so that they might inflict, etc.
legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant
huiusce clades belli.’

Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque 23
summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope
inter parentes natosque, Troianam utramque prolem,
cum Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albano-
rum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus 2
tamen belli minus miserabili dimicationem fecit, quod
nec acie certatum est et tectis modo dirutis alterius
urbis duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores 3
ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere.
Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia passum locant,
fossa circumdant — fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per
aliquot saecula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quo-
que vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius, Albanus 4
rex, moritur, dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium
creant.

Interim Tullus ferox praecipue morte regis, magnum-
que deorum numen, ab ipso capite orsum, in omne
nomen Albanum expetiturum poenas ob bellum impium
dictitans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris infesto exerci-
citu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit 5

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

WAR WITH ALBA.

23. civili: i.e. between fellow-citizens; inter parentes, etc.: still more than fellow-citizens.
2. acie: because only three fought on each side. — tectis modo, etc.: without any loss of life.
3. milia: see Gr. 247. c. — pas-
sum: shorter form instead of passum. — re, etc.: i.e. the ditch disappeared, and the name of the place was forgotten also.
4. rex: here Livy thinks of him as a king, contrary to imperitabat,
22. 4. — ferox: not at all like ferocious, but confident, emboldened.
— magnum . . . numen: equivalent to overruling power. — capite: i.e. Cluilius, upon whom it had already taken vengeance. — in . . .
nomen: cf. in eum, 22. 7 n.
5. stativis, camp; so called as being a permanent one, and not
Mettium. Ducit quam proxime ad hostem potest. Inde
legatum praemissum nuntiari Tullo iubet, priusquam
dimicent, opus esse colloquio; si secum congressus sit,
satis scire ea se allaturum quae nihil minus ad rem
Romanam quam ad Albanam pertinax. Haud asper-
natus Tullus, tametsi vana adferri rebatur, in aciem edu-
cit. Exeunt contra et Albani.

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

merely the usual night encampment.

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

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

7. ex foedere: doubtless some
old treaty not mentioned by Livy.
--- et: correlative to nec. --- ego:
although there is an opposition be-
tween this and te, yet it is only a
formal one. The real opposition is
regem and te, Tulle. --- regem: sc.
dicentem or dicere. --- ferre: the
later writers begin to use the accusa-
tive and infinitive after non dubito
as with other verba sentiendi.

8. recte an perperam: i.e. rec-
tune stimulet an, etc. --- fuérit: i.e.
that it is his concern, etc. See Gr.
266 and N. 1. --- eius: i.e. King
Cluillum. --- me, etc.: i.e. I have only
been chosen to carry on a war al-
ready in progress. --- illud: cognate
accusative; see Gr. 238. b. --- moni-
tum: for the construction see Gr.
288. d. and N. --- maxime: empha-
tum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent. Memor esto, iam cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque simul victorem ac victum adgredientur. Itaque si nos di amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitiique aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam qua utri utris imperem, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit. Haud displicet res Tullo, quamquam cum indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit materiam.

Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemi fratres nec aetate nec viribus disparès: Horatios Curia tiosque fuisset satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt: plures tamen invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar inclinat animus.

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

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

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

10. fortuna: cf. forte below.

THE HORATII AND CURIATII.

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

2. cum . . . agunt: in its common sense of ‘deal with,’ urge upon. —unde: like a dextra cornu and the like.

3. dimicarent: for mood see Gr. 327. —cuius[que]: if que is retained, the use of quisque for qui-
mine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret.

Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt. Tum ita factum acceperimus, nec ullius vetustior foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit: 'Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus ferire?' Iubente rege, 'Sagmina' inquit 'te, rex, posco.' Rex ait 'Puram tollito.' Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit, postea regem ita rogavit: 'Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, vasa comitesque meos?' Rex respondit: 'Quod sine fraude
cunque must be considered colloquial, like its use in Plautus, etc. — cives: i.e. the three champions. — cum bona pace, without demur; i.e. on the part of the subject nation. — alia alii: i.e. whatever the conditions of the compact, the manner of making it is the same.

4. ita, as follows. — ullius, etc.: i.e. this is the earliest of which we have any record. — fetialis: a priest, or one of a college of priests, who, under the protection of religion, like the Greek ἵλιος, acted as the means of communication between hostile nations. It is doubtless from books of inscriptions of such a college that Livy or his authority gets the formula here given. The institution is evidently an old Latin one, said to have come from the Æquiculi (32. 5). — patre patrato: by the account given here this functionary would seem to have been the spokesman and active celebrant of the rites on behalf of the embassy. There is nothing to indicate that he was other than a fetialis. The function seems to have belonged to the whole college, and to have been performed by a temporary chairman. The origin of the participle is uncertain; perhaps it was originally used of one not really the father of the clan, but made so. — iubente rege: i.e. saying iubeo in answer to the question preceding. — sagmina: evidently connected with sancio (sac-men), as the means of making sacred the proceedings, like the olive branch (ἰερώπλα) of the Greeks. It seems to have been used of a particular plant, but what one is uncertain. A special virtue was no doubt assigned to it, as often to many other plants; but with this sacred character is evidently confounded a representative character symbolic of the place of its growth, the Capitoline Hill. — puram, free from (irreligious) taint.

5. graminis herbam, a growing plant of the sacred herb. — regium, etc.: as much as of the king of the Roman people, indicating with ritual verbosity the official character of the proceeding. — vasa (co-ordinate with me), utensils; a word derived from common use, like 'traps' or 'baggage,' referring here to the silex, verbena, etc. — comites: there seem to have been three in all, the pater patratus, the verbenarius, and the original fetialis. — fraude, etc., harm to, etc.; an earlier meaning of the word. — quod ... flat, so far as may be; a
mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio.' Fetialis erat M. Valerius. Is patrem patratum Spurium Fusium fecit, verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est sanciendum fit foedus, multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis, 'Audi,' inquit 'Iuppiter, audi, pater patrate populi Albani, audi tu, populus Albanus: ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum tu, ille Diespiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hac hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque.' Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albanis suumque ius iurandum per suum dictatorum suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

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

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

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

8. defexit: old form in antique documents; cf. adclarassis, 18. 9.

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

9. silice: a survival of the stone age in religion, as the bronze age survived long after the general use of steel. There may be a symbolism in the stone referring to Jupiter himself, from the same confounding of meteoric stones with lightning, from which comes the idea of the thunderbolt. Cf. Iovem lapidem iurare.

sua: Livy conceives the Alban also as having their own peculiar ritual, though probably the usages he recounts were general Italic ones.
25 Foedere icto trigemini sicut convenerat arma capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quidquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, ferosces et suopte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur.

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

The Combat.

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

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

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

gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit, et neutro

inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. 

Consertis deinde 5

manibus, cum iam non motus tantum corporum agita-
tioque ancesp telorum armorumque sed vulnera quoque

et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium

alia, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt.

Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus 6

exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum

tamen cura deseruerat, examines vice unius, quem tres

Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut uni-

versis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox.

Ergo ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita

ratus secuturos ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus

sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco ubi pugna-
tum est aufuggerat, cum respiciens videt magnis inter-
vallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In 9

eum magno impetu reedit, et dum Albanus exercitus

gives the climax in examines, etc.

6. spes . . . cura: i.e. they no

longer had any hope of the result,

but still had an anxious interest in

the fate of their surviving champion.

— vice unius: i.e. in imagination

they took his place, and had the

feelings which he might have. —

circumsteterant: cf. considerant,

2, above.

7. universis, all at once. — ut

... sic: in the very common mean-
ing, although (while) . . . yet. — fe-

rox, confident of victory. — ita, with

such speed; explained by the follow-
ing ut. — corpus, strength. — sine-

ret: the subjunctive, on account of

the indirect discourse.

8. videt: the indicative with cum

inversum; see Gr. 325. b. — inter-
vallis: i.e. each from the others. —

sequentes . . . abesse: a com-
inclamat Curiaitiis uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius, caeso hoste victor, secundam pugnam petebat.

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

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

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

11. singuli, one on each side. — alterum: accusative, as is seen by the emphasis of position, opposed to alter below. — intactum ferro corpus: this phrase (cf. futura ea, etc., 3) is seen to express one idea by the fact that it must be the subject of the sentence, inasmuch as alterum is necessarily the object. Attention to such little indications will always give a ready clue to Livy's meaning, and save the beginner from being confused by the picturesque order of Livy's words.

— dabat, made. The imperfect is used to describe the situation as it appeared to the eyes of the spectators, and agrees with the literal meaning of the word, 'was presenting.' — cursu, running, in pursuit of the flying Roman. — victus, demoralized, already conquered in anticipation; opposed to victori. — obicitur, is pitted against.

12. fratrum manibus: i.e. as a sacrifice; a very common idea in ancient times, from which came the early human sacrifices and the whole system of gladiatorial shows. — causae . . . dabo, I will slay for the object of. The expression is an echo of the preceding manibus dedi. — male, hardly, with difficulty. — iugulo: poetic use of the ablative without in. — iacentem, his body as he lay.
Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt eo maiore cum gudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti. Sepulcra exstant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

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

13. eo... quo: both abl. of degree of difference. A comparative in both branches is the usual form, but in post-Ciceronian Latin this exactness is more and more neglected. — imperio aucti, having gained the supremacy; cf. filio auctus. — dicionis: predicate genitive; see Gr. 214. 4.

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

THE KILLING OF HORATIA, AND THE TRIAL OF HORATIUS.

26. ita, thereupon, with that command.

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

3. movet, etc.: the order is rhetorical to enforce the important facts: first, the sudden anger (movet); second, the explanation of the violence from his natural disposition and youth (feroci iuveni);
fratrum mortuorum vivique, obliqua patriae. Sic eat quae-
cumque Romana lugebit hostem.'

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

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

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

4. sic eat, etc.: cf. 7. 2.
5. patribus plebique: i.e. all of
every rank and station; a standing
expression in later times. — obsta-
bat, palliated: stood in the way of
its having its full effect. — tamen:
i.e. notwithstanding the palliation.
— ad regem: naturally, as the
supreme judge. — ne ipse, etc.: i.e.
to avoid the unpopular action which
would be necessary. — auctor, re-
sponsible for. — concilio: to an-
nounce his decision. — duumviro,
a council of two; the regular way
of expressing all boards and com-
missions in Latin. — Horatio (da-
tius commodi): as appears by the
formula with tibi in 7, the officers
were to establish formally the obvious
guilt of the accused. — perduellicio-
num, treason against the state, ap-
parently because it was a usurpaton
of judicial powers to take the law
into one’s own hands. — secundum
legem: i.e. the law which follows
duumviri, etc.). The officers seem
not to have been in the nature of a
jury before whom the case might be
pleaded, but rather of an inquisition
to inquire into the case as manifes-
tum, and put in action the avenging
machinery of the law.

6. carminis, purport; cf. car-
mine, 24. 7 n. — iudicent: cf.
last two notes. — provocarit:
it is assumed that he is guilty,
and not until the appeal to the
people is there properly any trial
in our sense; in fact, even on the
appeal, the officers are the par-
ties opposed to him (cf. vincent).
— obnubito: i.e. the magistrate
through the lictor. Such changes
of subject are characteristic of old
laws, etc. — infelici: as sacred to
the gods below. — arbori: an old
locative form, as in names of towns.
— suspendito: not ‘hang’ in our
sense, but attach to the cross, after
which the scourging took place. —
vel intra, etc.: i.e. not on the po-
merium, which was sacred ground.
non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex his 'Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico' inquit. 'Lictor, conliga manus.' Accesserat lictor iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, 'Provoco' inquit. Ita de provocacione certatum ad populum est.

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

7. non rebantur: cf. note to Horatio above.
8. iniciebat, began to, etc.; see Gr. 277. c. — auctore, by the advice of. — clemente, etc.: this remark seems to be added merely as an explanation of the advice or approval, inasmuch as the law expressly provided for the appeal. The accused might, however, be supposed to be ignorant of the privilege, or afraid to take advantage of it. — de provocacione: i.e. whether it was justifiable or not; in other words, whether the condemned was really guilty or not (cf. note to Horatio above). The magistrate acts summarily ex parte, and only in case of appeal is the case tried. — ad populum = apud populum, the more usual form.
9. moti, etc.: the emphasis may be rendered by a great effect was produced, etc., more than anything else
by, etc. — ni ita esset, if that were not the case. For tense see Gr. 308. a. — patrio iure: the pater familias had the right of life and death over all who were in potestate sua. — orabat deinde: as if it were, then (changing his tone) he began to entreat.
10. eo loco: a spot in the Forum. — pila: apparently a trophy. — huncine: see Gr. 100 footn. — decoratum: explaining his pointing to the spolia, which Horatius had just now worn. — eum: a repetition of huncine. — sub furca: used inexacty for rhetorical effect, and referring to the usual punishment of slaves. The instrument consisted of two sticks coming to a sharp angle, bound over the neck of the culprit, to which his arms were bound. — videre: i.e. bear to see. — quod ... spectaculum: see Gr. 201. d.
possent? I, lictor, conliga manus quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt; i, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius, arbore infelici suspende, verbera vel intra pomerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomerium, modo inter sepulcra Curialtorum. Quo enim ducere hunc iuvenem potestis ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindi-
cent?

Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum, absolveruntque admir-
ratione magis virtutis quam iure causae. Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperat-
tum patri ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is qui-
busdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quo-
que publice semper repectum manet; Sororium tigillum
vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta,
constructum est saxo quadrato.

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

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

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

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

14. loco: without in, as is very common in Livy.
Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum ingenium dictatoris corruptit et, quoniam recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos, suis per speciem societatis proditionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur.

Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus, Mettio exercituque eius ab Alba accito, contra hostes ducit. Vbi Anienem transiit, ad confluentes collocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu, in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem derigit suas, Albanos

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

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

5. et in acie: i.e. as they had come from that quarter, so also they took their places on that wing. — derigit: more approved form in-
contra legionem Fidenatium conlocat. Albano non plus
animi erat quam fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire
6 aperte ausus sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satis
subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem fluctuansque
animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium
7 erat, qua fortuna rem daret, ca inclinare vires. Miraculo
primo esse Romanis qui proximi steterant, ut nudari
latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques citato
equo nuntiat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida
duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equi-
tem clara increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire
in proelium iubet; nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo iussu
circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatum nuda
terga invadant. Idem imperat ut hastas equites erige-
rent. Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum
conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit; qui
viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acrius
pugnant.

6. subisse: i.e. had gone up far
enough towards the mountains at
the head of his troops as they were
in marching order. — erigit: i.e.
brings up to his level, and sets in
battle array in that position. — fluc-
tuans: i.e. as yet undecided, but
waiting for developments; cf. next
sentence. — qua, on whichever side.
— rem daret: i.e. should give the
victory.
7. miraculo ... esse: historical
infinite. — in re trepida, in this
critical situation; i.e. on account
of it. — Salios, Salian priests; a
second college (see 20. 4) called
Quirinales. They are apparently
dedicated to the two abstract divin-
ities, but these are closely connected
with Mars, as well as with Picus
and Faunus (Pan, Silvanus). The
early cults had become extremely
obscure, even to the Romans them-
selves, by Livy’s time. The two
were worshipped as causing the
 corresponding effects among the
enemy.
8. equitem: the horseman in 7.
— increpans: as if for having given
a false alarm. — suo iussu: i.e. pre-
tending that the whole was a ma-
nouevre of his own. — idem, at the
same time, as often. — hastas, etc.:
to conceal the action as much as
possible.
9. qui viderant: i.e. those who
were not prevented from seeing by
Tullus’ stratagem. — ab rege: i.e.
said by him. — id quod ... rati,
thinking it was as, etc.
Terror ad hostes transit; et audiverant clara voce dictum et magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent, Latine sciebant. Itaque, ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus fusoque Fidenatium cornu in Veientem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum, sed ab effusa fuga flumen objectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga inclinavit, alii arma foede iactantes in aquam caeci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

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

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

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

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

**The Punishment of Mettius.**

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

2. contionem: the usual gathering for hearing an address of the chief magistrate or commander. — ab extremo: *i.e.* of the camp, farthest from headquarters, where the Albans when united with the Romans (cf. 1) were conceived as placed. — novitate: *i.e.* they were unaccustomed to Roman usages, and hence the *contio* was a novelty to
regem Romanum contionantem audirent, proximi con-
stitere. Ex composito armata circumdatur Romana
legio; centurionibus datum negotium erat ut sine mora
imperia exsequerentur.

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

them. — proximi: i.e. towards the
centre of the circle, so that the
manoeuvre next described was easy.
3. centurionibus, etc.: explanatory
of the suddenness of the pro-
ceeding.
4. fuit quod, you had reason
to; literally, there was anything for
which: quod was originally a cog-
nate accusative; cf. est quod gau-
dea, and Gr. 238. b. — ipsorum:
see Gr. 197 c. — id proelium fuit, it
was in that battle: literally, it (referr-
ing to quod above) was that battle.
— dimicatio: the full construction
would be, dimicatum est dimica-
tione, etc., quae dimicatio, etc.; cf.
Gr. 201. d.
5. ne . . . teneat: depending on
the idea of saying not expressed;
see Gr. 317. c. — consilium, etc.:

i.e. a pretence purposely made.
— nec . . . et: the usual correla-
tives where one branch is negative;
the connective part in nec may be
represented by at the same time in the
second branch. — ignorantibus:
the force of nec does not, of course,
extend to this part of the clause.
6. nec, and yet . . . not, as often.
— ea culpa quam, etc.: i.e. the fault
in the charge which I make. — et,
too, as often. — inde: i.e. from the
place where you were. — agmen de-
clinare, to turn your line of march.
— ille: i.e. the one indefinitely re-
ferred to in ducem. — ruptor: do
not mistake the position of this
word, as emphatic. The thought
is, they have not acted without a
leader; that leader is Mettius, the
same Mettius who was this war's
Romani Albanique ruptor. "Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam documentum mortalibus dedero."

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

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

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

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

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


29 Inter haece iam praemissi Albam erant equites, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendum urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet, sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita definixit omnium animos ut praef metu obliti quid relinquierent, quid

The Deportation of the Albans.

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

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

3. defixit, paralyzed; literally, fastened as to one spot. — praemetu, for fear; properly only of hindrance, and here used on account of the negative idea in obliti (prevented from remembering). — relinquerent: deliberative ques-
secum ferrent, deficiente consilio rogantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud visuri, pervagarentur.

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

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

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

ultimus (with diruebantur): i.e. the operations of the legions beginning at one end of the city were heard by the inhabitants at the other end. The warning of the cavalry precedes by a short time only the operations of the legions, which follow in the same direction, and their advance produces the climax described. — quibus: i.e. eis quae; see Gr. 199. a. — larem, etc.: with the same feeling with which we speak of hearth and home.

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

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

WAR WITH THE SABINES.

30. ruinis: abl. of means. —
habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capitis ibique deinde
habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea quoque
pars rei publicae cresceret, legit: Tullios, Servilios,
Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios, templumque
ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad
patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est. Et ut omnium
ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adiceretur, equi-
tum decem turmas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres
codem supplemento explevit et novas scripsit.

4. Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit,
genti ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissi-
mae viris armisque. Vtrimque iniuriae factae ac res
nequiquam erant repetitae: Tullus ad Feroniae fanum
mercatur frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos
querebatur; Sabini sus prius in lucum confugisse ac
Romae retentos. Hae causae belli ferebantur.

habitaretur: see Gr. 317. b. —

eam: see Gr. 195. d. He went there
to make it a fashionable region.

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

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

4. hac fiducia: i.e. with the con-

fidence produced by this (addition);
a common use of pronouns. —

virium: Gr. 217.

5. Tullus, etc.: the details of
the iniuriae. — Feroniae: a local
goddess, possessing several groves
and springs. This one, which was
in the Ager Capenas, near the foot
of Mt. Soracte, was a meeting-place
for several nations for purposes of
traffic. Another, three miles from
Tarracina, is mentioned by Horace
(Sat. I. 5. 24). — mercatu: abl. of
time. — frequenti: a greater out-
rage, because on an occasion of
peaceful commerce. — Sabini, etc.:
i.e. the Sabines claimed that it was
only a reprisal for previous (prius)
acts on the Roman side. — lucum:
at Rome. The slaves had fled to a
sacred place from their masters, and
the Romans had not surrendered
them. — ferebantur, were put for-
ward as.
Sabini, haud parum memores et suarum virium partem Romae ab Tatio locatam et Romanam rem nuper etiam adiectione populi Albani auctam, circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde ob residuas bellorum iras maxime sollicitatis ad defectionem animis voluntarios traxere, et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit; publico auxilio nullo adiuti sunt, valuitque apud Veientes — nam de ceteris minus mirum est — pacta cum Romulo indutiarum fides.

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

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

7. bellorum: i.e. previous wars. The whole phrase belongs with sollicitatis. — defectionem: there was only a truce, but Livy speaks as if they were subjects. — voluntarios: their state of feeling was such that persons were willing to volunteer. — vagos, roving persons, without landed property. — merces: i.e. these were gained by promise of pay. — publico, given by any state as such, as opposed to private filibustering. — valuit, was effectual. — valuit, held; i.e. it restrained the people of Veii, in spite of their hostile disposition. — nam: i.e. 'I speak of the Veientes, for the other Etruscans had no special reason for hatred, and so it is not surprising that they kept quiet.' — cum Romulo, etc.: cf. 15. 5.

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

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

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

ILL. OMENS, AND SUCCEEDING DEATH OF TULLUS.

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

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

3. luco: the grove of Jupiter Latialis. — ut . . . facerent: see Gr. 332. h. — patrio: i.e. that of the Albans as opposed to the Romans. — velut diis, etc.: abl. abs. with velut; a construction rare in Cicero, but more and more common later. The account is an illustration of the importance attached to keeping up local worship in ancient times. Worship of the same divinity under other forms was not the same thing at all. — ut fit, as is often the case. Another curious glimpse into ancient religion. If the gods did not protect their worshippers, the worshippers in anger neglected them.

4. Romanis: this matter seemed to affect the whole state, and the Romans also endeavored to appease the offended divinities by rites performed officially in behalf of the state (publice). — ab, on account of; the development of this meaning is seen in ab simili clade, 1. 4. — novendiale sacrum: i.e. a cessation of business for nine (eight) days, such as was afterwards called feriae. — publice: by the state, as not merely affecting individuals. — seu . . . seu: the two possibilities are, immediately from the voice, which properly affected only the Albans, and later from the advice of Etruscan soothsayers, who were consulted as a higher authority than the local seers. — mansit, etc.: i.e. whatever the
idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies age-
rentur.

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

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

8. ipsum: the rest of the people were in superstitious awe, but
the king himself went to work to find a remedy. — volventem,
studying, as of course they were conceived like other books, as a
roll (volumen). — commentarios: see 20. 5, and cf. 32. 2. — occultae: evident of a different character
from the public services, and inten-
tended by a kind of magic to draw
nia sacrificia Iovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum iis
sacris se abdidisse, sed non rite initum aut curatum id
sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam caelestium
speciem, sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine
ictum cum domo conflagrassse. Tullus magna gloria
belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

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

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

from the gods the secrets of their
worship, making them show what
sacrifices would appease them; cf.
20. 7. — sacrificia: the word may be
retained, though doubted by some,
as forming one idea with sollem-
nia. — operatum, engaged; a tech-
nical word for religious proceedings;
see Gr. 291. b. — sacris: dative; cf.
dare operam. — initum aut cura-
tum: i.e. some error occurred at
the beginning or in the progress of
the rite, which consequently did not
have the desired effect, and no vis-
ion was vouchsafed him. — spe-
ciem, etc.: this shows that the rite
was a sort of incantation to force
the gods (like ghosts) to appear,—
a curious phase of religion. — ira,
on account of the wrath; cf. ful-
mime, below. — sollicitati: refer-
ing to the endeavor to call out the
apparition. — prava: i.e. the rite
being wrongly performed only irri-
tated the god, without having
power to force him. — fulmine, by
means of, etc. Notice the two ab-
latives in different relations with
the same verb.

Choice of Ancus Marcius and
Declaration of War with Latins.

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. medium: i.e. but the Roman king was not what the Latins thought him: though not a Romulus, he was by no means a Numa. — memor, reminding one of. — novo: i.e. unused to the restraints of law as yet. — etiam: sc. credebat; the two reasons given are, first, the undesirableness of peace in his time compared with the reign of Numa; and second, the impossibility of having it in his own case without suffering outrage from without. — quod: relative. — temptari patientiam: i.e. that the neighboring peoples had been trying the Romans' patience, seeing how much they would stand, and finding they would bear much, they regarded this long-suffering with contempt; an explanation of haud... habiturum. — temporaque, and any way, etc.; a generalizing of the particulars preceding. — Tullo, a Tulius.
5 Numae. Vt tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae caerimoniae proderentur, nec gererentur solum, sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, ius ab antiqua gente Aequiculis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit, quo res repetuntur.


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

6. legatus: properly a person appointed for the business, here for the fetialis, as a representative of the populus Romanus. — fines: as the home of the adverse people. — unde: see Gr. 201. f. 2. — res repetuntur, satisfaction is demanded. — filo: apparently a band only on the cap. — lanae: the use of wool as well as that of the olive branch (doubtless Greek and Latin) symbolizes peaceful pursuits, pastoral, or later agricultural. — velamen: not different from filo. — Iuppiter: the gods are called upon (cf. 10) to witness to the justice of the demand, and thus the war is placed under their guidance. — cuiuscumque, etc.: i.e. he adds Latini or Latinorum, for instance, to fill out the blank here left. — fas: divine justice personified. — iuste: in accordance with recognized precedent; pie: with due reverence to the gods. The whole expression indicates that all the proceedings are regular. — legatus: in its proper original sense. — fides: i.e. that he rightly represents his nation, who sent him, and is not an unauthorized person.

7. peragit, etc.: this has already been done in the rerum repetitio, but is now formally done again, as it were, to give a last chance to the enemy to comply, and formally to record the cause of war. The whole proceeding is called clarigatio, apparently the making plain the cause, so that there should be no room for question afterwards. — inustae impieque: apparently referring to his authority, as iuste pieque, above. — homines: the individuals charged with wrong-doing. According to ancient notions, if these were given up, the state was not responsible; otherwise the state made their action its own. — res: usually the cause of war was some predatory in-
res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me num-
quam siris esse.’ Haec cum fines suprascandit, haec 8
quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, haec portam in-
grediens, haec forum ingressus paucis verbis carminis
concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis peragit. Si non 9
deduntur quos exposit, diebus tribus et triginta — tot
enim sollemnes sunt — peractis bellum ita indicit: ‘Audi, 10
Iuppiter, et tu, Iuno, Quirine, diique omnes caelestes,
vosque terrestres vosque inferni audite! Ego vos testor
populum’ — illum quicumque est nominat — ‘iniustum
esse neque ius persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria
maiores natu consulemus quo pacto ius nostrum adipi-
scamur.’ Cum iis nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit.
Confestim rex his ferme verbis patres consulebat: ‘Qua-
rum rerum litium causarum condixit pater patratus
populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Lati-
cursion. Later, any form of satisfac-
tion was expressed by res. — dedier:
archaic use of the infinitive after
verbs of asking. — compotem: a
false swearer would be excommuni-
cated, as it were, and cease to be a
citizen. — siris: archaic shorter
form for siveris. The perfect subj.
is very common in such phrases,
especially with negatives.
8. quicumque: sc. apud eum.
— carminis: cf. 26. 6 n. — concipi-
endi: an antique use of the gerundive,
apparently retaining something
of its simple present passive partici-
ple sense, as in iurandi following.
It refers to the set form of oath, as
in conceptis verbis.
9. sollemnes, regular, i.e.
prescribed by the ritual. — indicit:
this is the religious declaration of
war, in accordance with a previ-
ous vote of the people; the real
one is made by the senate, as
in 12.
10. ius persolvere: i.e. per-
form its just obligations in mak-
ing reparation. — sed: but I will
not decide, I will consult at home.
— maiores natu: i.e. the senate;
originally a counsel of elders. —
pacto, manner, as regularly in col-
loquial language. — adipiscamur:
see Gr. 334. b. — cum iis, with
these words.
11. quarum: sc. de eis with cen-
ses. Cf. Gr. 200. — rerum, etc.:
genitive after condixit, in an anti-
quated, uncertain construction, ap-
parently analogous to the genitive
of crime and penalty. — rerum: i.e. quae repetuntur; litium, mat-
ters in dispute; causarum: used,
as in later times, of the subject of
dispute more abstractly, just as we
say ‘the cause of the poor.’ — con-
dixit, conferred, but with the idea
of a formal demand, as in the civil
law the same word is used of the
plaintiff. — pater patratus: cf.
norum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari solvi fieri oportuit, dic,' inquit ei quem primum sententiam rogabat 'quid censes?' Tum ille 'Puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo itaque consentio consciscoque.' Inde ordine alii rogabantur quandoque pars maior eorum qui aderant in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum, ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut san-guineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret et, non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus, diceret 'Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit esse senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit consensit conscivit ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Prisci Latinis bellum indico facioque.' Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines

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

12. puro pioque: the two requirements of 'clean hands and a pure heart'; i.e. a war whose cause is just and whose methods are honest. — duello: old form of bello; cf. bis, from duo. — quaerendas: sc. the res, etc. — consentio consciscoque: probably with the previous vote of the people; cf. 13. The expression probably goes far back into antiquity, when the vote of the warriors was necessary at the outset. This Livy does not mention, perhaps because it would be too democratic for his conception of a kingdom. — in ... ibat: alluding to an actual division of the house, such as was practised in ancient times. — ferratam: an iron-headed spear would be a natural symbol of war. — sanguineam: with a hasta pura, the point would be hardened in the fire, as was often customary for warlike weapons, and stained with blood to complete the symbolism. — puberibus: as witnesses. The whole must be done in form, and capable of proof.

13. quod: the regular Latin whereas, but it is properly the object of the verbs. — eam rem: the antecedent of quod. — populusque: i.e. and through me the populus Romanus. — facio: by the hurling of the spear. — dixisset: subjunctive of repeated action; see Gr. 309. b.
eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitae res ac bellum indictum, moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

Ancus, demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacerdos tibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto, profectus Politorium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit. Et cum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem Albani impressent, Aventinum novae multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud ita multo post Tellenis Ficanaque captis novi cives.


Conduct of the War.

3. demandata: cf. 20. 1. — Politorium, etc.: all these Latin towns disappeared very early.
2. circa: properly 'on both sides of,' but here as much as besides, because the Palatium is excluded by the description from the later enumeration.
5. acie vincit: opposed to urbe capit, implied in praeda, etc. — potens, enriched; a poetic term. — tum quoque: as well as in the last campaign. — iungeretur: i.e. that the valley between might be settled continuously. — Murciae:
6 Ianiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fient, carcer ad terrem increcentis audaciae media urbe imminens foro aedificatur.

9 Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque: silva Mesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae, egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretrii amplificata.

84 Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Coming of the Tarquins.

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

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

3. Egerio: as if from ego.

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

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

5. spermentibus: i.e. refusing social recognition as one of the ruling caste. — exsule advena: see Gr. 188 d, and cf. pastor accola, 7. 5. — potuit: i.e. Tanaquil; we should expect an illa or haec, but it is carelessly omitted. — videret.
consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum fort ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset.

Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam. Ad Ianiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leniter alis pilleum aufert, superque carpentum cum magno clangore voltans rursus, velut ministerio divinitus missa, capiti apte reponit,

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

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

7. cupido ... cui esset: notice the parallelism of the phrase and the clause, a good illustration of the adjective nature of the characteristic subjunctive clause. — materna: i.e. and therefore he had no special love for that city. — esset: attracted by the predicate patria; see Gr. 204. b.

8. Ianiculum: coming from the Etruscan side to cross by the pons sublicius (see 33. 6). — carpento: a covered travelling wagon. Probably this is mentioned in the story to give greater probability to the supposed divine interposition. The ablative without in, as in poetry. — suspensis, etc.: i.e. not by a sudden swoop, as of a predatory bird, but deliberately as a divine messenger. The order is artificial. — pilleum: the felt cap often worn by travellers. It is sometimes confounded with the petasus, or felt hat, and may possibly be so here, as the latter was more commonly used by travellers. — clangore: probably of the noise of his wings, but possibly of screaming also. — ministerio: dative of purpose, belonging rather to the earlier language and poetry. Cf. Gr. 233. — sublimis: see Gr. 191.
inde sublimis abit. Accepsisse id augurium laeta dicitur 9 Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, caelestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum iubet: eam alitem, ea regione caeli, et eius dei nuntiam venisse, circa summum culmen hominis auspiciun fecisse, levasse humano superpositum capiti decus ut divinitus eidem redderet.

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

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

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

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

11. ipse: opposed to the accidental advantages just mentioned. — fortunam: i.e. his rise in social position. — adloquio, comitate, beneficiis: the means of conciliando, which is itself the means of adivabat. — comitate, etc.: i.e. by hospitably entertaining his new acquaintances. — adivabat, continued to improve. — regiam: i.e. he made himself so conspicuous socially, that the king heard of him and made his acquaintance (notitiam).
gem liberaliter dextreque obeundo officia in familiaris
amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis
consiliis bello domique interesset et per omnia expertus
postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institue-
retur.

Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet
superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par.
Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tar-
quinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando
fierent. Quibus indictis sub tempus pueros venatum
ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum
et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis ani-
mos compositam: cum se non rem novam petere, quippe
qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset,
sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum adfectet; et
Tatium non ex peregrino solum, sed etiam ex hoste
rege factum, et Numam ignarum urbis non petentem in

12. officia: i.e. loyal services as a
courtier. — in ... iura: i.e. he raised
the mere acquaintance to an inti-
mate friendship. — expertus: pas-
sive; cf. Gr. 135. b.

Election and Reign of Tar-
quin.

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

2. tempus: set for the comitia.
— petisse ambitiose: to have can-
vassed (electioneered), as candidates
in later times. The whole story, as
it lies in Livy's mind, is derived from
the later republic, when the com-
mons were all-powerful. — oration-
em: in a contio, when candidates
used to present their claims. — con-
ciliandos: cf. Aen. VI. 816.

3. cum: sc. memoraret, which
is forgotten in the long account of
the discourse, and picked up again
in another form in 6. The whole
passage is put in to explain com-
positam. — rem novam: i.e. elec-
tion to the throne as a stranger. —
quisquam: the force of non con-
tinued through the whole occasions
the use of quisquam rather than
aliquis. The same idea excuses -ve
also. — posset: potential present
thrown back into past time. The
rest of the discourse retains its time
(see Gr. 336. B, a), but this one
verb, on account of its being con-
trary to fact, goes into the imper-
fect. The close connection of the
potential subjunctive and the char-
acteristic construction is seen in
this clause (cf. Gr. 319, head note).
The meaning is almost, 'So that
anybody could feel indignant at it'
(cf. quisquam and -ve). — igna-
regnum ul tro accitum; se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, 4
Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse,
maiorem partem aetatis eius, qua civilibus officiis fun-
gantur homines, Romae se quam in vetere patria vixisse;
domi militiaeque sub haud paenitendo magistro, ipso 5
Anco rege, Romana se iura, Romanos ritus didicisse;
obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benigni-
tate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse. Haec eum haud 6
falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus
regnare iussit.

Ergo virum cetera egregium se cuta, quam in petendo
habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est, nec minus regni
sui firiandi quam augendae rei publicae memor centum
in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt ap-
pellati, factio haud dubia regis, cuius beneficio in curiam
venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit et oppi-
dum ibi Apiolas vi cepit, praedaque inde maiore quam

rum, a stranger to, etc.—peten-
tem: sc. regnum. — ul tro ac-
ci tum, had been actually called in.
As Numa had not sought the throne,
it was more than could be expected
that he should have it.
4. ex quo: sc. tempore. — sui
potens, his own master, freed from
a guardian.

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

6. haec: with a change of the
form of the sentence, as if memo-
raret had already been used.—
populus: with a confusion of ideas
between the plebs (2) and the proper
populus Romanus, the official body
ofburghers.—iussit: the tecni-
cal term for a vote (cf. 22. 1).—
ergo, accordingly, as he had been
elected by the lower orders.—
cetera: see Gr. 240. b.—ambitio:
alluding to his popular measures in
favor of the lower orders.—nec
minus, etc.: i.e. he had two mo-
tives, one to strengthen his party,
and the other to strengthen the
government by adding to its great
council. — minorum, etc.: this dis-
tinction between senators remained,
but it was only a nominal one, with
no difference of privileges. The most
various accounts are given of the
precise change made by Tarquin,
and apparently all authentic infor-
mation on the early constitution
had been lost long before Livy's
time.—factio, a party, in oppo-
sition to the older families in the
senate. — haud dubia, sure to
be.
quanta belli fama fuerat revecta ludos opulentius in-
structiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tunc primum
circo, qui nunc Maximus dicitur, designatus locus est.
Loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi
quisque facerent, fori appellati. Spectavere furcis du-
denos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Lu-
dicrum fuit equi pugilesque, ex Etruria maxime acciti.
Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique
varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis
aedificanda divisa sunt loca, porticus tabernaeque factae.

86. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, cum
Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita
res fuit ut prius Anienem transient hostes quam ob-
viam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque
trepidatum Romae est. Et primo dubia victoria magna
utrimque caede pugnatum est; reductis deinde in castra
hostium copiis datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum
de integro bellum, Tarquinii, equitem maxime suis

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

8. designatus: i.e. then first the
valley beyond the Palatine was ap-
pointed for the games, which after-
wards became the regular place.
— spectacula: here seats, or grand-
stands, each order erecting its own.
— facerent: see Gr. 205. c. 2. —
fori: the name refers to the pas-
sages between, rather than the
localities themselves. — appellati:
see Gr. 204. b.

9. spectavere, the spectators sat.
— furcis, etc., with props, etc. —
ludicrum, the exhibition. — sol-
lemnes, regular, stated.

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

86. coeptis: a substantive, as
often in poetry and late Latin; cf.
orsis, Pref. 13. — intervenit: indic.
with ‘cum inversum’; see Gr. 325.
b. — posset: see Gr. 327.
deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes Titienses Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripsaret, addere alias constituit suo-que insignes relinquere nomine.

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

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

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

4. eludens, scoaffing at, by means of the problem which he sets. — artem: i.e. of augury. — divine, seeer. The emphasis gives a force something like, 'Come, you are such a great soothsayer, determine,' etc. — inaugura, determine by augury. — in, in the process of, and so by means of. — atqui, now, with an adversative shade, inasmuch as Tarquin conceives the thing as impos-
sible. — animo: not different from mente, except that there is a slight idea of intention in agitavi, while the other expression only refers to the thing imagined, as a present idea. — novacula: the first barbers are said by Varro (Plin. N. H. VII. 59) to have come to Rome from Sicily in 300 B.C., and this is the only mention of razors prior to that time; but they have been found in graves, and were no doubt known, though not generally used. — haec: the razor and whetstone, which he hands him. — aves tuae: scorn-
fully. — haud cunctanter: i.e. without making any question or excuse, indicating his faith in his art.

5. velato: the style of the augur. — gradibus: the steps up from that part of the Forum to the senate house. — sitam fuisse, was (once) deposited; see Gr. 291. b.
6. certe: i.e. whether the old tradition is true or not. — nihil, etc.: i.e. whereas augury had only been used for the most important matters, now nothing of any account was done without it. — concilia populi: probably the comitia tributa. — exercitus: the comitia centuriata, which was assembled as a military muster; cf. 44. 1. — summa rerum, acts of the highest moment, in apposition with the preceding. — admisisissent: cf. ubi dixisset, 32. 13 n. — dirimerentur: i.e. the bodies called together for the highest functions of the state are dissolved again, if the omens are unfavorable. This power of interrupting proceedings by real or pretended auspices (obnuntiatio) became a potent factor in politics, and continued through the republic. 

7. neque tum: i.e. Tarquin was prevented from doing what he intended on that occasion; an example under the general rule just given. — mutavit: i.e. he did not add a new division, he only increased the number, which was not an innovation. — alterum tantum, as many more; cf. ‘as much again.’ Livy probably wrote the words in this order, though the MSS. have tantum alterum, here and X. 46. — mille octingenti: this number does not agree with Livy’s other accounts (cf. 13. 8, 30. 3), but it is to be remembered that Livy does not claim exactness; and as accounts differed, he takes sometimes one and sometimes another. The whole subject is in utter confusion.

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

**War with the Sabines.**

87. ex occulto: opposed to the increased Roman strength, which was an open advantage. — arden-
rerent, pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna terrem atulit Sabinis, effusis eadem fugam impediit, multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periere; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi, prius paene quam nuntiari posset, insignem victoriam fecere.

Eo proelio praeipua equitum gloria fuit. Vtrimque ab cornibus positos, cum iam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant. Et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritus ratus, praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium — id votum Vulcano erat — ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porro in agrum Sabini exercitum inducere, et quamquam male gestae res erant nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatum, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario milite iterumque ibi fusi, perditis iam prope rebus, pacem petiere.

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

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

3. suorum: the use of the reflexive gives the situation as it presented itself to the minds of the cavalry. — sisterent: in its causative sense, stayed; cf. 12. 5. — cedentibus, on the yielding Romans.

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

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

6. gesturos: sc. se; for the emphatic position, see Gr. 344. d. 3. — quia consulendi, etc.: i.e. if they had had time, they might have determined to make peace without fighting farther. — tumultuario milite: with an unorganized militia, such as was called together upon a sudden
Collatia et quicquid citra Collatiam agri erat Sabinis ademptum, Egerius — fratris hic filius erat regis — Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio eamque deditionis formulam esse: Rex interrogavit: "Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Conlatino, ut vos populumque Conlatinum dederetis?" 'Sumus.' 'Est populus Conlatinus in sua potestate?' 'Est.' 'Deditisne vos populumque Conlatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populique Romani dicionem?' 'Dedimus.' 'At ego recipio.'

Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam rebit. Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit, ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem ventum est: ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumereum, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta.

alarm, as opposed to regular troops in a prepared war. — petiere: that it was granted appears from the conditions given in the next chapter.

**FORMULA OF SURRENDER; WAR AGAINST THELATINS.**

**88.** citra: between Collatia and Rome, which is about ten miles distant. — in praesidio: either as a temporary garrison or a permanent colony.

2. estisne: for order, see Gr. 344. d. 2. The first question is as to the credentials of the representatives; the second, as to the right of the people itself as an independent state; the third, as to the will of the parties. The form of surrender embraces everything over which the state has ownership or authority, including all religious property, so that the Romans held everything that belonged to the commonwealth, and the surrendered became a mass of individuals with only individual rights. — at, then; the antithesis is found in the opposed relations of the two parties.

3. triumphans: not merely in triumph, but in formal procession, as it were, in the style of the later technical triumph; cf. 10. 5 n.

4. ad universae, etc., to a general decisive combat, wherein the war could be fought out between the two peoples; in fact the Latins were subdued in detail. — Corniculum: cf. 39. 5. — Crustumereum: cf. 10. 3. — Medullia: cf. 33. 4.
Maiore inde animo pacis opera incohata quam quanta mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset quam militiae fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cuius exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, quanondum munierat, cingere parat, et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis fastigio in Tiberim ductis siccat, et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat fundamentis.

X. Eo tempore in regia prodigium visum eventuque mirabile fuit. Puer dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges et, cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restiguen-

5. animo...mole: *i.e.* the spirit with which he improved the city in peace was greater than the effort he had made in war. — quieter: as the labor was enforced like military service, the imposition was as great in peace as it had been in war.

6. exordium: see 36. 1. — infima: including the Forum, and the valleys running into it, the region between that and the Tiber, and the Circus Maximus. — ex planis, etc.: the reason why the water did not run off, because there was no pitch. — fastigio, with a grade. The level did not carry off the water, and so the sewer was built sloping down to the Tiber, necessarily under ground.

7. aream: the regular Latin word for a lot in a city; here of the place on which the great temple was afterwards to be built. — futuram: *i.e.* quae futura erat; see Gr. 293. 6. — fundamentis: the substructure to enlarge and level the rough hill. The temple was not built till afterwards; see 55. 2.

89. eo tempore: *i.e.* in the part of the reign of Tarquin just described. — visum: *sc. est*; the second part (with fuit) is from a different point of view, yet undoubtedly it is the thought of fuit that makes Livy omit the copula. — eventu, its fulfillment. — puero: it is not necessarily but naturally implied that he was a slave. — Tullio: cf. Troiano, 1. 3 n. — arsisse: a common omen among the ancients; cf. Virg. Aen. II. 681 seq.

2. clamore: the means of excitos. — ad: cf. ad desiderium, 7. 7 n. — reges, the royal family. — familiarium, servants, in accordance with its derivation from familia, famu-
dum ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum donec sua sponte experrectus esset. Mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil 'Viden tu puerum hunc' inquit, 'quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum prae sidiumque regiae adflectae. Prindo materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus.'

4 Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi erudirique artibus quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum excitantur. Evenit facile quod diis cordi esset: iuvenis evasit vere indolis regiae nec, cum quaereretur gener

lus. — retentum: because the queen recognized the supernatural character of the occurrence. — se datio: i.e. at her command. The position of eam gives the ablative absolute the force of a perfect active participle in agreement with the pronoun. — moveri, to be disturbed. — experrectus esset: see Gr. 328.

3. in secretum, in private; the regular word for a private interview. — viden: the regular colloquial form of videsme; cf. do not and don't in English. — inquit: this sudden change from indirect to direct discourse is common in all periods of the language, either with or without the verb of saying. — humili: in reference to his position as a slave. — scire licet, it is clear; cf. scilicet, which is often, though not regularly, used in the same sense. — lumen: in allusion to the phenomenon; cf. for the figure, lucem adferre rei publicae, Cic. Manil. 12. 33. — hunc (regularly hoc, Gr. 195. d): here equivalent to hunc puerum. — quondam, at

some time; cf. Aen. VI. 876, and the common use of olim. — regiae, the royal house. — proinde: cf. 9. 4 n. — publice: see Gr. 207. d. This use becomes more and more frequent in later writers.

4. liberum, of a son. The word, denoting collectively the children of the house as opposed to the slaves, is frequently used of one person. — coeptum: resuming the indirect discourse. — artibus: sc. liberalibus, as a liberal education is still called. — magnae fortunae, of a lofty position. — cultum: opposed to cultu in 3, but with a different shade of meaning; there the process, and here the result, as in the much-abused culture. It means everything that belongs to life and its ideals. — excitantur, are elevated. — esset: characteristic subjunctive, as often happens, giving at the same time the reason why it turned out so. See Gr. 320. — indolis: predicate after evasit; cf. incedo regina, and see Gr. 214. c. — arte: cf. artibus above, but best translated quality.
Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae iuventutis ulla arte conferri potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit.

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

Duodequadragesimo ferme anno ex quo regnare coe perat Tarquinius non apud regem modo, sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat.

or respect. — filiamque, and accordingly, etc.

5. hic: i.e. the honor of being married to the king's daughter. — quacumque de causa: implying that Livy has a doubt about the preceding story accounting for the superiority of Servius to the other youth; cf. 3. 3. — honos habitus, the fact that, etc.; see Gr. 292. a. — credere: see Gr. 331. e. 2. — serva natum: according to one tradition, he had, like other heroes, a supernatural origin, being the son of the Lar familiaris of the house. — Corniculo: an old Latin town near Tivoli; cf. 38. 4. — princeps: the tradition satisfies the necessary requirements by making him of royal blood. — occiso...captivas: according to the laws of war, the males capable of bearing arms were killed, and the women and children made slaves. — prohibitam: the noble commander's wife was reserved by womanly compassion from the usual fate. — domo: instead of domi; cf. bello, 34. 12.

6. beneficio: the rescue of the mother. — fortunam, the fate; here, as often, of bad fortune. — patria, native city, as usual. In ancient times the city was the unit of political life; cf. cremata patria, 1. 8. — serva: as she was legally but for the rescue.

MURDER OF TARQUIN.

40. duodequadragesimo: the importance of the date comes from its being that of the king's death, although that occurrence is not immediately mentioned. The effect is, 'In the year, etc., occurred the king's death in the following manner.'
Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis dignitas crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quod Romulus, deo prognatus deus ipse, tenuerit regnum donec in terris fuerit, id Servius serva natus possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis, tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva non modo advenis sed servis etiam regnum Romae pateret.

Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat, et, quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus, tum Servio occiso quemcumque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem facturus videbatur, ob haec ipsi regi

2. Anci filii: see 35. i. — antea: opposed to tum below. — non modo: in such expressions, where there is only one verb, ne is sufficient to negative the whole, though we say 'not only not . . . but not even.' See Gr. 149. e. — vicinae: which Numa had been. — indignitas crescere: instead of a verb to go with filii, which in the long parenthesis has been forgotten. — si . . . rediret: the apodosis is merged in indignitas; properly, 'it would be indignum, they felt, if he should not,' etc. See Gr. 341. c.

3. porro: Tarquin, though a foreigner, had not been a slave, so that the present prospect was a still further step downward. — servitia: the generalizing plural, though only servum is meant. — tenuerit, etc.:

see Gr. 336. B. a, and N. — Servius: with a sarcastic allusion to its derivation from servus. — advenis: like Tarquinius.

4. sed: opposed to the inference that Servius would be the object of their attack. — et . . . et: there were three reasons for the attack upon Tarquin, one introduced by the first et, and the other two grouped together by quia . . . tum, and introduced by the second et. — iniuriae: their wrongs had been occasioned originally by the acts of Tarquin. — superesset: standing for supersit in their thought. — delegisset: standing for fut. perf. delegerit in their thought. — eundem, etc.: if he survived, they could not prevent him from choosing a son-in-law, and it was likely
insidia parantur. Ex pastoribus duo feroeissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt. Inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter alter obstrepere. Coerciti ab lectore et iussi invicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt, unus rem ex composito orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictique in vulnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.

Tarquiniwm moribundum cum qui circa erant excepiussent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi mirantium quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eiecit; simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes sussisset, sedulo comparat, simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur.

this son-in-law would be made king, whoever he should be.

5. feroeissimi, most desperate. — quibus: sc. eis; see Gr. 200. b. — ferramentis, implements, pikes, axes, or the like, for defense against wolves, and for chopping; cf. securm, below.—vestibulo: conceived as a yard in front of the house, no doubt the original sense of the word.—rixae: the pretended quarrel was between themselves, and their violent action draws the attention of the servitors to keep the peace. — appellarent: each one appealed to the king for justice.—vocati: the king heard them and called them in.

6. vociferari, began to cry out at once. — certatim, etc., obstreperously endeavor to, etc. — obloqui, to interrupt each other. — rem (to state) his case.

7. totus: see Gr. 191. — averteret: see Gr. 328. a. N.

41. excepiussent, had caught, as he fell. — illos fugientes, the flying assassins. — mirantium: see Gr. 187. d. — quid rei esset, what the matter was; see Gr. 216. a. 3. — arbitros: in its earlier sense of witnesses. — simul . . . simul: correlatives not found in Cicero, but frequent in Livy. — curando: cf. Gr. 299. a. — sussisset, there were still; for tense, see Gr. 312. — destituat: present sequence, to avoid the implication of the contrary-to-fact idea. The apodosis is merged in alia praesidia.
Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicos ludibrio esse sinat. 'Tuum est' inquit, 'Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excitet flamma, nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere.' Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fene- stras in Novam viam versas — habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris — populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo esse: sopitum fuisset regem subito ictu, ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse, iam ad se redisse; inspectum vulnus absterso cruore; omnia salubria esse.

2. virum, her husband. — inul- tam, etc.: the arrangement is chiastic. — ludibrio: according to ancient ideas, an unavenged outrage makes the sufferer a subject of ridicule, a laughing-stock.

3. vir, a man, really and truly such; cf. 'all are not men who wear the human form.' — alienis: implying that the pastores were only the agents of the sons of Ancus. — facinus fecere: a favorite form of alliteration in Latin, like 'do a deed' in English. — vere: as opposed to his former awaking from sleep. Now he is to awake from his unambitious sloth. — et nos, etc.: i.e. we, too, were foreigners as well as you, and yet we gained the royal power. — qui sis: i.e. your great genius, as opposed to your humble origin. — tua: notice the emphasis, opposed to mea. — consilia, counsels; i.e. the knowl-

edge what to do. — torpent, are paralysed.

4. clamor impetusque, etc., the clamorous, rushing crowd; i.e. the throng trying to break into the palace. — ex superiore, etc.: the Roman houses were built with hardly any windows in the lower story on the street, as is seen in the ruins of Pompeii, but with openings closed by shutters in the upper stories. — Novam viam: this street descended from the ancient Porta Mugisionis, on the Palatine, along the Forum. The temple of Jupiter Stator was on it. The ruins of these places are still traceable on the newly exca-vated Palatine Hill. — habitabat, etc., for the king's house was, etc.

5. sopitum, rendered unconscious. — fuisset: after the word of saying implied in iubet. — confi-dere: sc. se, omitted on account of the rapidity of the narrative.
Confidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura redditurum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. Servius 6 cum trabea et lictoribus prodit ac, sede regia sedens, alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum iam exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte per speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit; tum demum palam factum est ex comploratione in regia orta. Servius, praesidio firme munitus, primus iniusse populi voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci 7 liberi iam tum, comprescis sceleris ministris, ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini liberum

iubere: sc. regem; cf. last note. — Tullio: see Gr. 227. N. 2. — eum . . . esse: the words of the king. — iura redditurum, would dispense justice; one of the chief functions of a king; cf. the legal fiction of English courts, 'Court of King's Bench,' etc.

6. trabea: a robe, worn by the early kings, and preserved in the garb of the augurs and Salii, and of the equites and consuls on special occasions. It was certainly variegated in color, probably by purple and white stripes (trabes). — lictoribus: cf. 8. 2. — sede regia: Livy has in his mind the sella curulis, which was certainly later one of the insignia of supreme power, but perhaps not in early times. — alia . . . aliis: i.e. different questions that were brought before him. — simulat: thus keeping up the pretense that he was acting as a substitute for the king. — ce-

lata: accompanying (not preceding) the main action (firmavit); a use of the perfect participle that grows more and more common, but is on the whole rare except in some deponents (Gr. 290. b). — alienae: see Gr. 214. a. 2. — vicis: cf. regiae vicis, 20. 2. — suas: opposed to alienae. — tum demum: i.e. not till after he had secured his power, as set forth. — praesidio, body-guard. — iniusse, not elected; cf. 17. 10. — voluntate, the acquiescence, as opposed to their formal approval (auctoritate).

7. iam tum: i.e. before Servius acted independently as king.

WARS AND INSTITUTIONS OF SERVII.

42. publicis, etc.: i.e. his official acts; privatis: i.e. his proceedings in his domestic affairs, mentioned in the following sentence. — Anci liberum: cf. 40. 2.
esset, duas filias iuvenibus regii Lucio atque Arrunti
Tarquiniius iungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem
humanis consiliis, quam invidia regni etiam inter domes-
ticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportunity
ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus—
iam enim induitiae exierant—aliisque Etruscis sump-
tum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enuit Tulli,
fusque ingenti hostium exercitu haud dubius rex, seu
patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam reedit.
Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut,
 quemadmodum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisse, ita
Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinu-
numque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque
aliquid interlucet, posteri fama ferrent. Censum enim
instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo
belli pacisque munia non viritim ut ante, sed pro habitu

2. nec rupit, etc.: a short-hand way of saying, 'and yet he did not succeed (for it is impossible to change the course of destiny by human counsels) in preventing,' etc. — invidia regni, the envious desire for the regal power. — domesticos, his own family, but with the same general reference that is seen in the preceding sentence. — praesentis: referring to the hint of discord above, 'though trouble was brewing, yet for the moment,' etc. — induitiae: cf. 30. 7. — exierant: the sacred character of ancient compacts caused peoples to set a definite limit to treaties, in order to provide for contingencies. In modern times nations are rarely so particular.

3. enuit, were conspicuous (see Gr. 205. d): — haud dubius rex: i.e. haud dubie futurus rex; see Gr. 293. b. 3, and 304. c. — periclitaretur, if he had made a trial (by offering himself for election). See Gr. 308. a. r. and footnote.

4. ut: with ferrent. — divini: opposed to the general idea of civil law contained in the following. — ita: correlative with quem ad modum. — Servium: instead of se, as representing the language of future fame. — discriminis, distinctions (properly abstract); ordiminum: the same idea concretely. — quibus, whereby. — interlucet: indicative, as representing a kind of explanatory remark of Livy's. The word gives the idea of conspicuous differences. — ferrent: a purpose clause, in apposition with opus (to have posterity celebrate the fame of).

5. censum: the word implies the whole institution, though properly meaning only the rating itself. — tanto, etc., for a power destined to be so great. — ex quo, in accordance with which. — belli pacisque
pecuniarum fient. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu discrpsit vel paci decorum vel bello.

Ex iis qui centum milium aeris aut maiorem censum haberent octoginta consecit centurias, quadragenas seniorum ac iuniorum — prima classis omnes appellati — seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere, — haec ut tegumenta corporis essent; tela in hostem hastaque et gladius.

munia: i.e. service and taxes. — viritum, individually. — pro habitu, according to the state (of their fortunes). — fient, should be performed; subjunctive of purpose. — tum: i.e. after having caused the assessment to be made. — classes: this word, akin to calare, but probably borrowed from Greek κλασις (κλασις), must have originally referred to the calling out of troops, as the militia is called to arms (cf. legio), whence its constant use for army and fleet. But at the time of the Servian Constitution, its meaning must have changed, so that it came to express the different divisions according to property. — centurias: this word also doubtless changed its meaning at this time, and came to be used of divisions irrespective of numbers. — hunc: i.e. the one given in the following. — ordinem, scale; the order in which rights and duties were given, according to the assessment already made. — paci: as giving dignity to political and social relations. — bello: one would expect utile or the like, but that idea is merged in the splendor of the organization.

THE SERVIAN ARMY.

43. centum milium: these numbers can hardly be the original ratings; for, first, these depended upon holdings of land, and second, they are not based on the full pound of copper, the original as, but upon the later reduced value. — aeris: equal to assum; here probably reckoned of the value of one-tenth of a denarius (15 to 20 cts.). The fortune of the first class would therefore be about two thousand dollars of our money. — censum, fortune; an almost technical use of the word; properly, rating. — consecit, he made up. — centurias: here not a definite number, but a division of the class, whatever number it happened to be. — seniorum: from forty-five to sixty. — iuniorum: from seventeen to forty-five.

2. omnes: i.e. both seniors and juniors. — ad urbis, etc.: the whole was especially a military institution, although used also for other purposes. — essent: depending on consecit. — imperata: they were obliged to provide their own equipment; this sense of requisition is undoubtedly the original one of imperio. — galea: a leather cap with metal mountings. — clipeum (here neuter): the round shield like that carried by Greek warriors. — tegumenta corporis: i.e. defensive armor, opposed to tela. — que et: for et ... et, as often in Livy; cf. II. 59. 7.
3. *additae*, etc.: the form of this statement indicates that these were not selected according to the census. — *fabrum*, *engineers*, but acting as a sort of artillery. — *machinas*: the engines for throwing stones and darts, corresponding to modern ordnance.

4. *scutum*: the oblong, curved shield of the later soldiers. — *loricam*: *i.e.* they had no bronze breastplate, which was made unnecessary by the size and shape of the shield.

6. *mutata*, etc.: with the fourth class begin the distinctively light-armed. They had no defensive armor. — *verutum*: a light dart, not used as a lance, like the *hasta*, but only for a missile. With the *hasta*, however, they could form a part of the solid phalanx as well, but only in the rear of the heavy-armed.

7. *in his accensi*, etc.: no very satisfactory meaning can be made out of these words, because any view seems to be inconsistent with the known facts. The whole number of centuries is agreed upon as 193:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st class</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd class</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd class</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th class</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th class</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder</td>
<td>1 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Equites</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Equites</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornicines, etc.</td>
<td>2 (3 ?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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It is possible, however, to suppose that Livy is dealing with the original army only, and that in this the *una centuria immunis militia* is not counted. Instead of the whole century, certain persons from that part of the population were doubtless added (*accensi*) as orderlies and other attendants, and may have, with the musicians, made up the three mentioned by Livy, being counted in the fifth class. This explanation makes sense of the first passage, but contradicts 8. The
accensi, cornices, tubicinesque, in tres centurias distributi. Vndecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoc 8 minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit; inde una centuria facta est, immunis militia.

Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex 9 item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub isdem quibus inauguratae erant nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena milia aeris ex publico data, et quibus equos alerent, viduae attributa, quae bina milia

confusion is probably Livy’s own, who, writing so long after, may easily have counted the unclassed citizens as one century, which in respect to the army they were not. — accensi: originally enrolled in addition, but later used as a name for attendants on magistrates. Here, if the theory given above is adopted, it must be taken in its original sense, but as a noun. — cornices: ‘players on the horn’; originally literally so; later a bronze instrument of a crooked shape was used, the proper trumpet of the cavalry. — tubicines: players on the (straight) trumpet, the proper instrument of the foot. — tres: to make this number correct, we must suppose some such mistake as above suggested, making three extra centuries of orderlies and musicians.

8. milibus: ablative of price. — hoc: *i.e.* than the eleven thousand. — census: a short-hand form for the roll of those having such an amount of property. — inde: *i.e. ex eis.* — immunis: only those who had a stake in the country were supposed to make good soldiers or to be fit to vote. — militia: ablative of separation. The more regular construction would be genitive. — ornato: loosely used, not of actual but of regulated equipment. — primoribus, leading men; apparently chosen arbitrarily, though they would naturally be from the first class. — duodecim: apparently Servius, wishing to increase the cavalry as well as the votes of the better class, with true Roman conservatism, did not disturb the old equites, as they had been originally instituted from noble families, but merely doubled their number, and enrolled twelve other centuries not necessarily from the nobles.

9. sex alias, etc.: these were, no doubt, the original equites, which Servius did not venture to disturb. They were always distinguished afterwards as the *sex suffragia.* — tribus, etc.: ablative absolute. — isdem: the names had a religious character and could not be disturbed. The centuries were called priores, posteriores, with the original designation; cf. 36. 8. — nominibus: see 13. 8. — dena milia: the *aes equestre,* whence the knights were called *equites equo publico.* — ex publico: *i.e.* from the treasury. — quibus: loosely construed with bina milia. — viduae: unmarried women of fortune, who thus paid their share of the common burdens. — bina milia: the *aes hor-
aeris in annos singulos pendentem. Haec omnia in dites
da pauperibus inclinata onera.

Deinde est honos additus: non enim, ut ab Romulo
traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritum suffragium
eadem vi eodemque jure promisce omnibus datum est,
segradus facti, ut heque exclusus quisquam suffragio
videretur et vis omnis penes priones civitatis esset.

Equites enim vocabantur prumi, octoginta inde priae
classis centuriae primum peditum vocabantur; ibi si
variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut secundae classis voca-
rentur, nec fere quamquam infra ita descenderent ut ad
infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem,
qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, du-
plicato earum numero centuriis iuniorum seniorumque,
dearium.—haec omnia: all the
arrangements of the constitution in
regard to military service, which
bore harder on the rich, from the
expense of arms and horses, etc.

10. honos: i.e. a compensating
privilege.—viritim: i.e. each man
having a separate vote.—gradus
facti: this was done by giving each
century one vote, though the num-
bers of the centuries differed enor-
mously.—vis omnis, etc.: eighteen
centuries of equites and eighty of
the first class at once made a ma-
jority if they agreed.

11. primum: genitive plural with
peditum, consisting of the best class
of the foot, i.e. the richest.—ibi:
i.e. in eis; cf. ubi, 38. 4.—vari-
aret: see Gr. 309. 6.—ut voca-
rentur: the construction is dis-
torted by incidebat, as if the whole
depended on a verb of happening
instead of being independent, as in
vocabantur.—descenderent: sc.
the people in voting.

12. nec mirari, etc.: Livy here
evidently refers to the different state
of things in his time in regard to
the relative power of the classes of
people. At some time in the third
century B.C., the constitution was so
changed that the first class lost its
power of voting first, and at the
same time the number of centuries
was so altered (probably by in-
crease) that the higher classes no
longer constituted a majority, as
they had under the Servian con-
stitution. The precise nature of the
change is unknown, but the organi-
zation of the centuries was approx-
imated to that of the local tribes,
whereas under the Servian constitu-
tion the centuries were indepen-
dent of the tribes.—mirari: sc.
 quemquam.—ordinem, organisa-
tion, but referring particularly to
the number (cf. summam below)
and the consequent change in the
tendency of the constitution.—ex-
pletas: the number of tribes was
gradually increased from four to
thirty-five.—duplicato: just how
this is to be taken is uncertain.
If we look at the text alone, it
ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summam non convenire. Quadraristiam enim urbe divisa regionibus collibusque qui habitabuntur, partes eas tribus appellavit, ut ego arbitror a tributo—nam eius quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est; neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinuere.

Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis in campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnen suovetaurilibus lustravit, idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is cen-

would indicate a doubling of the number of tribes, which of course cannot be true in any literal sense. Perhaps Livy means that, as a basis for the centurial system, their number was practically doubled by the division of each into seniores and iuniores. This would give 35 x 2 = 70 centuries in each of the five classes, or in all 350 centuries of infantry, making with the equites, etc., a total of 373. But our information is too scanty to afford a certain solution of the question. — summam: sc. centuriarum.

13. regionibus collibusque: ablativ of respect. The names were Suburana, Palatina, Esquilina, Collina. Livy’s words seem intended to describe these, one of which was named from a locality, two from particular hills, and one from collis.—tribus: these were now no longer races, but local divisions.—tributo: as usual with ancient etymologies, this is wrong end to; tribuo must come from tribus.—eius: i.e. the tributum; not any regular tax, but the occasional demands of the government in emergencies. These were undoubtedly assigned locally at first (tribus), but now were apportioned, according to Livy, among the citizens of the several local divisions according to the census. — aequaliter, fairly, not ‘equally.’— neque, but ... not. — eae: in contrast with the later, which evidently did have to do with it.

REVIEW AND LUSTRATION.

44. maturaverat metu: i.e. he had a law passed which expedited the process, and so completed it sooner. — incensis, those not enrolled. — edixit, etc.: i.e. he made a general muster of the entire people in its organization as an army.

2. instructum: i.e. the army was first set in array as a fighting force, and in that form was consecrated, as it were, by the religious ceremonies. — suovetaurilibus: referring to the regular leading of the swine, sheep, and bull around the body with appropriate ceremonies, and the subsequent sacrifice of the victims. — conditum, completed,
sendo finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur. Adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, eorum qui arma ferre possent eum numerum fuisse.

3. Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias, ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem; ita pomerium profert. Pomerium verbi vim hence later closed, when the final act was used for the intervening period.—censendo, the enrollment, referring to the whole process by which every five years the censors 'numbered the people,' and assigned the rank of individuals according to property.—lustro: this word, meaning only the final act of purification, was used of the whole process of numbering.—adicit: of course a different account from that just given, but as Fabius' view exaggerates the number, Livy may properly say adds. This view would make the number about five times as great.

3. ad, in accordance with; a characteristic loose use of the preposition.—urbs quoque: as the population had been.—addit: sc. Servius.—duos colles, etc.: increasing the city towards the north, on the other side of the Forum. The two hills are two projecting ridges of the high plateau of the Esquiline.—Quirinalem: this can hardly be true, for on this hill are some of the very oldest monuments of the city, and it is said by other authorities to have been the abode of the Sabines from the time of Romulus.—inde, then, of time; deinceps, next, of succession.—auget Esquilias: by increasing the population, as it was no doubt inhabited before. The derivation of the word (ex-colo) seems to imply that the hill was a suburb which Servius now adds to the city proper.—habitat: cf. 41. 4. —ag gere, etc.: these fortifications have been traced for almost their entire length. The most prominent part of them is the great embankment, some portions of which still exist, on the east side, where the city is most exposed. It was a bank 21 feet high, faced with stone, originally surrounded by a ditch, as was probably the rest of the fortification. The wall of Tarquinus Priscus (36. 1, 38. 6) was either not finished or not large enough.—ita: in reference to the increase of the interior implied in circumdat urbem.—pomerium: originally a space left vacant inside (and so behind) the walls to facilitate defensive operations. After cities began to develop suburbs, the same usage would continue in regard to the outside, and this part of the space came, from religious considerations, to be the most important part. Hence the necessity of Livy's explanation. Cf. Gellius XIII. 14, pomerium est locus intra agrum effdatum per totius urbis circuitum, bone muros regionibus certis determinatus, qui facit finem urbani auspicii. In later times the limit of this space was held sacred, and only such
salam intuentes postmoerium interpretantur esse; est autem magis circamoerium, locus quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pataret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellantur, et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat in-clitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum. Id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter proceres

**Union of Rome and Latium.**

45. civitate, the state, as a commonwealth; urbis, the city proper as a dwelling-place. — omnibus: ablative of omnia, contrary to the general usage, which avoids such ambiguities. — domi: opposed to augere imperium. — armis: opposed to consilio. — urbi: opposed to imperium.

2. communiter: such common sanctuaries were at once the monument, the pledge, and the bond of ancient political unions, as in this case of the twelve Ionic cities of Asia Minor. The example Servius astutely turns to the aggrandizement of Rome. — consensum: the agreement and harmony of the cities. — deos consociatos: what we
Livy.

Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria iunxerat. Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem ut Romae fanum Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certaturn fuerat.

Id quamquam omissum iam ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infelicitern temptatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur miranda magnitudine ac specie. Fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est, et cecinere vates, cuivs civitatis eam should express by 'religious union' or 'united worship.' — publice, etc.: in the absence of organized international relations in ancient times, their place was supplied by special treaties of hospitium, i.e. a relation under which citizens of a state (publice), or individuals with their families (privatim), were guaranteed friendly reception, protection, and comity generally within the territories or at the houses of foreigners. This relation differed from amicitia, in that it did not imply any personal friendship. The words may be translated as: official and personal friendships. — Romae: opposed to Ephesus.

3. ea (see Gr. 195, d) : i.e. the building of the sanctuary at Rome. — de quo: i.e. the question answered in caput rerum, etc. — fuerat: see Gr. 291, b, r. — id: the same question referred to by de quo. — omnium Latinorum: opposed to uni ex Sabinis. — cura, etc.: 'dismissed from the minds of all the Latins,' a short-hand expression, instead of 'dismissed from their minds by,' etc. — se: the emphasis anticipates the emphasis of privato. The artificial (perhaps rather artistic) order of the Latin enables it to express such shades of emphasis with extreme delicacy, and in this art Livy is a master. — imperii recuperandi: the same thing, under a varied aspect, as de quo and id.

4. patri familiae, household; (avoid the ridiculous 'father of a family,' which in this passage is a stock school-jest). — fixa, etc.: a parenthetical remark illustrating the character of the creature. — vestibulo: this word, of most uncertain use and meaning, can here only refer to the prostyle, or portico, in front of the temple proper. — templi: of course at Rome. — miraculo: i.e. the marvellous size of the creature, which, as in all cases of extraordinary occurrences, was regarded as a prodigium, or direct indication of divine interposition; whence comes our use of prodigy.

5. res: i.e. the birth of the heifer.
civis Dianae immolasset, ibi fore imperium, idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianae; Sabinusque, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi, Sabinum ita adloquitur: 'Quidnam tu hospes paras?' inquit; 'inceste sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? Infima valle praefluuit Tiberis.' Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim; interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum pos 46 sederat, tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene

6. Sabinusque: by means of the -que, Livy jumps over the last digression, and attaches the rest of the story to 4. - ibi, thereupon. - memor, reminded of. - responsi: the same as carmen above. - quidnam, why! what? - paras, are you going to do? - inceste, without purification; the sacrifice would be ceremonially impure if he proceeded immediately from his secular occupations without ablation. - tu: not properly emphatic, but expressed from the fondness of the Latins for emasculated pronouns, especially in colloquial language. - perfunderis, bathe; a very common middle use of verbs of this sort. - praefluuit: Livy often uses prae in composition instead of praece.
Tarquinio audiebat, se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iuberentne se regnare, tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius ante, rex est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem adfectandi regni minuit; immo eo impensius, quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servii apud patres crescendi in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante.

Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset quod scelere partum foret.

Hic L. Tarquinius — Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim — fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tarquinium, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae Tulliae, regis filiae, nupserant, et ipsae

mal vote of the people.' — conciliata, etc.: Livy doubtless has in his mind the later politics of the leges agrariae, for without this there was no doubt of the popular approval; cf. 42. 3. — vellent iuberentne: the regular form of beginning a rogatio; cf. XXII. 10. 2.

2. neque, and yet ... not. — impensius: used as if conatus or eget were to follow. But in the course of the sentence the thought changes, as so often in Livy and indeed in Latin generally, and concludes in a different turn in ratus est. It must be remembered that the ancient style of writing was much nearer to the course of speech than our own conventionally restrained language. — crescendi: i.e. gaining influence and power. — et ipse, etc., being at the same time himself; etc.; et ... uxore, etc., and having in his house his wife Tullia to stimulate, etc.

3. tulit, there was produced in, etc., to give the proper emphasis. — et: i.e. as well as at Thebes, Mycenae, etc. — tragici: not merely as an epithet, tragic, but of the tragic stage. — ut, etc.: introduced as a kind of purpose of fate. — ultimum: i.e. the reign of Tarquin. Avoid in translation the last which, etc., for that has an entirely different meaning.

4. pluribus, etc., in accordance with; ablative absolute. — ediderim: see Gr. 311. 8. — habuerat: before the events of 9.

5. ante: see 42. 1. — et ipsae, who were likewise. — ne ... lungerentur: the proper result clause after inciderat is changed into a
longe disparem moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna credo populi Romani, quo diurnarius Servi regnum esset constitutique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum, et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisset contedere quam cum impari iungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum quo digna esset dixi dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnum fuisset, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adulescentem suae temeritatis implet. Lucius Tarquinii et Tullia minor prope continuatis 9

purpose of the divine will; so also we have a purpose clause in quo est and fit. — initium ortum: cf. Pref. 12 n. — viri: after sermonibus, the usual construction in Latin between two nouns, whatever the relation in English. — alieni, another's. — de viro ad fratrem, about (her) husband to (his) brother. — de sorore ad virum, about her sister to her (that sister's) husband. In Latin the unnecessary words are left out. — viduam, unmarried; cf. 43. 9. — futurum fuisset: Gr. 337. b. 2. — elanguescendum esset, to be obliged to, etc.

8. visuram fuisset: see Gr. 337. b. 2. — celeriter: notice the emphasis, 'it does not take long,' or the like. — temeritatis: see Gr. 248. 8. 2. a.

9. Lucius: a necessary correction of the MSS., which have Arruns.
funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quam approbante.

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

47. tum vero: the important moment of the narrative, as usual. — ne gratuita: not merely her own purpose, but the thought she urges upon her husband.
2. diceretur: i.e. so called without really being such; she had had that before. — serviret: not to her husband, but to the ruling monarch.
3. istic, in you, whom I have now married.
4. quin accingeris: cf. quin perfundiris, 45. 6. — tibi: opposed to patri. — penates patriique: not different divinities, but the same in two relations as protecting the household and inherited from his ancestors. — imago: as one of the insignia of nobility; cf. 34. 6. — regia: he is thought of as still living in the house of his ancestors, who were once kings.
5. ad haec: i.e. the endeavor to regain the regal power. — frustraria: i.e. by remaining here you excite the hopes of those who wish to be freed from the rule of Servius, but these hopes you disappoint. — regium, princely. — face
cesse, take yourself off; a colloquial word, used like proficiscor. — devolvere (a middle use; cf. perfundiris, 45. 6), sink back; strictly of rolling down a declivity.
quam patris.' His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat, nec conqvisescere ipsa potest si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret.

His muliebribus instinctus furiiis Tarquinius circumire et presare minorum maxime gentium patres, admonere paterni beneficii ac pro ea gratiam repetere, adlicere donis iuvenes, cum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescer e. Postremo, ut iam agendae rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum inrumpit. Inde omnibus percursis pavore, in regia sede pro curia sedens, patres in curiam per praeconom ad regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Convenere ex templo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attorniti et iam de Servio actum rati.

6. *his aliisque*: cf. *omnibus*, 45. 1 n. — *inrepando*: see Gr. 301 footn. — *ipsa*: opposing her ambition in reference to her own position and influence to her ambition on behalf of her husband. — *si... potuisset*: *i.e.* if this is to be the situation, as she conceives it in her mind, it gives her no peace. The subjunctives are used on account of the indirect discourse. — *peregrina*: opposed to *regio*, etc. — *momentum faceret*, should have weight.

7. *muliebribus*: merely because it is his wife’s ambition and not his own; a little more vivid than *uorism* would be. — *furiiis, blind, mad passions*, as unreflecting and crazy, like the madness inspired by the Furies. — *circumire et presare, go about and interview*, in the manner of the canvassing of later times.

In fact, the whole is probably drawn from Livy’s own observation of Roman politics; cf. 35. 2. — *iuvenes*: sons of senators, not yet in the senate. — *regis, against the king*; cf. *viri*, 46. 7 n. — *crescere*: cf. *crescendi*, 46. 2 n.

8. *stipatus, escorted;* the regular word. — *in forum*: *i.e.* to the *comitium* and *curia*. — *inrupt*: implying haste and turbulence. — *regia sede*: cf. 41. 6. — *pro curia*, in the front of the senate-house; not outside, but so as to be visible from the outside (cf. 48. 1), like *pro muro, pro rostris*. — *regem*: he thus styles himself in the citation.

9. *praeparati*: *i.e.* some were in the plot. — *metu*: *i.e.* *metu impulsi. — non venisse*: *i.e.* that afterwards they might suffer for not having done so. — *novitate ac miraculo,
Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus, servum servaque natum, post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset, et parata unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

48. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce 'Quid hoc' inquit, 'Tarquini, rei est? Qua tu audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede considere mea?' Cum ille feroxiter ad haec, se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiorem filium regis regni heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insul-tasse dominis, clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque reg-

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the strange and marvellous occurrence.

10. stirpe: i.e. the origin. — mortem indignam, shameful murder, unworthy of his position and his acts. — non interregno, etc.: see 41. — occupasse, had usurped.

11. ereptum: in so far as it should have been assigned only to the patricians; here again Livy is undoubtedly thinking of later politics.

12. onera: see 42. 5 and 43. 9. — insignis, a mark, made conspicuous by being publicly recorded.

48. huic orationi: the position gives the force, 'while he was thus haranguing.' — cum intervenisset: in translation make this clause independent and break up the sentence. — extemplo: i.e. without waiting to get in. — vestibulo: cf. 45. 4 n. — vocare . . . considere: both regal acts, a usurpation of regal power.

naturum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate iam etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus deiecit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam reedit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum; ipse prope exsanguis, cum semianimis regio comitatu domum se recuperet pervenis-setque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ab iis qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum, evocavit virum e curia regemque prima appellavit. A quo facesere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum recuperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Vrbium clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque domiae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum

36. 4); here used absolutely, as we should colloquially, ‘with his pranks.’ — apparebat, etc., it began to look as if, etc.; i.e. became a question of force between the partisans of the two.

3. aetate et viribus validior, younger and stronger. — medium, around the body. — cogendum: the senators may be supposed to have left their seats.


5. carpento: cf. 34. 8. — certe: introducing the story in 6, of which carpento is really the beginning. — satis constat: opposed to creditur. — reverita: (see Gr. 290. b) ordinarily it was not good form for a woman to appear in assemblies of men.

6. domum: she apparently lived on the Esquiline. — Dianium: a shrine of Diana, of which there were several in the city. — flectenti: sc. Tulliae. — Vrbium: probably the same as Viribum, from Virbius, a genius associated with Diana. — Esquiliarum: the same as Esquilinum. The word is formed like angustiae, reliquiae, apparently from some derivative of ex and colo; cf. inquilinus. — restitit: the order is forced, but intended to emphasize the sudden effect upon the driver. — iacentem: the order shows again the same straining after effect as in the case just noticed.
inhumanumque inde traditur scelus monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo amens agitantibus furiiis sororis ac viri Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo contaminata ipsa respersaque tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes prope diem exitus sequerentur.

8 Servius Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta ita ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitanti intervenisset.

7. *inde, thereupon, as often.* The word really belongs to *factum esse* or the like implied in *traditur scelus.* — *agitantibus,* etc.: explaining *amens,* in accordance with the ancient idea of the Furies driving to madness the guilty criminal, an idea embodied in the actual pursuit by these goddesses so often represented on the stage and in art. Naturally such madness leads to new crimes. — *sororis et viri:* see 46. 7 n. The genitive is the regular way of expressing the relation between the avenging deities and the person avenged. — *egisse:* as in all languages, *qui facti per alium facit per se;* cf. sectenti above. — *sanguinis ac caedis paternae,* the blood of her murdered father. The Latin can say, 'the blood and (by consequence) the murder of her father,' a mixture of concrete and abstract which would be harsh in English. — *contaminata,* etc.: a chiastic reference to *sanguinis* and *caedis.* — *tulisse:* here the order is effective without being forced; the sanctity of the household hearth is still more violated by the actual contact of the crime. — *quibus iratis,* *from whose wrath.* — *malo,* that ill-starred. — *sequerentur:* it is unnecessary to go farther for the subjunctive than the indirect discourse.

8. *bono,* etc.: the order makes an argument *a fortiori,* — 'much less to the king who did succeed.' — *iusta ac legitima:* rather an exaggeration, but the reign as approved by the people is regarded as legitimate. From now on the rule became a tyranny.

9. *id ipsum,* and even that. — *tamen:* opposed to the 'although' implied in the preceding adjectives. — *unius:* as opposed to the commonwealth. — *ni ... intervenisset:* protasis to *deposuisset* implied in *in animo habuisse,* etc., a construction quite admissible in English as well. — *intestinum:* *i.e.* in his own family, opposed to *patriae.*
Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occipit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans, primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisse credebat, interfecit; conscius deinde male quaeendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsaepsit; neque enim ad ius regni quicquam prae- ter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi iussu neque auctori- ribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercerbat, perque eam causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset.

Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos

49. regnare: an extension of the complementary infinitive; cf. 7. 6 n. — Superbo (see Gr. 231. b): the order gives a force like, 'who received the name, etc., a name given him on account of his acts.' The word indicates an arrogant disregard of others' rights. — quia, in that. — socerum gener: the Latin likes to bring out ideas sharply by such antitheses, where we should omit the appositive. — sepultura: see Gr. 243. a.

2. rebus, the interests. — male, by foul means. — exemplum, a precedent.

3. ad, in respect to; properly, in the direction of. — vim: i.e. the violent usurpation of power, which, though having no element of right, properly speaking, yet made him a king de facto, and so ostensibly entitled to rule. — ut qui: see Gr. 320. e. n. i.

4. nihil spei reponenti, having no confidence based. — ut . . . es- set: the more common construction with accedere is quod, but here the state of things is conceived as a result. — spei: his own hope; metu: his subjects' fear; such close juxtaposition of two ideas from different points of view is allowed by the ancients, though we are a little more squeamish. — cognitiones, trials, not strictly in the English sense, but, in accordance with European law, more like an inquisition. — capitulum: not strictly capital, but affecting the caput, the civil as well as physical life of the citizen. — consiliis, judges, boards of councillors from the senate to advise the king, which our own courts were once in theory.

5. per eam causam, under this pretext. — unde: i.e. a quibus.

6. praecipue ita, by this means more than any other.
in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo
7 esset minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim
regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus
senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem pub-
licam administravit, bellum pacem foedera societates
per se ipse cum quibus voluptu iniussu populi ac senatus
fecit diremitque.
8 Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut pere-
grinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset, neque hos-
pitia modo cum primoribus eorum, sed adfinitates quoque
iungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano—is longe prin-
ceps Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Vlixe
deaque Circa oriundus—, ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat
perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque eius
conciliat.
50 Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum pro-
ceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae
conveniant indicit; esse quae agere de rebus commun-
bus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce. Ipse
Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam
sol occideret venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis
iactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia

7. domesticis: of his own household, as opposed to the prominent
men of the state. — ipse: see Gr.
195. 5. — iniussu . . . senatus: an
inexact shorthand expression, for
the senate had only an auctoritas.

MURMURINGS AGAINST THE
TYRANNY.
50. cum . . . indicit: see Gr.
325. 6. — in diem: a common for-
ma for such proclamations, oftener
with a noun expressing the kind of
meeting, for which the ut clause is
here substituted. — lucum Feren-
tinae: a grove and spring north of
the Alban Lake, a meeting-place
of the Latin confederation; cf. the
similar place mentioned in 30. 5.—
communibus: i.e. affecting the
Romans and Latins.

2. frequentes: i.e. the Latins.
servavit: i.e. did not entirely
neglect it, to be sure, but came
late,—an insulting act of arro-
gance.—sol occideret: the regu-
lar limit of time for business.—
sermonibus: conversation before
the meeting could come to order.

3. ab Aricia: a construction less
common than the adjective, but
not unknown to Caesar and Cicero.
Ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat injectus: haud mirum esse Superbo ei inditum cognomen—iam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, vulgo tamen, eum appellabant—; an quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum, principibus longe a domo excisis ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non adesse? Temptari profecto patientiam, ut, si iugum acceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere, adfectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene crediderint cives aut si creditum illud et non raptum parricidio sit, credere et Latinos, quamquam ne sic quidem alienigenae, debere; sin suos eius paeniteat, quippe qui alii super alios trucidentur, exsulatum eant, amittant bona, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros neque magis observavuros diem concilii quam ipse qui indixerit observet.

Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditosus facinorosusque homo iisque artibus opes domi nactus cum

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*ita*: *i.e.* by this name. — *clam*, etc.: *i.e.* though not openly, yet commonly. — *an*, etc.: (was he not right in saying what he had) or, etc. — *ludificari*, be mocked, as they were by Tarquin's setting a day and not coming.

4. *adesse*: depending again on the main verb of saying (implied). — *temptari*: the emphasis gives a force like 'what he was aiming at was to try their patience, to see if they would bear this insult;' cf. 32. 4. — *obnoxios*: *i.e.* if he found them submissive and in his power. — *apparere*: see Gr. 338.

5. *quod*: *sc. imperium*. — *sui*: see Gr. 196. c; here referring to the omitted *ei*. — *bene*: *i.e.* had done well in entrusting. — *aut*: introducing a kind of correction or amplification of the foregoing. — *creditarum, trusted (at all).* — *et non, and not, rather.* — *Latinos*: opposed to cives sui. — *quamquam*: *correctivum.* — *sic, in that case.* — *alienigenae*: *i.e.* as Tarquin was. — *debere*: the protases of this apodosis, though put as simple conditions (changed to subjunctive in indirect discourse), are really ironical, and leave their contraries to be implied.

6. *sin*, etc.: the real state of the case. — *se*: see Gr. 196. a. 2. — *audiant*: representing a colloquial present for future time; Gr. 276. c. — *quemque . . . abituros*: see Gr. 205. c. 2.

7. *seditosus*: as if the Latins were subject to Rome, as they were in later times. — *facinorosus*: hardly more than, *daring*; properly, 'ready for violent and
maxime dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit. Aversi omnes ad Tarquiniun salutandum, qui, silentio facto, monitus a proximis ut purgaret se quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se sumptum inter patrem et filium cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse et, quia ea res exemisset illum diem, postero die acturum quae constituisset. Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim nullam breviorem esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habitu- rum infortunium esse.

Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam videbatur aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrem, quo civium animos domi oppresse- rat, Latinis iniceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falsa crimen insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrupt, ut in deversorium eius vim magnam gladi-

lawless action,' — cum maxime, just when; for mood, see Gr. 323. The whole sentence, with Latin compression, contains two statements, 'Thus,' etc., 'did the man harangue, being (to account for his action) a man who,' etc., 'and just as,' etc., 'Tarquin came in.'

8. is, that (his coming); see Gr. 195. d.—silentio: i.e. by proclamation. — proximis: who had been present. — id temporis: see Gr. 240. b.—disceptatorem, an arbitrer, in a private capacity.

9. id, with that; obj. of tulisse. — tulisse, etc., he (i.e. Tarquin) got off without reproach; a colloquial use of ferre, as in the comedy. — dixisse: i.e. Turnus, with the Livian careless change of subject.—

cognitionem: cf. 49. 4.—quam inter, etc., than that between, etc., in accordance with the English idiom. — verbis: i.e. the following, which would be the judgment. — pareat: cf. audiant in 6. — habituorum infortunium: a pregnant expression like the English 'come to grief'; cf. malum habere. The patria potestas was unlimited.

Ruin and Death of Turnus.

51. quam videbatur, than he showed.

2. pro imperio, by virtue of his authority, as a Roman could have been. — per: see Gr. 246. b.—deversorium: i.e. the place where he lodged while attending the council.
orum inferri clam sineret. Ea cum una nox perfecta 3 essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accitus ad se principibus Latinorum quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia inlatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno 4 dicit sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse quod auctor concilii aferit, quem maxime peteret. Inde illam absentis insecationem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum coniuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dici gladiorum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum. Id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse: rogare eos ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant. Suspectam fecit rem 7 et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesterna et mora Tarquinii, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen nisi gladiis deprehensis cetera vana existimaturi.

Vbi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumsistunt custodes, comprehensisque servis, qui cari-

3. una: the promptness and success of Tarquin's plans make it impossible for Turnus to protect himself. — principibus: not the entire concilium in formal assembly; cf. concilium in 8.

4. dici, he had heard. — adgressurum fuisse (Gr. 337. b): the condition is left to be inferred from the following ('if he had been there,' or the like). — auctor, the summoner, the person under whose authority the council was convened.

5. inde: referring forward to quod. — si vera deferantur: i.e. if the information laid before him was true.

6. dici, that it was said; emphasized to waive all knowledge of the facts on his own part. — vanum, false, an empty rumor. — rogare: still in indirect discourse. — ad Turnum: to his house, as often.

7. suspectam, etc., the matter seemed suspicious; i.e. the charge likely to be true. — videbatur, it seemed likely that, etc. — inclinatis, etc.: i.e. they were disposed to believe, to be sure, but ready to reject the story if the facts should fail to confirm it.
tate domini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enim vero manifesta res visa iniectaeque Turno catenae, et confestim Latinorum concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa novo genere leti deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae cratere supernae iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.

Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius con-
laudatisque qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto
parricidio merita poena adfecissent, ita verba fecit: posse quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, in eo foedere teneantur quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum coloniis suis in Romanum
cesserit imperium; ceterum se utilitatis id magis om-
nium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque
potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruan-
tur quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas

8. abditi: by the agents of Tar-
quin. — ex omnibus locis, from
every corner. — deverticuli: cf.
deversorium in 2. — enim vero,
really, expressing the thought as it
occurred to the minds of the coun-
cil. — manifesta, caught in the act.
In such cases a more summary form
of procedure was practised in an-
cient times than in other cases. —
tumultu, excitement.

9. in medio positis: i.e. brought
into the assembly and displayed. —
indicta causa: i.e. without allow-
ing him to plead his cause, without
trial; see 52. 5 n. — novo: this was
not in use among the Romans, but
was not unknown to other nations;

FURTHER SUBJECTION OF THE
LATINS.

52. revocatis: i.e. from the
summary punishment of Turnus.

The order here gives a force pre-
cisely equivalent to the English par-
ticiple in agreement, ‘Having,’ etc.
— parricidio: inasmuch as the at-
tempt with which he was charged
included the murder of the king
and others. — adfecissent: see Gr.
341. d.

2. posse quidem, etc.: notice
the emphasis, I MIGHT (sai'd he) .

but. — agere: i.e. proceed as if
Rome had the imperium over all
the Latins. — oriundi: and hence
as colonies subject to the treaties
of the mother country Alba. — ab
Tullo, from the time of, etc.

3. utilitatis: depending on causa.
— id: referring to the ut clause; see
Gr. 238. b, and 331. — censere: in
its technical sense of giving an opin-
ion, as in the senate. — renovetur:
emphatic, as opposed to vetusto
iure. — secunda: opposed to ex-
cidia, etc.
Anco prius, patre deine tuo regnante perpessi sint, semper aut exspectent aut patiantur.

Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo foedere superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant et Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indicumque iunioribus Latinorum ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

Nec, ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum

4. quamquam, etc.: *i.e.* though they saw it would be an unequal alliance, yet the reasons given determined them. — adversatus esset: in a kind of indirect discourse (following the idea of warning in documentum) for a future perfect of the direct. For the apodosis, see Gr. 341. c.

5. indicum: the beginner must carefully distinguish between the participle compounded with in negative, and the verb with its participle compounded with in.

6. secretum, separate, its proper meaning. Ordinarily such troops would act as allies independently under their own commanders; cf. 27. — manipulos: there is much confusion about the earlier organization of the Roman army. The maniples are said (VIII. 8. 3) to have been made much later, and are not mentioned in II. 64. 10, though they may possibly be supposed; but Livy had no distinct idea of details, nor care for them, except as they are picturesque, and so conceives the army as it was in later times, which, after all, is just as well, for the maniple, in some form or other, must have belonged to the earliest organization. — ex binis, etc.: ‘making two out of one and one out of two’ could only be done by taking half of each and putting them together, in which sense they could be said to be doubled (geminatis). — centuriones: two, as the maniple was composed of two centuries.

WAR WITH THE VOLSCI AND WITH GABII.

58. nec, and yet... not. — ut ita, though... still, as often. — arte: cf. artibus, 39. 4; it does not mean the art of war, but the qualities which made him a good commander. — degeneratum: see Gr.
in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volsci
bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos
movit Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Vbi cum
divendita praedae quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset,
concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi, quae
digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio,
quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset. Captivam pecu-
niam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.

Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios
propinquam urbem nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsi-
dendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta
esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo,
adgressus est. Nam cum, velut posito bello, fundamen-
tis templi iaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum

292. a. The noun which would agree with the participle disappears,
because the verb is used impersonally in the passive: 'the fact that
he was degenerate,' etc. The con-
struction is founded deep in the
genius of the language, but does
not come to the surface generally
till after Cicero. — alis: cf. omni-
bus, 45. 1 n. — huic quoque, etc.: 
other fine points were not strictly
cast into the shade (offecisset),
because he did not have them, but
loosely it may be said that they did
not appear, and the same is true
(for another reason) of this one.

2. in ducentos: i.e. he began
the war which was to last, etc. —
ex his: not exactly 'from them,'
but 'of their territory.'

3. talenta: as he is copying
from Greek sources, Livy uses
Greek sums. — refecisset: i.e.
taken in, made out; a common
force of re-; cf. redigo. — concep-
tit animo, conceived the design of;
emphatic, because it was not built till
long afterwards. — esset: express-
ing his purpose; which should be.

4. except, engaged his atten-
tion; a common and not unnat-
ural use of excipio for anything that
comes on or happens next after
something else. — lentius, more
prolonged; the war dragged, and
was not so soon decided as he
had hoped. — spe: see Gr. 247. 8.
— propinquam: about a dozen
miles off. — vi: i.e. first he tried
assault, which failed. — obsidendi
quoque: the next process, of siege,
was also hopeless, inasmuch as his
forces were driven from their posi-
tion around the city (a moenibus).
— minime . . . Romana: a patri-
otic sentiment not at all uncommon
in all times; cf. 'British fair play,'
with about as much truth. In gen-
eral, however, the Roman vices were
those of the strong rather than of
the weak. — fraude ac dolo: i.e. a
stratagem founded on deceit.

5. posito, having abandoned,
from the idea of laying down a
thing. — templi: the temple of
Jove; see 3. — iaciendis: the reg-
ular word for 'laying' foundations,
doubtless on account of the use of
se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens. Iam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae taedere, ut quam in curia solitudinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquit. Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsum nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquini credidisse. Nam, ne errarent, manere iis bellum quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quod si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererratum se omne Latium, Volscosque se inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac feroxissimum populum inventurum.

Cum, si nihil morarentur, infensus ira porro inde abii-

rubble for the lowest base.—operibus: public buildings and the like.

6. iam: i.e. he had got to that point; a common use of the word.—vertisse: sc. his father.—liberorum quoque: as he had before of the senate, etc.—ut, ne, ne: depending on the general idea of killing implied in the preceding.

7. se: opposed to the others.—elapsum: i.e. had succeeded in escaping, to be sure, but had no confidence anywhere but with his father’s enemies.—nam: explaining hostes; they were still such, although the war seemed abandoned.—ne errarent: the purpose of his following statement; see Gr. 317 c.

8. inde: i.e. going from one to the other till he found a refuge.—impiis: the word pius applies to the relation of parents to children, as well as the converse.—tegere: see Gr. 271.

9. ardoris, etc.: i.e. besides the mere willingness to succor the helpless, he might find some zeal for war as well,—intimating that he could be of advantage to them by the spirit which he would bring and the skill in fighting.—superbissimum, etc.: these words serve to hint at the need of some assistance against the kind of foes they had to deal with.

10. morarentur: properly with eum for its object, but with the figurative sense of moror partially present, ‘if they didn’t care,’ or ‘choose to take up the case.’ The mood stands for the future indicative of the direct.—porro inde, further on his way, according to his
turus videretur, benignae ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant
mirari, si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ulti-
mum in liberos esset; in se ipsum postremo saevitu-
rum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius
esse futurumque credere brevi, ut, illo adiuvante, a portis
Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

54 Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Vbi cum de aliis
rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae
notiones essent, ipse identidem bellii auctor esse et in eo
sibi praeceptum prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque
populi vires nosset, sciretque inveniam profecto super-
biam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem
potuissent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores
Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum
praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque
omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana accresceret fides,
dux ad ultimum bellii legitur. Ibi cum, inscia multitut-
dine quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabios-
que fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset,
tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarqui-

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statement before. —vetant: simply representing the imperative of their
address. 'Do not be surprised,' they
said. —si . . . esse: see Gr. 333.
&. r. The mood is occasioned by
the indirect discourse.—in cives:
see 49. 5; socios: see 51.
ii. sibi: see Gr. 344. l.

Plot of Sextus and Capture of
Gabii.

54. in consilia publica: used
particularly of the senate, which is
often called the publicum consilium.
—adhiberi: historical infinitive.—
aliis: other than the relations with
Rome. —adsentire: older form in-
stead of adsentiri. —veteribus: as
opposed to himself, a new-comer.—

identidem: i.e. as occasion offered.
—esse: hist. inf. —nosset, sciret: notice the difference in meaning and
use. —regiam, of the king.
2. rebellandum: in its proper
sense of renewing the war. —praedatum: in consequence of its origi-
nal nature as an accusative, the su-
pine is constantly co-ordinated with
a noun and preposition, as here.—
vana, false and idle.
3. multitudine: the civilians,
through whose influence his fame
at home increased (certatim cre-
dere). —quid ageretur: i.e. what
Sextus was about. —proelia, etc.: i.e. their success made the Gabini
think Sextus a leader sent from
heaven.
nium dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud 4 milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munifice largiendo, tanta caritate esse ut non pater Tarquiniius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiius esset.

Itaque postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit, quidnam se facere vellet, quandoquidem ut omnia unus Gabiius posset ei dii dedissent. Huic 6 nuntio, quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium transit sequenti nuntio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando exspectandoque responsum nuntius 7 cessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse quaeque venerit refert: seu ira seu odio seu superbia insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi 8 quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud populum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit. Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam interfici. Patuit quibusdam volentibus 9

4. milites: the soldiers in the field, as opposed to the civilians. — pariter, alike; the two show different kinds of qualities. — praedam: it rested with the general how the booty should be disposed of, whether given to the soldiers or sold for the state.

5. videbat: for mood, see Gr. 324. a. — unum: hardly differing here from quandam. — sciscitatum, etc.: see Gr. 259. A. — ei: one would expect sibi representing a miki in the words of Sextus. It is probably put into this form to avoid the apparent arrogance of miki. Too much boasting was anxiously supposed to draw down the anger of the gods.

6. voce, in words.


8. ambagibus, intimations, roundabout hints instead of a direct answer. — criminando: i.e. by false charges of treason. — invidia: the odium which they had previously incurred. Both these things are means of putting them to death, though in a somewhat different sense.

9. patuit: i.e. they were allowed to fly. — volentibus: cf. Gr. 235. c; translate with fugit, voluntary
fuga aut in exsilium acti sunt, absentiumque bona iuxta
atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largitiones inde
praedaeque et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malo-
rum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque
Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum
traditur.

Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum
gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit, inde ad nego-
tia urbana animum convertit. Quorum erat primum, ut
Iovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui
nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinius reges ambos, patrem
vosisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religio-
nibus area esset tota Iovis templique eius quod inaedifi-
caretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot
ibi a T. Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus
Romulum pugnae vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea
fuerant. Inter principia condendi huius operis movisse

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1st. — iuxta atque, equally with, or and... alike. — divisui: i.e. a fund for distribution, but the Latin is more abstract.

10. largitiones: i.e. what he distributed; praedae: i.e. what he and his minions secured for themselves. — privati: in the case of those who were enriched. — in manum: i.e. in dicionem, which is more common.

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CITY.

55. receptis: cf. refecisset, 53.

3 and note. — ut: depending on negotium (supplied with primum). Livy has in his mind the effort and plan(cf. animum convertit); hence an object clause is natural. — Iovis: there were chapels (as it were) also to Juno and Minerva, but only as associated with Jupiter. — Tarquinios, etc.: the facts of which the temple would be a memorial. — reges: put in, like a later Roman’s titles, as a distinction.

2. religionibus, religious claims, of other gods who might have shrines there (fana, sacella). — exaugurare, unconsecrate, by ceremonies similar to those by which they had first been consecrated, for the pleasure of the gods must be asked by augurs. — fana, sacella: not distinctly different, but apparently a sacellum had an altar; a fanum not necessarily. — quae aliquot, several of which: see Gr. 216. e. — discrimine: see 13, where, however, the vow is not mentioned; it is probably inferred from the existence of the shrines; cf. Varro, L. L. V. 74.

3. movisse numen: this odd expression gives the idea that the gods took the trouble, set them-
numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur·deos; nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non addixere. Idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetu-tatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est: caput humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse. Quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat, idque ita cecinere vates quique in urbe erant quoque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruria accipientem. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pometinae manubiae, quae per-ducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in funda-menta suppeditāvere. Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim, quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadraginta milia pondo

4. non motam, etc.: cf. degeneratum, 53. 1 n.—sibi: the reflexive is used because the god himself is the real subject; Terminus does not leave the place fixed for him, and indicates thereby, etc.—cuncta: i.e. the whole realm, as symbolized by its boundaries.

5. integra facie, with its features perfect, not impaired by decay.

6. haud per ambages, with no uncertain sign. — eam: agreeing with the predicate, as usual (Gr. 195. d); best translated here.—caput rerum, the capital of the world.—ita: i.e. in this sense, in explaining the prodigies.—qui-que: i.e. et qui.

7. augebatur: i.e. by the favorable omens.—Pometinae: see 53. 2.—suppeditāvere: i.e. because, on the strength of the omens, the king had made the foundations more elaborate.

8. Fabio: Fabius Pictor, the great early Roman historian; see 44. 2.—praeterquam quod: i.e. from the reason of the thing, beside the fact that Fabius is the earlier authority.—ea: i.e. the manubiae of Pometia.

9. Pisoni: see Intr. 6.—quadraginta milia pondo: as the talent was about 80 Roman pounds, the
argenti séposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda sperandam et nullius ne horum quidem magnificentiae operum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

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

First sum would be 3200 pounds, as against 40,000. The discrepancy has been explained by supposing Fabius to have counted only the king's tenth (40) of the 400 talents, and that these talents were reckoned by Piso as 100 pounds each. This seems less likely than that it is a natural later exaggeration made at a time when the small sum had come to seem insignificant. — summam: in apposition with milia. — exsuperaturam: Gr. 293. b.

Further Building. Visit to Delphi.

56. ex Etruria: the temple was built in the Etruscan style. — operis, workmen; i.e. in enforced labor. — et ipse, of itself, no less than the military service which they had beside.

2. ut... sic: cf. ut... ita, 53. 1. — foros... faciendos: in apposition with opera; see Gr. 301. R.; for foros see 35. 8 n. — cloacam: the great sewer still in existence.

3. exercita: i.e. after they had been used in this way, and as a kind of reward for their services, inasmuch as such colonists received land. — et urbi, etc.: the two reasons of the king — it was good for the city at home, and they needed colonies abroad. — usus non esset: i.e. there was no use for them, nothing for them to do any more, and so the poorer were a burden to maintain. — terra: by Signia; mari: by Circeii.
Haec agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis ex columnae lignea elapsus cum terrorem fugamque in regia fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus quam anxiis implevit curis. Itaque cum ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu Delphos ad maxime inclitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit. Neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus, duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras, ignotiora maria, in Graeciam misit. Titus et Arruns profecti. Comes iis additus L. Iunius Brutus, Tarquinia, sorore regis, natus, iuvenis longe alius ingenio quam cuius simulationem induerat. Is cum primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfектum audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse ubi in iure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiae cum se suaque praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit cognomen, ut sub eius obtentu cognominis liberator ille

4. non tam, etc.: not so much alarmed, like the others, by the mere appearance of the creature, as troubled by the doubt as to what the omen portended.

5. Delphos: as a higher authority.

6. responsa: of course after they should be given. — sortium: the word, from meaning the billets of wood on which Italian oracles were written, comes to mean the oracle itself. — ausus: it was important to keep such a matter secret. — ignotas: though the Romans had long been familiar with Greeks, yet they themselves had little to do with the actual course of commerce itself, so that to them Livy may say, without much exaggeration, utterly unknown.

7. ingenio: ablative of specification. — cuius: i.e. is iuvenis cuius. — induerat: the figure is derived from a mask or costume, but is a little forced. — in quibus, and among them. — animo: not merely his wits, which he allowed to be considered dull, but his spirit or ambition, in which he seemed to have no aspirations, allowing himself to be treated as a fool. — fortuna, his possessions.

8. factus, forming himself. — se: referring to animo, as explained above. — sua: referring to fortuna. — Bruti, the Dullard. For the case, see Gr. 214. f. — ille . . .
populi Romani animus latensopperire tur tempora sua.
9 Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius
quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato
ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages
effigiem ingenii sui.
10 Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis,
cupido incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi ad quem
eorum regnum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem
redditam fereunt: 'Imperium summum Romae habe bit
qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit.'
11 Tarquinius Sextus, qui Romae relictus fuerat, ut ignarus
responsi expersque imperii esset, rem summa ope taceri
iubent, ipsi inter se, uter prior, cum Romam redisset,
matri osulum dare, sorti permittunt. Brutus alio ratus
spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset,
terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea communis mater
omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi
adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur.
57 Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque
in ea aetate, divitiiis praepollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli
fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari exhaustus mag-
nificentia publicorum operum, tum praeda delenire popu-
larium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbiam regno

animus, that great soul. in Latin
the soul is not identified with the
man so much as in English, but
nearly the same effect is pro-
duced.
9. ludibrium, a butt. — per
ambages: cf. 54. 8 and 55. 6.—
effigiem, a symbol, or emblem, as
we should call it; the Latin is more
simple and direct.
10. quem: instead of the more
regular utrum; cf. 6. 4. Brutus
is not really included in the ques-
tion, though his presence may have
occasioned the use of quem; but
he is in the answer.
11. Sextus: the other brother.
—expers, without a chance; prop-
erly, without a share.
12. alio . . . spectare, looked in
another direction; i.e. meant some-
thing entirely different. — scilicet,
doubtless, naturally.

THE YOUNG PRINCES IN CAMP
BEFORE ARDEA.
VII. 409. — ut in, for; cf. 18. 1 n.
infestos etiam quod se in fabrorum ministerio ac servili
tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata 3
res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Vbi id pa-
rum processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi
hostes. In stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, 4
satis liberorum commeatus erant, primoribus tamem magis
quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium 5
conviviis comissionibusque inter se terebant.

Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et 6
Collatinus cenabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de
uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis.
Inde certamine accenso Collatinus negat verbis opus 7
esse; paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris
praestet Lucretia sua. 'Quin, si vigor iuventae inest,
conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum
ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod necopinato
viri adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluerant vino. 'Age 8
sane!' omnes.

Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se
intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Col-
latiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, 9

2. praetor, to say nothing of.—
habitos, etc.: this was also an act
of superbia.

3. si: see Gr. 334. f.— obsidi-
dione: cf. 53. 4.

4. stativis: i.e. the encampment
made necessary by the siege.— ut
fit, as is usual.— commeatus, fur-
loughs; properly, going to and fro.

5. regii: i.e. in their case disci-
pline was even so much relaxed, etc.;
an exaggerated example of the case
of the primores.— conviviis: the
banquet proper; comissionibus:
the after-revels, in which the young
men roamed about from one place
to another, carousing.

6. potantibus: may be either
dative or ablative.

7. id quidem: with a force like
'why, that you can see for your-
selves.— cuique: usually in the
relative clause, but here introduced
sooner for emphasis; cf. Gr. 202. e.
— spectatissimum, the surest proof;
properly, the thing proved.

8. incaluerant: and hence were
ready to adopt the wild suggestion.
— age sane, well, come on. The
singular imperative is used collo-
quially as an interjection. The short
sentences vividly portray the swift
execution of the plan; cf. Ovid's
description, Fast. II. 733.
quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniiique excepti benignes, victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinius mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt.

58 Paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius inscio Collatino cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Vbi exceptus benignes ab ignaris consili cum post cenan in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur; stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso, 'Tace, Lucretia' inquit; 'Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem.'

Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Vbi obstinatam videbat et ne

9. convivio: i.e. they were still indulging themselves at dinner. — nocte sera: indicating a greater diligence. — lanae: spinning and weaving, the regular occupations of the thrifty housewife. Cf. the epitaph of a Roman lady: domum servavit, lanam fecit. — lucubrantes: working by lamplight; a continuation of the same idea as in nocte sera. — in medio aedium: in the atrium, the great hall, not the splendid and luxurious dining-rooms like the others.

10. muliebris (Gr. 214. a. 2): one would expect certaminis to be first, but the present order is occasioned by the contrast with the men (cf. Gr. 344. 1). — victor: the emphasis serves to explain comiter invitat.

11. tum quidem: as opposed to the later visit of Sextus.

THE RAPE OF LUCRETIM.

58. 2. circa: equivalent to a noun; Livy inelegantly uses 'around' for 'the things which are around,' — a use for which the way is prepared by the use of adverbs for adjectives; cf. omnia circa, and see Gr. 188 c.

3. versare, etc., ply her with every appeal to the feminine mind;
mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua iugulatūm servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore cum viciṣset obstinatam pudicitiam velut victrix libido, profectioneque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decoque muliebris esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelifus amicis veniant; ita facto maturatōque opus esse, rem atrocem incidisse.

Spurius Lucretius cum P. Valerio, Volesi filio, Collatinius cum L. Junio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam reidiens ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo invenit. Adventu suo 7 rum lacrimae obortae, quaerentique vīro Satinet salve? 'Minime' inquit; 'quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia? vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum corpus est tantum violatūm, animus insons: mors testis erit. Sed date dextrās fidemque, haud impune adultero fore. Sex. est Tarquinius qui, hostis 8 pro hospite, priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium.' Dant 9 ordine omnes fidem, consolantur aegram animi averterdo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti: mentem peccare, non corpus, et, unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse.

properly, turn her mind in all directions to look at arguments from all sides.

4. sordido: as being committed with a man of low estate.

5. quo terrore: cf. hac fiducia, 30. 4 n. — velut: because the victory was not a real one. — ferox, exulant, as often. — nuntium, messenger. — facto: see Gr. 292. b.

6. nuntio, messenger.

7. satine: colloquial form for sa-tisne (Gr. 10. c and 11: b. 3). The word implies a slight doubt natural under the circumstances. — salve: sc. agis or res se habent. The omission of the verb is regular in this colloquial expression, equivalent to Does all go well? — testis: i.e. that I speak the truth. — impune: adverb, as in the phrases bene esse, male esse, and the like.

8. sibique: conditioned by the following clause.

'Vos' inquit 'videritis quid illi debeatur; ego me et si peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.' Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque.

59 Brutus illis luctu occupatis cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum manantem cruore prae se tenens 'Per hunc' inquit 'castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro, igni, quacumque dehinc vi possim, executurum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum.' Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Vt praecipitatum erat iurant, totique ab luctu versi in iram Brutum, iam inde ad exspugnandum regnum vocantem, sequuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt conscientisque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines.

10. vos videritis: her gentle answer to their consolation. She says it is for them to determine his guilt and its punishment; for her own case she decides herself, and refuses their excuses.

11. cultrum: the emphasis gives the force, 'she takes a knife which,' etc., 'and plunges it,' etc.

12. clamam, etc.: according to the regular custom; cf. 41. 6 and the death of Dido, Virg. Aen. IV. 665 seq.

The AVENGING OF LUCRETIA.

59. executurum: not elsewhere used in this sense with a personal object.

2. tradit: thus calling upon them to take the same oath. — unde: the idea of questioning is implied in stupentibus; 'they could not make out.' — novum: as it contradicted his whole previous character; see note on animo, 56. 7. It was not so much a change of intellect as of spirit. — ingenium: sc. esset, but see Gr. 206. c. 2, 3d example. — toti: see Gr. 191. — iam inde, from that moment.

3. elatum: the technical word for the carrying out of the body. — miraculo: cf. 47. 9 and also 7. 8. — indignitate, the shameful nature.

— pro se: not merely joining in the cry, but themselves moved, each independently.

4. movet (emph.): 'what affected
cum patris maestitia tum Brutus castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum auctorque, quod viros, quod Romanos decret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferociissimus quisque iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest, sequitur et cetera iuventus. Inde parte praesidio relictae Collatiae ad portas custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati, duce Bruto, Romam profecti. Vbi eo ventum est, quacumque incedit arma multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum Celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingenii, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa mor-

them was not only,' etc. — patris, etc.: the two aspects of the case are contrasted, — the passive grief of the father, and the energy (now first apparent) of Brutus. — castigator: i.e. the fact that he was so; cf. Gr. 292. a. — quod: as if there were an eius, with capiendi in apposition with it. The omission of this makes quod refer loosely to the idea in capiendi; as we might say 'adviser of what, etc., taking up arms.' It is to be remembered that this order of clauses is the original and perhaps more common one.

5. adest: an almost technical word; stands ready, joins them. — custodibus datis: apparently only a detail of the general parte relictæ.

6. rursus, but on the other hand. — haud temere, not without reason; not a mere chance occurrence without significance. — quidquid sit: i.e. though they do not understand it.

7. nec minorem, etc.: i.e. after the story is told. — tribunum Celerum: commander of the bodyguard (see 15.8). He could hardly be a magistrate in the strict sense, or have any right to call the people together, but he is made so in the story, doubtless in conformity with later prejudices.

8. pectoris: here referring to intellect, as ingenii to spirit. — orbitate, the bereavement. — Tricipitinis: i.e. Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
9 tis indignior ac miserabilior esse<br>10 Addita superbia<br>11 ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloaca<br>12 casque exhauriendas demersae: Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro<br>13 bellatoribus factos. Indigna Servi Tulli regis memorata<br>14 caedes et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia,<br>15 invocatique ulores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque<br>16 credo aliis, quae praezens rerum indignatas haudquaquam<br>17 relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis incensam<br>18 multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret exsu<br>19 lesque esse iuberet L. Tarquinium cum coniuge ac libe<br>20 ris. Ipse iunioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis<br>21 armatisque ad concitandum inde adversus regem exerci<br>22 tum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe<br>23 Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto,<br>24 relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit<br>25 exsecrantibus quacumque incedebat invocantibusque pa<br>26 rentum furias viris mulieribusque.

60 Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, cum re nova<br>27 trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus,

9. fossas: the smaller drains. — exhauriendas: not merely digging<br>10 dry earth, but clearing out mud and<br>11 filth; hence also demersae, to<br>12 intensify the picture. — omnium<br>13 circa: cf. circa, 58. 2 n. — opifi<br>14 cies, etc.: these artisans were of the<br>15 lowest classes, and so it was a<br>16 degradation to be placed among<br>17 them as compared with soldiers.<br>18 II. indignitas: in the same<br>19 sense as in 59. 3; but the Latin, it<br>20 must be remembered, does not<br>21 distinguish between indignity and

indignation; here the subjective<br>22 phase predominates.<br>12. ipse: as opposed to the newly<br>13 enrolled army which he leaves be<br>14 hind. — ultro: i.e. as volunteers; without waiting to be summoned.<br>15 — praefecto: it is almost amusing to see the care which Livy takes in<br>16 that age of formality to make the<br>17 proceedings entirely regular. The<br>18 praefectus urbi (urbi) was the chief<br>19 magistrate of the city in the absence of all magistrates with the<br>20 imperium.<br>13. furias: cf. 48. 7 n.

THE FALL OF TARQUIN AND INSTI<br>21 TUTION OF CONSULS.

60. pergeret Romam: the fortu<br>22 nate absence of the king from the
flexit viam Brutus—senserat enim adventum—, ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore diversis itineribus Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio clausae portae exsiliumque indictum; liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepero, exactique inde liberi regis; duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt; Sextus Tarquinius Gabios, tamquam in suum regnum, prefectus, ab ulterioribus veterum simultatium, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque concierat, est interfectus.


camp reads like a novel, as the whole doubtless is.

3. ab condita, etc.: cf. degeneratum, 53. 1. This construction is more deeply rooted in Latin than at first appears; cf. castigator, 59. 4 n, and the gerundive construction.

4. a praefecto urbis, etc.: again an effort to give a show of regularity to the proceedings; the auspices and imperium are thus continued.

—ex commentariis: i.e. according to forms of election prescribed by him in his constitution.
TITI LIVI
AB VRBE CONDITA
LIBER II.

1 Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnaverunt ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immutatae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tribu-

BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. liberi: the emphasis marks the division of the new era from the old.—iam hinc: with peragam in grammatical construction, but its position adds to the emphasis of liberi, and connects the adverbial idea more closely with the new state of things.

2. nam: introducing the suggestion of the tyranny of the last king, who alone of all did nothing which could be counted as an addition to the city. The whole is intended to show that the republic came in just at the right time; hence neque, etc.

3. pessimo publico: here pessimo as substantive is modified by publico; cf. bono publico, 44. 3.—facturus fuerit: representing fecisset in the direct statement without quin; see Gr. 308. d. n., and cf. 337. b.

4. futurum fuit: see Gr. 308. d. —regio: see Gr. 217. a.—tribuniciis: here Livy is thinking of the later republic, when the tri-
niciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignora coniugum ac liberorum 5 caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum 6 adultae discordia forent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent.

Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annuum 7 imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres: omnia iura, 8 omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est, ne si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videre-tur. Brutus prior concedente collega fasces habuit, qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis popu-lum, ne postmodum lecti precibus aut donis regis pos-set, iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros reg-nare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam 10 ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum nume-rum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit. Traditumque inde fertur, ut in se-natum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent:

bunes were the agents of all popular disturbance.

6. res: i.e. the power of the state. — moderatio, the restraint, put upon the strong democracy. — frugem: the figure all along is one of vegetable and animal growth.

7. libertatis: its emphasis refers back to liberi, at the beginning: 'but of this freedom, however,' etc. — quod deminutum sit: see Gr. 321. R. — numeres: see Gr. 311. a.

8. iura: the consuls had all the power of the king. — insignia: chiefly the fasces, but also including the robes and the sella curulis. — fasces: only one at a time had these symbols of the power of life and death. — vindex: properly of the formal claimant of a slave in his suit for freedom; hence here champion.

9. avidum, while jealous; i.e. in their first enthusiasm.

10. etiam: i.e. by mere numbers as well as prominence in the state. — caedibus: cf. I. 54. 8. — trecentorium: cf. I. 35. 6.

11...ut: because traditum contains the idea of a custom or law.
conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

2. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subie cere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisce rebus muniendo modum exisserint. Consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit: nimium Tarquinios regno adsu esset. Initium a Prisco factum; regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto obliti tum tanquam alieni regni Superbum Tarquinium vel ut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso Superbo penes Collatinum imperium esse. Nescire Tarquinios privatos vivere. Non placere nomen, periculosa libertati esse. Hinc primo sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat neminem

—profuit, etc. : this is again conceived in the spirit of Livy's time. For the mood, see Gr. 334.  

**Organization of the New Government and Expulsion of the Tarquins.**

2. necubi, that nowhere; literally, 'lest somewhere.'

2. ac : in allusion to the last fear expressed; 'and in fact in this direction,' etc.

3. aliud: see Gr. 238.  

4. — nomen: L. Tarquinius Collatinus. — nimium, etc. : the characteristic indirect discourse of a thought added in a narrative. — intervallo : here

5. foret: characteristic subjunctive. — id: i.e. the oath and the principle it contained. — dicturum fuisse: see Gr. 337.  

of time, the reign of Tullius, which broke the continuity of the Tarquin dynasty. — tanquam alieni, as belonging not to him, but to the people.

4. temptantium: of the first cautious suggestions of the malcontents to try the temper of the people. — sollicitam: i.e. their minds were disturbed by the talk as it spread, so that it became necessary to do something.

5. vinceret: overcome, and so force him.
regnare passuros nec esse Romae, unde periculum libertati foret. Id summa ope tuendum esse, neque ullam rem quae eo pertineat contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas rei publicae vinceret. Non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem recuperatam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen non solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id officere, id obstare libertati. 'Hunc tu' inquit 'tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, eieisti reges; absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui auctore me, sed si quid deest, munificæ augebunt. Amicus abi, exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum.' Consuli primo tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat vocem; dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumstunt, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minus: postquam Spurius Lucretius, maior aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis suadendoque coepit, ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent. Collegam sibi comi-

7. absolve, *complete.* — cum gente, etc.: *i.e.* so and only so.
9. movebant minus, etc., *did not affect him much, but,* etc. — dignitate, *position,* in respect to services and exploits. — agere, *to ply him.*
10. privato: after the expiration of his office. — alia . . . ignominia: in being forced to go, for instance. — Lavinium: to a friendly foreign state, rather than to the hostile Etruscans, his own people.
11. *ad populum:* we may suppose the *comitia centuriata,* in spite
tiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

8 Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab Tarquiniiis iminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac proditionem prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana iuventute adulescentes aliquot, nec hi tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solution fuerat, aequales sodalesque adulescentium Tarquiniorum, adsuetti more regio vivere. Eam tum aequato iure omnium licentiam quaerentes libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conque rebantur: regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius, ubi iniuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse, inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nosse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salvatoriorem melioremque inopii quam potenti, nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum exesseris; peri-

of the separate mention of it in the next line. Such carelessness is not strange in our author.

**Plots of the Tarquins.**

8. cum, etc.: opposed to the clause id...fuit.— quidem: correlative with ceterum, opposing the delay of the war with the Tarquins to the earlier intestine troubles.—non timebant: opposed to haud...in dubio esset.

2. nec, and not...either.—in regno: i.e. under the rule of a king.—regio: i.e. without control.

3. eam: referring to regio, etc.— quaerentes, missing: a very common meaning of the word; cf. the exactly opposite course of desidero, 'find missing,' and so 'feel the want of'; see Harvard Studies, I. p. 96.—suam, for them, on account of the emphasis.—regem, etc.: i.e. a king was a human being, and so to be influenced by human motives for right or wrong.—opus sit: see Gr. 243. e. r. — gratiae, favor; properly, the agreeableness of the favored to the favorer; but in Latin such words are viewed from either direction; cf. note to iniuria, I. 13. 1.—beneficio: i.e. doing a good turn; more concrete than the preceding, and expressing nearly the same thing viewed from the opposite end.—posse: i.e. regem.

4. rem surdam: opposed to hominem.— inexorabilem: opposed to a quo impetres.—salubriorem, etc.: a parenthetical remark outside the antithesis.—nihil, etc.: opposed to gratiae, etc.—excesseris: see Gr. 309. a.—innocentia: a free use of the ablative of means. It is dangerous to try to live by this
culosum esse in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita iam sua sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt sine mentione reditus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit, ne non redita belli causa, redita belli materia et adiumentum essent. Interim legati alia moliri, aperte bona repetentes clam recuperandi regni consilia struere; et tamquam ad id quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adolescentium animos pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt, et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus conloquuntur.

Vitelliiis Aquillisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, iamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque in societatem consillii avunculi adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiiit. Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulis sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absumunt, evincunt-

means alone; one needs some indulgence for frailties besides.

5. sua sponte: i.e. without the additional stimulus of the arrival of the envoys. — animis: ablative. — ne: i.e. "on account of the fear that"; the purpose, properly, of the debate.

6. alia: opposed to the ostensible aim of their visit. — tanquam ad id, etc.: i.e. this was their excuse for visiting the young nobles, to gain their influence.

7. placide, favorably; properly, without objection or offence.

THE YOUNG NOBLES SIDE WITH THE TARQUINS.

4. adolescentes, grown up.

3. eam ipsam: cf. Gr. 195, d. — causam, excuse; hence the subjunctive sumpsissent, putting the words into the mouths of the envoys. — evincunt, finally succeed in having. — ut . . . darentur: object clause, as with words of persuading
que instando, ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinios darentur: nam aliter qui credituros eos non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis adferri? Datae litterae, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur cenatum forte apud Vitellios esset,coniuratique ibi remotis arbitriss multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex servis unus exspectit; qui iam ante id senserat agi; sed eam occasionem, ut litterae legatis darentur, quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, exspectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos coniuratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppresse, litterarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. Proditoris extemplo in vincula coniectis de legatis paululum addubitatum est, et quamquam visi sunt commississe ut hostium loco essent, ius tamen gentium valuit.

and the like.—litterae: i.e. from the conspirators, in order to compromise, and so bind them.
4. qui, how.—credituros: see Gr. 338.
5. proficiscerentur: see Gr. 327. arbitriss, witnesses; the earlier meaning,—ut fit, as was natural; this idea is immediately connected with novo, as it was because their heads were full of the new plans that they talked about them.—qui, etc.: translate with a new sentence, 'he,' etc.
6. eam occasionem: i.e. the opportunity afforded by the giving of the letter; hence the dependent clause takes the form of a purpose clause: he was waiting for the letter to be delivered, to take advantage of that opportunity.—detulit: the technical word for laying definite information before the authorities.

7. profecti, etc.: as magistrates they had the power of proceeding immediately, without our machinery of warrants, etc.—sine tumultu: i.e. without creating any alarm or stir outside of their own official circle. —oppresse, crushed; the word properly means more than this. They anticipated the outbreak by putting their hand on it in its inception, caught it in the act and nipped it in the bud, as it were; or, they seized it by the throat; hence litterarum in primis, etc., in accordance with the rest of the figure.—ne interciderent: a common form of explanatory purpose clause, where an object has already been expressed; cf. 9. 5 and see Gr. 334. c. for a similar usage in the indirect question.—ut hostium, etc.: i.e. had forfeited the rights of ambassadors (cf. ius gentium).
De bonis regis, quae reddi ante censuerant, res integra 5 refturtur ad patres. Ibi victi ira vetuere reddi, vetuere in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut con-
tacta regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis
amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Ti-
berim fuit, consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit.
Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. 3
Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere,
desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum
simul immissa corribus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem
aqua, ut mediiis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis haesitantis
frumenti acervos sedisse inlitos limo. Insulam inde paul-
latim et aliis, quae fert temere flumen, eodem invectis
factam. Postea credo additas moles manuque adiutum,
up tam eminens area firmaque templis quoque ac portici-
bus sustinendis esset.

Direptis bonis regum damnati prodictores sumptum-

CONFISCATION OF THE ROYAL
PROPERTY.
5. reddi: see Gr. 331. d, and cf.
redenda, 4. 3. — integra, afresh;
i.e. as if the matter had not been
considered; the technical meaning
of the word. — refturtur: by the con-
sul, for whom referre is the technical
term. — in publicum, etc., to be
confiscated; i.e. sold and ‘covered
into the treasury.’
2. diripienda: as the property
of armed enemies. — ager: com-
prising the whole level ground on
which most of modern Rome stands.
3. seges: the standing grain. —
religiosum: because consecrated
with the land to the god. — cum
stramento: the usual way was to
cut the heads and leave the straw,
but here the whole, for religious
reasons, was cut off, as with us. —
coloribus: this does not agree with
the time of the regifugium, kept
later (Feb. 24), but that is a small
matter in a story of this sort.
4. sedesse, settled, or got caught.
— inde; i.e. ex eis; connected by
et with aliis ... invectis. — eod-
em: i.e. ad eundem locum. —
credo: the author, seeing the solid
character of the insula Tiberina,
the seat of the great temple of
Æsculapius, naturally presumes that
the formation must have been as-
isted by art. — area: see I. 38.
7 n. — sustinendis: after firma,
in the sense of ‘strong enough to’;
see Gr. 299.

EXECUTION OF THE SONS OF
BRUTUS.
5. regum, of the royal family. —
de liberis: this phrase is postponed
in order to bring it in sharp contrast
que supplicium, conspectius eo quod poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant delicati ad palum nobilissimi iuvenes. Sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberii omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis 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 exsuli proderent. Consules in sedem processerent suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium. Nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater vultusque et os eius spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus.

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**consulatus**, his *office* of consul.

**erat amovendus**: see Gr. 311.

**exactorem**: cf. *sumptum*, capiendae de.

6. **ignotis**: *i.e.* obscure persons of little account, instead of young nobles. — **avertent**: see Gr. 279. *i.e.* miserebat homines, *men felt compassion*. — poenae, on account of, etc. Inasmuch as the punishment was deserved, men's feelings were excited by the crime which made it necessary.

7. **illos**, etc., to think that they, etc.; cf. *nimium* Tarquinios, etc., 2. 3 n., and see Gr. 274. — **potissimum**, *of all (years)*. — **quidquid**, etc.: a common way of making a very general statement; cf. *nullus* used instead of *nemo*, *quid* instead of *quis*, etc.

8. **sedem**: the raised platform or tribunal. — *eminente, showing itself*.

9. **utramque**: *i.e.* both in punishment of offenders and reward of informers, each of which would tend to prevent (arcendis) crime.

10. **primus**: one would expect *primus* according to the Latin idiom, but Livy is perhaps thinking of 'the first time,' the occasion rather than the person. — **dicitur**: naturally this could not be true, and even Livy does not believe it. — **vindicta**: the rod with which a formal
Quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum ut qui ita liberati essent in civitatem accepti viderentur. 

His sicut acta erant nuntiatiis incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum tantae ad inritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obsaepam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriae urbes, orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne se ortum, eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos; se regem, augentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata coniuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuissse, bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, claimant of a person alleged to be free, but claimed by some one as a slave, asserted his (formal) right in the process for freedom. — Vindicicio: this etymology is, of course, impossible, though the whole family of words is a puzzle to etymologists.

The word vindicus comes from vindex, the name for a claimant in such a case, whence also comes vindico (a-re), the word for the action; vindex may be a noun of agency like nauuta. The words all point to vim dicere; but as the first part is a case, and not a stem, the combination could not regularly yield vindex nor its derivative vindico. The only way of explaining the anomaly is to suppose a form vindex irregularly made in imitation of index, index; for as index is to ius dicere, so is vindex to vim dicere. — ita: i.e. by the process of vindi- catio, as distinguished from other forms of manumission.

War with the Tarquins.

6. sicut, etc.: i.e. with all their details. — ad inritum (in-vatum), to naught. — dolo: dative.

2. se ortum: referring to Tarquinienses (cf. I. 34. 1); eiusdem sanguinis: apparently referring to Veientes, in the common chiastic order. — extorrem, an exile; for derivation, cf. concors, and see Gr. 168. d. — ex ... regno: cf. ex bello tam tristi, I. 13. 6. — adolescentibus: i.e. not mere children, but young men of promise. — alios: used of Numa by a rhetorical exaggeration familiar even in colloquial language. — augentem: it heightens the picture that he was driven out just at that moment.

3. eos: st. proximos. — expers: cf. extorrem above. — ferrent: see
adiuvarent; suas quoque veteres iniurias ultum irent,
totiens caesas legiones, agrum ademptum. Haec move-
runt Veientes, ac pro se quisque Romano saltem duce
ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda minac-
ter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet:
pulchrum videbatur suos Romae regnare. Ita duo dua-
rum civitatum exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque
persequendos Romanos seuti Tarquiniu. Postquam
in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti consules
eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit; Brutus
ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo
primus eques hostium agminus fuit, praerat Arruns Tar-
quinius, filius regis; rex ipses cum legionibus sequebatur.
Arruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde
iam propius ac certius face quoque Brutum cognovit,
infiammatus ira 'Ile est vir' inquit, 'qui nos extorres
expulit patria. Ipsen illi nostris decoratus insignibus
magnifice incedit. Di regum ultores adeste.' Concitat
calcaribus equum atque in ipsum infestus consulem deri-
git. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum erat tum ipsis

Gr. 339.—suas: see Gr. 196. a. i.
—caesas, etc.: in apposition with
iniurias; cf. Gr. 292. a., so often
cited already.

4. haec: i.e. what is said about
their iniuriae. Notice the empha-
sis: 'It was this last that influenced
the Veientes...; the people of
Tarquiniu, on the other hand,' etc.
—pro se quisque: this common
expression makes a statement more
vivid by referring the act to indi-
viduals; 'each one was moved to
cry out.'—Romano saltem duce:
 i.e. the opportunity should not be
lost, however they might keep quiet
at other times, for fear of failure.
—nomen, etc.: i.e. the people of
Tarquiniu, on the other hand, were
moved by sympathy with the royal
family.—suos: see Gr. 196. c.

5. ita: i.e. from these two mo-
tives.

6. quadrato agmine: i.e. not
in ordinary marching-order, but so
as to have the troops in battle array
on every side, something like a
hollow square; see A. & G.'s Cesar,
B. G., Notes, pp. 99, 100.

7. consulem: i.e. he recognized
the office at a distance.—facie
quoque: i.e. now he recognized
the person.—ipses: the emphasis
makes prominent the idea that Bru-
tus' motives were personal, and not
patriotic.
capessere pugnam ducibus, avide itaque se certamini offert: adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendi corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et cetera equestris pugna coepit, neque ita multo post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et velut aequo Marte pugnatum est: dextera utrimque cornua vicere, laeva superata. Veientes, Vinci ab Romano milite adsueti, fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis, novus hostis, non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit.

Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit ut omissa inrita re nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam; haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita certe inde abiere Romani ut victores, Etrusei pro victis. Nam postquam inluxit nec quisquam hostium in

8. tum: as opposed to later times, when personal combat between leaders was unknown.
9. vulneraret: see Gr. 314. — protegendi, etc.: i.e. they used no defensive tactics, though of course each had a shield for defence. — contrario, of his adversary.
10. cetera: i.e. of the rest of the force. — ita multo post, so very long after. — varia, alternate; i.e. partial on each side; first one party conquering, and then the other, on the different wings. — aequo Marte: in reference to the general result, which was undecided, though not in the ordinary sense where both parties maintain the contest; hence velut.

11. novus: as opposed to adsueti. — ab sua parte: see Gr. 260. d.

MOURNING FOR BRUTUS.
7. ita: i.e. with this result. — inrit, unsuccessful; i.e. considering it such. — quisque: instead of the proper uterque.
2. adiciunt: i.e. common report. — Silvani: another name for Faunus, identified with Pan, the author of panic terrors. — vincere: i.e. victorem esse; apparently an imitation of the Greek, which is fond of this use.
3. ita: i.e. as the voice announced. — certe: i.e. however it may be with the miracle. — ut, pro: neither
conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit, trium-
phansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus quanto
tum potuit apparatu fecit; sed multo maius morti de-
cus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia
matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam
acer utor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.

Consuli deinde qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles
vulgi animi, ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio
etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum adspectare
fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum
Bruti et aedificabat in summa Velia: ibi alto atque
munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore. Haec dicta
vulgo creditaque cum indignitate angerrer consulis ani-
num, vocato ad concilium populo summissis fascibus
in contionem ascendit. Gratam id multitudini spectacu-
um fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessio-
nemque factam populi quam consulis maiestatem vimque
maiorum esse. Ibi audire iussis consul laudare fortunam
collegerae, quod liberata patria in summo honore pro re
publica dimicans matura gloria neccum se vertente in
invidiam mortem occubuisset. Se superstitem gloriae
suae ad crimen atque invidiam superesse, ex liberatore
patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosisque recidisse. 'Num-

of the expressions was strictly cor-
rect.—erat: see Gr. 324. a.
4. collegae: emphatic as op-
posed to Valerius, who returned.—
luxerunt: see 16. 7 n.
5. ex favore: cf. ex tanto, etc.,
6. 2.

VALERIUS YIELDS TO THE JEAL-
OUSY OF THE PEOPLE.

6. aedificabat: used absolutely,
as often in English.—Velia: the
ridge across from the Palatine to
the Esquiline.—arcem: like a for-
tress in the Middle Ages, to hold
control over the city.—fore: see
note on nimium, 2. 3.

7. indignitate, the outrage; prop-
erly, the 'undeservedness' of the
accusation.—in contionem ascen-
dit: a shorthand expression for as-
cending to some place, not specified,
to address the citizens.

8. audire iussis: i.e. the herald
'called them to order.'—neccum,
and (yet) not yet, as had his own;
'fully complete, but yet not yet
turned the other way.'—Aquilios,
quamne ergo' inquit 'ulla adeo vobis spectata virtus
erit ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acer-
rimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen
subitum timerem? Ego, si in ipsa arce Capitolioque
habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis?
tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone
est fundata leviter fides ut ubi sim quam qui sim magis
referat? Non obstabunt Publi Valeri aedes libertati
vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in
planum modo aedes, sed colli etiam subiciam, ut vos
supra suspectum me civem habitetis. In Velia aedifi-
cent quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas.'
Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam, et, ubi
nunc Vicae Potae est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.

Latae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione
consulem absolverent, sed quae adeo in contrarium ver-
terent ut popularem etiam facerent. Inde cognomen
factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocacione ad-

eetc.: see 4. i.—recidisse ad, fallen
to the level of, etc.

9. vobis: the MSS. have a vobis,
but spectatus is so regularly used
with the dative that the preposi-
tion is probably an interpolation.—
subitum: a rare (ungrammatical)
confusion of a verb of fearing
with verbs of saying, occasionally
found in late or careless writers;
nobody but the critic is always
grammatical.—timerem: see Gr.
268, x.

10. arce Capitolioque: the same
place under different aspects; feared
as the real citadel or commanding
 stronghold, which the Velia was in
a very small degree indeed.—levi
momento pendet, have so little
weight. Momentum probably refers
originally to the movement of the
weight on the steelyard, and hence
comes to mean weight itself.—fun-
data levitetur: the figure is of a thing
placed on a base not of sufficient
weight to keep it from tipping over
easily.—fides, your confidence in
me.—qui sim: cf. qui sis, non
unde natus sis, I. 41. 3.—referat:
from referebant.

11. non in planum, etc.: i.e. 'not
only on a level, but even under a hill.'

12. Vicae Potae (sc. aedes): the
words look as though they were
irregularly manufactured from vinco
and potior, in imitation of regular
ones.—clivo: the broad road up
the Velia; cf. clivus Capitolinus.

LAWS OF VALERIUS.

8. latae: in his character of
consul.—absolverent (sc. eum): see Gr. 319, 2.—verterent: intransi-
tive, as often.—Publicolae: for
versus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratae in vulgus leges fuere. Quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia collegae subrogando habuit. Creator Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu non sufficientibus iam viribus ad consularia munera obunda intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucreti locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem, Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insigne fecerit consulatum, memoriam intercidisse.

6 Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iovis aedes; Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit; Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus.

7 Aegrius quam dignum erat tulere Valerii necessarii dedicationem tam incliti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem iam tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem deum nuntium incutiunt, mortuum eius filium esse, funestaque familia dedicare eum templum non posse.

8 Non crediderit factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit,

populi-cola (cf. agricola, caelicola, etc.), with the same meaning as popularis.

2. omnes: se legis. — provocazione: as the action of magistrates was summary, this amounted to securing a trial of the accused by his peers; cf. I. 26. 8 n. These laws made the appeal an inviolable right instead of a precarious privilege, as under the kings. — sacrando: this devotion to the gods deprived the person devoted of all rights whatsoever; he could be killed, and his property was confiscated irrevocably.

3. unius: see Gr. 197. e. — subrogando: see Gr. 299. b.

4. iam, any longer; on account of his age.

6. sortiti: the regular method of decision between colleagues of equal privileges.

7. postem, etc.: a regular part of the ritual; cf. VII. 3. 8. — incutiunt: from the analogy of such expressions as terrem incutere and the like. — funesta: i.e. ceremonially impure. — familia, his house; the whole establishment in and among which the death had taken place.

Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum regem, perfug erant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur; nunc monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis; nisi quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis, nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Porsinna, cum regem esse Romae tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non um quam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit: adeo valida res tum Clusina erat magnumque Porsinnae nomen.

Nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs metu perculsa receptis in urbem regibus

8. certum, for certain: cf. pro certo. — nihil aliud: see Gr. 238. b. Cf. Val. Max. V. 10. 4. — efferri: the body was brought out for the funeral. — precationem, the ritual, dictated by the priest and repeated by the magistrate.

9. inde: i.e. for the next year, as the consular election must be held by a consul.

WAR WITH PORSENA.

9. Lartem: properly a title, Lord. — Porsinnam: the name varies between e and i and between one n and two; it seems to be the same form as Spurinna, Vibenna. — consilium precesque: cf. the two motives in 6. 3.

2. morem, etc.: the democratic example which might extend to their peoples. — ipsam: i.e. without an example to encourage it.

3. tanta: sc. vi. — aequari: equivalent to a future; cf. fore below.

4. regem esse: see Gr. 270. 3. N. i. — gentis: see Gr. 215.

5. alias: cf. I. 28. 4. — adeo: i.e. to such a degree as is indicated by the preceding. — ne . . . acciperet: cf. 36. 3.
vel cum servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonesae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos alii Cumas. Salis quoque vendendi arbi-
trium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni
sumptu, ademptum privatis, portoriisque et tributo plebes
liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent:
pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educerent.

Itaque haec indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus
in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit,
ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horre-
rent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popu-
laris esset quam tum bene imperando universus senatus
fuit.

Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris
demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. Alia muris,
alia Tiberi objecto videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius iter
paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset Horatius Cocles:
ido munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit.

Qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repen-
tino impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes
vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque

6. blandimenta, favors; conciliatory measures. — annonesae, etc.;
i.e. to relieve the distress occasioned
by the high price of grain. — salis,
etc.: cf. I. 33. 9. The traffic was now
taken from individuals and carried
on by the state to relieve prices.
— in publicum omni sumptu, the
public assuming the whole expense.
— portoriis: customs duties and
the like. — tributo: assessments ap-
portioned to the people for extraor-
dinary needs. — ferendo: see Gr.
299. a. — pauperes, etc.: the ex-
planation of the law-makers. — li-
beros: i.e. as material for soldiers.

8. unus: i.e. any single dema-
gogue of later times. — malis arti-
bus, demagogic arts, opposed to
bene imperando.

HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE.

10. pro se quisque, all with
one accord; cf. 6. 4. — praesidiis:
i.e. the different points of defence.
are strengthened by reinforce-
ments.

2. dedit, ni fuisset: see Gr. 308.
b. — id: the regular attraction into
agreement with the predicate; see
Gr. 195. d. — munimentum: as if
the man were of the same kind as
LIVY.

relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens obtestansque deum et hominum fidem testabatur nequiquam deserto praesidio eos fugeret; si transitum pontem a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore. Itaque monere praedicere, ut pontem ferro igni, quacumque vi possint, interrumpant; se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum. Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obversis comminus ad ineundum proelium armis ipso miraculo audaciae ostupefecit hostis. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper sustinuit. Deinde eos quoque ipsos exigua parte pontis relictah, revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coegit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes, servitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum venire. Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipient, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela coniciunt. Quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu cona-

murus and Tiberi; a common figure in all languages.

3. in statione pontis: i.e. in command of the guard at the bridge. — reprehensans: trying by main force to hold them back; obsistens: blocking their path.

4. deum hominumque fidem, 'by everything in heaven and on earth.' — nequiquam, etc.: i.e. that it was useless for them, etc. — transitum: predicate appositive with pontem; 'the bridge as a passage.' — monere: for moneo of the direct.

5. conspecta cedentium, visibly retiring. — pugnae: a stronger expression than the usual ablative. — obversis: opposed to cedentium, etc.

10. gradu: referring to the firm position which he takes to resist the shock. — iam impetu: i.e. they
bantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis
simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti operis sub-
latus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles
‘Tiberine pater’ inquit, ‘te, sancte, precor, haec arma et
hunc militem propitio flumine accipias!’ Ita sic armatus
in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis
incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famae habitu-
ram ad posteros quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem
civitas fuit: statua in comitio posita, agri quantum uno
die circumaravit datum. Privata quoque inter publicos
honores studia eminebant: nam in magna inopia pro
domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid fraudans se ipse
victu suo contulit.

Porsinna primo conatu repulsus consiliis ab oppugnanda
urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Ianiculo locato
ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, navibus un-
dique accitis, et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti
subvehì sinevet, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen
per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis traicerent; brevique
adeo infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit ut non
cetera solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem
compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere

had come to the point of trying
to overwhelm him by mere force of
numbers. — *pavore*: the shout and
the crash alarmed them, and stopped
their course for the moment.

11. Tiberine pater: all rivers
were more or less divine, and repre-
sented in the form of old men.
With this prayer cf. that of *Aeneas,
Virg. Aen. VIII. 72, and the proba-
ble source of both in Ennius’ Te-
gue, pater Tiberine, tuo cum flu-
mine sancto. — *ita*: *i.e.* thus having
prayed. — *sic, as he was*. — transa-
vit: the story is variously told; in
some versions he is drowned; but
one is as good as another. — habi-
turam: see Gr. 293. b. 1.
13. privata, of individuals.

THE SIEGE OF ROME.

11. repulsus, etc.: notice Livy’s
fondness for participial construc-
tions. — *ipse*, etc.: to explain the
supposed cutting-off of provisions.
If Latium were open, there could
be no scarcity of provisions.
2. ad custodiam: co-ordinated
with the purpose clause, ut praedat-
datum, etc.
3. cetera: *i.e.* other property,
which was carried in (to be supplied
auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul, intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improviso adoriundi, in parvis rebus neglegens ultor gravem se ad maiora vindicem servabat. Itaque, ut elicet praedatores, edicit suis, postero die frequentes porta Esquilina, quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus, scituros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia infida transfugerent. Et sciere perfugae indicio, multoque plures, ut in spem universae praedae, flumen traiiciunt. P. Valerius T. Herminium cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considere iubet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita iuventute ad portam Collinam stare, donec hostis praetereat; inde se obicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulum alter T. Lucretius porta Naevia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus; ipse Valerius Caelio monte cohortes delectas eduit. Hique primi apparuere hosti. Herminius, ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit ex insidiis versisque in Valerium Etruscis terga caedit; dextra laevaque hinc a porta Collina illinc ab Naevia redditus clamor; ita caesi in medio praedatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares et ad fugam saeptis

8. porta Naevia: on the south end of the city. — Caelio monte: also looking towards the east.

9. hique primi: i.e. Valerius first made the attack. — Herminius, etc.: the ambushed troops now attack the Etruscans in the rear, and the other two divisions attack them on the left and right. — Valerium: a necessary correction of the MSS. Lucretium.

10. caesi, etc., being hemmed in and cut down. — neque . . . et, not . . . and; an irregular form of connection, occasionally found in all styles; so in Greek, obre . . . τέ.
omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effuse evagandi Etruscis fuit.

12 Obsidio erat nihilo minus et frumenti cum summa
2 caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem
3 spem Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius, adulescens nobi-
4 lis, cui indignum videbatur populum Românum servien-
5 tem, cum sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus
6 ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab isdem
3 Etruscis obsideri quorum saepe exercitus fuderit, — ita-
que magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem
vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hos-
4 tium castra constituit; dein metuens ne, si consulum
iniussu et ignar is omnibus iaret, forte deprehensus a cus-
5 todibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum
urbis crimen adfirmante, senatum adit. 'Transire Tibe-
6 rim' inquit, 'patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium
volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor: maius,
5 si di iuvant, in animo est facinus.' Adprobant patres.

— finis, etc.: i.e. they learned a
2 lesson, and were afterward on their
3 guard.

THE SIEGE CONTINUED.

12. obsidio: the siege was not
2 raised at all by this success, though
3 the activity of the Etruscans was
crippled.— sedendo: i.e. without
4 active operations, by starving them
5 out.

2. cum: this word should go
3 with constituit (Gr. 325. b.); but
4 the connection of the clauses is for-
gotten, and a new sentence begins
5 with itaque. — servientem: i.e.
6 under a monarchy, opposed to libe-
7 rum; cf. Liberi, 1. 1. — obsessum
8 esse, etc.: it is the fashion of the
9 Latin to co-ordinate such clauses
10 as these directly with the main
11 clause; in English we subordinate
12 them by means of a while, or the
13 like.

3. itaque: going back to
4 the main statement (C. Mucius, etc.).
5 — sua sponte: i.e. without the con-
6 sent of his superiors; as we say in
7 slang, 'on his own hook.'

4. fortuna, etc., a charge to
5 which, etc., would give color; an
6 attendant circumstance of retraher-
7 retur, etc.

5. transire, etc.: the abruptness
6 of his statement is particularly dra-
7 matic, and well put in keeping with
8 his supposed character. — praedo:
9 i.e. to get booty himself. — popu-
10 lationum, etc.: i.e. to make repri-
11 sals for the enemy's depredations.
12 — iuvant: the constant use of
13 present for future.
Abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Vbi eo venit, in 6 confertissima turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi 7 cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa aget, eum milites vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari uter Porsinna esset, ne ignorant regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obturcat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum concursu ad clamorem facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus tum quoque inter tantas fortuanae minas metuendus magis quam metuens, 'Romanus sum' 9 inquit 'civis, C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui, 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

7. stipendium: Livy has in his mind the payment of Roman troops by the quaestor; hence pari ornatu, as the quaestor was also a magistrate as well as the consul. — sciscitari: an extension of the principle stated, Gr. 271 (example. 3). — semet... quis esset: see Gr. 334. c. — temere: i.e. he struck at a venture, one being as likely to be the king as the other.

8. qua per trepidam, etc.: i.e. by the natural shrinking of the crowd from an apparently desperate man who had just committed a murder. — concursu, etc.: i.e. the rush of outsiders in greater numbers who had not been paralyzed by the occurrence. — destitutus, set down, but with an idea of being left alone without any prospect of help. — tum quoque: i.e. even under these circumstances. — tum quoque, etc.: an explanation of tum. — metuendus, an object of fear.

9. Romanus: by his very name declaring himself an enemy without any prevarication. — fortia: to be taken in two different senses with the two verbs, but the subjective and objective distinction was very dim to the Romans.

10. nec unus, etc., and I am not the only one, etc.; an effect produced by the emphasis. — animos: not merely 'purpose' or 'design,' but with an idea of boldness or daring; cf. I. 56. 7. — proinde: the regular illative particle when its clause is hortatory. — in hoc discrimen: not merely 'prepare for this struggle,' but 'this is the struggle you must prepare for,' as is indicated by the emphasis as well as by the explanatory ut clause; cf. also
iuvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo,
ferreum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi
iuventus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, null-
rum proelium timueris; uni tibi et cum singulis res erit.'
Cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque conterritus cir-
cumdari ignes minitabundus iuberet, nisi expromeret
propere quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages iaceret,
'En tibi' inquit, 'ut sentias quam vile corpus sit iis qui
magnam gloriam vident,' dextramque accenso ad sacri-
ficium foculo inicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu
torret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab sede
sua prosiluisset amoverique ab altaribus iuvenem iussis-
set, 'Tu vero abi' inquit, 'in te magis quam in me hosti-
lia ausus. Iuberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria
ista virtus staret; nunc iure belli liberum te intactum
inviolatumque hinc dimitto.' Tunc Mucius quasi remu-
erans meritum 'Quando quidem' inquit 'est apud te
virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me quod minis ne-
quisti, trecenti coniuravimus principes iuventutis Roma-

hoc in 11. — iuvat: cf. si . . .
iuvant, 5. — capite: an ablative
of price. — habeas: co-ordinate
with dimices.
11. nullam: notice that the em-
phasis is on the negative, 'you are
not to,' etc. — timueris: see Gr.
269. a. 1, and 3. N. — uni: op-
posed to the idea of numbers im-
plied in aciem, etc.
12. circumdari ignes, him to be
thrown into the flames. — expro-
meret: for expromet (or -af) of
the command, see Gr. 307. f.
— sibi: see Gr. 227. d. — iaceret:
used like our throw out.
13. tibi: see Gr. 235. e. — que,
and at the same time. — alienato,
etc., unconscious; properly, 'discon-
nected,' etc. — sensu: his bodily
sensations; animo: his perceiving
mind. — altaribus: the same as
foculo above.
14. tu vero: the colloquial em-
phazized pronoun; see Gr. 194. a,
and 344. l. — iuberem: the word is
used with any kind of expression
which would have an imperative in
the direct form, as macte virtute esto.
— macte: here (as probably always)
an adverb; cf. impune, I. 58. 7, and
bene, male esse. — nunc, as it is.—
iure: ablative of separation.
15. ut . . . tuleris: see Gr. 317.
c; the perfect is allowed because
the beneficium has already been
bestowed and had its effect, though
what Porsena gains by it is still to
be made known, almost like 'that
you may know that you have,' etc.,
nae ut in te hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit; ceteri, utcumque ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt.'


Ergo ita honorata virtute feminae quoque ad publica

'I will say,' etc. — trescenti, etc., there are three hundred of us, etc. — grassaremur: the word gives the idea of secret assassination; cf. grassator, cut-throat.

16. utcunque, etc., however the first may fare; i.e. 'whether I am killed or not.'

Offers of Peace. Feat and Honors of Cloelia.

18. Scaevolae: diminutive from scaeva (sc. manus). — legati: here, though used as a noun, this word has the construction of a participle, hence a Porsinna; cf. Gr. 291. a.

2. moverat eum, was he affected, to preserve the emphasis; for tense, see Gr. 279. e. — casus, the result; i.e. the narrow chance by which he had escaped. — subeunda: cf. ab condita, I. 60. 3 n, and castigator, I. 59. 4 n. — superessent: for super-sunt in his thought.

3. nequiquam, without effect. — ignoraret: see Gr. 321. r.

4. de agro, etc.: this subject has not been mentioned before, but the reference is doubtless to the lands described in I. 15. 5 and 33. 9. — imperatum: opposed to nequiquam above. — Romanis: after expressa, all ambiguity being removed by the context. — vellent: representing a vultis of direct discourse, the protasis of obsides dandi sunt in the words of Porsena. — his conditionibus, etc.: a much more serious subjection of Rome to the king is here glossed over; cf.
decora excitatae. Et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit, sospitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem deoscope; alias haud magni facere: deinde in admirationem versus supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre, quem ad modum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam intactam inviolatamque ad suos remissurum. Vtrimque cons titit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa quos vellet legeret. Productis omnibus elegisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipso rum probabile erat eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab hoste, quae maxime opportuna iniuriae esset. Pace redintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo

Tac. Hist. III. 72, Dion. V. 35 and 65, Plin. N. H. XXXIV. 139.

6. Romam ad propinquos: see Gr. 259. 4, and 225. 6.
7. factere: see Gr. 336. 1. N. 2.
8. supra Coclites: cf. ‘hair fairer than the Graces,’ a form of speech common in all languages. — dicere: historical infinitive. — dederetur: for dederetur (or deditur used as equivalent to it) of the direct. — habiturum: see Gr. 336. c. N. i. — deditam: a shorthand way of expressing the opposite condition; cf. Gr. 292.
9. constitit, was kept.
10. decorum: it would be less modest in her to select young men. — consensu, etc.: the forced antithesis is noticeable; on the one hand, the girl herself, implied in virginitati, and on the other her companions in misfortune, each of whom would like to be chosen. The antithesis is made formal by opposing the feelings of the girl to the approval of the others. — probabile, approved; as the passive participle is often equivalent to the verbal in -bilis, so also sometimes the verbal is not unlike the participle in meaning, but with the suggestion of the action being natural or expected.
11. in (femina), in the case of, as often with in. — summa, etc.: near veterem portam Palatii (I. 12. 3). — fuit posita: this form
genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere: in summa Sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci ab horrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet, bona Porsinnae regis vendendi. Cuius originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore crevissae principio quam hic prae se ferat titulus bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis quae traduntur, Porsinna discedentem ab Ianiculo castra opulenta convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commeatu Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinquaque obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo immisso diripentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsinnae appellata, gratiam munieris magis significante titulo quam aucti-nem fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestatem quidem populi Romani esset.

Omissio Romano bello Porsinna, ne frustra in ea loca:

ought to mean 'was there once,' but not in Livy's time; Seneca, however, speaks of it (ad Marc. 16. 2) as still existing.

14. profectioni: the dative with abhorreo is peculiar to this place, and the ablative without a preposition is not common. It may be a kind of construction according to the sense. — cetera sollemnia: i.e. those used at public sales of booty. — bona, etc.: a part of the booty was apparently so described at the sale.

2. omissam: attracted to agreement with originem, though it, as well as crevissae, belongs with moris. — titulus: the notice of sale in which the property to be sold was enumerated. — hostiliter: i.e. as the property of an enemy, opposed to the peaceable character of the settlement of affairs as described; cf. the same word in 4. Of course the whole story has been entirely made over, and the custom may have originated in a grim joke like 'catching a Tartar.' But in Livy's time they doubtless believed in the varnished account of the Etruscan wars.

4. ea: i.e. the castra, meaning the property left therein. — fortunae: curiously like our own use of 'fortune' for large possessions. — in potestatem: a construction with esse peculiar to this phrase; see Gell. I. 7. 16. — esset: indirect discourse after significante; see Gr. 341. c.

5. ne frustra, etc., the power of Etruria, no doubt, spread over the whole of Latium after the conquest of Rome, and this occupation is
exercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum filium
6 Arruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primo Aricinos
res necopinata perculerat. Arcessita deinde auxilia et a
Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut acie
decernere auderent. Proelio inito adeo concitato impetu
se intulerant Etrusi ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos.
7 Cumanae cohortes, arte adversus vim usae, declinavere
paululum effuseque praelatos hostes conversis signis ab
tergo adortae sunt; ita in medio prope iam victores caesi
8 Etrusi. Pars perexigua duce amisso, quia nullum pro-
pius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortuna et specie
supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benigne excepti divisique in
hospitalia. Curatis vulneribus alii profecti domos nuntii
hospitalium beneficiorum, multos Romae hospitum urbis-
que caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus, quem
deinde Tuscum vicum appellarunt.

8. fortuna et specie (loose ab-
latives of manner): i.e. their con-
dition and their attitude were those
of suppliants. — delati sunt: the
regular word for reaching a haven,
and probably used here with a con-
sciousness of that meaning; not
merely ‘came to,’ but ‘brought up
at’ Rome, as the end of their flight;
for number of the verb, see Gr. 205.
c. i. — divisi, etc.: i.e. distributed
round to be entertained as guests.
9. alii: opposed to multos be-
low. — hospitalium: i.e. referring
to their entertainment just spoken
of. — caritas, affection for; but in
Latin the idea is looked at (as
often) from the other end as the
‘dearness’ to them of the objects
of affection; cf. Gr. 213 and note.
— Tuscum vicum: a narrow
street just under the Palatine, be-
tween that and the Capitoline, lead-
ing from the Forum down towards
the river. It was the place of busi-
Spurius Larcius inde et P. Valerius Publicola con- 15
sules facti. Eo anno postremum legati a Porsinna de re-
ducendo in régnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus cum
responsum esset missurum ad regem senatum legatos,
missi confestim honoratissimus quisque e patribus: non a
quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, non recipi reges,
ideo potius delectos patrum ad eum missos quam legatis
eius Romae daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum
mentio eius rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis
in vicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille peteret quod con-
tra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in per-
niciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent cui nihil

ness for those who dealt in materi-
als for luxury and dissipation. The
reason for the name here given is
probably not the true one. It was
more likely the place of Tuscan
merchandise.

THIRD YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC.
PEACE WITH PORSENAA.

15. Sp. Larcius, etc.: the text
is here so confused in the manu-
scripts that the names of the con-
suls cannot be made out with cer-
tainty. That Publicola was one of
them is inferred from 16. 2. — ho-
noratissimus quisque: indicating
a large and imposing embassy, not
two or three envoys.

2. breviter: i.e. without sending
the embassy to say what they had
already determined on. — potuerit:
representing a potuit (independent
of the quin construction); see Gr.
308. c; it is not necessary to sup-
pose a protasis in all these cases,
but the construction is the same as
if there were one. For connection
of tenses, see Gr. 287. c. N.; the
proper possess would not represent
the perfect, which is required in
this construction. For the quin
construction, see Gr. 321, Rem.—
recipi: the tense represents in ef-
fact a present indicative (non reci-
pimus), a regular colloquial form
of refusal; cf. non emo, I'm not
buying = I won't buy, and see Gr.
276. c. — ideo: referring back to
quin, and best omitted in transla-
tion. — missos: an indirect quo-
tation from the supposed argument in
favor of the course pursued. It
sounds like a far away echo of the
senatorial or diplomatic debate on
the subject. — daretur: the regular
construction after such compar-
sions as this is a result clause with
ut, but the ut is omitted in all per-
iods, particularly in early Latin; see
Gr. 332. b. — ut, etc.: the purpose
of their action opposed to the rea-
son just negatived. — in vicem:
belonging with sollicitarentur, op-
posed to mutuis, and anticipating
the cum clauses ille peteret, Ro-
mani negarent. — vellent: if this
part of the answer were independ-
dent both of the purpose and of the
cum construction, it would be 'Ro-
mani nisi... velint' (potential subj.),
negant cui nihil... velint!' — ne-
gatum: see Gr. 292. d. N. 
negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse; ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius portas quam regibus patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit; proinde, si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse orare. Rex verecundia victus 'Quando id certum atque obstinatum est' inquit, 'neque ego obtundam saepius eadem nequiquam agendo, nec Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu quiete, exsilio quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat.' Dictis facta amiciora adiecit. Obsidum quod reliquum erat reddenit, agrum Veientem foedere ad Ianiculum icto ademp tum restituit. Tarquinius spe omni reditus incisa exsul latum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsinna fuit.

3. non in regno, etc.: a part of what the embassy was to say. — potius ... quam ... patefacere: here only the two nouns are compared, while the predicate remains the same, hence there is no need of a subjunctive. — erit: see Gr. 336. b.

4. proinde: the clause following is really an imperative one, though orare, representing a parenthetical oramus, governs the construction; hence the use of this particle.

5. verecundia: i.e. respect for the noble sentiments of the Romans. — neque ego, etc.: the real opposition is between the Romans and the Tarquins, but this is disturbed by the earlier one between the Romans and Porsena, which would be brought out if Livy had stopped at agendo. The result is a careless confusion of antithesis. The same confusion appears in obtundam ... frustrabor. — quod nullum: as Livy would say nullum auxilium, he also says quod nullum, though we use a partitive construction; cf. Gr. 216. c. — exsilio: see Gr. 226. b. — meam: opposed to the Tarquins.

6. agrum, etc.: cf. 13. 4. — ad Ianiculum: not necessarily inconsistent with 13. 2, because the negotiations themselves may have taken place there, though the initiative may have been taken by Porsena; but the whole is probably garbled.

7. Mamilium: see I. 49. 9. — Romanis pax fida: these words, as opposed to the action in reference to the Tarquins, by their emphasis crowd ita out of its place.

War with the Sabines. Attius Clausus.

16. triumpharunt, were honored with a triumph.

2. et: connecting the idea of fight-
Consules M. Valerius P. Postumius. Eo anno bene 16 pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules triumphanunt. Maiore 2 inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, unde, etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat, repentini periculi oriretur, P. Valerius quartum T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. Seditio 3 inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum inde virium transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attius 4 Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur nec par factioni esset, ab Inregillo magna clientium comitatus manu Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque 5 trans Anienem; vetus Claudia tribus, additis postea novis tribulis, qui ex eo venirent agro appellata. Appius inter patres lectus haud ita multo post in principio dignationem pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in 6 agrum Sabinum profecti cum ita vastatione, dein proelio

5. vetus Claudia tribus; opposed to the new members who were added to the tribe, not to a new tribe. — qui: the antecedent of this relative is the subject of appellata (est); see Gr. 199. — eo: the land assigned to these Sabines. — venirent: the subjunctive is occasioned by the idea of indirect discourse in appellata. — lectus: by the senate itself. — dignationem: differing from dignitas as a verbal abstract; ‘the being held in esteem’ from an abstract quality, ‘the worthiness’ of the man himself. The Latin does not often make such distinctions, and these two words afterwards were much confused in meaning.

6. vastatione: sapping their resources by predatory excursions; proelio: destroying their fighting power by killing, wounding, or cap-
adlixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam redierunt.

7 P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset: de publico est datus.

8 Luxere matronae ut Brutum. Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum; fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsum est. Nec magis post proelium quam in proelio caedibus tempus est: et caesi aliquanto plures erant quam capti et captos passim trucidaverunt; ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romae triumphatum.

17 Secuti consules Opiter Verginius Sp. Cassius Pometiam primo vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus oppugnando, i.e. from the treasury. It may be that Livy is trying to explain a public funeral (funus censorium), which was really a mark of honor.

DEATH OF VALERIUS. WAR WITH THE AURUNCI.

7 Agrippa, etc.: a mere date, for which purpose the names of consuls were used, so that the words are in a kind of apposition with anno. — Menenio: Livy constantly varies the old established order of names, the praenomen first, then the gentile name, and finally the family name, and in time the order was generally neglected. — gloria: the construction wavers between an ablative of quality and one of manner, a confusion which suggests a possible origin for the ablative of quality. — de publico: luxere: see 16. 7 n.

8 Auruncom: a derivation of Aurones (Auron + cus; cf. homo, homun-cu-lus), perhaps originally a diminutive like Sabelli; a people of lower Italy just outside the bounds of Latium. — Pometiam: cf. I. 53. 2. — compulsum: there was no army outside the walls, and only the town held out in which the allied Aurunci had taken refuge.

9 caedibus: dative. — qui trecenti: cf. quod nullum, 15. 5 n. — ira abstinuit: cf. I. 1. 1. The expression is poetical. — et hoc: as well as the preceding.

CAPTURE OF POMETIA.

17 secuti consules: equiva-
runt. In quos Aurunci magis iam inexpiabili odio quam spe aliqua aut occasione coorti cum plures igni quam ferro armati excucurrissent, caede incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulum quoque alterum — ceterum nomen auctores non adiciunt — gravi vulner ex equo detectum prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male gesta re reditum. Inter multos saucios consul spe incerta vitae relatus. Interiecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset, cum iura maiore bellum tum viribus etiam auctis Pometiae arma inlata. Et cum vineis refectis aliqua mole belli iam in eo esset ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihil minus foeda dedita urbe quam si capta foret Aurunci passi: principes securi percussi, sub corona venierunt coloni alii; oppidum lent to 'the consuls of the next year.' — vi, etc.; cf. I. 57. 3.

2. in quos : referring to consules, but including, of course, the whole force. — iam: i.e. the time had gone by for any hope of successful resistance, and nothing remained but to satisfy their hatred. — aliqua: one would expect sula, the negative pronoun, on account of the negative force of magis quam, but aliguis is often thus used; cf. 2. 2, aliquid; see Gr. 202. b and c. — cuncta complent, spread everywhere.

3. hostium: speaking from the point of view of the Aurunci. — alterum, one of the two, as often. — ceterum, however.

4. vulneribus, etc.; see Gr. 299. — bellum: the word is doubtful; if retained it covers nearly the same ground as arma, but is more abstract as connected with ira, the spirit of the war, while arma refers to viribus, the actual means of fighting.

5. in eo esset, etc., the soldiers were on the point, etc.; an impersonal construction with the result clause, which may be looked upon as its subject, though ut has eo for its antecedent. — evaderet: i.e. from the agger, or the towers, raised as high as the top of the walls.

6. foeda, a horrible fate. — dedita, etc., though they had surrendered, etc. — Aurunci: this must refer chiefly to the people of Pometia and Cora. — principes, etc.: this may be merely a repetition of the story in 16. 9, but Livy evidently takes it as a different one. — sub corona: cf. Aul. Gell. VI. 4, antiquitus mancipia iure belli capta coronis indulta veniebant et idcirco dicebantur 'sub corona' venire. — coloni alii: Livy apparently treats all the inhabitants as if they were colonists.
7 dirutum, ager veniit. Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt.
18 Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Larcium consules habuit. Eo anno Romae cum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit, parvaque ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur supra belli Latini metum. Id quoque accesserat, quod triginta iam coniurasse populos concitante Octavio Mamilio satis constabat. In hac tantarum exspectatione rerum sollicita civitate dictatoris primum creandī mensio orta. Sed nec quo anno nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniana essent — id quoque enim traditur —, parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satis constat. Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Larcium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos invenio. Consulares legere:

7. consules magis, etc.: i.e. the war was not really important enough for a triumph, but the joy over the avenging of the former defeat caused a triumph to be allowed.

The First Dictator.

18. 2. per ludos ... per lasciviam: the loosely used per expresses in the first case the occasion, in the second the manner of the outbreak. — cf. per luxum, Pref. 12, and per occasiones, 11. 2. — raperentur: cf. the Rape of the Sabinus, I. 9. 10. — supra, more serious than; the phrase is an attribute of rebellionem; cf. Gr. 217c. — metum: i.e. the alarm caused by the Latin war.

3. id quoque, etc.: cf. ab Tusculo, etc., 16. 2. — triginta, etc.: i.e. not merely Tusculum, but the whole Latin league was aroused. — Mamilio: cf. I. 49. 9.

4. sed nec, etc.: i.e. the occasion is clear, but the year is not recorded. — quibus consulibus: although different in case, this expression would ordinarily be equivalent to quo anno, but here the personal character of the consuls, as insufficient to cope with the difficulties of the situation, or not trustworthy on account of their political tendencies, makes it necessary to use both expressions; and the narrative is made lively by putting the words in the dative. — constat: i.e. various persons are named by different authorities; see the argument below.

5. veterrimos: these are Fabius Pictor and Piso. — Sp. Cassium: cf. 17. 1. — consulares: object. — legere: the subject seems to be in
ita lex iubebat de dictatore creando lata. Eo magis adducor ut credam Larcium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M'. Valerium M. filium Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consuliibus appositorum; quin, si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem vellent, patrem muito potius M. Valerium spectatae virtutis et consularem virum legissent.

Creato dictatore primum Romae postquam praeferris secures viderunt, magnus plebem metuš incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto pendendum. Neque enim ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ullam usquam nisi in cura pendendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt. Quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque ut veniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus darent, responsum ignosci adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent. Actum tamen est de pace; impetrataque foret, si quod impensa factum in bellum erat, praestare Sabinis — id enim postulatum erat — in animum

Livy's mind the senate.—ita: i.e. that only ex-consuls should be chosen. — creando: used commonly of a popular election; the regular word for the dictator is dicere, said of the consul.

6. moderatorem, etc.: by giving the description instead of the mere name, the improbability of a young man's being chosen is brought out.

7. si maxime: like our 'if ever so much'; i.e. if, as the historian (probably Valerius Antias; see Intr. 6) says, they must have one of that family, the one named cannot be the one.—vellent: for its subject, cf. legere, 5; for mood and tense, see Gr. 308. a; voluisse would not make the time so exactly concomitant with legissent.

8. praeferris: a dignity which the consuls did not enjoy in the city, by one of the laws referred to in 8. 2. — essent: characteristic subjunctive, explaining why one had a veto over the other.

9. crediderant, had come to believe; cf. Gr. 279. e.

10. sererent: from sero, join; cf. serere (certamina), I. 4, from sero, sow.

11. actum est: i.e. they did not refuse to discuss terms, and in fact would have made peace, if, etc.—
induxissent. Bellum indictum; tacitae indutiae quie-
tum annum tenuere.

19 Consules Servius Sulpicius Manius Tullius; nihil
dignum memoria actum; T. Aebutius deinde et C. Ve-
tusius. His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria
capta, Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit. Nec
ultra bellum Latinum gliscens iam per aliquot annos
dilatum. Aulus Postumius dictator Titus Aebutius
magister equitum magnis copiis peditum equitumque
profecti ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini
hostium occurrerunt; et quia Tarquinios esse in exer-
citu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit
quin extemplo conflagriter. Ergo etiam proelium ali-
quanto quam cetera gravior atque atrocius fuit. Non
enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem adfuere,
seis suismet ipsi corporibus dimicantes miscuere cer-
tamina. Nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa ex
acie sine vulnere praeter dictatorem Romanum excessit.

6 In Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruen-
temque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam iam aetate et
viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit, ictusque

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bellum: emphatic as opposed to
de pace just considered.— tacitae:
i.e. without any agreement on the
subject, both parties refrained from
beginning the war that year.

THE LATIN WAR. BATTLE OF
LAKE REGLILLS.

19. nihil, etc.: as the work
takes the form of annals, like all
ancient history, every year must be
accounted for. — Vetusius: by the
change of s between two vowels
to r, this name became afterwards
Veetiusus; see Gr. 11 a. 1.

2. gliscens: cf. 18. 3. — dilat-
tum: i.e. the Romans saw that the

Latins, whose discontent had been
brewing ever since the weakening
of the Romans after the expulsion
of the Tarquins, must be met and
conquered.

3. lacum Regillum: this locality,
famous in song and story, must have
been near Tusculum, perhaps a dozen
miles from Rome, but can no longer
be recognized, the lake having in
course of time dried up.

4. Tarquinios esse: cf. 21. 5.

5. etiam: i.e. not only were they
impatient to engage, but the battle
itself was fiercer. — non enim, etc.: the
famous battle had been worked
over by poets and historians, till it
ab latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et 7 ad alterum cornu Aebutius magister equitum in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat, nec fefellit veniens Tusculanum ducem, contra quem et ille concitat equum: tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit ut brachium 8 Aebutio traiectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc 9 quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere; Aebutius cum saucio brachio tenere telere non posset, pugna ex cessit. Latinus dux nihil detertitus vulnere proelium 10 ciet et, quia suos perculusos videbat, arcessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui Luci Tarquini filius praeerat. Ea, quo maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis M. Valerius, Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem iuvenem Tarquinium ostentatam se in prima exsulum acie, domestica etiam gloria accensus, ut, cuius familiae decus 2 ejecti reges erant, eiusdem interfeci forent, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquiniius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium temere invectum in exsulum aciem ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit; nec quicquam equitis vulnere equo retardato moribundus Romanus labentibus super corpus armis ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules fercicer citato agmine invehii, suos perculusos cedere animadver-

became a Homeric battlepiece with its heroic incidents.

7. et, no less.— fefellit, escaped the notice of, like the Greek λαθω.

10. quo: properly correlative with eo and another comparative, but here the omission of the second part gives it the meaning of inas- much as, an expression which has the same sort of origin.

20. ab, on, as so often. — M. Valerius: cf. 30. 5 n. — Publicolae: i.e. Publius; see 8. 1. — domestica: i.e. of his own family.

2. ejecti, interfeci: the familiar ab urbe condita construction. — erant: see Gr. 336. 6.
tit, cohorti suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum ut quem suorum fugientem viderint pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi
a fuga Romani in hostem et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit. Integris corpore bus animisque fessos adorti exsules caedunt. Ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto vi maiore quam paulo ante magister equitum cum hostium duce proelium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis verruto perccussus, cum victor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat obtestans, ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto paruere; desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum, et pro antesignanis parmas obiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies postquam iuventutis proceres aequato genere pugnae secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum

5. cohorti suae: a body-guard, perhaps borrowed in the description from later times. — ancipiti: i.e. of the enemy in front, and their own troops behind.
8. — subsidiariis: the third line, according to later usage, and perhaps earlier also. It is impossible to tell what is true and what anachronistic.
9. legatus: here an officer with a special command; perhaps this also is anachronistic. — magister: cf. 19. 7.
10. inter spoliandum: see Gr. 300.
11. pro antesignanis: see note to subsidiariis, 7. At any rate, the dismounted cavalry now formed the first line.
12. iuventutis: they were young men, sons of the first families (proceres). — tum demum: i.e. then
impulsi Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies. Equiti ad-
imoti equi ut persequi hostem posset; secura et pedes-
tris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dic-
tator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur, ac
pronuntiassę militi praemia, qui primus, qui secundus
castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardur fuit ut eodem
impetu quo fuderant hostem Romani castra caperant.
Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dicta-
tor et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem red-
riere.

Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. Con-
sules Quintus Cloelius et T. Larcius, inde A. Sempro-
nius et M. Minucius. His consulibus aedibus Saturno
2 dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies. Aulus de-
inde Postumius et T. Verginius consules facti. Hoc
3 demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quos-
dam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiae fidei
fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse; dictatorem inde factum.
Tanti errores implicant temporum, aliter apud alios ordi-
natis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules secundum quos

it was (and not till then) that ... first, etc.; cf. 21. 3 n.
12. admoti: i.e. their horses were brought to them by the attendants.
13. eodem impetu: i.e. no new formation and attack was necessary.

DEATH OF TARQUIN. OPPRESSION
OF THE PLEBS.

21. 2. Saturnalia: in apposition with dies.—festus dies: the num-
ber of days was increased to three under Augustus, and later to five,
beginsing December 17. The fes-
tival was probably much older than
this, but at this time some new rites
may have been added.
3. hoc demum anno, not until

this year, the regular meaning of
demum with a demonstrative word;
 cf. tum demum, 20, 11 n.—dubiae
fidei: cf. consulibus parum credi-
tum sit, 18. 4.—se consulatu abdi-
casse: this seems not to have been
necessary (cf. 18. 5), but it might have happened in special
cases, or the act may have been
independent of the subsequent ap-
pointment.
4. errores: see Introduction, 7.
—implicant: sc. the historian. —
aliter, etc.: the succession of con-
suls was, no doubt, originally kept
with the greatest care, but had been
exposed to many causes of disturb-
ance in the preserved accounts. —
qui consules, etc., which followed
nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate non
rerum modo sed etiam auctorum, digerere possis.

Insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuus
Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristode-
mum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuntio erecti patres,
ereplebes. Sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit
laetitia: plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope inservitum
erat, injuriae a primoribus fieri coepere. Eodem anno
Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, supplero
numero colonorum iterum deducta est. Romae tribus
una et viginti factae. Aedes Mercuri dedicata est idi-
bus Maiis.

22 Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax neque
bellum fuerat; nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia
quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Ro-

which.—auctorurn: ordinarily the
antiquity of the authorities would
be an assurance of correctness, but
there had been so many causes of
disturbance that Livy takes the view
of the date of the battle given in
chapter 19.

5. Claudius: cf. 16.4.—Servilius:
us, 1. 30. 2.—hic annus: B.C. 496.—post fractas, etc.: it
is not necessary to suppose that the
war was waged to restore the Tar-
quins, though this is stated by some
of the ancient authorities. They
might have fought on that side in
the hope of being restored, and
afterwards naturally fled to the next
uninjured neighbor.

6. luxuriosa, excessive, properly,
of a free and luxuriant growth.—
inservitum: doubtless to secure
their continued devotion to the re-
public, which was after all only an
oligarchy. Of the three estates,
king, lords, and commons, the com-
mons usually hold the balance of
power, and are regularly used by
one of the first two to crush the
other.

7. Signia: cf. I. 56. 3. We must
suppose the remnant of the colony
driven out and again sent back with
completed numbers.—una et vi-
ginti: i.e. four in the city (cf. I.
43. 13), sixteen outside (rusticae),
and the tribus Crustumina besides.
aedes Mercuri: cf. 27. 5, where
the same thing seems to be repeated.

WAR WITH THE VOLSCI. UNION
WITH LATIUM.

22. bello: an ablative of time,
the regular construction with such
words.—fuerat: the author takes
a new standpoint at the end of
the Latin war, beginning with B.C.
495.—comparaverant: the reason
why there was not peace.—matur-
atum esset: the apodosis is suf-

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mano esset, et maturavit Romanus, ne proelio uno cum Latino Volscoque contenderet. Hac ira consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consilii poenam non metuentes necopinata res perculit. Armorum immemores obsides dant trecentos principum a Cora atque Pometia liberos: ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. Nec ita multo post Volscis levatis metu suum redit ingenium: rursus occultum parant bellum Hernicos in societatem armorum adsumpsis; legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimit-tunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos ira odioque eius, quicumque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit. Comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere. Ibi traditi consulibus, indicationumque est Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Roma-

3. nec, and yet not.—levatis: as fear casts down, so freedom from it lifts up; cf. perculit, 2.—suum ingenium: i.e. their native warlike and hostile disposition, which had been held in check for the moment by their fear.—occultum: emphatic, as opposed to their open warfare before. —Hernicos: a mountain people counted as belonging to Latium, but not politically included with them.

4. legatos: emphatic, as opposed to their actual arrangement with the Hernici. —quoque: belonging to the whole sentence, but, as usual, placed after the emphatic word: 'they took in the Hernici, and sent also to Latium, but without success.' —recens, etc.: a somewhat confused way of saying that the Latins, from anger, etc., caused by the memory of the late disaster, did not refrain, etc.; the disaster itself being put for the Latins who were thinking of it.
nis. Relata re ad senatum adeo fuit gratum patribus
ut et captivorum sex milia Latinis remitterent, et de
foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem.
ad novos magistratus reicerent. Enimvero tum Latini
gaudere facto; pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse.
Coronam auream Iovi donum in Capitolium mittunt.
Cum legatis doneque qui captivorum remissi ad suos
fuerant magna circumfusa multitudo venit. Pergunt do-
omos eorum apud quem quisque servierant, gratias agunt
liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate sua; inde hospitia
iungunt. Numquam alias ante publice privatimque La-
tinum nomen Romano imperio coniunctius fuit.

23 Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat et civitas secum
ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabant
odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Freme-

5. \textit{relata}: the technical term for
the act of the consuls consulting
the senate as to the proper course
of action; here \textit{deferre} might be
used, but it would mean only \textit{re-
port}, and not \textit{consult}. — \textit{fuit}: \textit{sc.}
the act of the Latins. — \textit{captivo-
rum}: the taking of these captives
has not been mentioned, but what-
ever account Livy is following, the
events occurred just after the Latin
war, when the Romans might be
supposed to have had prisoners. —
\textit{de foedere}: this has not been men-
tioned, and Livy is evidently fol-
lowing another, but not necessarily
inconsistent account, as is seen by
\textit{servierant}, 7. — \textit{fueraf}: see Gr.
291. \textit{b. r.}; the auxiliary is here used
with the classical force.—\textit{reicerent}:
at first sight not a concession, but it
was something to allow the possi-
bility of action on that point.

6. \textit{enimvero}, \textit{really, you may be
sure}, or the like, the usual force of
the word, introducing an important
change in the situation. — \textit{pacis}:
indicates that there was another
party which favored war. — \textit{qui}:
the antecedent is in apposition with
\textit{multitudo}.

7. \textit{servierant}: they had already
been sold as slaves, which would
agree with Livy's story; perhaps
this is a part of his attempt to join
the two accounts, a function that he
often has to perform. — \textit{habiti, etc.}:
these words contain, in the form
of a predicate participle, the cause
of their gratitude. — \textit{hospitia}: the
peculiar ancient relation of semi-
official friendship; cf. I. 45. \textit{c. n.}

\textbf{Discontent of the Plebs.}

23. \textit{sed}: in opposition to the
good fortune of the Latin alliance.
— \textit{bellum}: not as opposed to the
Latin peace, which would be \textit{Vol-
scum bellum}, but as opposed to the
domestic disturbances. — \textit{flagrabet},
\textit{was ablaze}, keeping the forcible
figure. — \textit{nexos}: the cause was really
the state of things under which the
oppression took place, but it is po-
bant se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi
a civibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello
quam in pace, et inter hostis quam inter cives liberta-
tem plebis esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscen-
tem insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu
quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in
forum proiecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior
corposis habitus pallore ac macie perempti. Ad hoc
promissa barba et capilli effraverant speciem oris.
Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordinis
duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiae decora vulgo miser-
rantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot
locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat.
Sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum
circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino
bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri
non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta
omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore im-
etically put as the cases of oppres-
sion which moved the people. The
obligation was one in which the
debtor mortgaged his own person
for the payment of a debt. The
pound of flesh of Shylock and the
practice of imprisonment for debt
are distant echoes of the process.

2. dimicantes: it was while the
people were absent in military ser-
dvice that the debts had opportunity
to run up beyond their ability to
pay. While they were away their
lands were not cultivated, and did
not yield the profits that were relied
on to pay the debt; cf. 5, below.
— invidiam: the general odium
against the creditor class.

3. magno, etc.: the description
of the manner in which the special ca-
lamitas referred to became known.
— insignibus: referring to the ap-
ppearance of the man as given in
the next line.

4. noscitabatur: i.e. though thus
disfigured, he was generally recog-
nized. — in, amid, i.e. in spite of.
— ordines, etc.: i.e. he had held the
post of centurion, the highest ‘ non-
commissioned’ officer. — alia de-
cora: i.e. military distinctions be-
sides the promotion, which was a
reward of prowess. — ipse: i.e.
others told his history, and he him-
self showed scars of honorable
wounds.

5. habitus, condition. — defor-
mitas, hideous appearance. — in
contionis modum: i.e. like a pub-
lic meeting called together by au-
thority. — Sabino: cf. ch. 16. —
tributum: i.e. the war tax. — suo:
the emphasis is only the favorite one
upon pronouns; cf. the use of ago in
peratum, aes alienum fecisse. Id cumulatum usoris
primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortu-
nis aliis, postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus:
ductum se ab creditor non in servitium sed in ergastu-
num et carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foe-
dum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa audi-
taque clamor ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus
continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi vinci
solutique se undique in publicum proripiant, implorant
Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntari-
us comes. Multis passim agminibus per omnes vias
cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo
suo qui forte patrum in foro erant in eam turbam inci-
derunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere con-
sules P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius ad comprimendam
seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa
ostentare vincula suam deiformitatemque aliam. Haec se
meritos dicere exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi

6. tabem: *i.e.* like a spreading disease, as we should
don't consider it emphatic.

7. pervenisse: literally, the debt.

8. ad corpus: *i.e.* he had been
obliged to borrow money on the nexus obligation, as above described.

9. ductum, etc.: *i.e.* upon non-pay-
ment the creditor had taken him, ac-
cording to the contract, as a slave.

10. nec, *nor*, which in English
is often used like the Latin word
for *and in fact... not.* 'Any sen-
ator who happened there was in
peril of his life, and they would
have suffered, had not;' etc. — ma-
nibus, *acts of violence* (ablative).

11. haec se meritos, *that this
was their reward, for their services
in such and such a battle* (alius alibi), — *dicere*: historical infor-
mitive. — *exprobrantes*, *telling, with*
militiam; postulareulo minaciter magis quam suppliciter ut senatum vocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus; ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat. Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multitudine putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari, nec dubie ludibrio esse miserias suas. Iam prope erat ut ne consulum quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo inter patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediiis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

angry reproach, of. The word is used like our colloquial 'fling in one's face.'—muito, etc.: notice how the emphasis is distributed by the artificial interlocking of the words; cf. Gr. 344. e. — curiam, etc.: i.e. ready for the meeting, in order to influence the deliberations.

12. pauci, only a few, with the regular negative meaning of the word. — quos casus, etc.: i.e. only those who were caught, as it were, by the authorities, could be got together.—infrequentiam, the want of a quorum; a later usage transferred by Livy to these early times.

13. tum vero: in its regular force to denote a decisive point in the narrative.—eludi: the proper meaning of the word to dodge, in fencing, is here felt through the figurative one of to mock.—extrahi, put off.—tergiversari, were playing a double part, turning the back first one way and then another.

14. iam: compare the progressive force of this word with that of the instantaneous tum.—coerceret, could restrain, a force given by the imperfect; see Gr. 277. e.—incerti: sc. the absent senators.—non modo, etc.: see Gr. 149. e.—satis conveniebat, was there any harmony.

15. vehementis: opposed to lenibus.—imperio: i.e. by the energetic exercise of authority.
24 Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita — adeo duas ex una civitate discordia fecerat — longe aliter patres ac plebe adfecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes, ulores 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 prae mia essent. At vero curia maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste Serviliium consulem, cui ingeniwm magis populare erat, orare ut tantis circum ventam terroribus expediret rem publicam. Tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi; ceterum delibera tioni de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civitatis, metum pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeverti sese quicum; nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta, arma pro patria non cepisse, neque patribus satis decorum

ALARMS OF A VOLSCIAN WAR.

24. alius, from another quarter.
— adeo: with its customary reference to the context. — longe aliter, with far different feelings.
2. ulores: cf. di regum ulores, 6. 7. — confirmare, exhorted; properly, confirmed each other in their purpose. — perituros: an indicative clause in the direct, 'they would.' — militarent: a hortatory clause, 'they should.'
4. in contionem: to address the people. — curae esse: i.e. that they had it on their minds, and were engaged in finding measures of relief. — maxima quidem illa: the usual order illa quidem is reversed because the real emphasis is on maxima. — parte: only a part.
5. posse: emphatic, 'it was impossible.' — praeverti: active deponent, 'take up . . . before.' — si sit, etc.: i.e. in case they should first find measures of relief, it would not be honorable for the plebs to refuse to take arms without first receiving the relief as a bounty. — cepisse: looking forward to the completion of the transaction, and thinking how it would seem then. — neque: really a double negative, but Livy has forgotten the aut,
per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate afflictis

civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni deinde 6
edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit ne quis civem Roma-

num vincitum aut clausum teneret quo minus ei nomi-
nis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, ne quis militis,
donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet,
liberos nepotesve eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto 7
et qui aderant nexit profiteri extemplo nomina, et undi-
que ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum reti-
nendi ius creditorum non esset, concursus in forum, ut
sacramento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit, neque 8
aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera en-

luit. Consul copias contra hostem educit, parvo diri-

mente intervallo castra ponit.

Proxima inde nocte Volsi discordia Romana freti, 25
si qua nocturna transitio proditione fieri posset, temp-
tant castra. Sensere vigiles, excitatus exercitus, signo
dato concursum est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum 2
Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrimque quieti datum.

and proceeds as if the word were opposed to nec. — voluntate: op-
posed to per metum, but standing in a slightly different relation.

6. contioni: here his address, as often. — edicto: really a stay of pro-
ceedings in cases of debt while the men were in service. — nomi-
nis edendi: another form of the technical phrase for enlistment; cf.
nomina darent, 2. — possideret: the technical phrase for taking pos-
session under process of law. — liberos nepotesve: these also were
the property of the paterfamilias, and followed his property and per-
son.

7. qui aderant: those who had escaped. — profiteri: cf. dare and
edere above, in the same sense. —

undique: others who now followed
the example of the first. — sacra-
mento: the oath of enlistment,
which was dictated (rogare), and
according to which the soldier spoke
his obligatory promise.

8. in Volsco bello: cf. Latino
bello, 22. 1, where the idea of time
predominates, while here the cir-
cumstances are the main thing.

ENGAGEMENT WITH THE VOLSCI.

25. transitio: i.e. desertion of
some part of the disaffected forces.
— posset: see Gr. 334. f. — sen-
sere: sc. the attempt. — concur-
suum est: i.e. on the part of the
Romans.

2. ita: i.e. as the whole army
was aroused, there was no oppor-

university for the expected treachery of a part.
3. munimenta: _i.e._ the palisades of which the Roman camp was regularly made. — _vellebantur:_ see Gr. 277. _c._ — _cum... emittit:_ see Gr. 325. _b._ This sentence is a good example of the so-called artificial period, in which, however, the emphasis of position is so preserved that the artificiality is only one of grammar and not of idea. It may be analyzed thus: 'The Volsci were in the act of gaining the wall, then (at which time) the consul (began) — to be sure everybody, and especially the supposed disaffected, were clamorous — but he wanted to see how they felt, and so for awhile he stopped — but then it became clear that their spirit was intense — and then he gave the sig-
nal, and the soldiers, eager for the contest, were let loose.' — _apparebat:_ see Gr. 324. _a._ The continuance of the action which occasions the imperfect lies in the gradual perception of the state of things on the part of the consul; it can be rendered in English by _began to_ or the like.
4. pedes... eques: the order of antithesis is chastic. — _pavidos, in their panic._ — _etiam:_ emphasizing inde.
5. ad Suessam: see Gr. 258. _b._ N. 2. — Pometiam: cf. 16. _8_ and 22. _2_rn. — _inde recreatus:_ _i.e._ the booty relieved the poverty of the soldiers.
6. decedentem: later the technical expression for a magistrate leaving his province. — Ecetranorum: a branch of the Volsci; their
Confestim et Sabini Rōmanos territavere,— tumultus 26
enim fuit verius quam bellum. Nocte in urbem nuntiat-
tum est exercitum Sabinum praedabantum ad Anienem
amnem pervenisse; ibi passim diripi atque incendi vil-
las. Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum 2
A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat; secutus
consul Servilius cum delecta peditum manu. Plerosque 3
palantes eques circumvenit; nec advenienti peditum
agmini restitit Sabina legio: fessi cum itinere tum po-
pulatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti cibo
vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere.
Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero 4
die in magna iam spe undique partae pacis legati Au-
runci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum
indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum 5
domo profectus erat. Cuius fama haud procul iam ab
Aricia visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec con-
suli ordine patres, nec pacatum responsum arma infe-
rentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam 6

place of abode is uncertain.— ex
senatus consulto: the senate was
the body that decided questions of
‘foreign affairs.’

SABINE AND AURUNCAN WARS.

26. enim: introducing the rea-
son for saying territavere.— tu-
multus: an almost technical word
for a sudden alarm of war without
regular preparation therefore, whether
it becomes serious later or not. —
in urbem: see Gr. 225. b. 1.

2. Postumius: apparently as a
legatus; one consul may have re-
mained in the city on account of
the threatening aspect of domestic
affairs.— dictator: see 21. 3.

3. palantes: in their predatory
excursions.— legio: opposed chi-
astically to plerosque, the main
body to the outlying parties.—
magna pars: limiting apposition
with fessi; repleti, though really
referring only to pars, resumes the
original number and gender.

4. partae pacis: the often cited
participial construction, Gr. 292. a;
i.e. they hoped ‘that peace had been
secured.’ — ni decedatur: see Gr.
341. c; ‘they said there would be
war unless,’ etc.

5. Aricia: only a few miles from
Rome, on the Appian Way, and thus
well within the bounds of Latium.
— consuli ordine, etc.: i.e. to have
a regular meeting of the senate in
reference to the embassy.— pacat-
tum responsum: i.e. if the senate
had been consulted, could they,
infesto agmine itur, nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa conlata proelioque uno debellatum est.

27 Fuis Auruncis victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus exspectabat, cum Appius, et insita superbia animo et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat ius de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nesi fuerant creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat. Concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant ut aut referret ad senatum aut ut auxilio esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec; sed tergiversari res cogebant: adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps erat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita medium se gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud patres gratiam iniit: patres

under the circumstances, treat of peace?

6. debellatum est, the war was finished.

27. Romanus: i.e. the plebs. — exspectabat, were waiting the fulfilment of. — cum . . . dicere: cf. 25. 3. The historical infinitive with cum is justified by the nature of the clause, which, though grammatically dependent, is really the main clause (cum inversum): but we have here the first step towards the somewhat freer (but never common) use of the historical infinitive in dependent clauses, found in later writers, especially Tacitus. — et . . . et: giving the two causes, — one his native arrogance, the other jealousy of his colleague. — ius . . . dicere: i.e. in his decisions of cases brought before him, which served as precedents for others (deinceps). — tradebantur: i.e. those who had enjoyed temporary freedom by the suspension of legal process. — nectebantur: i.e. those who had not been proceeded against before.

2. appellabat: according to the Roman polity, each colleague had a veto on the acts of the others. This is the first mention of the appeal to this right, though it is alluded to in 18. 8. — concursus: i.e. of the partisans of the arrested men. — illius: representing the emphasis upon tu used in their appeal. — exprobrabant: cf. 23. 11. — belli: i.e. the last war. — referret ad senatum: i.e. for general relief. — auxilio, etc.: i.e. at least interfere in these special cases.

3. tergiversari: cf. 23. 13 n. — adeo: i.e. that he was compelled, etc. — medium: see Gr. 191.
mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem; brevique apparuit adaequasse eum Appii odium. Cernam consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercuri aedem. Senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit: utri eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum praesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, solennia pro pontifice iussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni; quod facile appareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum quam ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter patresque, sed plebi creverant animi, et longe alia quam primo instituerant via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulibus prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, cum decesset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque

nec plebis, etc.: notice the combination of chiastic and parallel order.
4. mollem, weak, what we call 'lacking backbone.' — ambitiosum: i.e. seeking to curry favor with the plebs, the prevalent meaning of the word; cf. ambitiose, I. 35. 2. — adaequasse, etc.: cf. navium cursum adaequarunt, Cæs. B. G. V. 8. 4.
5. Mercuri, etc.: see 21. 7, where the temple has already been mentioned. — senatus a se, etc.: probably not wishing to decide between two such powerful claimants. — praeesse, etc.: i.e. to perform the functions later performed by the aediles or by a praefectus annonae (cf. IV. 12. 8), — by the latter regularly from the time of Augustus. — mercatorum, etc.: the first mention of the great religious guilds. To this one, probably consisting chiefly of grain merchants, was assigned the charge of the cult of Mercury. — pro pontifice: this ought to mean on behalf of, etc., but in accordance with the ritual (see 8. 7), the magistrate could hardly be said to act in that capacity; the meaning is doubtful.
6. appareret: for mood, see Gr. 311. a. — curatio, a function, a matter to take care of.
7. utique: i.e. whatever their state of mind had been before. — sed, etc.: i.e. but it was of no use; the plebs had become emboldened and were not to be put down, but openly resorted to violence.
8. vidissent: the subjunctive of repeated action; see Gr. 309. b; so also decesset. — exaudiri: implying that he tried to make himself heard.
9. metus, etc.: i.e. the danger was to the creditors (of being seized
omnis et periculum libertatis, cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectuque 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 proiectum consulare imperium: se unum et suae et patrum maestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, provocavit. Nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore: adeo supererant animi ad sustinendum invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertis sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque conloquii. Tandum invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

and maltreated) rather than the debtors. — in conspectu: i.e. it showed the danger when the highest magistrate had no power to restrain the mob, and the single patriarch creditor was attacked by many at once. — verterant: intransitive; cf. 8. 1 n.

10. super haec, on the top of all this. — nomen dedit: cf. 24. 2. 6. — populari: the same as ambitiosus; cf. 4. above. — silentio, inactivity, in that he refused to judge debtors, or join with his colleague in ordering the levy. — dixisset: informal indirect discourse; see Gr. 341. d.

11. non esse: emphatic, it was not (as they supposed).

12. cotidiana, the usual, those who came every day. — licentia, lawlessness. — seditionum: the plural, because each case of refusal was a mutiny. — provocavit: i.e. from the consul to his peers, the people; cf. 8. 2 n. — nec, and yet ... not, though the appeal was a sacred right. — populi: i.e. the plebs would have a majority in the assembly. — auctoritate, influence. — adeo: i.e. to such a degree as to disregard the sacred right. — ad sustinendum: i.e. he was not abashed by the popular odium.

13. secessione: i.e. secret conclave; cf. 28. 1, below. — Servilius neutris: cf. 3, above.
A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. 28
Tum vero plebs, incerta quales habitura consules esset,
coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis pars in Aventino, fa-
cere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et omnia
temere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat,
perniciosam ad patres deferunt, sed delatam cons-
sulere ordine non licuit: adeo tumultuose excepta est
clamoribus undique et indignatione patrum, si, quod
imperio consulari exsequendum esset, invidiam eius
consules ad senatum reicerent. Profecto, si essent in
re publica magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romae
 nisi publicum concilium: nunc in mille curias contio-
esque, cum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino fiant
concilia, dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam.
Vnum hercule virum — id enim plus esse quam consul-
lem —, qualis Appius Claudius fuerit, momento tempo-

**Increased Activity of the Plebs.**

28. Vetusius: cf. 19. 1 n. — tum vero: cf. 23. 13 n. — quales: *i.e.* in their political tendencies. — coe-
tus: cf. secessione, 27. 13. — Esqui-
liis: construed like the name of a town, doubtless because it is a plural and represents a quarter (see 1. 44. 3 n.). Livy’s practice, how-
ever, is not consistent; cf. in Esqui-
liis in 4, below. — ne in foro, etc.: *i.e.* they organize and consult upon a plan of action, so as not to be taken unawares, just as in modern times measures are discussed in caucus.

2. deferunt: here hardly differ-
ent from referre; cf. relata, 22.
5 n. — ordine: *i.e.* in the regular
manner, whereby the senators were
asked their opinion on a definite
proposition; cf. 26. 5. — tumultu-
ose: *i.e.* when the facts were an-
nounced there was a general out-
cry, and the body did not wait to
follow its regular course of pro-
cedings. — indignatione, expres-
sions of indignation. — si, etc.: depending on an *indignum esse*
implied in indignatione: cf. 1. 47.
6, and Gr. 341. c. — imperio: cf.
23. 15. — esset: representing *erat*
of the direct discourse; cf. Gr. 311.
c. — invidiam: to suppress the un-
authorized assemblies would be an
unpopular measure, the odium of
which (they said) ought to have
been borne by the consuls. — rei-
cerent: cf. 27. 5.
3. essent: condition contrary to
fact; see Gr. 308. a. For the or-
der, see Gr. 344. d (2). — futurum
fuisse: see Gr. 337. b. N. 1. — pub-
licum: *i.e.* the recognized official
assemblies.

4. nunc, *but now* (as it was). —
rem publicam: *i.e.* the govern-
ment of the state. — id: referring
loosely to virum, to be a *real*
man.
5 ris discussurum illos coetus fuisset. Correpti consules, cum, quid ergo se facere vellent, nihil enim segnius molliusve quam patribus placeat acturos, percunctarentur, decernunt ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant; otiio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; citant nominatim iuniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum negare ultra decipi plebem posse; numquam unum militem habituros, ni praestaretur fides publica; libertatem un cuique prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro dominis pugnet. Consules quid mandatum esset a senatu videbant, sed eorum qui intra parietes curiae ferciter loquerentur neminem adesse invidiae suae participem; et apparebat atroc cum plebe certamen.

7 Prius itaque quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum prope

5. correpti: i.e. feeling rebuked.
   — vellent... placeat: see Gr. 336.
B. a. N. 1. — decernunt: sc. the senate. — acerrimum: a word often applied to a levy without the allowance of excuses, and rigidly enforced.

6. tribunal: a raised platform in the Forum, where magistrates exercised their functions. — citant: as opposed to the general order, to which ordinarily the people would respond by giving in their names (nomina dare). Here they are individually summoned. — contionis: i.e. the crowd was like a general meeting of the people summoned by a magistrate. — negare: this word, in its emphatic position, represents an emphatic negative; cf. non, 23. 7, and nunquam below.

7. unum: emphatic, a single. — praestaretur: for praestetur of the direct.

8. quid, etc.: a good example of the variable order (and emphasis) of the Latin. If videbant had come first, as it well might, the sense would be 'they were well aware, but did not act in accordance with the knowledge.' Here it is, 'they knew the orders of the senate as a body, but they also saw that no one of the senators themselves came personally to bear the brunt of the fight.' — suae: i.e. of the consuls. Politics were much the same in ancient as in modern times, and our newspapers are as good a comment on Livy's account as could be desired. — et apparebat: the connection of thought is, 'and there was good reason why they did not show themselves, for in fact it was evident that there would be a violent contest with the lower orders.'

9. itaque: in Livy often in the second place. — ultima, extreme
convolavere minimus quisque natu patrum abdicare consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

Vtraque re satis experta tum demum consules: 'Ne praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus ut ii qui maxime ignaviam increpant adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus.' Redeunt in tribunal, citari nominatim unum ex his qui in conspectu erant dedita opera iubent. Cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes qui patrum consulibus aderant devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam measures, which were likely to lead to armed collision. — sellas: i.e. in the senate. — prope: i.e. there was not quite a turbulent mob round the chairs of the consuls, but it was not far from that. Some editions have propere, which certainly makes good sense. — convolavere: cf. 27. 8. — minimus: i.e. the younger, and so at the same time less cautious and more arrogant.

CONTINUED RESISTANCE OF THE PLEBS.

29. utraque: i.e. both to hold a levy by force, and to appeal to the senate. — tum demum: it was only then, after having tried both courses, that the consuls stood upon their own defence and demanded the help of the 'sidewalk' committee.' — ne . . . negetis: see Gr. 317. c. — adsint: with its usual meaning of being present to assist; cf. the English 'stand by.' — cuiusque: i.e. we will take as active measures as the most violent de-
sires, since that is your pleasure, if you will stand by us.

2. citari, etc.: i.e. they purposely (dedita opera) take some one at hand, in order to make a test case. — tacitus: cf. nemo responderet, 28. 6. — lictorem: the regular instrument of the magistrate, like a constable, sheriff, or marshal.

3. quo repulso: this was an overt act of rebellion. — qui, etc.: i.e. those who had responded to the call of the consuls to stand by them.

4. lictore, etc.: i.e. the officer of the law received no violence, being only prevented from arresting his man, but towards the assisting party the people were not so moderate, and proceeded to attack them. This encounter was stopped by the consuls, though after all (tamen) the moderation of the people showed itself by the fact that no real violence was used, not a stone, nor a deadly weapon, only angry abuse and fisticuffs, which Livy implies in
prendere prohibito, cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irorum quam iniuriae fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consulitur, quaestionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decernente fercissimo quoque non sententiis magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihil plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius rem non vulgabat: de iis tantum, qui fidem secuti Publì Servili consulis Vulsco, Aurunco, Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. Titus Larcius non id tempus esse ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse ni omnibus consulatur;

5. tumultuose: a kind of play on the word. The first time it means hastily, without the usual formalities, as in a tumultus; the second time it refers to the disorder in the meeting, which was a tumultus (cf. 28. 2 n). — quaestionem: i.e. an investigation and consequent punishment of the rioters. The latter had maltreated senators and resisted officials in the discharge of their duties. — decernente, etc.: i.e. the violent members voted not so much by the orderly expression of their sententiae as by a disorderly clamor, impliedly in favor of the investigation.

6. exprobrantibus, etc.: indicating what brought the angry senators to their senses, the taunting accusation that they were as mad as the populace. — coepit (see Gr. 143. a): Weissenborn acutely remarks that coeptum est would refer to the action proceeding from the consuls, whereas this means that the senate itself came to order. Perhaps all Livy's violations of the rule of coepit and coeptum est can be explained in like manner.

7. sententiae: the senators gave their opinions in order as called upon, either proposing some new course or agreeing with some one who had already spoken. In this case there were three different views, with which the others agreed according to their character and disposition. — rem non vulgabat: i.e. he proposed that the relief should not be made general, but only apply strictly to those who had acted on the promise given, evidently a middle course. The imperfect (generally "conative) with a negative usually has a force expressed in English by 'would' or 'could'; here it means 'was not disposed to,' and so 'advised not to'; cf. decernente, 5.

8. merita, etc.: i.e. that it wasn't merely a matter of rewarding ser-
quin, si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura immittis et efferatus hinc plebis odio illinc patrum laudibus, non miseris ait sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lascivire magis plebem quam saevire. Id adeo malum ex provocatione natum: quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos qui una peccaverint, provocare liceat. ‘Agedum’ inquit ‘dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, cremus! Iam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticescit furo. Pulset tum mihi lictorem, qui sciet ius de tergo vitaque sua penes unum illum esse cuius maiestatem violarit.’

Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appi sententia; rursus Vergini Larciique exemplo haud salubres, utique Larci putabant sententiam, quae totam fidem tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque consilium Vergini habebatur; sed factione respectuque rerum privaturn, quae semper officere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit ut dicta-

vices, but a deep-seated evil was to be removed.—demersam, swamped, ‘over head and ears in.’—sisti: i.e. there could be no solid ground to stand on, no stable equilibrium. — quin, in fact. — alia, etc.: the distinction made would only breed discontent.

9. efferatus, maddened; used of the momentary state of his mind as opposed to his native disposition. — plebis: subjective genitive. — lascivire: the effect of licentia; saevire: the effect of miseris.

10. id adeo, etc.: i.e. that was just the effect of the appeal allowed, just what was to be expected. — minas, etc.: i.e. it was only an empty threat if it did not take immediate effect without appeal, inasmuch as the people would clear the offender.

12. pulset: i.e. if he dares, a sarcastic exhortation. — de tergo vitaque: i.e. to dispose of by flogging and beheading.

APPOINTMENT OF A Dictator.
OUTBREAK OF War.

30. ut erat: cf. 28. 2. — rursus, on the other hand. — exemplo (ablative of specification): i.e. it would encourage such uprisings in future. — utique: i.e. however it might be with the other one. — quae, one which. — fidem, etc.: i.e. destroyed credit by removing the security for loans. — utroque, in both respects, as a precedent and as a conciliatory measure.

2. factione: i.e. the influence of his partisans; cf. 27. 3. — rerum: i.e. those of the creditors.—ac, and ever

8 Nec iam poterat bellum differri. Aequi Latinum agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu pettebant ut autmitterent subsidium aut se ipsos tenu-dorum finium causa capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est. Is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Aequi campis, locoque magis quam armis freti summis se iugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in

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3. utique: *i.e.* and that the election of Appius, at any rate, etc., however the other course might turn out. — periculosissimo: the position and connection give the force, 'and it would have been a most dangerous time too.'

4. sed: referring back to *prope fuit,* etc. — *ut,* etc.: *i.e.* that the office naturally tending to forcible measures should be entrusted to a man of the opposite character.

5. M. Valerium: see chapters 16 and 20. There is an inconsistency in the account, because this man was said to be killed at the battle of Lake Regillus. — fratrius: P. Valerius Publicola. — triste, *harsh.*

6. deinde: first they were reassured by the character of the man's family, and then by his proclamation. — melius: than to contend with violence.

7. quantus: its antecedent, *tantus exercitus,* would be in opposition with *legiones.* — inde: see Gr. 207. 2a.

8. capere arma: the Latins are here represented as denied the power of making war. 9. is: the regular agreement (attraction) with the predicate; it re-
Volscos profectus, ne et ipse tereret tempus, vastandis maxime agris hostem ad conferenda propius castra dimicandumque acie excvit. Medio inter castra campo ante suum quisque vallum infestis signis constitere. Multi-
tudine aliquantum Volscii superabant. Itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec pro-
movit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus defixis pilis stare suos iussit; ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coortos tota vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci cursu et clamore fessi cum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex ad-
dverso factam et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus quam si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia cursu in proelium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnae quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus facile adepti fessos et castra impetu ceperunt, et castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem inrupere. Plusque ibi sanguinis promiscua om-
nium generum caede quam in ipsa dimicatione factum. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem vene-
runt.

Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi

fere to the fact of the sending of the consul.
10. et ipse: as the other was forced to do by the tactics of the Aequi.
11. effusi: i.e. in detachments, not in a solid body. Having the force of an adverb, it is correlated with contemptim.
12. defixis: i.e. like stacked arms in modern times. — ad manum, to close quarters. — gladiis: instead of hurling their javelins as soon as the enemy came within shot; see 46. 3 n.
13. impressionem, resistance, a force meeting their onslaught. — cursu, on the run, and so became too fatigued to run away even.
14. Velitras: the Volsci fled to their walled city, but the enemy entered with them and captured the city.
15. plus sanguinis factum: as if it were caedes, for which sanguinis is a poetic variation. — om-ninium generum: armed and un-armed, old and young, men and women.
longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque, exuit cas- 
2 tris. Equitatu immisso medium turbaverat hostium 
aciem, qua, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte 
introrsum ordinibus aciem firmaverant; turbatos pedes 
invatis. Eodem impetu castra capta debellatumque est. 
3 Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis 
pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbeb inves- 
hitatur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi poste- 
risque ad spectaculum datus, sella in eo loco curulis 
posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus, Ve- 
litas coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta. Cum 
Aequis post aliquanto pugnatum est invito quidem con-
sule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed 
milites extrahit rem crinantes, ut distributor, priusquam 
ipsi rediret in urbeb, magistratu abiret inrataque, sicut 
ante consulis, promissa eius caderent, perpulere ut forte 
temere in adversos montis agmen erigeret. Id male 
commissum ignavia hostium in bonum vertit, qui, pri-
usquam ad coniectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audacia

War with the Volsci. Renewal of Civil Strife.

21. fuerat: in reference to the time of fundit.
2. turbaverat: in reference to invasit; cf. preceding note. — 
pandunt: see Gr. 276. c. — para-
rum, etc.: the centre had a thinner 
formation, because the rear lines of 
troops had been used to extend the 
wings. — turbatos, being thus in 
disorder. — eodem impetu: cf. 
3. urbem: see Gr. 237. d. — 
invexitur: i.e. in the triumphal 
chariot; a detail thrown in to give 
liveliness. — solitos: these were 
the recording of his name in the 
Annales, and the right to the toga 
picta and tunica palmata. — locus: 
a permanent seat secured at the 
games, according to Greek custom. 
No other example of this is men-
tioned in Roman history.
4. et colonia deducta: these 
words, perhaps a gloss, would be in 
themselves sufficient, but the pre-
ceding clause no doubt has refer-
ence to the relief afforded to the 
colonists by being sent, and also to 
the fact that they were civis Ro-
mani, who had special privileges. — 
Aequis: cf. 30. 9. — quidem: cor-
responding to sed.
5. promissa, etc.: see 24. 6 and 
30. 10. — forte temere: a double ex-
pression for the same thing, the in-
considerate attack.
6. male commissum, unwise 
measure; cf. bene factum and the
Romanorum relictis castris, quae munitissimis tene-rant locis, in aversas valles desiluere; ubi satis praedae et victoria incruenta fuit.

Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta de domesticarum rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat: tanta cum gratia tum arte praeparaverant faeneratores quae non modo plebem sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius post Vetusi consulis redi-tum omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, rettulitque, quid de nexis fieri placeret. Quae cum reiecta relatio esset, 'Non placeo' inquit 'concordiae auctor. Optabitis, me dius fidius, prope-diem ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos, neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum externum fecere ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica; pax foris parta est, domi impeditur: privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero.' Ita curia egressus dictatura se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, like. — aversas: cf. adversos montes in 5; as the position was up-hill as the Romans advanced, so the valleys were down-hill in the rear of the Aequi. — ubi: loosely used of the camp and the valleys at once.

7. trifariam: with the Aequi, the Sabines, and the Volsci. — gratia: personal influence; arte: secret machinations. — quae, means to.

8. actionum, questions, about which he consulted the senate. — victore: i.e. by whose prowess the victory had been gained. — quid ... placet: the standing formula for presenting a question.

9. reiecta: i.e. the senate declined to entertain the proposition of the consul recommended in his relatio; cf. reicerent, 22. 5. — non placeo: the emphasis gives a force which we get by using it seems or forsooth. — mei similes: i.e. instead of the much more dangerous ones that they will have.

10. quod ad me, etc.: as if he said, 'but that is your affair; as for myself, I'll, etc.' — frustra: a play on the kindred words. — discordiae, etc.: i.e. there were two purposes for which a dictator was needed, to remove civil strife and to carry on war; the latter has been accomplished, the former is hindered (as he implies) by the machinations of citizens, so that the dictator is powerless. — interero: not, of course, as a promoter, but to quell it.

11. apparuit: notice the emphasis, and see itaque below. — causa: the reason of his action explained by the following clause. — plebi:
suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse; itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

82. Timor inde patres incessit ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fieren. Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solveruptur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvit, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse. Trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum.

3. Ea frequentior fama est quam cuius Piso auctor est, in Aventinum secessionem factam esse. Ibi sineullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot

dative. — suam vicem, on their behalf. — persoluta fide, having performed his promise. — per eum, etc., it had not been his fault. — praestaretur: he was held free from the obligation of his promise, though that promise had not been performed, the failure being no fault of his.

SECESSION OF THE PLEBS.

82. dimissus, disbanded. In those times the army did not continue in service, but was called out for a campaign and then disbanded. — quamquam, etc.: this appears to be put in by Livy, as so many other details, to explain and connect the meagre accounts of the annals. Other authorities represent only the army of the consuls as retained in service, in which case this explanation is unnecessary. — in consulum verba: because it was they who had held the levy ordered by the dictator. — per causam, on the pretext; cf. I. 49. 5. — maturata: brought to a head.

2. de consulum caede: as if, by their death, the oath of obedience to them would be annulled. — religionem, religious duty.

3. frequentior, more commonly reported, by more authorities. — cuius, the one of which. — Piso: see Intr. 6.

4. rem nullam, etc.: i.e. without any lawless violence, indicating the peaceable character of the movement.
dies neque laccessiti neque laccessentes sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam patrum, timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti manere eam an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tran- quillam quae secesserit multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum existat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere; eam per aequa per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Sic placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti, Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.

Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse furt: tempore quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaerii, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspi-rasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quae conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum confess cibo sanguinem.

5. mutuo: between the two parties in the city.
6. fore: see Gr. 338.
7. ducere: historical infinitive.—per aequa, etc.: i.e. by whatever measures, whether they were just to themselves or not, hence at any cost.
8. inde: i.e. ex plebe. — nihil aliud: sc. fecisse, a common ellipsis.
   narrasse: this apologue is a commonplace in literature; cf. Xen. Mem. II. 3. 18; Cic. de Off. III. 5. 22; St. Paul, Corin. I. 12. 21.
9. hac ira: cf. L. 30. 4 n. — una, as well; properly, 'along with.'
Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

Agii deinde de concordia coeptum, concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxillii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Ii tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his Sicinium fuisse seditionis auctorem; de duobus qui fuerint minus convenit. Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam.

Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Cominius consulatum inierant. Iis consulibus cum Latinis populi ictum foedus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit; alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiiates Volscos fundit fugatque, compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus moenibus potitur. Inde protinus Poluscam item Volscorum cepit, tum magna vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores iuver-

12. comparando, showing by comparison; see Gr. 301. fn.

Reconciliations of the Orders.

Tribunes of the People.

33. concessum in: as they yielded on each side and adopted terms, they may be said to have given way 'into' them. — sacrosancti, inviolable; protected by religious obligation as sacred functionaries. — latio: cf. ferre auxilium, which came to be used as the technical expression for remedial interference against legal or magisterial action.

2. creati: by what form of election is not known; cf. 58. I n. — creaverunt: perhaps by appointment; cf. 58. I. — fuisse: depending on a convenit to be supplied from the other. — de duobus qui fuerint: see Gr. 334. c.

3. sunt qui: e.g. Cicero (de Re Publ. II. 34. 59). — duos tantum: this is probably the fact; cf. III. 51. 10. — sacratam: i.e. which made the tribunes sacrosancti. It was probably sworn to not only by the plebs (see Festus, p. 318), but by the patricians as well. — per, during. The author now takes a new departure after the return.

4. feriendum: as this word (in this sense) is incomplete in its conjugation, Livy uses it as if conjugated ferio, ferire, ici, ictum; cf. ferio, ferire, percussi, percussum, in another sense. — Longulam, etc.: these originally Latin towns had been taken by the Volsci, as also Corioli.

Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni in vita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato patrum ad plebe, reductori plebis

**EXPLOIT OF CN. MARCIUS. DEATH OF MENENIUS AGrippa.**

5. Coriolano: see Gr. 231. 6.
6. ab Antio: cf. ab Alba, l. 27. 4, and see Gr. 258. a. N. l. — in statione, on guard.
7. in proximo: the use of neuter adjectives as nouns, especially in a partitive sense, as here, is a favorite construction with Livy, and became still more common later.
8. ad terrorem: cf. l. 7. 7 n. — utpote: as they naturally would, seeing that, etc.; cf. the use of utpote with relative clauses (Gr. 320. e. N. 1).

9. columna: mentioned by Cicero, Balb. 53. — cessisset: we should expect cessurum fuerit (cf. facturus fuerit, l. 3), but we may suppose Livy had carelessly forgotten the dependence upon ut.
11. interpreti, agent, the one who acted as go-between. — arbitro: as settling the terms on which they
Romanae in urbem sumptus funeri defuit. Exultit eum plebs sextantibus conlatis in capita.

84 Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti. Eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem invasit, caritas primum annonae ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis solet; ventumque ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent dimissis passim ad frumentum coemendum non in Etruriam modo, dextris ab Ostia litoribus, laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum in Siciliam quoque: adeo finiti-morum odia longinquis coegerant indigere auxilliis. Frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat, retentae sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit. Ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit: eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos iam moventes arma pestilentia ingens invasisset. Ea clade conterritis hostium animis, ut etiam ubi ea remisisset terre ro aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colono-

agreed. — extulit: cf. efferri, 8. 8. The first place is given to the word by a rhetorical emphasis: 'This great benefactor hadn't money for his funeral; he was buried by,' etc. — sextantibus: a little copper coin worth one-sixth of the as, but used here to express what must have been at the time referred to a piece (or amount) of copper merely. — in capita: the use of the preposition in this formula comes from the idea of assessment, wherein the amount is 'imposed upon' the contributors.

SCARCITY OF FOOD. VIOLENT SPEECH OF CORIOLANUS.

84. 2. clausis, a city besieged, whose communications are cut off. 3. Volscos: these extended to the sea; cf. Volsci Antiales, 33. 9. — quaesitum: supine. 4. pro bonis, in payment for, etc. — Aristodemo: cf. 21. 5. — Pomptino: sc. agro. — Tiberi: i.e. they were not obliged, as in other cases, to go by sea. 6. Velitris: cf. 31. 4. — Nor-bam: in the Volscian mountains,
rum Romani, et Norbam in montis novam coloniam, quae
arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt.

M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus magna 7
vis frumenti ex Sicilia advecta, agitatumque in senatu
quanti plebi daretur. Multi venisse tempus premendae 8
plebis putabant recuperandique iura, quae extorta seces-
sione ac vi patribus essent. In primis Marciius Corio-
lanus, hostis tribuniciae potestatis, 'Si annonom' in-
quit 'veterem volunt, ius pristinum reddant patribus.
Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem
video, sub iugum missus, tamquam ab latronibus red-
emptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar quam
necesse est? Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim, Sici-
nium feram? Secedat nunc, avocet plebem: patet via
in Sacrum montem aliosque colles. Rapiant frumenta
ex agris, quem ad modum tertio anno rapuere. Fruan-
tur annona, quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere hoc
malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore, quam
ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant.' Haud tam
facile dictu est faciendumne fuerit, quam potuisse arbi-
tror fieri, ut condicionibus laxandi annonam et tribuni-
ciam potestatem et omnia invitis iura imposita patres
demerent sibi.

Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est et plebem 85

above the Pomptine marshes, not
far beyond Cora and Velitrae.

9. ego: the common emphatic
use of the first personal pronoun in
colloquial language. — sub iugum
missus: in allusion to the igno-
minious surrender of the nobles.

10. Tarquinium . . . Sicinium: con-
trasting their respective posi-
tions, the one a great king, the
other a low plebeian.

11. quam ut: cf. 15. 2 n.

12. faciendum, etc.: i.e. whether
it would have been a good thing to
do, as that it could have been done.
 — ut: the regular construction after
facere. — imposita . . . demerent: these
rights of the people are reg-
arded as burdens on the nobles.

WRATH OF THE PLEBS. BANISH-
MENT OF CORIOLANUS.

85. et plebem: not that any of
them were present in the senate
ira prope armavit: fame se iam sicut hostes peti, cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi Gnaeo Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat. Eum sibi carnificem novum exortum, qui aut mori aut servire iubeat. In exeunte curia impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent. Ibi ira est suppressa: se iudicem quisque, se dominum vitae necisque inimici factum videbat. Contemptim primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilii non poenae ius datum illi potestati, plebisque non patrum tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs ut unius poena defungendum esset patribus. Restiterunt tamen adversa invidia, usque sunt qua suis quisque, qua totius ordinis viribus. Ac primo temptata res est, si dispositis clientibus absterrendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque disicere rem

the tribunes were later, but they would hear of the speech; cf. III. 41. 4. — fame: i.e. they were to be starved out like a besieged city. The figure is of hunger used as a weapon (cf. spicula petri, 20. 2), but is not felt very strongly.

2. diem dixissent: this is the first instance of a capital trial instituted by the tribunes. The assemblies of the people had jurisdiction of such cases, and in order to give a fair trial, the accusing magistrate announced that on a certain day (diem dicere) he should bring in a bill against the offender. The charge against Coriolanus is not given by Livy, and varies in other writers, but it is impliedly his conduct in the senate.

3. auxilii, etc.: i.e. he claimed that the power of the tribunes was only remedial, and that their present action was, as we should say, unconstitutional. — sed, etc.: i.e. the patricians were obliged to abandon the view held by the accused and consent to the trial. — defungendum: the word has the idea of getting over something, having done with it; here it means get rid of the animosity of the plebs by sacrificing one of their number.

4. tamen, etc.: i.e. though they saw the necessity, yet they resisted by political means, and made every effort to acquit their champion on the trial. — adversa invidia: in spite of the odium of their course; literally, 'facing it.' — suis: i.e. the personal influence of themselves and their dependents in political working; totius ordinis: the authority of the senate as a body. — temptata res est, si: cf. I. 57. 3. — dispositis, etc.: i.e. by the use of bullies and strikers to prevent the political meetings of their op-
possent. Universi deinde processere—quidquid erat 5 patrum reos diceres—precibus plebem exposcentes, unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro nocente donarent. Ipse cum die 6 dicta non adset, perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus absens in Volscos exsulatum abiit, mimitans patriae hostilesque iam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci benignae exceperae benigniusque in dies coeabant, quo maior ira in suos eminebat crebraeque nunc querellae nunc minae percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Atti 7 Tulli. Longe is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. Ita cum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud facile credebat plebem suam 8 impelli posse ut totiens infeliciter temptata arma cape-

ponents, precisely as is done in modern times, so that there should be no concerted action. This measure apparently failed.—clientibus: there was evidently up to this time an order distinct from the plebs, and under the control of the aristocracy, but what the difference was is uncertain. As each house had its own, the institution may have had its origin in the old clan constitution, while the plebeians were newcomers independent of the clan system. The freedmen afterwards took the place of the clients, and the position of the two classes may have been similar.

5. universi, in a body, as opposed to the individuals working through their clients.—quidquid: cf. quidquid deorum, 5. 7 n.—reos: it was customary for persons accused to put on mean apparel as a sign of mourning, in order to excite sympathy, and in this garb to supplicate the people. And in this guise the senate now appeared.—diceres, you would have said; see Gr. 311. a.—pro nocente, etc.: i.e. pardon him for their sake, as an act of grace.

6. ipse: notice the force of the emphasis, ‘But after all these entreaties of his colleagues C. himself did not appear, and taking this as proof that he was not humbled, they refused to be mollified.’—iam tum, even then, before he joined the Volscian arms.—quo, as, in proportion as.—crebraeque, etc.: i.e. the more he complained and threatened.

7. hospitio, etc.: the force of the emphasis is, ‘the person with whom he stayed was,’ etc., explaining the manner in which the plan of war was set on foot. Livy might have said, ‘A. T. was the person,’ etc., but that would have laid stress on the individual instead of on the circumstance of his intimacy with Coriolanus, which gave an occasion for their plans.

8. haud facile, etc.: ‘they didn’t
rent. Multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa iuventute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto iam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

36. Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat: ludis mane servum quidam pater familiae nondum commisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circos. 'Coepti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. Visus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnificse instaurarentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen maiesta-

**A Great Spectacle at Rome, and a Curious Reason for It.**

36. ludi magni: apparently vowed by Postumius in the Latin war. It was not yet a regular festival, as it afterwards became, with the name ludi Romani. — instauratione: in any sacred observance, if anything faultily occurred, the whole had to be gone over again, for which the regular term was instaurare, a word of doubtful etymology. — ludis: cf. bello Latino, 26. 2. — commisso: a natural word, since the games consisted of races. — caesum: not to be distinguished here from a present passive participle, which the Latin lacks; cf. Gr. 290. 6. Cicero uses cum caederetur (de Div. I. 55). — ad religionem, with the sacred games; properly, with the religious character of the proceedings; i.e. with the desecration of them. The word appears to have originally meant the noticing and taking care of any portentous appearance, but came to have a wide range, sometimes meaning, as here, a religious difficulty, sometimes the feeling or perception of it, as in 3, sometimes (in a bad sense) superstition, sometimes (in a good sense) religion.

2. praesultatorem, the head dancer. Evidently the Romans had in their native cult a ritual of dancing (like our savages), which was an important part of their religion. These rites were performed by a chorus (cf. the Salian priests), led by a chief dancer (praesul, praesulor, praesulator), whose movements were followed by the others (originally consules, from which the name might come to mean colleagues, and afterwards be used to designate the two sharers of the supreme power in place of the king). In Jupiter's divine riddle this leader is identified with the whipped slave.

2. de plebe: cf. I. 50. 3 n.

3. liber, etc.: i.e. he was not un-
tis magistratum timorem vicit, 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 obversata species visa est rogitare, satim magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem; maiorem instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet consilibus. Iam praesentior res erat. Cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. Tunc enimimvero deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque consilio propinquorum adhibito cum visa atque audita et obversatum totiens somno Io vem, minas irasque caelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubie omnium qui aderant in forum ad consules lecta defertur. Inde in curiam iussu consulum delatus eadem illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

affected by a religious anxiety, he thought the dream significant; yet his fear of the consuls was stronger than his religious feeling. — ne in ora, etc.: an explanation of vercundia. His fear is that, being repulsed by the consuls, a humble citizen venturing to appear before such grand and lofty personages, he should become a common jest in the mouths of men.

4. magno, etc.: Gr. 252. — animi: see Gr. 218. c. r. — satim: cf. i. 58. 7 n. — mercedem: in a bad sense, but suited to the sarcastic character of the question. — ni eat: for *ni is* in the direct.

5. praesentior: i.e. came nearer home. — tamen: i.e. though it be-
came more threatening, yet he delayed, etc. — debilitate: the manifestation of his sickness. — tunc enimimvero: cf. enimvero tum, 22. 6 n., and the often used *tum vero* (23. 13 n.). — admonuit: *i.e.* had the desired effect of bringing him to his senses.

6. instantibus: *i.e.* his own threatened death. — repraesentatas, instantly fulfilled, the figure derived from immediate payment, the literal meaning of the word. — casibus: the means of fulfilment.

8. captus: more commonly of permanent disability, which, however, was the case here, to all appearance. — functum, etc.: *i.e.* having told the story.
Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent senatus decrevit. 
Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio vis magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit; dicit esse quae secreto agere de re publica velit. Arbitris remotis 'Invitus' inquit 'quod sequius sit de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quicquam ab iis criminatum venio, sed cautum ne admittant. 
Nimio plus quam velim nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostrum merito sed vestra patientia incolumes simus. Magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum iuventute in hac urbe commissum sit. Horret animus ne quid inconsulte ac teneat fiat. Haec nostra vestraque causa prius dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cuius facti dative contagione praesens violer.' Haec locutus abit. Consules cum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad praecandum vel ex supervacuo movit; factoque senatus consulto ut urbem excederent Volsci, praecones dimittun-
tur qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem iuñerent. Ingens pavor primo discurrentis ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit; proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se ut consceleratos contaminatosque ab ludis festis diebus coetu quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

Cum prope continuato agmine irent, praegressus Tullius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque veniret, primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos, sedulo audientes secunda irae verba, et per eos multitudinem aliam in subiectum viae campum deduxit. Ibi in contionis modum orationem exorsus 'Veteres populi Romani iniurias cladesque gentis Volsorum, ut omnia' inquit 'obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commiseris? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? Vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? Vestras coniuges, vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos qui audivere vocem praecoris, quid qui nos videre abeuntes, quid eos qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto

9. discurrentis: the present indicates the time of the action of perculit as opposed to that of oborta; while they were getting ready to go fear predominated, when they were actually starting (proficiscens-tibus) that emotion gave way to indignation. — deorumque: inasmuch as it was a religious festival.

THE SUCCESS OF TULLIUS' SCHEME.

38. cum ... irent: i.e. they came almost in a body, so that Tullius could address them to advantage. — caput Ferentinum: cf. I. 50. 1, 51. 9. The site was, however, occupied by the Latins, and this detail is imaginary, as is perhaps the whole story. — veniret: see Gr. 309. b. — indignando, with expressions of indignation; cf. 28. 2 n. — secunda: i.e. agreeing with.

2. contionis: i.e. like a regular set political speech. — ut ... obliviscamini: see Gr. 313. a.

3. an, etc.: with the usual force, 'am I not right, or,' etc. — triumphatum: observe the technical meaning underlying the figure, giving the idea of a public display of their humiliation. — traductos: as prisoners in a triumph.
nefas esse,—quod, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi
simus ludos piaculumque merituri, ideo nos ab sede pi-
orum coetu concilioque abigi? Quid deinde? Illud non
succurrir, vivere nos quod maturarimus proficisci?—si
hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non
hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, mo-
riendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est,
magno eorum malo qui indixere, si viri estis.' Ita et
sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde digressi
sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere ut
omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

89 Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sen-
tentia lecti Attius Tullius et Cn. Marcius, exsul Roma-
nus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam spem
nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret ducibus validio-
rem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circieos pro-
factus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberam-
que eam urbem Volcos tradidit. Inde in Latinam viam
transversis tramitibus transgressus Satricum Longulam

4. quod: referring directly to
nefas, and so a neuter accusative,
which, but explaining ideo, and so
a conjunction, because. But they are
really the same thing; cf. Gr. 240. a.

5. quid deinde, what follows? The
answer is illud, etc.—hoc:
more emphatic than haec, the usual
form ( Fr. 195. d.), as dwelling more
on the act independent of its name.
—fuit: see Gr. 308. e.—malo: ab-
lative of manner. For the thought,
cf. pestiferum, I. 58. 8.

6. suos quisque: they were
primores (see i) of different cities
of the stock. — deficeret: Livy is
probably thinking of the later Ro-
man supremacy, for the Volscians
had never been conquered, and so
could not ' revolt.'

THE VOLSCI TAKE THE FIELD.
THE ROMANS ARE FAIR TO
NEGOTIATE.

89. plus: i.e. than in their own
countryman.

2. nequaquam, etc.: i.e. their
hope was fulfilled in the success of
their arms, which, in contrast with
their former defeats, showed that it
was in their leaders, not their armies,
that the strength of the Romans lay.
—Circeios: cf. I. 56. 3.

3. in Latinam viam: there is
an error in the geography here, but
whose is uncertain; Satricum, etc.,
as well as Circeii, lay west of the
Appian Way. — tramitibus: the
cross-roads that ran between the
two great routes, the Appian and
the Latin Ways.
Poluscam Coriolos Mugillam, haec Romanis oppida ade-
mit. Inde Lavinium recepit, tum deinceps Corbionem 4
Vitelliam Trebium Labicos Pedum cepit. Postremum 5
ad urbem a Pedo ducit, et ad fossas Cluilias quinque ab
urbe milia passuum castris positum popularemis, qui patri-
ciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi, sive
ut discordia inde inter patres plebemque oreretur. Quae 7
profecto orta esset — adeo tribuni iam fercem per se
plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant —,
sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum,
quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se iungebat ani-
mos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatus consu-
lesque nusquam alibi spem quam in armis ponebant,
plebes omnia quam bellum malebat.

Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius consules erant. Eos 9
recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque in
quibus stationes vigiliasque esse placuerat loca distrib-
uentis multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum
sedioso clamore conterruit, deinde vocare senatum,
referre de legatis ad Cn. Marcium mittendis coegit.
Acceperunt relationem patres, postquam apparuit labare 10

5. a Pedo: the plan of the cam-
paign is not very clear, and proba-
bly was not to Livy himself. — fos-
sas Cluilias: cf. I. 23. 3.
6. agros intactos: cf. Hanni-
bil’s similar device, XXII. 23.
7. per se: i.e. without such in-
stigation. — criminando: used ab-
solutely. — sed: taking the place of
a protasis. — quamvis, etc.: a kind
of cross between a general state-
ment, ‘united dispositions, however
hostile,’ and a particular one, ‘united
these, though they were,’ etc. —
jungebat, tended to unite; a use
of the conative imperfect.

8. id modo, etc., in this only they
did not agree.
9. iam: i.e. time had elapsed for
an election to come round; cf. 23.
14 n. — recensentes: the next step
after the conscription, which the
plebs did not, as in other cases, re-
sist; distribuentis: a still later
step. — stationes, pickets; vigi-
lias, sentinels, for night-watches. —
primum, etc.: i.e. first they were
met by an indefinite, riotous mob,
and then were definitely forced to
take measures.
9. — labare: i.e. in reference to
plebis animos, missique de pace ad Marcium oratores
atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur,
posses agi de pace; si praeda belli per otium frui velint,
memorem se et civium iniuriae et hospitum beneficii
advisurum ut appareat exsilio sibi inritatos, non fractos
animos esse. Iterum deinde idem missi non recipiuntur
in castra. Sacerdotes quoque, suis insignibus velatos,
isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihilò
magis quam legatos flexisse animum.

40 Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Vo-
olumniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. Id publicum
consilium an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio; per-
vicere certe, ut et Veturia magno natu mulier et Vo-
olumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in
castra hostium irent, et quoniam armis viri defendere
urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque de-
fenderent. Vbi ad castra ventum est, nuntiatumque
Coriolano est adesse ingens mulierum agmen, primo,
ut qui nec publica maiestate in legatis nec in sacerdoti-
bus tanta ossusa oculis animoque religione motus es-
set, multo obstinatio adversus lacrimas muliebres erat.

continuing the war. — missi, etc.: the common Latin way of forcing
two statements into one sentence, ‘the embassy was sent, and being
sent, brought back,’ etc.
11. ager: see 25. 6. — si... re-
deretur, posse: see Gr. 307. d. —
si praedia, etc.: *i.e.* if they chose
the other alternative of refusing to
surrender the land. — *per otium:
*i.e.* without taking any action to
make peace. — *velint*: representing
vultis of the direct; the difference
of tense in the direct allows the
difference here.
12. velatos: the fillet was the
special ornament of priests as well
as of suppliants.

THE MOTHER AND WIFE OF CORI-
OLANUS ENTREAT HIM.

40. id: strictly the act of the
women, but used for the cause of
the act; cf. consilium (the action
of the senate) and timor (the sponta-
neous expression of alarm in the
women).
2. certe, *in any case*, whether it
was one or the other. — duos par-
vos: the emphasis is explained by
the meaning, ‘the mother, the wife,
and two little ones, sons of Marcus,
carried by their mother as infants.’
— ex Marcio: a participle is
omitted, making the words an ad-
jective phrase, a somewhat rare
Latin construction. — secum: of
Dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem maestitia inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam inter nurum nepotesque stantem, 'Nisi me frustrantur' inquit 'oculi, mater tibi coniunxque et liberi adsunt.' Coriolanus prope ut amens consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviae complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa 'Sine, priusquam complexum accipio, sciam' inquit 'ad hostem an ad filium venerim, captiva materne in castris tuis sim. In hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut exsulem te, deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrir 'Intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, coniunx libere.' Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera

course the women generally. — possess: the thought of the women.

3. publica: i.e. of the state.

5. consternatus, springing wildly, indicating the frenzied start from his place at the news. — in iram, etc.: i.e. she had come to supplicate, but at the sight of her son her feelings change, and she meets him with stern reproaches. — accipio: the present for the future, an almost regular construction with ante and priusquam in colloquial language. — sciam: see Gr. 331. f. r. — captiva: if he was an enemy, then she, being in his power, was a slave, instead of having the authority of a mother.

6. in hoc, to this, though the Latin uses a stronger expression by means of traxit, as if, 'dragged me into this condition.' — potuisti: the emphasis gives the force of 'could you bring yourself to?' Cf. Hor. Od. III. 11. 31. Notice, also, the emphasis on populari.

7. non: the emphatic position of the negative gives the force, 'it seems incredible that it did not.' — quamvis: this word, in classical Latin, from its meaning always takes the subjunctive, but beginning with the omission of the verb, which would be in that mood if expressed, the construction comes to allow the indicative, as if etsi or the like had been used; here quamvis infesto animo, with another conditional particle would be regular, and Livy forgets, as it were, that no such particle or any verb has been expressed, and goes on as if he had said, etsi quamvis infesto animo perveneras.

8. ergo: introducing, as often, a conclusion from all the circumstances not immediately connected with the preceding. It is to be remembered that Livy is, first of all, a rhetorician, and these occasions are his opportunities for showing his skill in speech-making.—
patria mortua essem. Sed ego nihil iam pati, nec tibi 
turpius quam mihi miserius, possum, nec, ut sum mi-
serrima, diu futura sum: de his videris, quos, si pergis, 
aut immatura mors aut longa servitus manet.' Vxor 
deinde ac liberi amplexi fletusque ab omni turba muli-
erum ortus et comploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem 
virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retro ab 
urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro 
Romano invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt alii alio 
leto. Apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, 
usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem invenio; refert 
certe hanc saepe eum exacta aetate usurpasse vocem, 
multo miserius seni exsilium esse. Non invidereunt laude 
sua mulieribus viri Romani: adeo sine obtrectatione 
gloriae alienae vivebatur. Monumento quoque quod 
esset, templum Fortunae muliebri aedificatum dedica- 
tumque est.

Rediere deinde Volsci adiunctis Aequis in agrum Ro-
manum, sed Aequi Attium Tullium haud ultra tulere

10. suos: his family, taking the 
gender from the two sons. — alio: 
one was by suicide. — antiquissi-
mum: cf. veterrimos, 18. 5.

11. refert, etc.: this implies that 
he continued to live in exile. —
certe: cf. 2 n. — laude: the regular 
earlier Latin construction would be 
laudī mulierum, but this construc-
tion becomes after Livy common, 
and is probably an imitation of the 
Greek (cf. φθονεῖν τινί τινος), though 
a natural enough use of language. 
— sua: allowed, instead of earum, 
on account of the idea of peculiar 
or special contained in it.

12. quoque: i.e. as well as glory. 
— templum: four miles out on the 
Latin Way, where the meeting was 
supposed to have taken place. —
rediere: Livy resumes, perhaps 
from other sources, his dry narra-
tive after the picturesque incident, 
joining it on as well as he can. —
Aequi, etc.: cf. 39. 1.
ducem. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Aequina imperato-
torem coniuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox
proelium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hos-
tium exercitus haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci
certamine confecit.

Consules Titus Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Vol-
sci, Aquilio Hernici — nam ii quoque in armis erant —
provincia evenit. Eo anno Hernici devicti, cum Volscis
aequo Marte discessum est.

Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules

14 facti. Cum Hernicis foedus ictum, agri partes duae
ademptae. Inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi di-
visurus consul Cassius erat. Adiciebat huic muneri 2
agri aliquidum, quem publicum possideri a privatis
criminabatur. Id multos quidem patrum, ipsos posses-
sores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. Sed et publica
patribus sollicitudo inerat, largitione consulem pericu-
losas libertati opes struere. Tum primum lex agraria
promulgata est, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memo-
riam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter

13. darent: depending on the
idea of question in certamine; see
Gr. 334. b.
14. provincia: in predicate ap-
position with the names of the two
nations. For the origin and use of the
word, see Harvard Studies, I. p. 101.

THE PUNISHMENT OF SP. CASSIUS.

41. foedus ictum, etc.: rather
favorable terms for a people devicti,
but exact history is not to be looked
for here.
2. publicum: i.e. belonging to
the state, and so available for dis-
tribution, were it not for the action
of the patricians. — possideri: not
merely held in the regular manner,
as criminabatur shows, but ‘ap-
propriated,’ in that by long contin-
nuance of an occupation originally
natural and legal, the plebs were
kept out of a right which they had
come to want and become able to
use. — quidem: opposing the self-
ish motives of many to the political
alarm (publica, etc.) of the rest.
3. lex agraria: all such laws
proposed a distribution of the pub-
lic lands to the poorer classes to
be held as private property, as the
public lands in modern times are
distributed. — maximis motibus:
as in the case of the Gracchi and
others. — agitata: equivalent to
a relative clause, whereby an in-
accuracy of the time of the partici-
ples results; cf. caesum, 36. 1.
largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe adversante, quae primo coeperat fastidire munus vul-
gatum; a civibus isse in socios; saepe deinde et Vergi-
nium consulem in contionibus velut vaticinante audie-
bat pestilens collegae munus esse, agros illos servitutem
iis qui acceperint laturos, regno viam fieri. Quid ita
enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid attinu-
isse Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem
tertiam reddi, nisi ut eae gentes pro Coriolano duce
Cassium habeant? Popularis iam esse dissuasor et in-
tercessor legis agrariae coeperat. Vterque deinde con-
sul certatim plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passu-
rum se adsignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi Romano
adsignetur; Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambiti-
osus in socios coeque civibus vilior erat, ut alio munere
sibi reconciliaret civium animos, iubere pro Siculo fru-

4. nec omni: i.e. no doubt some rich plebeians were also interested in the great bodies of public lands let for pasturage and the like. — primo: opposed to deinde in 5. —
fastidire: see Gr. 333. b. — vulgatum: in the fact that the socii were
to enjoy it also. — socios: possibly this part of the scheme is borrowed by the ancient historians from the later measures of Drusus.

5. et: as well as their dissatisfaction with the extent of the boon. —
vaticinantem: not merely 'prophesying,' in our sense, — anybody can do that, — but with the idea of an inspired foresight. — regno: the
suggestion of this bugbear was the second cause of the alarm of the
plebs.

6. ita, in this way, as they were. — adsumi: see Gr. 338. — attinuisse: i.e. 'what did it mean?' 'why should it be done?' — nisi ut, etc.:
i.e. that these nations should be used
by Cassius as a means to destroy the liberty of the Romans.

7. popularis, etc.: i.e. the opponent of these measures, ordinarily
favored by the plebs, had begun, by these appeals to their prejudices, to
be regarded as the true friend of the people. — dissuasor, opponent,
by argument; intercessor, nullifier, by the power of one colleague
to stay the other's proceedings. —
uterque, etc.: i.e. it now became
a race for popular favor between
the two consuls. — adsignari, etc.:
thus catering to the prejudices of
those who wished to confine the largess to Roman citizens. — ad-
signentur: see Gr. 314. a.

8. agraria: opposed to the largess of money. — ambitiosus: in
its regular meaning of catering to
one for political purposes. Of course
the point of view is a later one, as
the struggle for equality of the Lat-
ins could hardly have begun so early.
mento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. *Id vero* 9 haud secus quam praesentem mercedem regni aspernata plebes: adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut abundarent omnia, munera eius in animis hominum reprehendebantur. Quem, ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cerei consecravisse; signum inde factum esse et inscriptum 'Ex Cassia familia datum.' Invenio apud quosdam, idque propius fidem est, a quaestoribus Caesone Fabio et L. Valerio diem dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi iudicio, di-rutas publice aedem. Ea est area ante Telluris aem.

— *vtilior, less esteemed*, but with the literal force that we express by 'cheapening one's self.' — *Siculo*: cf. 34. 3. and 7. — *pecuniam... retribui*: the grain would thus become a gratuitous distribution, such as was afterwards practiced.

9. *id vero*: cf. *tum vero*, often commented on. — *praesentem, downright*; literally, paid on the spot, and so a direct price paid by Cassius for the regal power. The ignorant prejudices of the people were fully roused by the crafty nobles. — *insitam, deep-seated*; i.e. the natural hatred of the people to regal power. — *abundarent*: see Gr. 312.

10. *ubi, etc.*: a magistrate as such could not be attacked while in office, but upon its expiration he became like any other private citizen. — *sunt qui, etc.*: these read like later comment and explanation of the meagre facts as stated in the annals. — *cognita, etc.*: i.e. he acted as judge, and formally tried the son, over whom the *patria poletas*, suspended during the magistracy, was again restored at its expiration; cf. I. 26. 9. — *peculium*: the son was the property of the father, and could own nothing, but was allowed, like a slave, to enjoy some property as if it were his own. — *Cerei*: cf. *sacrando cum bonis, etc.*, 8. 2; he was apparently put to death by the law of Valerius Publicola there mentioned. — *signum*: cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXIV. 15, *Romae simulacrum ex aere factum Cerei primum reperio ex peculio Sp. Cassi.* — *familia*: here used in its regular sense of *res familiaris*.

11. *fidel*: see Gr. 261. a. — *quaestoribus*: not in the later sense of officers of the treasury, but of commissioners who acted partly as judges in the first instance, and partly as prosecutors before the people; cf. the appeal of Horatius, I. 26. 8. — *diem dictam*: cf. 35. 2 n. — *perduellionis*: very likely a later attempt to bring the case under some general class of offences; cf. Cic. *de Rep.* II. 35. 60, *Sp. Cassium de occupando regno molientem quaesitor accusavit, etc.* — *populi*: in the *co-mitia centuriata*, doubtless. — *Telluris aedem*: in the Carinae, near
Ceterum, sive illud domesticum sive publicum fuit iudicium, damnatur Servio Cornelio Q. Fabio consulibus.


the sororium tigillum (I. 26. 130); it was said to have been consecrated B.C. 486.

Wars Abroad and Dissensions at Home.

42. agrariae legis: though no actual law had been brought to a vote, yet the measure had been proposed, and may well be so called here. — dempto: i.e. though the proposer was gone. — malignitate, meanness; i.e. the ungenerous action of the senate, who, by the hands of Fabius, one of their party, turned the booty into the common store. The general in command had the disposal of the booty.

2. novissimum: see 41. 12. — tenuere, etc.: i.e. they succeeded in securing one of the consuls in spite of the opposition; such half-successes were very common; cf. the famous case of Caesar and Bibulus. — Caeso: see 41. 11.

3. excivit, brought about; literally roused, by encouraging the enemies of Rome to take advantage of her internal dissensions.

4. tamen: opposing the greater loss in flight to the implied loss in prospera... vicere.

5. Castoris: this is the great temple of Castor and Pollux (called Castoris for short), which is so often mentioned in later Roman history, and is still partly standing; it was near the end of the Forum, under the Palatine. — Latino: see 20. 12. — filius: the father was probably

by this time dead, and in such cases it was usual to appoint a kinsman as one of the commission of two to build and dedicate the temple.

6. dulcedine, etc.: cf. 1. — plebi: a rare form of the genitive found in certain phrases; cf. plebiscitum. — popularem, etc.: i.e. being elected to an office devoted to the people, they felt bound to 'magnify' it by proposing a law for the benefit of the people. — celebrabant: for the tense, cf. instigabant, 39. 7. — gratuiti, without a premium; i.e. without a definite incitement to partisan agitation. — largitiones, etc.: a descriptive reference, in quite the modern style, to the measure in question, the agrarian law; cf., however, 41. 2.

7. ea pars: i.e. the senate, identical in Livy's mind with the patricians. — nec in praesens: sc. vicit. — accusacione: see 41. 11. — dit: i.e. by its success in the elections.

8. vana . . . facti, was brought to naught; vani, baffled; but with the underlying idea in each case that the agitation ended in nothing. — iactando: a loose ablative of manner; see Gr. 301. footn. — inritum, unaccomplished, but containing the same idea as vana, etc., above. — tenore, character, but with the idea of the pursuance of the same policy throughout. — expertos: not merely that they met with the opposition, but that they forced it. — bene locatus, well invested, with the same figure.

9. sed: contradicting the inference that foreign war would occupy the state so as to prevent civil dissensions. — abutebantur: with its proper etymological idea of misuse or diversion from an end or purpose.
iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere ad aequas iam omnium mentes prodigia caelestia, prope cotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas; motique ita numinis causam nullam aliam vates canebant publice privatim-que, nunc extis nunc per aves consulti, quam haud rite sacra fieri. Qui terres tamen eo evasere, ut Oppia virgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit.


Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant; Veientes, pleni iam populationum, Romam ipsam se oppugnatos minabantur. Qui terres cum compescere deberent, auxere insuper animos plebis; redibatque non sua sponte plebi mos detrectandi militiam, sed Spurius Licinius tribunus plebis venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae patribus iniun- gendae, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis versa in auctorem est; nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius

10. aequas iam: i.e. on account of the civil discord. — prodigia: i.e. such as the rain of stones, comets, mock-suns, and the like. — moti: cf. I. 55. 3 n. — consulti: with numinis.

11. tamen: i.e. notwithstanding the great alarm, it only ended in this one case of atonement. — poenas, etc.: she was buried alive.

WAR WITH VELI AND THE AEQUI.

43. quoque: i.e. not only took up arms, but made an inroad. — consules: apparently the next year, but the two years are thus connected to avoid the stiffness of annals.

2. pleni: i.e. they were now tired of ordinary pillaging, and sought higher game.

3. non sua, etc.: cf. 23. 2; 27. 7; 29. 2; opposed to sed, etc. — in iungendae, forcing; — impediendam: by using his tribunician power to protect the recusants.

4. tota invidia, etc.: i.e. the whole odium capable of being raised by the power was thrown upon Licinius, by the fact that his colleagues turned against him.
collegae coorti sunt, auxilioque eorum dilectum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur: 5 ducendus Fabio in Veientes, in Aequos Furio datur. Et in Aequis quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est; Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus quam cum hostibus fuit. Vnus ille vir, ipse consul, rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. Nam cum consul praeter ceteras 7 imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem ut solo equitatu emisso exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. Nec illos, etsi non adhortatio invisī ducis, suum saltem 8 flagitium et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare, aut, si aliud nihil, starē instructos. In- 9 iussu signa referunt, maestique — crederes victos — exsecrantes nunc imperatorem nunc navatam ab equite operam redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilentī ex-emplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quae sita sunt: adeo

auxilio, etc.: although the tribunes had no power to set anything on foot, and so could not strictly assist a levy, yet they could aid by defending the consuls in their compulsory measures, against the interference of their colleague.

5. ducendus: a curious use of the combined force of the participle and adjective, the one to be, etc., is given to Fabius, the one to be, etc., to Furīus.

6. ipse consul: i.e. the very man whom they had so hated. — in se: the use of the reflexive, though irregular, is justified by a kind of indirect discourse, we will ruin the state so far as in us lies, implied in the action of prodebat.

8. nec illos, etc.: the narrative here, perhaps worked over from the traditions of the Fabian family, assumes the rhetorical form of a speech addressed to the soldiers by their consul. The peculiar constructions, as well as the words employed, become natural if we change the whole into direct discourse, nonne vos... vestrum... redierit... potest, etc. Rhetorical style with the ancients was always more or less connected with speeches.

9. crederes: cf. 35. 5 n. — navatam: Gr. 292. a.

10. pestilentī: as being mutiny, and destructive to military discipline. — quae sita, found, cf. quae sitam, 44. 3. — adeo, etc.: a natural remark of Livy's after so many years of civil government had made
excellentibus ingeniiis citius defuerit ars qua civem regant quam qua hostem superent. Consul Romam rediit non tam belli gloria aucta quam inritato exacerbaque in se militum odio. Obtinuere tamen patres ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret: M. Fabium consulem creant, Fabio collega Gnaeus Manlius datur.

44 Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae habuit: Ti. Pontifius fuit. Is eandem viam, velut processisset Sp. Licinio, ingressus dilectum paulisper impediit. Perturbatis iterum patribus Appius Claudius victam tribuniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in prae sentia re, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inventum sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim umquam defuturum qui et ex collega victoriam sibi et gratiam melioris partis bono publico velit quaesitam; et plures,

the Romans even more famous as statesmen and politicians than as generals and warriors; but one could hardly expect the civil virtues to flourish as early as the military. — defuerit: see Gr. 3 11. 6.

II. gloria aucta, etc.: these ablatives absolute have all the force of ablatives of quality. In fact, the Romans were not so particular about classifying the uses of cases as it is convenient for us to be. — obtinuere: cf. tenuere, 42. 2. — collega . . . datur: in these cases (cf. 42. 2 and 43. 1) the patricians succeeded in forcing one of their partisans on the elective body, but were obliged to allow one consul to the supporters of the plebeians; hence the word datur.

THE PATRICIANS AGAIN DIVIDE THE TRIBUNES. HOPE OF THE ETRUSCANS.

44. eandem: i.e. as Licinius, explained in the next clause. — processisset: impersonal, as often with succedere, and occasionally with this word. For mood, see Gr. 312.

2. victam, etc.: the emphasis gives the force, 'the method proposed succeeded the last time, why not try it again?' Cf. in prae sentia re and its chias tic antithesis, 'not only effectually for the moment, but so as to suggest it again in any similar circumstances.' — dicere: not very different from dixit, but giving more the idea of 'proceeded to suggest,' or 'it occurred to Appius to suggest,' as a part of the situation; cf. the further description of the situation and the final action (obtinuere, etc.) in 5.

3. ex collega: corresponding chiastically with melioris partis.

— melioris: the emphasis is caused by the fact that the tribune himself belonged, in the view of the speaker, to the worse part. — bono: used as a substantive, like pessimo in 1. 3. — quaesitam: cf. quaesita, 43. 10.
si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum vel adversus omnes satis esse. Darrent modo et consules et primores patrum operam ut, si minus omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicae ac senatui concilliarent. Praeceptis Appii moniti patres et universi comiter ac benigne tribunos appellare, et consulares, ut cuique eorum privatim aliquid iuris adversus singulos erat, partim gratia partim auctoritate obtinuere ut tribuniciae potestatis vires salubres vellent rei publicae esse; novemque tribunorum adversus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum consules habent. Inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo undique ex Etruria auxilia convenerant, non tam Veientium gratia concitata quam quod in spem ventum erat discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Principesque in omnium Etruriae populorum conciliiis fremebant aeternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semetipsi seditionibus saeviant. Id unum venenum, eam

5. universi: as a body, without regard to private relations. — consulares: i.e. particularly these, as persons of importance, who would be likely to have relatives and influence. — aliquid iuris, any claims upon, business, social, or other. — gratia . . . auctoritate: a good example of the difference between these words, the first referring to personal influence and popularity, the second to that arising from prominence in the community, and somewhat political in its nature. — obtinuere: belonging in sense also with universi (patres), as appellare also belongs with consulares, but the Latin so loves an antithesis that it makes one even where, as here, the precise form of the thought is disturbed by it; at the same time, by the present arrangement, the main word is more closely connected with consulares, to which it most belongs. — salubres: in the view of the aristocracy, to which body any agitation on behalf of the commons always seemed pernicious. — vellent: sc. the tribunes implied in ut cuique, etc.

6. novem: cf. 33. 2, where five in all are mentioned, but Livy (or his authority) is writing from a later point of view; or, as some think, he wrote quattuor here, and novem is due to a later hand. — moratorem: cf. 43. 3.

7. quo: i.e. ad Veios, implied in Veiens.

8. populorum: i.e. the different cities, each independent, but under one league. — saeviant: the apodosis is aeternas . . . esse, which contains in it a future idea; cf.
labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum partim patrum consiliis partim patientia plebis iam ad extrema venisse. Duas civitates ex una factas, suos cuique partim magistratus, suas leges esse; primum in dilectibus saevire solitos, eosdem in bello tamen paruisse 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 exercitus traditam ultro victoriam victis Aequis, signa deserta, imperatorem in acie relictum, iniusu in castra reditum. Profecto, si instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud opus esse quam indici ostendique bellum, cetera sua sponte fata et deos gesturos. Hae spes Etruscos arma- verant multis in vicem casibus victos victoresque.

Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud quam suas vires, sua arma horrebant. Memoria pessimi pro-

Gr. 307. d. — magna: the emphasis represents the greatness as the cause or condition of the destruction. — ut . . . essent: taking the form of a result clause on account of repertam.

9. sustentatum: the emphasis gives the force, ‘it had long been endured, but had now come to an outbreak.’

10. eosdem: i.e. though they had been turbulent in the conscription, yet these same persons who had been so had calmed their fury in war. — qualicumque: i.e. no matter how bad the civil condition was. — manente: of course with disciplina, but put first as containing the main idea. — sisti potuisse, they had been able to maintain themselves; cf. 29. 8. — iam: as often, of the gradual progress of a thing; opposed to primum above.

— quoque: i.e. as well as in the city at the time of the levy.

11. proximo, etc.: the final climax. — acie: this would refer to the time when the armies were only in array ready to fight, and so is less strong than certamine, which would mean only the moment of conflict. — ultro: i.e. the soldiers gave the victory, as it were, for nothing, voluntarily to their enemies who were already beaten (victis).

12. si instetur, if they pressed matters, i.e. as he goes on to show, and made war energetically in appearance. — hae spes, etc., it was these hopes that had, etc.

Veiil and the Etruscans.

45. consules Romani: though
ximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent: eo ubi duae simul acies timendae essent. Itaque castris se tenebant tam ancipiti periculo aversi: diem tempusque forsitan ipsum leniturum iras sanitatemque animis adlaturum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere agere, lacessere ad pugnam primo obequitando castris provocandoque, postremo, ut nihil movebant, qua consules ipsos qua exercitum increpando: simulationem intestinae discordiae remedium timoris inventum, et consules magis non confidere quam non credere suis militibus. Novum seditionis genus silentium otiumque inter armatos. Ad haec in novitatem generis originisque qua falsa qua vera iacere. Haec cum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud aegre consules pati; at imperitae multitudini nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare et ab intestinis avertere malis: nolle invultos hostes, nolle

the two nations are here contrasted, yet as it was the generals that were at variance with the soldiers, and whose state of mind is discussed; they take the prominent place. — quoque: i.e. they had the same feelings about the dissensions that the Etruscans had. — ne ... committerent: cf. 9. 5. — eo: i.e. in eum locum; cf. rem in casum ancipitis eventus committunt, IV. 27. 6.

2. ancipiti: although modified by tam in its general sense of dangerous, yet it is used partly in its etymological sense of double in reference to the two perils. — aversi, deterred, i.e. from fighting. — diem tempusque: the first refers only to lapse of time, the second contains also a reference to circumstance. — ipsum, alone, without any action on their part. — iras: see Gr. 75. c.

3. eo magis: i.e. on account of the inactivity of the Romans. — nihil movebant, had no effect, in arousing the Romans. — qua... qua: used three times in this chapter; see 4 and 16.

4. simulationem, etc.: i.e. that their civil dissensions were only a pretense to cover the real cowardice which prevented them from fighting. — confidere: in reference to their courage; credere: in reference to their fidelity and patriotism.

— novum: emphatic, because the state described is just the opposite of mutiny. — novitatem: i.e. taunting the Romans as a young nation of upstarts, and sprung from criminals and bastards.

5. haud aegre, etc.: a skilful chiastic arrangement, 'It was not at all unwelcome to the consuls, but filled the soldiers with indignation.' — intestinis, domestic; i.e. the wrongs that had driven them to rebel. — nolle: still historical infinitive. — invultos: see Gr. 292. d. N
successum non patribus non consulis; externa et do-
6 mestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant ex-
terna: adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt, poscunt pugnam,
7 postulant ut signum detur. Consules velut deliberabundi
capita conferunt, diu conloquuntur; pugnare cupiebant,
sed retro revocanda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut adver-
sando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent im-
8 petum. Redditur responsum immaturam rem agi, non-
dum tempus pugnae esse: castris se tenerent. Edicunt
inde ut abistineant pugna; si quis iniuusu pugnaverit,
9 ut in hostem animadversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus
consules velle credunt, crescit ardo pugnandi. Accen-
dunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisse non
pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe impune se in-
sultaturos, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum sedi-
tionis erupturam, finemque venisse Romano imperio.

-nolle . . . non . . . non: Gr. 209.
a. 2.-externa: i.e. of the enemy; see Gr. 217. a (but cf. 213. N.).
domestica: i.e. of the patri-
cians.
6. superant: we should expect
externa first, but there is a rhetori-
cal emphasis in reference to certare, like 'at length the contest is de-
cided, and the victory remains with
the hatred of the enemy.'-adeo:
i.e. too much for them to bear.-
eludebat, insult them; cf. I. 48. 2.
praetorium: the space in front
of the general's tent (cf. 47. 5), but
it may be translated headquarters.
poscunt...postulant: the first
has more imperativeness in it than
the second, though here the word
is only varied for rhetorical effect.
7. velut: because their consulta-
tion was only a pretence, as they
knew just what they wanted.-
pugnare, etc., to fight was just

what they were anxious for, to
translate the emphasis.-retro,
eetc.: a highly poetical expression
for curbing the desire.
8. redtitur: emphatic, as op-
oposed to their keeping back their
true intention, 'the answer that they
gave was,' etc.-agi: i.e. that a
plan was on foot that was not yet
ready, apparently with a kind of
irony; cf. matura res erat, II.-
edicunt: used of the formal procla-
mation; important on account of
the threat at the end.
9. quo minus, etc.: i.e. the less
they think the consuls wish it, the
more they desire it.-ferocius
multo: the emphasis is not on
multo but on ferocius, 'they were
still fiercer and bolder when the
formal determination not to fight
became known.' The adverb belongs
grammatically with accendunt, but
modifies an implied occurrant.

10. his: i.e. the ideas expressed in the preceding discourse.

11. enimvero: equivalent to tum vero, but with a kind of colloquial force, 'really, now, they couldn’t, don’t you see?’ as it were. — sensim, tentatively, feeling their way; cf. 2. 4. — matura, etc.: cf. 8 n.; tergiversantur: in reference to the farce enacted in the next section.

12. ad, amid, but almost with the force of the English at, containing a suggestion of cause. — iam: of course with concedente, but joined with metu, as the cause which at last forces Manlius to yield. — ego: only emphasized, according to Roman custom, as an antithesis to istos. — velle: opposed to posse, and implying, as usual in antitheses, the rest of the clause, istos vincere. — ne: see Gr. 319. a. N.

13. non dare . . . iurant: both containing an idea of futurity; see Gr. 307. a. N., and cf. 276. c. — fefellit: as much as ‘broken his oath to,’ an almost technical meaning of fallo; cf. 14.

14. si fallat: sc. deos; the oath is expressed in a kind of indirect discourse, for si fallo, etc.; cf. I. 24. 8, and see Gr. 341. c. — iratos, etc.: a shorthand expression for ‘the anger of’ the gods. — idem: i.e. each man repeats the full oath.

15. nunc: belonging to iacere, being quoted from the soldiers’ words. — armati: one would at

Instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detrectant. Prope certa spes erat non magis secum pugnaturos quam pugnarint cum Aequis; maius quoque aliquid in tam inritatis animis et occasione ancipiti haud desperandum esse facinus. Res alter longe evenit. Nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus — adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant — proelium iniit. Vix explicandi ordines spatium Etruscis fuit, cum pilis inter primam trepidationem abiectis temere magis quam emissis pugna iam in manus, iam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrociissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Quintum Fabium — tertio hic anno

first expect armatis, and indeed the reading is not certain; this clause also is a kind of quotation.

16. qua . . . qua: cf. 3 and 4.—nomen . . . gens: the same idea from two different points of view.

THE DECISIVE BATTLE.

46. acies: i.e. of the Romans. —detrectant: sc. pugnam, implied in the preceding.—pugnarint: for tense, see Gr. 336. B. a. —Aequis: cf. 44. 11.—quoque: here approaching its later sense of even, though not losing its sense of also; ‘they would do what they had done before, and also (even) something more.’ —ancipiti, criticæal; the opportunity offered by the dangerous crisis is meant.

3. pilis, etc.: the regular tactics were to throw the javelins at the first onset, and then to press forward with the sword to close quarters; but here the advance of the Romans was so fierce (infestior, 2) that steady aim was impossible, on account of the haste (trepidationem), and the javelins were merely thrown away, not shot at the enemy.—temere, at random.— venerat: the construction is that of Gr. 325. b (cum inversum), ‘they had hardly had time to deploy, when they were already at close quarters.’ In such cases either event can often be made the subordinate one, according to the momentary feeling of the narrative.

4. inter primores, in the foremost rank, following the old heroic method of fighting. The emphasis makes the statement a double one, ‘they were in the front and were an example there’; cf. principem below.—ferox: cf. I. 7. 5.—praec.
ante consul fuerat — principem in confertos Veientes
euntem ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum
inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pec-
tus transfigit; telo extracto praeceps Fabius in vulnus
abiit. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebat-
que inde Romanus, cum M. Fabius consul transiluit
iacentis corpus, obiectaque parma ‘Hoc iurastis’ inquit,
‘milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros? Adeo igna-
vissimos hostis magis timetis quam Iovem Martemque,
per quos iurastis?’ At ego iniuratus aut victor revertar,
aut prope te hic, Quinte Fabi, dimicans cadam.’ Cons-
suli tum Caeso Fabius prioris anni consul: ‘Verbisne
istis, frater, ut pugnet te impetraturum credis? Dii
impetrabunt, per quos iuravere. Et nos, ut decet pro-
ceres, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potius
quam adhortando accendamus militum animos.’ Sic in
primum infestis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque
moverunt secum aciem.

Proelio ex parte una restituto nihilo segnius in cornu
altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat; ubi prope
similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu
Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium iam
velut fusos agentem hostis et impigire milites secuti sunt,
et, ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfuctum

ceps, etc.: *i.e.* he fell forward on his
wounded breast; a common repre-
sentation, doubtless drawn from life.

5. sensit, etc.: *i.e.* the loss was
felt by both entire armies, though
that of only a single man. — inde,
(from) their position; more defi-
nite than the common *loco*; cf. 47.
obiecta: *i.e.* in defence of the body
and of himself. — hoc, *is this what?*
— fugientes: opposed to *victores
in 45. 13.

6. adeo: the word here appears
in the transition from its proper
meaning of ‘to that degree’ to
‘therefore’ or ‘then.’ — iniurat-
us: and so not bound, as they
were, to conquer or die. — consuli:
a vivid substitute for a pronoun,
almost in the modern rhetorical
style.

7. impetrabunt: *i.e.* will force
them to fight; we may leave it to
the gods without exhortation to
them. — moverunt, carried.
3 rati gradum rettulere; cessissentque loco, ni consul alter
cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo
advectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso
altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinuisset. Man-
lius quoque ad restituendum aciem se ipse coram offert.
Duorum consulum cognita ora ascendunt militum ani-
mos. Simul et vanior iam erat hostium acies, dum
abundante multitudine freti subtracta subsidia mittunt
ad castra oppugnanda. In quae haud magno certamine
impetu facto, dum praedae magis quam pugnae memores
tererent tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam inruptio-
num sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nun-
tiis quo loco res essent, conglobati ad praetorium rede-
unt, et sua sponte ipsi proelium renovant. Et Manlius
consul revectus in castra ad omnes portas militae opposito
hostibus viam claustrat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem
magis quam audaciam ascendit. Nam cum incursan-
tes quacumque exitum ostenderet spes vano aliquotiens
impetu issent, globus iuvenum unus in ipsum consulem

**Victory of the Romans.**

47. 3. rem inclinatam, the wavering battle.
4. coram: i.e. in the presence of the soldiers. — vanior, less solid, the rear ranks being withdrawn. — mittunt: see note on tererent below.
5. quae: sc. castra. — tererent: see Gr. 328. a. N., and cf. I. 40. 7. The difference between this use of dum and the one in 4 is, that here we have the same kind of time which is used with cum, and the same causal implication; in the other case we have the ordinary use of the dum clause equivalent to a participle (see Gr. 290. c. N.). — triarii: according to the (supposed) later organization of the Roman army (see VIII. 8), these were the oldest veterans and best fighters of the whole, composing the third line or reserve. But their weapon, the pilum, is mentioned in 46. 3, and they appear here as a constituent part of the force. We must either suppose that they were introduced earlier than Livy’s account makes out, or that he allows himself an anachronism. — praetorium: cf. 45.
6. — sua, etc.: i.e. without orders; the expression is doubled for emphasis.
6. et Manlius: in consequence of the message of the triarii. — viam: i.e. the enemy, being in the camp, are now prevented from getting out. — ex desperatio: (like is terror and the like), the desperation proceeding from the shutting of the gates. — unus: here not very dif-
insignem armis, invadit. Prima excepta a circumstan-
tibus tela, sustineri deinde vis nequit. Consul morti-
fero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis
crescit audacia, Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos
agit; et ad extrema ventum foret, ni legati rapto consu-
lis corpore patefecissent una porta hostibus viam. Ea
erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem
alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum caesi fusique
passim.

Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam
claris funeribus. Itaque consul decernente senatu tri-
umphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare pos-
sit, pro eximia eo bello opera facile passurum respondit:
se familia funesta Quinti Fabi fratris morte, re publica
ex parte orba consule altero amisco, publico privatoque
deformem luctu lauream non accepturum. Omni acto
triumphho depositus triumphus clarior fuit: adeo spreta
in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior reedit. Funera
deinde du deinceps collegae fratrisque ducit, idem in

ferent from quidam, but admissible
as opposing the frenzy of one body
to the action of the rest; cf. una
porta in 8.

9. consternato: a rhetorical ex-
aggeration, though, as the men were
fleeing, although desperate, it is a
natural one. — iterum: the first
time is implied in desperatio in 6.
— caesi fusique: not the same
persons, of course, but the two are
connected by -que, according to
the Latin fashion. — victoria: one
might at first think of supplying
eral, but probably no such verb was
in the author's mind, but the word
is in a kind of apposition, to speak
grammatically, with the previous
description.

10. decernente: conative pres-
ent, so called; the senate was en-
gaged in making the decree, but it
could not take effect without being
accepted. — si exercitus, etc.: i.e.
so far as the army was concerned
he had no objection, but he would
not lead the triumph, and so it was
impossible. — funesta: cf. 8. 7. —
orba: as deprived of one of its
parents, as it were. — lauream: the
laurel wreath worn in the triumph,
put as a symbol of the whole.

11. omni, any. — acto: the tech-
nical term for the celebration of a
triumph, because the general and
his army entered the city in pro-
cession. — depositus: as it was of-
ered him, he could be said to lay it
aside. — in tempore: like our on
occasion. — funera: opposed to the
utroque laudator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipse
maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor eius
quod initio consulatus imbibet, reconciliandi animos
plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit patribus. Fabii
plurimi dati, nec alibi maiore cura habit. Inde popu-
lares iam esse Fabii, nec hoc ulla re nisi salubri rei
publicae arte.

48 Igitur non patrum magis quam plebis studiis K. Fa-
bius cum Tito Verginio consul factus neque bella neque
dilectus neque  ullam aliam priorem curam agere, quam
ut iam aliqua ex parte incohata concordiae spe primo
quoque tempore cum patribus coalescerent animi plebis.

Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agrar-
iae legis auctor tribunus exsisteret, occuparent patres
ipsi suum munus facere, captivum agrum plebi quam
maxime aequaliter darent: verum esse habere eos, quo-
rum sanguine ac sudore partus sit. Aspernati patres
sunt, questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et

triumph, as these also had a proces-
sion; hence ducit.—in utroque,
in the case of each, as often with
in.—laudator: the technical word
for the eulogist who pronounced
the funeral oration.—cum: equiva-
lent to wherein; used like a par-
ticiple construction.

12. eius, of the policy.—recon-
ciliandi: in apposition with eius;
cf. foros faciendos, I. 56. 2 n., and
see Gr. 301. r.

Measures for the Relief of
the Plebs.

48. studiis, votes; literally, the
interest shown in his election.—
K: that is, Caeso; see Gr. 6. N.
—Fabius: cf. 43. 1 and 46. 6.
—Verginio: the senate, on this
occasion, seems not to have been
obliged to concede a consul of the
plebeian party.—coalescerent: cf.
I. 11. 2.

2. censuit: i.e. in his first ad-
dress to the senate.—tribunus:
not emphatic; the idea is, ‘before
any champion should arise, among
the tribunes (of course).’—ex-
sisteret, should arise; see Gr. 327.
a. —occuparent, should anticipate
them; a device not unknown to mod-
ern politics.—munus: i.e. the ser-
vice to the plebs.—verum, fair, as
often. One wonders why this had
not occurred to the patricians be-
fore.

3. aspernati: naturally, such
abuses are not reformed by the
will of the wrongdoers.—luxu-
riare: the figure is derived from
the loss of vigor from overgrowth.
—nullae: emphatic, ‘but there
were no party contests (as you

At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius consulis actumque de exercitu foret, ni Caeso Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veientibus fuit; res proxime formam latrocinii venerat: legionibus Romanis ceased bant in urblem; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello in vicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. Et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque, non diutius quam recens dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus; aut mox moturos esse apparebat Sabinos semper infestos Etruriamque omnem. Sed Veiens hostis, adsiduus magis quam gravis, contumeliis saepius quam periculo animos agitaban, quod nullo tempore neglegi poterat aut averti alio sinebat. Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente loquitur: 'Ad-

might expect), foreign (opposed to urbanae) war occupied their minds.' — vexabantur: opposed to nullae, 'they were troubled,' etc.

4. eo: i.e. in Latinos. — transit: i.e. across the borders.

5. Veiente: i.e. but with the people of Veii they did not come off so easily, and in fact, etc. — formam: see Gr. 261. a.

6. cedebant, they retired before. — eludentes, evading, with a feeling of the original meaning, dodge, or parry. — tota: with the force of an adverb; see Gr. 191. — trans-

iret: one would expect dum, but the phrase seems used like priusquam and other forms with quam (without ut). One could say, tam diu dolor transit, so long as, etc., in passing, and correspondingly, diutius quam dolor transit; from that would come the subjunctive, by a kind of indirect discourse. — quiescentibus: continuing present for future.

7. neglegi, averti: impersonal. — alio: i.e. ad aliam rem; cf. vos alia bella curate, 8.

8. consul: Caeso. — auctores

49 Manat tota urbe rumor. Fabios ad caelum laudibus ferunt: familiam unam subisse civitatis onus, Veiens bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma versum; si sint duae roboris eiusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant haec Volscos sibi, illa Aequos; populo Romano tranquillum pacem agente omnes finitimos subigi populos posse. Fabii postera die arma capiunt, quo iussi erant conveniunt. Consul paludatus egrediens in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt; acceptus in medium signa ferri iubet. Numquam exercitus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et admiratione hominum per urbem incessit: sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem sumus, we will guarantee; no doubt one of the earliest meanings of auctor. — ibi: i.e. apud Fabios.

9. nostrum, etc.: here we have a favorite Latin emphasis on pronouns, which gives the force, ‘this our own domestic war, we purpose to carry on as such.’ — illic: i.e. in eo bello.

March of the Fabii.

49. 2. si sint: see Gr. 308. e. — postera: the reading approved in this passage, contrary to the general practice of Livy.

3. paludatus: the regular general’s robe, as in a formal war, marks the solemnity of the occasion; cf. I. 26. 2, where, however, the word is used of a subordinate’s dress. — in vestibulo: unquestionably in ancient times a large forecourt or ‘dooryard’ in front of the house, but in all the Roman houses we know, so dwarfed as to become only a little recess at the front.
sperneres, egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiae viribus Veienti populo pestem munitantes. Sequabatur turba, propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec sper nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo, alia publica sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens. Ire fortes, ire felices iubent, inceptis eventus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare. Praetereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templum, quidquid deorum oculus, quidquid animo occurrit, precantur ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant. In cassum missae preces. Infelici via, dextro Iano portae Carmentalis profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio.

door; cf. 48. 10, where it is evidently incorporated in the building like a pronao.
4. sperneres: see Gr. 311. a.
5. turba: i.e. of those who accompanied the warriors to the gates. — propria: opposed in thought, though not in form, to publica (the general crowd, whose interest was not personal). — nihil medium: i.e. of no moderate fortune; it was either supreme glory or utter ruin. — immensa, boundless possibilities. — favore, enthusiasm.
6. ire, etc.: i.e. they hailed them with cries of ute fortes, ute felices, go in your provests, go with good fortune. — ab se: i.e. as the citizens who would vote these honors.
7. praetereuntibus: sc. eis (dative); the Latin has a fondness for omitting pronouns when there is any word which would indicate the case omitted. — Capitolium: they passed by under the hill, of which the towering buildings would be plainly visible. — quidquid deorum: a colloquial form of expression which gradually after Cicero’s time became common in literature. — animo: more for rhetorical effect than precision, but still some gods might be suggested to their minds by association, whose temples did not meet their eyes. — precantur: sc. the crowd.
8. infelici: so called afterwards, on account of this disastrous expedition. — Iano: as all entrance-ways were sacred to this god, his name came to stand for arches through which a road passed; cf. I. 19. 2. — Carmentalis: the gate next to the Capitol, between that and the river. It led out through the Campus, and was afterwards called Sichelata (Aur. Victor, 12).
— Cremeram: a little river flowing by Veii and emptying into the Tiber, some six miles from Rome. The
9 L. Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. Et 
donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad 
praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota 
regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta 
omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem 
fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationi-
bus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu 
praesidium Cremerae oppugnante, et Romanae legiones 
ab L. Aemilio consule adductae comminus cum Etruscis 
dimicant acie. Quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium 
Veientibus fuit: adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum 
post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta 
subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo 
incipiendae sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retro 
ad Saxa Rubra — ibi castra habebant — pacem supplices 
petunt; cuius impetratae ab insita animis levitate ante 
deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenuituit.

50 Rursus cum Fabii erat Veienti populo sine ullo maio-
ris belli apparatus certamen, nec erant incursiones modo 
in agros aut subiti impetus in incursantes, sed aliquo-
tiens aequo campo conlatisque signis certatum, gensque 
una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res 
erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tulit. Id primo acer-
garrison was thus lower down the 
stream, on the road from Veii into 
the Roman territory.
10. quamquam: correcting the 
use of the word acie.
11. trepidationem: cf. 46. 3 — 
post signa, etc.: in the line of 
battle the standards were placed 
in the front rank. — ala: in its 
later sense of squadron.
12. Saxa Rubra: a place still 
distinguishable near where the Fla-
minian Way crosses the Cremera 
(Valcetta). — cuius impetratae: 
according to Latin idiom for 'which 
they obtained, but before,' etc. — 
ab: cf. I. 31. 4 n. — ante, etc.: i.e. 
before it was withdrawn, as it was 
to have been, in accordance with 
the terms of the treaty. — paeni-
tuit: implying that they began hos-
tilities again, so that the Fabii re-
mained.

DESTRUCTION OF THE FABII.
50. rursus: in allusion to the 
projected return of the Fabii; see 
deductum, 49. 12.
bum indignumque Veientibus est visum; inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi. Gaudere etiam multo successu Fabii audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquotiens, velut casu incidunt, obviam acta, et agrestium fuga vasti reliqui agri, et subsidia armatorum ad arcendas populationes missa saepius simulato quam vero pavore refugerunt. Iamque Fabii adeo contemperant hostem, ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo credenter sustineri posse. Haec spes provexit, ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora, quamquam rara hostium apparebant arma, decurrerent. Et cum improvadi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superassent, palatique passim vaga, ut fit pavore iniecto, raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur, et adversi et undique hostes erant. Primo clamor circumlatatus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant; coeuntibusque Etruscis iam continenti agmine armatorum saepi, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogeabantur breviore spatio et ipsi orbem colligere; quae res et paucitatem eorum insinuavit et multitudinem Etruscorum multiplicatis in arto ordinibus faciebat. Tum omissa

3. ex re natum: *i.e.* suggested by the circumstances. — insidiis: emphatic; since they had failed in open fight, they resolved to try a stratagem, for which the situation was favorable. — ferocem: cf. I. 7. 5. — gaudere: as opposed to the first bitter feeling (acerbam, etc.).

4. velut: cf. 44. 1. — vasti, deserti, to invite pillage.

5. sua: emphatic, as opposed to hostem, from the habit of emphasizing persons. — invicta, invincibile, as often with the perfect passive participle. — provexit: the object eos is omitted because it is the same as the following subject. This economy of pronouns is characteristic of Latin. — rara: although this is emphatic, yet the main thought is that the armed forces did appear; an example of the familiar crowding of two statements into one.

6. adversi, in front, as usual.

7. circumlatatus: *i.e.* it began in one spot, and was echoed from one band to another. — accidebant, began to meet them. — continenti: *i.e.* the scattered bands of the enemy closed up and united in a continuous circle. — quo magis: cf. 19. 10 n.
pugna, quam in omnes partis parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. Eo nisi corporibus armisquerupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem. Inde primo restitere; mox, ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni iugo circummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. Trecientos sex perisse satis convenit, unum prope puberem aetate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiae dubiisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellique vel maximum futurum auxilium.

51 Cum haec accepta clades est iam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos victoriam elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupavere; obsessaque urbs foret super bellum annona premente — transi-

9. parem, alike; adjective for adverb, as often. — eo nisi, forcing their way there (to that). — viam: see Gr. 238 c.
10. inde: as their resistance was directed forward from their standpoint, Livy can say from there where we should say there. — vincebat... evasisset: see Gr. 308. b. — paucitas, the few; a bold expression, but used in the same manner as multitudo and similar words in a concrete sense.
11. praesidium: the fortified camp they had erected; cf. 49. 8. — puberem: he was consul ten years later (B.C. 467), so that he must have been a tolerably large boy at the time. — aetate: it is difficult to say whether Livy means to connect this with puberem (cf. maior natu) or with relictum. Historians vary in their statements as to whether he was left at home or left from the slaughter, but Livy’s words seem to indicate the latter, in which case the word goes better with puberem. — auxilium; e.g. Q. Fabius Maximus and Fabius Cunctator. Cf. Ov. F. II. 239 seq.

Rome besieged.

51. est: see Gr. 325. n. — C. Horatius: son of Marcus; see 8. 5. — Menenius: son of Menenius Agrippa; see 32. 8. — victoria elatos: and so impliedly making a demonstration at Rome after the defeat of the Fabii. It is to be remembered that these hostile cities were only two or three hours’ ride apart.

2. quoque: as well as in the case of the Fabii. — Etrusci: cf.
erant enim Etrusci Tiberim —, ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus; adeoque id bellum ipsis institit moenibus, ut primo pugnatum ad Spei sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi quamquam parvo momento superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem recepto pristino animo in futura proelia id certamen fecit.


49. 10, where they are represented as assisting their kinsmen. — ex Volscis: Livy forgets to mention his being sent there; the full account would be like 40. 14, but dryness and repetition must be avoided, at all hazards. Livy has dropped the Volsci since 42. 9, to take up the more picturesque and sensational Veian war. — ad Spei: sc. aedem; an omission frequent in Livy after prepositions; see Gr. 214. b. The temple was only a mile from the Esquiline gate. The Etruscans doubtless crossed below, and cut off the communications of the city by the Tiber and by Latium.

3. momento, degree, the figurative use of the word originally coming from weight on the steelyards. — meliorem: notice the emphasis; the advantage was slight, but there was an improvement in the morale of the soldiers.

4. proximam: the one mentioned in 2. — velut ab arce, etc.: two statements are again crowded into one; i.e. ab Ianiculo velut ab arce. — Ianiculi: see Gr. 214. f.

5. secuti, etc.: a shorthand way of telling the story of 50. 4 seq. — dedita opera: with propuls a. — plures: i.e. than the Fabii.

6. ex hac clade: as ira has in it a slight verbal idea, it allows a prepositional phrase as an attribute even more naturally than in other cases; but see Intr. 9. n.
luce orta nonnihil et hesterna felicitate pugnae ferox, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamvis in praecipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere adverso Ianiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediusque inde pulsus quam pridie pepulerat, interventu collegae ipse exercitusque est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, cum in vicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.


7. et: the correlative is displaced by magis tamen. — tamen: i.e. though somewhat from confidence, yet more from the pressure of famine. — quamvis, etc.: i.e. in consilia quamvis praecipitia dum, etc. — essent: see Gr. 314.

TRIAL OF MENENIUS AND SERVI LIUS.

52. urbi: as opposed to Veiens bellum. — laxior: with the same figure that we use in ‘a tight money-market.’ — advecto: the Tiber being now re-opened. — sibi cuique, etc.: a compressed form, representing quam sibi quisque timuerat or futuram putaverat. — futurae: cf. Gr. 293 b. — abditum: i.e. it had been hoarded from fear of future want, but is now brought into the market.

2. animi: i.e. plebis. — suo, their regular. — veneno: the figure taken from sorcery, in which drugs were used to bewitch.

3. diem dicunt: i.e. as tribunes bring in a bill against them before the comitia tributa. — invidiae erat: i.e. made him unpopular. — stativa: not mentioned before, but Livy has probably here changed his source, and is following some other authority.

4. oppressit: sc. eum. — Coriolano: cf. 35. 4. — Agrippae: cf. 32. 8. — hauddum: found only in Livy and Silius Italicus.


Certamina domi finita. Veiens bellum exortum, qui bus Sabini arma coniunxerant. P. Valerius consul accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis cum exercitu

5. in multa: _i.e._ they contented themselves with a fine, without asking for exile. — capitis, etc. _i.e._ they had brought a charge involving the loss of life, either bodily or civil. — ea in caput, etc. _i.e._ the fine, not intended to be a ‘capital’ punishment, as affecting the accused’s existence (see above), became such by its after-effects. — esse: with _dicunt_ implied in negant ( _dicunt non_ ).

7. periculo: cf. 51. 8. — refutando, _by upbraiding_; properly, by showing their claims to be unfounded and the action base. — exprobrando, _by reproaching them with_. — saeviret ... haberet: see Gr. 341. c. — discussit, averted; properly ‘shattered,’ as of something overhanging and threatening to fall.

8. participando: _i.e._ by sharing his own glory with the accused.

War with Veii and the Sabines.

58. accitis, etc.: cf. 33. 4 and
Veios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus socio-
rum locata erant, confestim adgreditur, tantamque tre-
pidationem iniecit ut, dum dispersi alii alia manipulatim
excurrunt ad arcendam hostium vim, ea porta cui signa
primum intulerat caperetur. Intra vallum deinde caedes
magis quam proelium esse. Tumultus e castris et in
urbem penetrat; tamquam Veis captis ita pavidī Ve-
ientes ad arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars
Romanos toto impetu intentos in castra adoriuntur.
Paulisper aversi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utroque
versis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule immissus Tus-
cos fundit fugatque; eademque horā duo exercitus, duae
potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes superatae
sunt.

Dum haec ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Aequique in
Latino agro posuerant castra populatique fines erant.
Eos per se ipsi Latini adsumptis Hernicis sine Romano
aut duce aut auxilio castris exuerunt. Ingenti praeda
praeter suas recuperatas res potiti sunt. Missus tamen
ab Roma consul in Volscos C. Nautius. Mos, credo,
non placebat sine Romano duce exercituque socios pro-
priis viribus consiliisque bella gerere. Nullum genus
calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est,
nec tamen perpelli potuere ut acie dimicarent.

L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Ve-
ientes provincia event. Non tamen bellatum; indutiae

41. 1. — sociorum: i.e. the Vei-
entes. — alii alia: i.e. they run
different ways, not referring neces-
sarily to gates, though that is in-
cluded in the general idea.

3. aversi: i.e. the Romans.—
utroque: i.e. towards the now re-
inforced Sabines, and towards the
second mentioned part of the en-
emy.

5. tamen: i.e. notwithstanding
that the war was ended without
Roman help. — gerere: contrary
to the usual ut construction with
mos, but no doubt suggested by the
simple infinitive after that word,
which is not so uncommon.

6. calamitatis: i.e. by ravages
48. 7.
exsilium Cn. Marci, Meneni damnationem et mortem sibi
proponat ante oculos. His accensi vocibus patres con-
silia inde non publica sed in privato seductaque a plu-
rium conscientia habuere. Vbi cum id modo constaret,
iure an inuria eripiendos esse res, atrocissima quaeque
maxime placebat sententia, nec auctor quamvis audaci
facinori deerat. Igitur iudicii die cum plebs in foro
erecta exspectatione staret, mirari primo quod non
dscenderet tribunus; dein, cum iam mora suspectior fieret,
deterritum a primoribus credere, et desertam ac prodi-
tam causam publicam queri; tandem qui obversati ve-
stibulo tribuni fuerant nuntiant domi mortuum esse in-
ventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor,
sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii
alii. Praecipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil
auxiliis sacratae leges haberent, morte collegae monitos.
Nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam, adeoque ne-
minem noxieae paenitebat ut etiam insontes fecisse videri
vellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam tribuniciam
potestatem.

Sub hac pessimi exempli victoria dilectus edicitur;
paventibusque tribunis sine intercessione ulla consules
rem perangunt. Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis
silentio quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse

7. accensi, etc.: the harangue had the intended effect. — non
publica: i.e. it was a secret con-
sspiracy. — an: the word of question on which this should depend
is only implied in modo constaret,
which indicates a debate of which
the result was eripiendo, etc., but
the other question, iure an inuria,
remained undecided; cf., for a less
striking case of the same, I. 33. 8.
— auctor, agent; properly, ‘re-
sponsible party.’

8. igitur, etc.: a masterly touch
of description. The necessary plot
and means are described, and Livy
skips with an ‘accordingly’ to the
dramatic scene of the discovery of
the death.

10. malo domandam: cf. 34. 11.

Publilius Volero, the Author
of the Pubilian Law.

55. sub, after, though the Latin
says a little more than this.
2. silentio: cf. 45. 4 and 57. 4.
de libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reditum, cum Genu- 
cio uno mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. 
Aliud agendum ac cogitandum, quo modo resistatur 
patribus: id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa 
plebs, quando aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quattuor et viginti lictores apparare consulibus, et eos ipsos 
plebis homines. Nihil contemptius neque infirmius, si 
sint qui contemnunt; sibi quemque ea magna atque hor-
renda facere. His vocibus alii alios cum incitassent, ad 
Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia, quod or-
dines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere, lictor 
missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. 
Cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et 
virgas expediri iubent. 'Provoco' inquit 'ad popu-
num' Volero, 'quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in 
conspectu suo virgis caedi malunt quam ipsi in lecto 
suo a vobis trucidari.' Quo feroceis clamitabat, eo in-
festius circumscindere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero 
et praevalens ipse et adiuvantibus advocatis repulso 
ictore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eo 
se in turbam confertissimam recipit, clamitans 'Provoco 
et fidem plebis imploro: adeste cives, adeste commilito-

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3. quattuor et viginti: cf. 1. 8.
--- apparare: cf. apparitori, 54. 5.
--- plebis homines: cf. de plebe 
hominem, 4. --- contemptius, con-
temptible, as often with the perfect 
passive participle.
4. ordines, etc.: i.e. he had been 
a centurion; cf. 23. 4.

5. spoliari, to be stripped. --- 
--- ipsi: attracted into agreement 
with the subject, for which this 
word has a particular fondness. --- 
circumscindere: i.e. his clothes, 
as he resisted.

6. advocatis: persons accompa-
nying a party, properly in court, as 
advisers, or to give him aid and 
moral support. --- pro se: the use 
of the reflexive makes the clause 
the idea of the subject.

7. provoco: official, the continu-
ation of the words in 5. --- fidem, 
etc.: an informal request for help
nes. Nihil est quod exspectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis vestro auxilio opus est.' Concitati homines veluti ad proelium se expediunt; apparebatque omne discrimen adesse, nihil cuquam sanctum non publici fore non privati iuris. Huic tanta tempestatum cum se consules obtulissent, facile experti sunt parum tutam maiestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis e foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultum cum in senatum vocari iussisset, queruntur injurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis feroxiter dictis sententiis vicere seniores, quibus ira patrum adversus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

56 Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi creat in eum annum qui Lucium Pinarium P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus permissurum tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus rogationem tulit ad populum ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fieren. Haud parva res sub titulo prima specie minime atroci ferebatur, sed quae patriarchis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi
quos vellent tribunos auferret. Huic actioni gratissimae plebi cum summa vi resistenter patres, nec, quae una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex collegio auctoritate aut consulem aut principum adduci posset, res tamen suo ipsa molimine gravis certaminibus in annum extrahitur. Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit: patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, Ap. Claudium Appi filium, iam inde a paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt; collega ei Titus Quinctius datur.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius collega eius auctor cum recentior tum acrior erat. Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod aetatis eius haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, cum Volero nihil praeterquam de lege loqueretur, insestatione absintens consulum, ipse in accusationem Appi familiaeque super-

4. actioni: the magistrate was said agere cum populo.—quae: referring to the ut clause, which, however, depends immediately on adduci.—resistendum: Livy carelessly uses this word in a slightly different sense from that of resistenter above, which only means attempt to resist.—aliquis: this should be properly the subject of posset, but the sentence is confused by the parenthetical relative clause. It ought to read neque quisquam ut intercederet adduci posset, quae una vis, etc., but the parenthesis carries with it the ut clause, and we have aliquis and no subject for posset.—tamen: again a slight confusion of thought. The real idea is, 'This was a measure most agreeable to the plebs, but the senate resisted, and though they failed to secure the only effectual means, yet in spite of the zeal of the people and the fact that no tribune could be won over to stay proceedings, the importance of the matter delayed it for a whole year,' i.e. beyond the term of office of Pubilius.—molimine gravis, difficult from its importance; lit. 'heavy from its own weight.'

5. paternis: cf. 27. 1. — datur: cf. 43. 11 n., and see the conduct of Quinctius, ch. 15.

6. anni: naturally of the consul's term.—ut . . . sic: almost equal to though . . . yet. The idea is, 'But the struggle was with a different adversary, though (while) Volero was the inventor, yet (so also) Laetorius was a champion, a fresher and more energetic man, so that he now takes the lead.'

7. ferocem, audacious; confident and violent at the same time, as is explained in the following.—familiae, etc.: cf. Tac. Ann. I. 4.
bissimae ac crudelissimae in plebem Romanam exorsus, cum a patribus non consulem sed carnificem ad vexandum et lacerandum plebem creatum esse contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati animoque. Itaque deficiente oratione 'Quando quidem non facile loquor' inquit, 'Quirites, quam quod locutus sum praesto, crastino die adeste. Ego hic aut in conspectu vestro moriar, aut perferam legem.' Occupabant tribuni templum postero die; consules nobilitasque ad impediendum legem in contione consistunt. Submoveri Laetorius iubet praeterquam qui suffragium ineant. Adulescentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes viatori. Tum ex his prendi quosdam Laetorius iubet. Consul Appius negare ius esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in plebeium: non enim populi sed plebis eum magistratum esse; nec illum ipsum submovere pro imperio posse

3. veter atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia. — exorsus: as so often, two statements in one sentence. 'While Volero confined himself to the law, Laetorius proceeded to personalities, but having begun, he found his eloquence unequal to the subject, and so,' etc.

8. rudis in, etc.: i.e. as would be natural in a soldier. — libertati animoque, his independent spirit.

9. quam: correlative with a tam implied in non facile. — crastino: the day of the comitia. — perferam: of course this all looks towards expected violence from the patricians.

10. occupant: i.e. take possession in advance of their opponents. — templum: the tribunal, or raised platform. — in contione: apparently the first assembling of citizens at a comitia was comito, in which they were informed, by the presiding magistrates, of the 'object of the meeting' and the questions at issue. This was dismissed by the order discedile ad suffragium, upon which the citizens took their respective places in order to vote. — submoveri: the regular word for clearing the way; here to be kept back as outsiders from hindering the proceedings. So far as Livy's words go, there is no indication that the patricians claimed the right to vote.

11. stabant: i.e. they refused to move. — viatori: the officer of the tribunes, or of any magistrate. — prendi: the usual practice of magistrates to enforce their orders. — negare, etc.: apparently a new claim resting on a quibble. Such new or forced interpretations of law are still common on occasions of political excitement. There is nothing like a party contest to produce 'implied powers' or 'strict constructions.'

12. illum ipsum: i.e. magistra-
more maiorum, quia ita dicatur ‘Si vobis videtur, disco
dedite, Quirites.’ Facile et contemptim de iure disse-
rendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur ira 13
tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem
ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine
magistratu; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio 14
omnis atroc coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset, et
concursus hominum in forum ex tota urbe concitatae
multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertina-
cia tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento 15
proelio foret, ni Quinctius consul alter, consularibus neg-
otio dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro
abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenis-
set, nunc orasset tribunos ut concilium dimitterent;
darent irae spatium, non vim suam illis tempus ademp-
turum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et patres in
populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate.

Aegrē sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multō aegrius consul 57
alter a patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis sena-
tum consules habent. Vbi cum timor atque ira in vicem
sententias variassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab
impetu ad consultandum advocabantur, eo plus abhorre-

13. ardens: the tribune, not being able to cope with his adversary in argument, loses his patience and proceeds to violence. — privatum: i.e. the tribune, so far as his present action was concerned; in fact, as he had no imperium, it might be claimed that he was privatus in general.

15. concilium: i.e. the contio.

THE LAW IS CARRIED.

57. 2. quo magis, etc.: i.e. the longer their anger had to cool, the less they were disposed to fight.
bant a certatione animi, adeo ut Quinctio gratias age-
rent quod eius opera mitigata discordia esset. Ab
Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem maiestatem esse
vellet, quanta esse in concordi civitate posset. Dum
consules tribuneque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil
relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque
rem publicam; magis quorum in manu sit quam ut in-
columnis sit quaeri. Appius contra testari deos atque
homines rem publicam prodi per metum ac deseri; non
consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse; graviores
acci leges quam in Sacro monte acceptae sint. Victus
tamen patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.

Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt.
Numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fue-
rint, Piso auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, Cn.
Siccium L. Numitorium M. Duellium Sp. Iciliun L.
Mecilium.

Volscum Aequicumque inter seditionem Romanam
est bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros, ut, si qua se-
cessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet; compositis
deinde rebus castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius in
Volscos missus, Quinctio Aequi provincia evenit. Ea-
dem in militia saevitia Appi quae domi esse, liberior,

3. tantam, only so great, as often; cf. 1. 9. 1.
4. silentio: cf. 55. 2. — perfertur: of course at a new assembly.

War with the Volsci and Aequi.

58. tum primum, etc.: it seems impossible that this should be true.
It is difficult to see what assembly, in Livy’s view, chose them before.
The probability is that he knew really no more about it than we do,
but, as usual, is writing a pictur-
esque history, of which this state-
ment forms an important item, and
that he does not stop to make a
consistent theory of the whole mat-
ter. If he had, he perhaps would
never have given us his ‘pictures-
ted page’ at all.—numero, etc.: cf.
33. 2; 44. 6. The whole matter is
involved in the greatest uncertainty.

3. vastaverant . . . ut, etc.: the
ut clause belongs really to the oc-
cupation of the territory implied in
vastaverant; cf. retro movere.
4. quae domi: sc. fuerat.
quod sine tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio: quid? se victum ab ea, se unico consule electo adversus tribuniciam potestatem perlatam legem esse, quam minore conatu nequaquam tanta patrum spe priores impedierunt consules? Haec ira indignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum saevo imperio exercitum stimulabat. Nec ulla vi domari poterat: tantum certamen animis imbiberant. Segniter otiose, neglegenter contumaciter omnia agere. Nec pudor nec metus coercebat. Si citius agit vellet agmen, tardius sedulo incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes sua sponte motam remittere industriam; praesenti vultus demittere, tacite praetereuntem exsecrari, ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur. Omni nequiquam acerbitate prompta nihil iam cum militibus agere, a centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere, tribunos plebei cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare.

Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant instabantque eo magis, sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium consulem habuisset. Ceterum multo Appio quam Fabio violentior fuit: non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabi-
anus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra, nec ante restitit quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque extremi agminis caedem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor iam a vallo submoveretur hostis, satis tamen appareret capi tantum castra militem Romanum noluisse, alibi gaudere sua clade atque ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus cum insuper saevire vellet contionemque advocaret, concurrent ad eum legati tribunique monentes, ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cuius vis omnis in consensu oboedientium esset. Negare vulgo milites se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri voces postulantium ut castra ex Volsco agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse, ingentiisque mali non suspicionem modo sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Victus tandem, quando quidem nihil praeter tempus noxae lucrarentur, remissa contione iter insequentem diem pronuntiari cum iussisset, prima luce classico signum profectionis dedit. Cum maxime agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci ut eodem signo excitati novissimos adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit ut neque imperia

merely on violentior, but on the whole expression.

3. expressa: lit. ‘wrung from them’; i.e. their energy was roused. — vis, energy. — alibi: i.e. except in the camp itself.

4. saevire, vent his rage, as often. — imperium, an exercise of authority; such abstract nouns are often used in concrete senses; cf. their use in the plural.

5. negare, etc.: the words of the remonstrants. — apertam speciem, unmistakable appearance, such that it not only dimly occurred to the mind as a suspicion, but came before the eyes as a visible reality.

6. quando quidem, etc.: a thought put into the mind of Appius. — tempus noxae, postponement of their punishment. — lucrarentur, they got; properly as the price of the bargain. He meant to carry out his purpose later. — remissa: i.e. giving up the proposed assembly.

7. cum maxime, just when.
exaudiri neque instrui acies posset. Nemo ullius nisi fugae memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque evasere ut prius hostis desisteret sequi quam Romanus fugere. Tandem collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus consul, cum revocando nequiquam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; advocataque contione invectus haud falsi in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinae, desertorem signorum, ubi signa, ubi arma essent, singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signiferos, ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque qui reliquerant ordines, virgis caesos securi percussit; cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad supplicium lecti.

Contra ea in Aequis inter consulem ac milites comite ac beneficiis certatum est. Et natura Quintius erat lenior et saevitia infelix collegae quo is magis gauderet ingenio suo effecerat. Huic tantae concordiae

8. ullius: a substantive use of this word unknown elsewhere; cf. eius, 47. 12.
9. revocando: ablative of manner; cf. sumendo, 32. 4. — advocata: notice the emphasis, calling the assembly, as he had originally purposed. — invectus: sc. est.
10. inermes milites, etc.: coordinated (or in apposition) with singulos, and so following rogitans, but containing the substance of his reproaches repeatedchiastically.
11. ad hoc: i.e. in addition to his invective. — centuriones duplicariosque: as more trusted, and so more responsible for the treachery. The latter were not exactly officers, but soldiers who had received a reward (double rations) for previous valor, and so were in a position of trust similar to that of the centurions. — multitudo...decimus...lecti: a curious construction according to sense, explained by the partitive apposition of quisque. — ad supplicium, for execution.

THE CAMPAIGN OF QUINCIUS.

60. et...et: the two branches are the natural disposition of the consul, and his prohiting by the experience of his colleague. — quo...gauderet: a rare construction of a result clause with quo; cf. the common quominus in such clauses.
2. concordiae, etc.: put by a common Latin usage for duci, etc., tam concordibus. Though the language is less fond of abstract nouns, yet it sometimes prefers them as summing up the quality referred to in a single word, which is then by its use made concrete again; cf. I.
ducis exercitusque non ausi offerre se Aequi vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi. Nec ullo ante bello latius inde actae praedae. Ea omnis militi data est. Addebatur et laudes, quibus haud minus quam praemio gaudent militum animi. Cum duci tum propter ducem patribus quoque placatior exercitus reedit, sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum datum ab senatu memorans.

Varia fortuna belli atroci discordia domi forisque annum exactum insignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt, res maior victoria suscepti certaminis quam usu: plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est patribus ex concilio submovendis, quam virium aut plebi additum est aut demptum patribus.

Turbulentior inde annus exceptit L. Valerio T. Aemilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege agraria, tum propter iudicium Appi Claudii, cui acerrimo adversario legis causamque possessorum publici agri

41. 4. — offerre se, to face. — hostem: not merely a repetition of ducis, etc., as an English pronoun would be, but giving an additional idea that they were so much impressed that they stood by and looked on while an enemy was laying waste their lands. — ea: sc. praedae. — data est: cf. 42. 1 n.

3. prae mio: the booty was a prize or reward. — parentem: as loved children; dominum: as oppressed slaves. Cf. the comparison of Domitian and Trajan in Plin. Pan. 2, non de domino sed de parente loquimur.

4. varia, etc.: i.e. though the year was remarkable for the fortunes of war and the dissensions at home, yet more than these the Publilian law makes it famous. — victoria, etc.: i.e. as a triumph in the contest more than for any permanent advantage.

5. dignitatis, etc.: i.e. the new comitia lost dignity because the most distinguished of the voters were now excluded, and consequently the body was only a humble assembly of the poorer classes. Yet there is nothing in Livy's words that distinctly says that the patricians were excluded from voting, but only that they were excluded from being present to hinder. See note to 56. 10.

PROSECUTION OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

61. exceptit, followed, properly with an object, here civitatem, understood; cf. I. 53. 4. — Valerio: cf. 42. 7. — ordinum: at this time only the two parties, the patricians

and the plebeians. Perhaps they are only so called in accordance with later usage, derived from the 'equestrian order.'

2. tertio, etc.: i.e. he was so active and took such a leading part, that he seemed like another consul.
— diem dixere: probably before the comitia centuriata, as in 35. 2. The use of plebi and populi in the next line seems to confirm this.

3. plenus, etc.: a harsh use of plenus as well as of the possessive pronoun for the objective genitive. But the phrase can hardly mean anything except 'overwhelmed by wrath against himself and his father,' and we may perhaps justify plenus by 1. 25. 1, a case not precisely parallel, and suarum by 58. 8, taking irarum as equivalent to odiorum.

4. non temere, not often; properly, 'not without special cause,' so that it doesn't occur by chance.—propugnatorem, etc.: expressing the feeling rather than the thought of the senate, and so approaching the exclamatory constructions; see Gr. 274.—suae: on account of the indirect discourse.—modum dum-taxat: i.e. he had only gone a little too far in what was, after all, the right direction.

5. vestem mutaret: cf. 54. 3 n. —prensaret: the technical expression used like our 'button-hole.'—aliquid: here hardly differing from quidquam, but giving a slightly different tone, 'a little, as one would have thought he would.'—leniret, soften.—submitteret, humble, from his lofty tone of arrogance.

6. habitus oris . . . vultu: the first, of movement of features; the second, of expression, as of the eyes or the like.
quam consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu; adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupefecit et plebem, ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent, trahi inde rem sinister. Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit; ante tamen quam prodicta dies veniret morbo moritur. Cuius cum laudationem tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebs fraudari sollemni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit, et laudationem tam aequis auribus mortui audivit quam vivi accusationem audierat, et exsequias frequens celebravit.

62 Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos profectus cum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit foeda tempfas cum grandine ac tonitribus caelo deiecta. Admirationem deinde auxit signo receptui dato adeo tranquilla serenitas reddita, ut velut numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit. Omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modo sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habitabatur, Sabini exciti cum praedatoribus occurrissent, ancipiti proelio digressi postero die rettulere castra in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum cur pro victo relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

7. semel, only once, as opposed to the second trial referred to in the following.— accusatorio: i.e. with the tone of a prosecutor rather than a defendant.— diem ipsi, etc.: whether, as was the practice later, the accused had a right to two more hearings of the case before the vote was taken, is uncertain. Livy assumes that he had not, but the prosecutors, of their own accord, allowed the case to drag.

9. laudationem: cf. 47. 11.

War with the Sabines.

62. 4. villarum: single farmhouses; vicorum: clusters of houses, villages.

5. integro, still unfinished; properly, 'with nothing done about it.'

Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper alias, sollicitae pacis certamine patrum et plebis. Irata plebs

War Abroad and Discord at Home.

68. 2. cum cognitum est: cum inversum, Gr. 325. b.
3. coacti: sc. educere, implied in educata, etc.
4. quidem: opposing the enemy to the consuls; 'the enemy did nothing, to be sure, but the consuls continued the war.'—aliud: originally a cognate accusative with the verb (cf. 29. 4), but retained even when that construction ceases to be possible; cf. Gr. 240. a and g.
6. melius ... imperatum est, the general did better.—ut tum, etc.: so I. 3. 3; II. 50. 2; cf. I. 18. 1 n.

Another Year of War and Discord.

64. sollicitae, disturbed.
* interesse consularibus comitiis noluit: per patres clientesque patrum consules creati T. Quinctius Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia, bello deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini, Crustuminos campos citato agmine transgressi, cum caedes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina moenibusque pulsi ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequis locis non potuit; populationem adeo effuse fecit ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret multiplicique capta praeda rediret. Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta cum ducis tum militum opera. Primum aequo campo signis conlatis pugnatum ingenti caede utrimque, plurimo sanguine. Et Romani, quia paucitas damno sentiendo proprior erat, gradum rettulissent, ni salubri mendacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans, concitasset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant vicere, cere, vicere. Consul metuens ne nimis instando reno- varet certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessere pauci dies velut tacitis industriis utrimque quieta sumpta; per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Aequisque populis in castra venit, haud dubitans, si senserint, Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertia fere vigilia ad castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quinctius, sedato tumultu quem terror subitus exciverat, cum manere in tentoriis quietum militem iussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in sta-
tionem edicit, cornicines tubicinesque in equos impositos canere ante vallum iubet sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere. Reliquum 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 saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

Vbi inluxit, Romanus integer satiatusque somno productus in aciem fessum standing et vigiliis Volscum primo impetu perculit: quamquam cessere magis quam pulsi hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi, in quos post principia integris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. Consul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem. Miles aegre teneri, clamare et poscere ut perculsis instare liceat. Ferocius agunt equites, circumfusi duci vociferantur se ante signa ituros. Dum cunctatur consul, virtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant se ituros; clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quo leviores ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus effusi ad primum impetum missilibus telis saxa obiacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes turbatosque ictibus crebris.

cape of the Romans, they made the attack before they should find out their arrival, and in the night.

10. stationem: i.e. an outpost beyond the camp, the usual meaning of the word.

11. plures: i.e. than they were. — Romanos: not Hernici, and so better soldiers. — insueto, etc.: two reasons for the uneasiness of the horses.

VICTORY OVER THE VOLSCI.

65. 2. pulsi: this would imply broken ranks, while the Volsci retired in good order. — principia: the first line under the old tactics, containing the best citizens, who protected the other lines when hard pressed. Either really or according to Livy's conception, the other lines must have advanced to the front, and on occasion retired behind the principes. — iniquum locum: i.e. the clivi mentioned above.

4. turbatos, etc.: i.e. first throws them into confusion, and then begins to press on them from above.
urget ex superiore loco. Sic prope oneratun est sini-
strum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus iam gradum con-
sul increpando simul temeritatem simul ignaviam pudore
metum excussisset. Resistere primo obstinatis animis;
deinde, ut obtinentes locum vires refecerant, audent
ultimo gradum inferre, et clamore renovato commovent
aciem. Tum rursus impetu capto enituntur atque exsu-
perant iniquitatem loci. Iam prope erat ut in summum
clivi iugum evaderent, cum terga hostes dedere effuso-
que cursu paene agmine uno fugientes sequentesque
castris incidere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur. Qui
Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt; Antium
et Romanus exercitus ductus. Paucos circumsessum
dies deditur nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod iam
inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant
animi.

— oneratun: i.e. overborne by mere weight. For construction, see Gr. 308. 6.
5. obtinentes, etc.: i.e. holding their ground for a moment allowed
them to recover. — ulbro: i.e. not merely to hold their own, but even to advance.
7. paucos: see 23. 12 n. — nulla etc.: cf. oppugnare non ausus, 63. 6
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