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COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

EDITED BY

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

LIVY. BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.

GREENOUGH AND PECK
COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

LIVY

BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.

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PREFACE.

The scope and method of this volume of Livy are the same as were set forth in the preface to Books I. and II. The wants of college students have been kept steadily in view, and the chief object of the commentary is to stimulate such students and aid them in forming the habit of reading Latin as Latin, of apprehending thought in its Latin form and sequence, and of entering with intelligent sympathy into the workings of Livy's mind and his conception of his country's history and destiny.

The text is based upon the recension by August Luchs (Berlin, 1888) of the Codex Puteanus and of its best derivatives. This codex was probably written in the sixth century, and is now in the National Library at Paris. Deviations from Luchs are generally in a closer adherence to the manuscript readings. Luchs' treatment of the text is conservative, but at times his changes do not seem necessary. The best manuscripts more or less misrepresent the original author; but the object of criticism should be to ascertain, not what we may think the author ought to have said, but what, in view of his mental peculiarities and of his surroundings, he probably did say.

On the other hand, the editors have reproduced less often than Luchs the vagaries and inconsistencies of the manuscript spellings. As the oldest Latin manuscripts are centuries later than the authors themselves, and have usually been copied and re-copied under oral dictation, they often contain the accumu-
lated blunders and whims of many scribes; their spelling cannot, therefore, be very sacred or trustworthy. Our knowledge of Latin orthography is based in part upon manuscripts, but much more and more securely upon the evidence of inscriptions, the statements of the Roman grammarians, and the fact that the ancient orthography was essentially phonetic. A method thus derived is necessarily conventional, and cannot faithfully reproduce the method of any single writer; but it is, for ordinary purposes, the best attainable. Such forms, therefore, as aecum, arena, exaustum, milia, set, though they are in the best manuscripts of Livy and are of value to specialists, have been discarded.

In the preparation of the commentary, beyond the free use of what has become the common property of scholarship, acknowledgment of aid is due to these works: the editions of Weissenborn-Müller (Berlin, 1891), Wölflin (Leipsic, 1891), Capes (London, 1889), Dowdall (London, 1888), Riemann and Benoist (Paris, 1888); Kühnast’s Die Hauptpunkte der Livianischen Syntax (Berlin, 1872), Riemann’s Étude sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite Live (Paris, 1885); R. B. Smith’s Rome and Carthage (New York, 1886), Dodge’s Hannibal (Boston, 1891), Hesselbarth’s Untersuchungen zur dritten Dekade des Livius (Halle, 1889); Taine’s Essai sur Tite Live (Paris, 1888).

For an account of Livy’s life and writings, and an estimate of his strength and weakness as a historian, the reader is referred to the Introduction to Books I. and II.

The abbreviation ‘Gr.’ in the notes is for Allen & Greenough’s Latin Grammar (Boston, 1888).

July 12, 1893.
INTRODUCTION.

ROME AND CARthAGE.

1. The twenty-first and twenty-second books of Livy treat of the events of 219–216 B.C., the opening years of the second part of the great struggle between Rome and Carthage. It was a struggle between the Indo-European and the Semitic races for supremacy on the Mediterranean Sea, and for the two powers engaged was one for existence even. The Phœnicians, the great commercial nation of the East, had extended their mercantile relations throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and, crowded out of Grecian waters by the activity of the Hellenic tribes, had concentrated their influence upon the European and North African coast in the West, long before the Latins had emerged from the condition of a simple agricultural community. But Rome from her peculiarly advantageous position controlled the whole commerce with the interior of Italy. Hence, though perhaps the Romans were not a commercial nation in the same sense as were the Greeks and Phœnicians, sending their own ships and expeditions to every quarter of the world, yet their wealth and power were really founded upon commerce, and their merchants were seen and their trade was established in every part of the West. In the conduct of this commerce they early came in contact with the Carthaginians, who were their most active rivals. Carthage was a Phœnician colony which had been peaceably established in prehistoric times (probably in the ninth century B.C.) on the northernmost point of the coast of Africa, and had gradually extended its
power in the western Mediterranean. Before the end of the sixth century B.C. the Carthaginians had become masters of much of the northern and western coasts of Africa, of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and of a large part of Sicily, where they were contending with the Greek colonies for dominion. They had also founded colonies on the coast of Spain.

2. According to Polybius (iii. 22), in 509 B.C. the Carthaginians made a treaty with the Romans by which the merchants of Rome were excluded from all the lands south of the Promontorium Hermæum (Cape Bon). In spite of the express statement of Polybius it is more probable, though by no means certain, that this treaty was not made till 348 B.C., (Livy vii. 27) some hundred and fifty years later. But in any case it shows that the Romans had long before the latter date extended their commercial relations to all parts of Italy and Sicily and in some degree to Africa.

3. The contest for the possession of Sicily between the Greeks and Carthaginians continued with various interruptions till 338 B.C., when a treaty was made with Timoleon by which the island was divided between the rival powers. This state of things lasted till about 289 B.C., with the exception of a short period of war with Agathocles of Syracuse. Later, the Carthaginians were gaining on the Greeks, when the advent of Pyrrhus, in 278 B.C., forced them back to the extreme west of the island, until his withdrawal, in 275 B.C., left the field again in their possession. In the meantime, through fear of the Greeks friendly relations had been established between the Romans and their old rivals. The treaty of 348 B.C. had been renewed in 306 B.C. (Livy ix. 43 et cum Carthaginiensibus eodem anno foedus tertio renovatum, legatisque eorum qui ad id venerant comiter munera missa). Another renewal was made in 281 B.C. (Livy, Per. xiii. cum Carthaginiensibus quarto foedus renovatum est) when the war with Pyrrhus was impending, and a Carthaginian fleet was offered to the Romans, which, however, doubtless from jealousy, was declined. In
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272 B.C. the appearance of a Carthaginian fleet before Tarentum was regarded by the Romans as a breach of the treaty (Livy, Per. xiv. Carthaginiensium classis auxilio Tarentinis venit, quo facto ab his foedus violatum est).

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

4. With the departure of Pyrrhus the Romans became practically masters of the whole of Italy, and now the two grasping nations came face to face on the two sides of the Strait of Messina. Their first hostile contact was forced by the Romans with characteristic aggressiveness. They undertook to assist a lawless band of Campanians, who had seized Messina, against Hiero of Syracuse and the Carthaginians, and for the first time, in 264 B.C., a Roman army crossed the strait into Sicily. The success of this army drew Hiero to join the Roman cause, and a war was begun which lasted more than twenty years. The possession of Sicily was hotly contested by land, but, from the extraordinary power of the Carthaginians on the sea, the war was chiefly a naval one. The Romans, who were without any considerable fleet, contrived with marvelous energy and ingenuity to build one; and, in spite of many disasters, they finally, in 241 B.C., by a victory at the Ægates islands, so crushed the power of the Carthaginians that the latter were forced to submit to a disadvantageous treaty, by which they lost Sicily with all the islands lying between Italy and Sicily. Thus closed the First Punic War—a war, as Polybius says, the longest, the most continuous, and the greatest which the world had then known.

TROUBLES OF CARTHAGE AT HOME.

5. Hardly was peace concluded with Rome when Carthage was seriously threatened by the combined revolt of her mercenary soldiers and of her Libyan dependencies. This war was marked by fearful atrocities on both sides, and after con-
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tinuing more than three years was brought to a close by Hamilcar Barca, who had given proof of great genius and patriotism during the last six years of the war with Rome. Either there were ambiguities in the treaty of 241 B.C., which gave a show of reason to the Romans, or they took advantage of the embarrassment of their enemy; at any rate, they soon succeeded in wrestling from Carthage both Sardinia and Corsica.

EVENTS IN SPAIN.

6. Partly because of the jealous opposition of Hanno, who represented the peace-loving commercial and aristocratic classes, and partly no doubt to initiate a far-seeing plan of revenge against Rome, Hamilcar, in 237 B.C., crossed into southern Spain. Here, sometimes by force of arms and sometimes by diplomacy, he continued to promote the power and wealth of Carthage till he fell fighting in 228 B.C. His successor was his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who organized the Carthaginian empire which Hamilcar had established in Spain, and founded New Carthage as its capital. The Romans were alarmed at these movements and forced Hasdrubal to agree not to extend his conquests north of the river Ebro. On the assassination of Hasdrubal, in 220 B.C., Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, succeeded to the control of the interests of Carthage in Spain.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

7. Before 220 B.C., the year when Hannibal took the command, all the accessible regions of the Spanish peninsula south of the river Ebro were in the hands of the Carthaginians, except the city of Saguntum, which had come into alliance with the Romans after the treaty of 241 B.C. Hannibal, who inherited the long-cherished determination of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal to retrieve the disasters of the First Punic War, devoted himself to preparing Spain as a base of operations, and in 219 B.C. began hostilities by the siege and final capture
of Saguntum. As the Roman ambassadors, sent to demand satisfaction and a cessation of hostilities against their ally, met with a rebuff both in Hannibal's camp and at Carthage, the war was formally declared. Hannibal, having made his preparations, set out in the spring of 218 B.C. from New Carthage to invade Italy by way of Gaul and the Alps, an undertaking of which the Romans evidently had not the slightest suspicion. It is the details of this memorable and fateful invasion that form the subject of the Third Decade of Livy's work.

**Defective Accounts of the Second Punic War.**

8. The events contained in this Decade ought naturally to be more accurately presented than those in the earlier extant books. Contemporary historians had recorded the events, and documents of all sorts must have been preserved which would enable a modern historian to attain a considerable degree of certainty in regard to his subject. But the same causes which had served to confuse and obscure the earlier history continued, though in a less degree, to produce their natural effect in the later periods. The art of historical investigation, the colorless and unbiased presentation of facts, the writing of history for history's sake, were, even in the time of the Second Punic War, new and undeveloped. The same family pride, the same political and patriotic bias, the same human tendency to exaggeration and misrepresentation, continued to be active. At the best, even eye-witnesses of facts are untrustworthy, and what passes under the name of contemporary history is always open to suspicion.

**Livy's History of the War.**

9. The sources from which Livy could draw for his history were thus tainted from the start. They were numerous, but discordant, and nothing but the most exquisite historical sense could make even a consistent, much less a trustworthy, narrative
from them. But of this historical sense Livy was almost totally destitute; nor did he, for the most part, apparently feel the want of it. His main design was to produce, by force of rhetorical skill, a readable and interesting narrative of the growth of the great empire. Although, in general, he desired to make his picture a true one, and is often troubled with qualms about details, yet he was in the main content to follow accredited authorities, now trusting himself to one and now to another, as suited his purpose, without minding, perhaps without noticing, the inconsistencies into which he was led.

Livy's Authorities.

10. The most important source of Livy's Third Decade was unquestionably the great universal history of Polybius. This author was a native of Greece, but he came to Rome in his maturity, in B.C. 167. He was an intimate friend of Scipio Africanus the Younger and of most of the great men of Rome in his time. Impartial, and endowed with a true historical spirit, Polybius came nearer to being a historian in the modern sense than any ancient writer, not even excepting Thucydidès. He treats fully of the Hannibalic war, and is our best authority for its characters and events.

The works of the Romans who before Livy had written of this period exist for us only in meager and scattered quotations.

Q. Fabius Pictor ('longe antiquissimus auctor') incorporated in his annals a contemporary history of the war. That his judgments were warped by his partisanship toward his kinsman Fabius Cunctator may well be believed. His work was in Greek, but a Latin translation or edition appears to have been accessible in Livy's time.

L. Cincius Alimentus, who was prætor in 211 B.C., wrote in Greek on the same subject. He was taken captive by Hannibal, and had conversed with him on the incidents of the war.

Livy mentions as a source of information a certain C. Acilius,
a contemporary of Cato, whose work was translated into Latin by one Claudius (perhaps Claudius Quadrigarius).

_Q. Claudius Quadrigarius_, a contemporary of Sulla, was another annalist whose work included this period.

_Valerius Antias_, an annalist of about the same time, treated his subject with such freedom and imagination as often to falsify history. Even Livy speaks with bitterness of his untrustworthiness.

A little later, _C. Licinius Macer_, father of the orator and poet Calvus, and _Q. Aelius Tubero_, the accuser of Ligarius, had also published histories including this period.

All these writers except Polybius composed their works in the annalistic form, beginning with the earliest times and following the course of events year by year.

_L. Coelius Antipater_ wrote of the Second Punic War in an independent manner. He drew also from foreign authorities, as from Silenus, a Greek, who was a companion of Hannibal on some of his expeditions and wrote in his interest. Antipater lived in the age of the Gracchi, was a teacher and friend of the great orator Crassus, and, apparently, dedicated his history to the younger Lælius.

The _Origines_, the great work of the elder _Cato_ (234–149 B.C.), also included this period; but there is no evidence that Livy used it in his Third Decade.

It does not appear that Livy made use of the Roman History of his contemporary, _Dionysius_ of Halicarnassus, nor of the great historical epic of _Ennius_, the _Annales_.

**Livy's Treatment of Historical Problems.**

**II.** On many disputed points no information of decisive value can be gained from Livy. A striking example of this is the question which has caused the most discussion in modern times, namely, by what pass Hannibal crossed the Alps. Livy hardly has a definite view himself, except of the most general
character, and apparently knew little of the topography of the region. The question can probably never be settled. We can only use our author for the general features of the narrative, not for its precise details. This edition has not, therefore, attempted to decide in regard to the actual facts, but only to make clear what Livy’s own views were in reference to disputed points. The task of answering these doubtful questions belongs to the historian, and not to the editor. Livy’s work must be judged by literary and not historical standards, and, so judged, it will always remain a noble specimen of brilliant and generally clear presentation, and a model of narrative style.
TITI LIVI
AB VRBE CONDITA
LIBER XXI.

In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae umquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale

REMARKABLE CHARACTER OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

1. In parte: i.e. at the beginning of the Third Decade, which treats of the Second Punic War (see Intr. 7). The whole sentence is a good example of the force given in Latin by the order of words: the part is opposed to the whole work, and is the most emphatic idea of all; the propriety (licet) is emphasized as opposed to the impropriety of putting such a preface to his whole work, and the possible impropriety of this usage in other historians; the idea of a preface (praefati) becomes emphatic as opposed to his treatment of the general subject. If we had not the preceding still more emphatic words, Livy might say, 'Let me say by way of preface, before I begin the subject.' — principio: opposed to parte. — summae, body; i.e. the entirety of the work. — totius: agreeing with summae. — professi: the emphasis implies that the claim was not always well founded; cf. the emphasis on licet. — rerum: with or without gestarum, the regular word for historical material. — bellum: the emphasis is borrowed (quoted) from the direct discourse: 'the subject of my book is a war;' etc. — maxime omnium, etc.: the order, seemingly artificial, is determined by the constant collocation of the words in a partitive construction. — umquam: on account of the negative idea almost always present in comparative constructions; cf. the use of ne in clauses in French after comparisons. — quod: i.e. id (bellum) quod; the want of an article in Latin allows the author to vacillate in his mind between 'a war,' as we should understand the first part of the sentence, and 'the war;' the real antecedent of quod. This usage well illustrates the Latin want of an article; not only did the Romans not have any, but they did not think any except in special cases, when they supplied its place by different devices. — Hannibale, etc.: the emphasis marks the sec-
duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. 

Nam neque validiores opibus uellae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum umquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancesque Mars fuit ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam

and the controlling powers were made of, almost moral in its allusion; cf. the English 'hearts of oak.'—ignotas, etc.: the third point; it was not like one civilization meeting an inferior one, but the combatants were equally matched. They knew each other's tactics, and were prepared to meet them.—inter sese: the regular reciprocal form of expression in Latin. Better taken with ignotas, though it often happens that such an adverbial expression confusedly refers to more than one part of the sentence, as here both ignotas and conserebant naturally take a reciprocal.—primo Punico...bello: a kind of date, hence not merely priore bello, but precisely as the English words are used in the note on imperitatum, 3.—conserebant: the expression is extended from the regular manum, pugnam, etc., conserere. The imperfect looks to the continuing of the contest; the perfects contain mere narrative statements. Consuerunt would have seemed to limit the statement to the beginning of the war.—varia...Mars: the same thing, the vicissitude of the war, described under two aspects; cf. I. 33.4 Marte incerto varia victoria.— fuerint: this breach of the sequence of tenses is almost regular in consecutive clauses where the result is a historical fact.

3. odiis: a fifth point, cumulative to the others, hence etiam: i.e. as well as armaments and resources,
prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus quod victoribus victi ultra inferrent arma, Poenis, quod superbe avareque credenter imperitatum victis esse. Fama est etiam Hannibalem, annorum 4 ferme novem, pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacrïs iure iurando adactum, se cum primum posset hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis 5

and greater (in proportion to ordinary battles) than they.—Romanis: though this might be in partitive apposition with the subject of certarunt, yet Livy treats it as a separate idea, hence the ablative absolute.—victoribus: of course referring to themselves, though only stated generally.—ulro, unattacked; i.e. they actually began an offensive war.—superbe: referring to outrage and insult.—avare: referring to the extortion of money.—crederent: the idiomatic use of the subjunctive, which puts the thought into somebody else's mind. The sense would be complete without crederent but it is inserted to show still more strongly that the other party was in the wrong. Translate as they thought, or the like.—imperatum: at the close of the First Punic War.

4. fama: as opposed to the certainty of the facts before stated, showing that Livy does not give full credence to this statement.—annorum: we should expect puereum or the like, but the construction begins to be shortened in the Augustan age by appending the quality immediately to the noun or pronoun; cf. qui ex turba iuvemum, XXII. 15. 5; Torquatus, prisci severitatis, 60. 5.—blandientem, coaxing.—ducretur: in translating use the active, with change of subject. The emphatic position gives a force like 'to take him with him,' and so implies already the main idea of trajecturus. By such simple devices, as often, the whole has a vivid pictorial effect; the boy sees the sacrifice and learns what it is for, and says, 'Oh! take me with you,' whereupon the father grants the request upon the boy's taking then and there the oath. Such pictures are characteristic of our author.—Africo bello: the war which Carthage had with her unpaid mercenaries and her disaffected subjects; see Intro. 5.—exercitum, etc.: the sacrifice was, as usual, offered at the beginning of the expedition.—tactis sacrïs: usually the sweater took hold of the altar, but here apparently he lays his hand on the victim. Probably Livy had no definite idea, but changes to sacrïs because he had for graphic effect already said altaribus admotum.—cum primum, etc.: i.e. when he came of age.—hostem, etc.: here Livy seems by the emphasis on hostem to represent Polybius' (III. 11. 7) μηδέποτε Ρωμαίοι εθνοφυις, which agrees with XXXV. 19. 3 nupqum amicum fore populi Romani, and with Nepos (Hann. 2) nupqum me in amicitia cum Romanis fore, and the account given by Appian (I8. 9) ἔχορδος εστοθαι Ῥωμαίοι οτρ ἐς τοιτελίαν παρέθε. The word hostem implies actual warfare.

5. angebant, etc.: explaining
spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum sti-
pendio etiam insuper imposito interceptam. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit ut appareret maius eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bellum et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae inlatus fusisse, qui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob

Hamilcar's animosity. — Sicilia ... amissae, the loss of, etc.: this construction of a noun and participle, where the participle gives the main idea, instead of an abstract noun, becomes more and more frequent in the Augustan age. — nam: introducing the thought, in indirect discourse, which produced the feeling expressed in angebant. Such free uses of the indirect discourse are especially common in Livy. — nimis celeri, etc.: because the Carthaginian defeat was not so decisive as to compel the loss of their possessions in Sicily. — Sardiniam, etc.: the Romans, taking advantage (fraude) of the paralysis of the enemy through the war with the mercenaries, forced the Carthaginians by threats of war to abandon Sardinia and add a further amount to the sum agreed to in the original treaty at the end of the First Punic War. — imposito: the perfect is loosely used, in relation really to the time of the speaker, though apparently to that of the main verb interceptam.

HAMILCAR AND HASDRUBAL IN SPAIN.

2. his anxius curis: the emphasis serves merely to connect the following with angebant, etc., as if it were, 'and so, being in this anxious state of mind,' etc. — Africo bello: see 1. 4 n. — fuit sub recentem, immediately followed. — pacem: the one which concluded the First Punic War. — quinque: in round numbers. The Mercenary War lasted about four years (241–237 B.C.), or, according to Polybius (I. 88), three years and four months. Livy is seldom careful about numbers. — per quinque annos, novem annis: Livy delights in varieties of syntax.

2. maius: i.e. a war with Rome. — Hamilcare: not eo, to make a more vivid contrast with Hannibalis.

3. peropportuna: the position makes this almost a predicate adjective: 'happening very opportunely, as it did.' — distulerunt: a word
alia indolem profecto animi adscitus et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens hospitiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutor fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo domini obturuncavit, comprehensuque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam si evasisset vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut superante laetitia dolores, ridentis etiam speciem prae-

used properly of persons, and so almost personifying mora and pueritia as instruments of fate. — medius: referring merely to time. — flore acetatis, youth and beauty. — uti ferunt: implying as usual a doubt of the truth.

4. aliam: opposed to flore, etc. — profecto, unquestionably, opposed to uti ferunt. — animi: though grammatically dependent on indolem, yet added as a kind of predicate where we should put in to wit or that is. — factionis Barcinae: the patriotic or war party, so named for Hamilcar, surnamed 'Barca' (lightning); cf. the frequent application of 'fulmen' to the Scipio family. Hanno led the opposing or peace party, with which the capitalists and the aristocracy were in sympathy. — plebemque: Livy is thinking of the Roman parties. — haud sane, not, you may be sure; a litotes, like our not much, not very, and the like.

5. hospitiis: this relation, though properly a personal one between citizens of different states, established to supply the want of consuls and resident agents, was, however, extended to potentates in a semi-official capacity, and even to whole states, so that it covered all sorts of alliances on equal or unequal terms. The relation was more formal and less personal than that indicated by amicitiam principum; hence we have hospitiis alone, but conciliandis, etc., in full. — regulorum: chieftains of petty tribes. — principum: important men in tribes not ruled by a chief. — bello aut armis: a double expression merely to match the two branches, hospitiis, etc.

6. tutor: i.e. he did not escape being killed, in spite of his avoiding war. — barbarus: emphasized as continuing the same idea as the preceding sentence: 'a native Celt, not a regular soldier in battle.' — palam: notice Livy's high coloring; Polybius (II. 36) says in the night. — interfecti: cf. amissae, i. 5 n. — comprensus, etc.: though two items are in Latin fashion crowded into one predication, yet by the order of the words the same sequence of ideas is secured as in our own more broken style. — vultu: i.e. he showed no alarm when captured. — quoque: picking out tormentis, etc., as a climax on comprensus, just as eo fuit, etc., with ridentis etiam, is a climax on haud alio, etc. Livy is nothing if not
7 buerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

8 In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin praerogativam militarem, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium forcible. — ridentis: see pugnantium, 29. 2 n. This passage is a very good example of the manner in which Livy adds stroke after stroke for graphic effect. The whole has to be read first straight on and parsed afterwards, otherwise it becomes a mere jumble of words.

7. cum hoc: resuming the story after the digression. — quia: introducing the reason why the Romans thought it necessary to make terms, inasmuch (which is passed over) as they could not at the moment fight him. — fuerat: in reference to the time of the treaty, giving an effect like 'they had found that he was,' etc. — foedus: the original treaty of B.C. 241 was renewed with the provision not in it originally, ut finis, etc. — renovaverat: in reference to the time of the Second Punic War, which is Livy's main point. The treaty with Hasdrubal was in 225 B.C. — Saguntinis: Saguntum, a very flourishing city, founded by Greeks long before the rise of the Roman power, lay very near the coast of Spain, a hundred miles or so southwesterly from the mouth of the Ebro. Its autonomy was secured by this treaty, although it lay in the territory left open to the Carthaginians, so that its neutrality was guaranteed as a kind of buffer between the two great powers, as is often done in modern times. Its territory may possibly have reached to the Ebro. — mediis: used loosely; not that necessarily it lay geographically between the two.

HANNIBAL MADE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: HIS CHARACTER.

8. in Hasdrubalis locum: again a good example of the order of words. We should naturally say, 'in place of Hasdrubal (now dead and so making a successor necessary),' but Livy says, 'in place of Hasdrubal (the next commander was Hannibal),' taking the succession for granted and simply opposing the new commander to the old. The Latin has a fondness for emphasizing persons. — haud dubia, etc.: describing the situation before the actual choice politically of the new commander. The best MSS. read praerogativa militaris...sequatur; either Livy allowed himself here a strange anacoluthon, or, as is more probable, the text was early corrupted. — praerogativam: originally used with tribus or centuria for the first (prae) body selected by lot to vote (rogo) at an election. Its choice was regarded as an omen and had much influence on the election. Hence the word comes to mean choice, viewed as a precedent, as is the case here. — in praetorium, etc.: the custom is not mentioned elsewhere, but it may be correctly reported or may have been drawn by Livy from some other nation, or even entirely fabricated. — iuvenis: the emphasis accents
clamore atque adsensu appellatus erat, favor plebis sequeretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus ut adsuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno alterius factionis princeps 'Et aequum postulare videtur' inquit 'Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo quod petit tribuendum.' Cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in se omnis convertisset, 'Florem aetatis' inquit 'Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praeuit, justo iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento adsuefacere libidini praetorum. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relictii exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus?' Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum sub legibus, 6

the apparent incongruity between his age and the enthusiastic install- 
ment in office. Hannibal appears (1. 4; 2. 1 and 3) to have been 
about twenty-six years old. Nepos (Hann. 3) says that he was under 
twenty-five, and Europius (III. 7) that he was in his twentieth year. — 
clamore atque adsensu: a bendi-adys, equal to 'clamorous assent.' — 
appellatus: literally, not merely figuratively, 'hailed' as such, in 
accordance with the practice in Roman armies.

2. Hasdrubal: i.e. while in command in Spain after the death of 
Hamilcar. — accersierat: the pluperfect to keep the right sequence of events in view of the statements at the beginning of the chapter. — 
acta, etc.: i.e. the question of Hannibal's going as implied in the preceding. — etiam: i.e. not only he had been sent for, but his party 

had urged that he should be despatched to the army.

3. Hanno: 2. 4 n. — et . . . 
et: purposely used to introduce the two contradictory parts of the statement with rhetorical effect as a startling and paradoxical proposition.

4. admiratione: i.e. just the effect intended. — florem aetatis: 
see 2. 3. — rudimento: for the military origin of the word, see 
Harvard Studies, I. 95.

5. an: the regular use of the word, implying 'am I not right in 
opposing it, or must we do so for fear?' etc. — immodica, unlimited, 
unrestrained, as passing beyond the proper limits for a constitutional commander. — regni: as opposed to a lawful magistracy. — 
regis: used in the same sarcastic tone. — parum mature, not soon 

enough.
sub magistratibus, docendum vivere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens, exsuscitet. Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, inajor pars meliorem vicit.

Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit: Hamilcarem iuvenem redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset: neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio

6. quandoque: in its indefinite sense; cf. quandocumque, and quisque in its early relative sense. The Ciceronian writers would use aliquando or quando.

4. pauci, a few, apparently contrary to the usual negative sense of the word, but still implying 'a few, but only a few.' — missus: the emphasis enables Livy to omit the result of the decision of the senate: 'he was sent, and immediately,' etc.

2. iuvenem, in the prime of his powers, i.e. as they remembered him in his youth. — credere: the historical infinitive is used here to depict the situation already stated in the preceding sentence; so in malle, 4. This form always describes, and never merely narrates. — effecit: i.e. as a soldier, he soon made the likeness to his father (pater in se) seem of little account by the side of his military qualities.

3. numquam: the emphasis enables Livy to dispense with a nam or enim. The whole is a shorthand expression for, 'He showed a character than which none was ever better suited at the same time for the two opposites of command and obedience,' — a form of expression which becomes a subordinate detail of efficac, and not an explanation requiring nam. — parendum: the word is in a kind of apposition with res, and so the natural ad is omitted before it. — discerneres: the regular use of the imperfect where what would be in present time a general condition with the protasis omitted (as non discernas, 'you couldn't tell if you should try, or the like), is transferred to past time. There is strictly no 'contrary to fact' implication (Gr. 311. a).

4. fortiter ac strenue: a favorite combination to express the ideal Roman character; cf. Cic. Phil. II. 32. 78; Hor. Ep. I. 7. 46; Suet. Tib. I. — esset: the so-called subjunctive of repeated action, which
ducere plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad 5 pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi 6 potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora: id quod gerendis rebus superesset quieti 7 datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accessorit; multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus 8 nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequant 9abant: inhumana crudelitas; perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius first comes into frequent use with Livy (Gr. 309. 8).

6. discriminata: i.e. regularly fixed for one or the other purpose.

7. multi saepe, many persons at one time or another; cf. II. 35. 8 multis saepe bellis. — militari: i.e. such as the common soldiers wore. — sagulo: the diminutive to heighten the effect, like 'simple soldier's cloak.' The regular word is sagum, a short cloak (like the Greek chlamys) fastened on the right shoulder. — custodias, sentinels. — stationes, pickets or posts.

8. vestitus: as the mere adornments of his body opposed to arma and equi, as means of war. — equitum peditumque: i.e. as a warrior on foot or on horseback, referring to personal prowess.

9. viri virtutes: this, instead of eius virtutes, gratifies Livy's fondness for alliteration. — vitia: probably this standing reputation among the Romans was as unfounded as the mutual estimation of British and French warriors or rival college athletic teams. Livy's own narrative is sufficient to disprove the Roman notion; see e.g. the honors to slain enemies in XXV. 17 and XXVII. 28, as well as Hannibal's strength in adversity, XXVIII. 12. — perfidia, etc.: Punica fides was proverbial among the Romans. If we had a Carthaginian literature, we should no doubt have the contrary expressed, and probably with more truth. — nihil veri: like the other words, in apposition with vitia, being affirmative in meaning, though negative in form, 'utter disregard for truth.' — nihil sancti: this idea among the Romans corresponds to piety or conscientiousness with us, a pure life controlled by religion. — deum metus: another aspect of religion, respect for the gods as 'making for righteousness.' — ius
iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque
vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit
nulla re, quae agenda videndaque magno futuro duci
esset, praetermissa.

5 Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia
ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum
esse, nihil prolataeium ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem
Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctante casus
aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit.

3 Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma
movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines—ultra Hiberum
ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginien-
sium erat—induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Sagunti-
nos, sed rerum serie finitimis domitis gentibus iugen-

HANNIBAL'S OPERATIONS IN SPAIN.

5. ceterum: resuming the narrative after the digression at 3. 2.—
ex quo die, etc.: opposed to his service as a subordinate. There is
a difficulty in the chronology (cf. 2. i-3), arising no doubt from Livy's
following different sources.—Italia, etc.: instead of Spain and the war
there.—provincia: a technical
term for 'department,' 'field of
operations'; for its strict use see
17. 1.

3. quibus oppugnandis: a
loose use of the ablative of cause.
Operations against the town are
really meant, hence oppugnare.—
qua, etc.: i.e. he wished to have
an appearance of right on his side,
even though he was purposely aim-
ing at the Romans.—moveban-
tur: a free use of the conative
imperfect to supply the want of a
form: for a futurum in praeterito
in the passive corresponding to the
active motura erant.—Olcadum:
northerly from New Carthage on
the Gaudiana.—ultra, south of
Rome is Livy's point of view.—
in parte, etc.: i.e. according to the
treaty with Hasdrubal (2. 7) they
were left to the Carthaginians,
though not yet conquered by them.
—rerum serie: i.e. he knew
that in the combinations among
the tribes attacked the neighbor-
ing Saguntines would sooner or
doque tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam urbem opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripiteque; quo metu percussae minores civitates stipendio imposito imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praeadam [stipendioque] praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis vere primo in Vaccoeos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum urbes, vi captae. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica profugi exsulibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gentis, cum se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos, adortique Hannibal regressum ex Vaccois haud procul Tago flumine agmen grave praeda turbavere. Hannibal proelio abstinentia, castrisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, annem vado traecit vallo-

later become involved. — iungendo: i.e. by extending his boundaries. The word is used absolutely elsewhere (Pliny, Ep. III. 19. 2) of the gradual accumulation of land. The co-ordination of the two different kinds of ideas (rerum serie, iungendo) is contrary to Latin usage, but begins to be more common in imperial Latin.

4. quo metu: a common, even standing, shorthand expression for ‘the alarm caused by this.’—stipendio imposito . . . accipere: the change of ‘point of view’ or ‘subject of the action’ is not natural in Latin, but becomes common in later and less formal writing; cf. promotum, 5 n. — Carthaginem Novam: the modern Carthage, built with great splendor by Hasdrubal as a naval base for aggressive operations. The name is pleonastic, ‘Carthage’ meaning ‘New Town’ (Servius on Verg. Aen. I. 370 Carthago est lingua Poenorum ‘Nova civitas’). — hiberna: i.e. the winter of 221–220 B.C.

5. stipendio: i.e. arrears of pay for the campaign. — civium: i.e. Carthaginians there settled. — promotum: the rest of the sentence is fashioned as if Livy were going to say promovit, but with one of his sudden turns he changes his point of view from the man to the operations, and continues from that point in Hermandica, etc.

6. Hermandica: probably the modern Salamanca.

7. ab Hermandica profugi = ei qui ab Hermandica profugerant. The use of adjectives and participles as nouns, but with the construction of verbs, is very rare before Livy: cf. inferentis vim, 44. 3; fugientium in terra, XXII. 19. 9.

8. procul Tago: procul is not used in prose as a preposition before Livy; cf. 7. 6.
que ita producto ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transseuntes statuit. Equitibus praecepit ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur impeditum agmen; in ripa elephasos—quadraginta autem erant—disponit. Carpetanorum cum appendix Olcadum Vaccaeorumque centum milia fuere, invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti et, quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati: quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt.

Et ex parte altera ripae vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum, quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab inermi equite equo temere acto perverti posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabilis, comminus eminusque rem gere-

ret. Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in hostis ab elephantis obtiti sunt. Postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutor fuit, ex varia trepidatione.cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam a tanto

9. ita, etc.: Hannibal entrenched himself so that his foes would be tempted to ford the stream, but yet so near that he could readily attack them before they were over.

11. invicta: a shorthand form for quae invicta fuisse, much used by the later writers.

12. feroces: as usual almost equal to 'confident.'—id morari, etc., the only hindrance to their victory was the fact that, etc.

13. et: connecting the strong force of the cavalry with the powerful attack of the Spaniards, and so leading up to the great contest in the river.

14. vix vado fidens: i.e. scarcely able to stand in shallow water, as opposed to medios gurgites; cf. 31.

15. temere, etc.: i.e. they could be ridden down by a mere random dash of the horsemen.—comminus eminusque: i.e. the horsemen being free could throw their missiles or use their swords, while the foot were hampered so as to be unable to do either.

16. postremi, those in the rear, and so not exposed to the cavalry attack nor to the violence of the stream. The word, by a common Latin construction, is made to belong to the dependent verb, colligerentur, though the sentence begins as if postremi were to have a predicate of its own.—varia, etc.: i.e.
pavore recipiunt animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato
amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit vastatisque agris
intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem
acceptit. Et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Sagun-
tinos Carthaginiensium erant.

Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum iam 6
belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime
Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem qui litis erat 2
sator, nec certamen iuris sed vim quaeri apparet, legati
a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud
dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant 3
P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui
cum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica rettu-

from the various directions in which
the panic had at first driven them.

—agmine quadrato: the regular
expression for a line in march so
arrayed as to guard against attack
on all sides, as opposed to the ordi-
nary line of march, which was not
intended for fighting. —ingres-
sus: probably the description is
overdrawn, for if the above account
is true this movement would have
been at least difficult. —fugam . . .
fecit: this expression means either
to flee or, as here, to put to flight. —
agris: i.e. of the Carpetani, on the
other side of the river.

17. trans: from Livy’s point of
view; cf. ultra Hiberum, 3.

THE SAGUNTINES IN ALARM SEND
ENVOYS TO ROME.

6. Saguntinis, etc.: a good
example of the origin and effect of
chiasmus. As far as erat there is
no opposition except the one already
indicated in Saguntinos, 5. 17;
but immediately there comes belli
causa, opposed to bellum, and so
Livy leads up to an opposition in
finitimis to the first word Sagun-
tinis. A criss-cross opposition, or
chiasmus, is the natural result. —
cum finitimis: i.e. between the
Saguntines and their neighbors.—
Turdetanis: Livy cannot mean
the powerful people of this name
in southwestern Spain, but some
much nearer tribe, probably living
on the river Turia, and possibly an
offshoot of the other.

2. adesset: in its technical
sense of appearing as counsel or
supporter. —sator: cf. serebantur
above. —orantes: a rare form of
purpose; cf. cohinentem, XXII.
2. 4.

3. consules, etc.: the consuls
for this year, viz. 219 B.C., were
M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemi-
lius Paulus, who were succeeded in
218 B.C. by those here named. By
blindly following different authori-
ties, Livy falls into a chronological
blunder, and tries to extricate him-
sel himself in 15. 4-6. —introductis: the
ambassadors were introduced into
the senate on the motion of the
consuls, on the occasion of the dis-
cussion in that body as to the course
to be pursued (de re publica ret-
tulissent).
lissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res
sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa,
et Hannibali denuntiarent ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi
Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traice-
rent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent,
hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe
celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc relata
de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias consulibus
Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique
rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Han-
nibalemque intenderant bellum; erant qui non temere
movendam rem tantam exspectandosque ex Hispania
legatos censerent. Haec sententia quae tutissima vide-
batur vicit, legatique eo maturius missi P. Valerius
Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus Saguntum ad Hanni-
balem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello,
ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcen-
dum.

4. quibus: *i.e. qui, si eis; cf. postremi, 5. 16 n.*—Hannibali:
opposed to the Carthaginian gov-
ernment at home. — *deferrent:* this word closes the sentence with-
out leaving any main clause for it.
This has the appearance of careless
writing, but it serves to give a vivid
and rapid narrative of the facts,
and the grammatical construction is
completed in another form below.

5. *hac legatione decreta:* in
this expression Livy sums up the
whole of the proceeding and so
gains a new start, as if it were,
“Well, after this had been voted, as
I have said, and while it was not
yet carried out,” etc.—*spe, expec-
tation,* as often.

6. *relata:* cf. *rettulissent* in 3.—
de integro: the regular use of this
phrase is to denote the introduc-
tion of something on a new basis,
as unaffected by any previous pro-
ceedings. — *decernentes:* in its
regular sense of giving one’s indi-
vidual opinion, though nothing but
the sum of all the opinions given
would properly be a *decretum.*

*censebant,* favored a decree; cf.
preceding note.—*intenderant:* a
strong expression for *intendendum
censebant,* indicating that they had
already made up their minds.

7. *temere,* hastily, without some
more decisive provocation.

8. *eo:* *i.e. because the matter
was left undecided until the return
of the embassy. — ad Hanniba-
lem: *i.e. as in 4.*—*absisteretur:* indirect for *si non absisteretur (sic Carthaginem):* the apodosis is
merged in *inde* (missi) Cartha-
ginem.

THE SIEGE OF SAGUNTUM.

7. parant: expressing the same idea as consultant, but under another phase. The preparations, as opposed to Hannibal’s activity, consisted in the deliberations.

2. Zacyntho: Saguntum, the Roman transliteration of this word, well illustrates the earlier poverty of the Latin alphabet. It is the modern Murviedro (Muri veteres). The island has since become famous as Zante.—ab Ardea: qualifying Rutulorum and = Ardeatium. This tradition is apparently mentioned to emphasize the connection of Rome with Saguntum. Ardea gave Rome no aid when Hannibal was pressing her hard (Livy XXVII. 9).

3. ceterum: resumptive, like the Ciceronian sed, and introducing an explanation of longe opulentissima.—disciplinæ sanctitate, strong moral sense; i.e. the people were trained in such habits of conscientious regard for obligations that they maintained their faith to their own ruin.—fiderem sociali: the loyalty of Saguntum to Rome is often mentioned in the Latin writers, e.g. St. Augustine, C. D. XXII. 6 merito quaeritur utrum recte fecerint Saguntini quando universam civitatem suam interire maluerunt quam fiderem frangere, quae cum ipsa Romana re publica tenabantur; in quo suo facio laudantur ab omnibus terrenae rei publicae civibus. It is, however, probable that they cared little for the Romans except as allies against Hannibal.

4. Hannibal: returning to the general fact stated in 6. 5 from another point of view.

5. circa: i.e. quae circa erant; used as an adjective, as is common with Livy and later writers; cf. II. 12; 36. 4.

6. ut... ita, although... yet, a common use of these words, by which two statements which are adverse to each other are stated as if they were alike.—procul muro:
7 effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat. Et
turris ingens imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco,
supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuven-
tus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostende-
batur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus
submovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munienti-
bus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque
turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes
9 operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuaris cer-
taminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam
Poeni. Vt vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius
subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit,
tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit ut non multum abes-
8 set quin opera ac vineae desererentur. Obsidio deinde

see 5. 8 n.—effectum operis: i.e. the actual attack at the wall
itself.—succedebat: impersonal,
as usual.

7. et . . . et . . . et: introducing
three hindrances to the success of
the operations.—ceterae: i.e. of
the rest of the wall, though by a
shorthand construction agreeing
with altitudinis.—emunitus: the
prefix refers to height, as in ela-
tus, erectus, and similar words.—
timoris: a common Latin usage,
whereby a word which we conceive
of as subjective, referring to the
persons fearing, is not so limited,
but more loosely expresses the idea
from the opposite point of view,
‘cause of alarm,’ or ‘reason for
fear.’

8. primo . . . deinde: the two
modes of fighting at long and at
short range. — munientibus, the
besiegers. The word is used of any
strategic works, as here of the op-
erations of Hannibal.—stationes,
the posts, i.e. the small bodies of
troops stationed here and there
for actual service in the siege. —

opera: the men and instruments
engaged at the moment in the
work.

9. tumultuaris: a technical
word for all fighting not done in
regular lines.

10. vero: as usual indicating the
climax of an action or situation.—
femur: the so-called Greek accus-
esative, common in poetry, but this is
the only clear case in Livy with a
transitive verb: cf. Bellum Afr. 78
caput ictus and Suet. A. 20 genu
ictus.—tragula: a heavy missile
spear used by the ‘barbarian’ na-
tions of Eastern Europe of which
we have no certain representation.
—circa: i.e. on the part of the
soldiers near Hannibal.—opera ac
vineae: the first word would natu-
really include the second, but seems
to be here used for the engines and
operations sheltered by the vineae.

8. obsidio: strictly only a
blockade, though we call this a
siege as well, but the Romans dis-
tinguished between an active siege
and a mere ‘investment’ for the
purpose of cutting off supplies and
per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulner ducis curaretur. Per quod tempus ut quies certamin erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi ad moverique aries. Abundabant multitudine hominum Poenus; ad centum quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur; oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifarum distineri coepti non sufficiebant. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri quassataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem: tres deincepts turres quantumque inter eas muri erat cum fragore ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus

reinforcements. — curaretur: not 'cured,' but attended to. The subjunctive is used because of the idea of purpose involved. — ut . . . ita: see 7. 8 n. — operum ac munitiorum: nearly the same idea in two different phases.

2. vix accipientibus, which scarcely admitted, i.e. in unfavorable places for siege works. — aries: collective, as is shown by pluribus partibus.

3. abundat, etc.: the arrangement is chiasitic with both the parenthetical clause and the main opposition, oppidani, etc. It is to be remembered, however, that in a chiasitic sentence the opposition never appears in the first part. The effect here is, 'there was a great abundance of men on the side of the Carthaginians, etc., about a hundred and fifty thousand of them, it is supposed, etc., whereas the people of the town, etc. On account of the chiasmus the connectives are omitted.

4. coepti: i.e. postquam coepti sunt.

5. feriebantur: the emphasis on this opposes it to the former state of things in 7. 8 missilibus, etc., which had gradually changed (i.eam). The battering rams could now work, and even succeeded in making a breach (quassatae). — una, etc., one (part of the wall), by a continuous breach in it, had laid the city bare. — deincepts, in a row. Livy is quite fond of using adverbs as adjectives, usually putting them before the noun and after any adjective; see e.g. infra, 36. 6; deincepts, 52. 5; repente, XXII. 17. 3: cf. the use and position of adverbs in Greek. — prociderunt: the point of view is suddenly changed to narrate graphically the sudden crash of the long piece of wall, and later as suddenly changed again, to narrate the fight which ensued.

6. ruina, breach. — qua: referring to ruina. — utrosque: i.e. the Carthaginians, as well as the towns-
7 texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius consensu solent, sed iustae acies velut patenti campo inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos inritat, Poeno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum adnusat, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et confertil magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abiegeto et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stuppa circumligabant lineabantque pice; ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque

7. *per occasionem*, etc.: *i.e.* as one party or the other gets a chance for a sudden attack. — *iustae, regular.* — *constiterant, were drawn up.*

8. *adnitarum*: future condition with illogical conclusion; see Gr. 307. *e.* — *patria*: a variation on urbem above, but the fate of Saguntum is thus emphatically connected with the national destiny of its people.

9. *vano, without effect.*

10. *phalarica*: another heavy javelin usually thrown from a height and furnished, as described here, with a fire apparatus. It may have been hurled by machinery. — *cetera*: very unusual adverbial accusative plural, found in prose before Tacitus only in Sallust, and twice elsewhere in Livy, viz. I. 32. 2 and 35. 6; *cf. sollicitus omnia*, 34. 5: *tereti, round*, as opposed to the part towards the head, which was square. — *id*: *i.e.* the forward end. — *sicut in pilo*: the *pilum* had usually a square shaft.

11. *posset*: the subject is properly *ferrum*, but as it makes no difference whether that or *phalarica* is subject, Livy is careless about the change. — *id* . . . *quod, the fact that.* — *haesisset*: the subjunctive of repeated action, which has by Livy’s time become a familiar feature in Latin syntax.

12. *medium*: where the tow was wound on it.
ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti
cogebat nudumque militem ad inequentes ictus prae-
bebat. Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen et Saguntinis, 9
quia praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Poenus,
quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente 2
oppidani tollunt hostemque in reinas muri expellunt,
inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo
fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; qui-
bus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent
nec tuto eos adituros inter totam effrenatarum gen-
tium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum
operae esse legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos 4
protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntios-
que ad principes factionis Barcinae praemittit ut prae-
pararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari
populo Romano posset. Itaque, praeterquam quod ad-
missi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque irrita legatio
fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam foederis 2
magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum
adsensu audientium egit, per deos foederum arbitros ac 3

9. resisterent: the thought is
referred to the Saguntines by the
use of the subjunctive.
2. fusum fugatumque: one of
Livy's favorite alliterative phrases.

THE ROMAN ENVOYS, REPULSED
BY HANNIBAL, PROCEED TO
CARTHAGE.

3. interim: Livy here interrupts
the story of the siege for the sake of
variety. There is a break in the
chronology. According to 6. 3
the embassy was sent in 218 B.C.,
whereas the time here referred to
is 218. — missi: the subject is the
omitted antecedent of qui. — ope-
ræ esse, have time; for the dative,
see Roby, 1283.
4. suorum: i.e. the Barcine fac-
tion.
10. ea quoque: i.e. in Car-
thage as well as with Hannibal.

SPEECH OF HANNO IN THE CAR-
THAGINIAN SENATE.

2. foederis: the treaty men-
tioned in 2. 7. — magno silentio,
etc.: i.e. they gave him respectful
attention, but with no expression of
assent.
3. arbitros: i.e. being called as
testis senatum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum; monuisses, prae Dixisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec umquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quie-
tura Romana foedera. ‘Iuvenem flagrantem cupidine regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella
serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut ma-
teriam igni praebentes ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis
ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum
vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur foedere;
mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanae legiones
ducibus isdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera
sunt ulti. Vtrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque
populi ignoratis? legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venien-
tes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit, ius

witnesses to the treaty, they were
also judges of its violation. — mo-
nuisse, he had, he said, etc. —
prae Dixisse: referring to the rea-
sons he had given why they should
not send Hannibal; these were
prophecies of the result, hence prae.
— manes: a bold figure combin-
ing in one idea both the ancient idea
of actual ghosts, and the modified
modern notion of the continuance of
a person’s spirit in his descendants.
The idea of ghosts continuing to
walk till vengeance has been accom-
plished, is an old and persistent one.
4. si ... vivat: the apodosis is
absorbed in cernentem, etc. The
whole is a confusion of two ideas,
‘that the only way, etc., was to,’ etc.,
and ‘he could attain, etc., only if.’
— ex bellis, etc.: cf. II. 18. 10,
bella ex bellis sererent.
5. vestri: i.e. of the Barcine
faction who had been in the ma-
jority; so vos and vester below.—
ulti: agreeing in gender with Ro-
mani implied in Romanae le-
giones.
6. utrum, etc.: the question as-
sumes that the war is folly, and
asks the causes of the folly, after
which Hannibal proceeds to show
why the Carthaginians cannot ex-
pect to conquer.— ab sociis: the
Romans were at peace with the
Carthaginians, not at war, which
makes the repulse more flagrant.—
pro sociis: i.e. the Saguntines, who
were in the same relation.— ius,
ext.: we should say, ‘violated the
law of nations’; the Latin more
concretely says, ‘taken away the
right (secured by that law).’ — ta-
men: i.e. notwithstanding the vi-
olation of the law of nations.—
unde: referring to inde implied
with pulsi (i.e. from the camp of
Hannibal).— hostium: opposed to
gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem
legati arcentur pulsi, ad vos venerunt; res ex foedere
repetunt; ut publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et
reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius 7
incipiunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius
saeviant. Aegatis insulas Erycemque ante oculos pro-
ponit quae terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos
passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse 8
Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id
'est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere, sic ut nunc
Sagunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo dii homines-
que, et id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foed-
dus rupisset, eventus belli velut aequus iudex, unde ius
stabat ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal 10

sociis above.—res...repetunt: the general term for demanding
satisfaction.—ex foedere: because
that was broken by Hannibal's
attack on the Saguntines whose
autonomy was preserved in it.—
publica: on the part of the state
as opposed to the private action of
Hannibal.—auctorem, etc.: the
usual proceeding in such cases if
the state disavowed the act com-
plained of.

7. Aegatis: the victory of C.
Lutatius Catulus off these islands
in B.C. 241 closed the First Punic
War.—Erycem: here Hamilcar
gallantly braved the Romans in the
last years of the first war.—quae:
interrogative.

8. sed: the opposition is, 'with a
leader such as Hamilcar, we might
have expected victory, but we had
broken a treaty then as we have
now, and naturally the right pre-
vailed.'—Tarento: apparently a
treaty excluded the Carthaginians
from Italy, whereas in 272 B.C. they
had sailed into Tarentum.—ex
foedere: a natural shorthand ex-
pression, almost modern in its ab-
ruptness.

9. vicerunt: the emphasis here
represents that which would have
been on victi sumus, which Livy is
prevented from saying by the turn
which he wishes to give to the fol-
lowing. The emphasis is not on dii,
as indeed according to the position
of the words it cannot be, but on
the result as above set forth. The
change of the point of view which
allows the active instead of the
passive is not unnatural in impassion-
ed oratory.—hombres: proper-
ly only the Romans, but used
loosely to express the effect of a
breach of treaty,—the enmity of
heaven and all nations.—verbis:
opposed to eventus belli.—unde
= a qua; cf. a parte, a dextro cornu,
and the like.—eii...dedit: this
form of expression takes the place
of diesidicavit which would have
governed id; it also adds the man-
vineas turresque admovet, Carthaginis moenia quatit ariete: Sagunti ruinae—falsus utinam vates sim—nostris capitisibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum, quod, si ille vive-ret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuvenem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor; nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposceret, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque alas ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque eius accidere neque ille sollicitare quietae civitatis statum posset. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos qui senatui satisfaciant, alios qui Hannibali nuntient ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reden-

ner in which the decision was expressed.

10. Carthaginii...habendum: notice how the main emphasis changes, first on Carthaginii as opposed to the general idea of the war in Spain (hinted at in Hannibal, etc.), then on Sagunti as opposed to nostris, then on susceptum as opposed to habendum, while the other opposition, Saguntinis...Romanis, is left in the second place. Only the most careful reading can show the marvelous power of the Latin order in this respect.

11. in eo, in regard to him (Hannibal).—paternas: i.e. with Hamilcar.—sed: i.e. 'I know my words will not have much weight, but still I will say, that as I rejoiced in Hamilcar's death from patriotic reasons, so I hate this youth from the same motives.'—iam: i.e. he would have carried out his designs against Rome before now.—furiam facemque: the figure is drawn from the pursuit of criminals by the Furies armed with torches, as represented on the stage and in works of art.—huius: opposed to the one Hamilcar had in mind.

12. dedendum: connected by nec with tamquam furiam, etc., and thus dependent on detestor.—deposceret: deposcit, the reading of the best MSS., seems impossible, as the demand is represented as already made (6). But in the enthusiasm of his rhetoric Livy may have forgotten what preceded.—accidere: an improvement on accedere of the MSS., first suggested by Gronov.
das decerno.' Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium 11 certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat; infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est, bellum 2 ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum iustè facere si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati praeponat.

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, 3 Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliiis operibusque habebat, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit stationibus ad custodiam vinegarum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostis stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum accendit; ut vero pro contione 4 praedam capitae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a proeliiis quietem 5 habuerant nec laccentses nec laccsiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die umquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum

13. decerno: see 6. 6 n.
11. adeo, in fact, for: a new use of this word, frequent in Livy and later writers, to add a strong explanation or reason for a preceding assertion. Strictly the word introduces the antecedent to a result clause, but here the order is reversed, and the two clauses are made co-ordinate.

CONTINUATION OF THE SIEGE OF SAGUNTUM.

3. legationibus: rhetorical plural, as the personnel was the same on the two missions; cf. 6. 8 and 10. 1 n. — Hannibal, etc.: the story goes back to 9. 2. The activity of Hannibal, which is the real antithesis to terunt, is omitted and only implied in the whole narrative. — habebat: the use of this word emphasizes the statement by dwelling on it, as it were, which miles erat would not do. — paucorum: with its usual negative meaning, only a few, which agrees with the whole tone of the story. — stimulando: explanatory of ira, in a manner matching praemiorum.

4. vero: cf. 7. 10 n. — pro contione, in an address; a technical expression. — datum esset, etc.: the direct would be si . . . datum erit nulla vi . . . potest.

5. ut . . . ita: see 7. 6 n. — ut . . .
6 ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae cum admoda catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto structurae antiquae genere. Itaque latius quam qua caederetur ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in urbe vadebant. Locum quoque editum capitunt collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminetem haberent, muro circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Vtrimque summa vi et munient et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies urbe Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione et minuitur exspectatio externae opis, cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hos-

reficerent: probably conceived as purpose, as is indicated by the tense, which would be likely to be in the perfect to express the result; but in any case the result is implied. The ideas of purpose and result, though very different in origin, often approach very near each other.

6. potissimum: in its usual meaning of rather than elsewhere. — omnia, all sides. The Latin delights in such indefinite words to be explained by the context.

8. tabulata: the stories of the tower. — caementa: loose stones or rubble. — calce: i.e. mortar.

9. caederetur: iterative subjunctive. — patentia ruinis, the breach. This use of the neuter plural of participles, etc., as nouns, is rare in earlier times, but becomes more and more common in imperial Latin.

10. locum quoque, etc.: i.e. not only do the forces march into the city as bands of soldiers, but they establish themselves in a permanent position as a fortress. — arcem: most cities were built with a small stronghold on a height, and the rest of the city round about, at a lower level; cf. the situation of
tium essent. Paulisper tamen affectos animos recreavit repentina proiectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpethanosque, qui duo populi dilectus acerbitate consternati retentis conquisisitoribus metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Mahar-bale Himilconis filio — eum praefecerat Hannibal — ita impigre rem agente ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroque proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum et pars arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant condiconesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis

Athens.—et: i.e. as well as the Carthaginians.

13. dilectus: i.e. of the soldiers which they were required to furnish. — acerbitate: the severity of a levy consisted in taking large numbers of every age, and allowing few excuses. — conquisisitoribus: the officers sent to make the conscription. — metum: see timoris, 7. 7 n.

12. nec: in opposition to what one might expect from Hannibal's absence. — cives: i.e. his own citizens, the army. — sentirent: in contradiction to 11. 13, but of course it is only a rhetorical exaggeration.

ALCO AND ALCORCUS TRY TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE.

3. temptata, etc.: in the favorite Latin way of trying to say two things at once, namely, that the hope was a very slight one and that it was tried.

4. moturum: sc. se; Livy very freely omits the subject of an infinitive, especially with the future; cf. moriturum, below; 13. 8; 18. 14; XXII. 51. 2. — movebant: the peculiar use of the imperfect where we should say 'could' or the like; hence the tense is allowed with postquam. — moriturum, that it would be sure death to any one.
5 de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos ubi alia vincantur adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum—et ipse ita iubebat—est deductus.

8 Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, summota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit: 'Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendum ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset,
supervacuaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem: cum ille aut 2 vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem — sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus, — ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem 3 causa me nec ullius alterius loqui quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis umquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab 4 Romanis vobis ulla est spes nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cuius ita aliqua 5 spes est, si eam, quem ad modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis, et non id quod ammittitur in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed, quidquid relinquitur pro munere, habituri estis. Vrbem vobis, quam ex 6 only other capacity in which he could have come. — venisset: depending on the main condition rettulisset.

2. cum, etc.: giving the real state of the case as opposed to the unreal condition above. — ille: opposed to ego. The Latin especially likes to oppose persons. — aliquas: the emphasis gives the idea, 'that there was a possibility,' etc. — pro, in view of, properly, 'on behalf of,' a very common use of the preposition.

3. ea: referring to quod, etc., but attracted as usual into agreement with the predicate noun. — fides, pledge and so proof. — restitistis: the perfect with dum contrasts the time with some other, here indicating that the time is no more. — pacis: the emphasis implies that though Alorcus fought in the war against the Saguntines, wherein it would have been desirable to bring them to terms, yet he had said nothing about such terms.

4. postquam, now that, a very common meaning in colloquial language, but rare in classic prose. — ad vos: notice the emphasis on the pronouns throughout.

5. ita . . . si, only on condition that. The pronouns and pronominal adverbs, being indefinite, may be taken either way, as expressing a high degree, or a limitation, as here. — eam . . . victor: i.e. the hard terms which his position justifies him in offering. — victi: i.e. you also should have the state of mind corresponding to your position, as his terms correspond with his position.

6. urbem, etc.: in this sentence, without opposing particles, a disad-
magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne publicum privatumque ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his [rebus] remissurum; sed vel haec patienda censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis.

14 Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum coniunxit.

vantage is in each case matched with a compensating advantage. — dirutam, captam habet: almost the same as diruit, ceptit, though here the continued effect of the action is emphasized. In this use of habeo is the origin of the auxiliary 'have' in the Romance languages.

7. binis: this can only be correct in case singulis in 12. 5 means an extra suit of clothing, which it probably does not. But as this is all written in the spirit of ancient historians as a rhetorical exercise, Livy may have put it wrong himself. — ab: the preposition is often thus used by Livy, though contrary to the regular usage.


9. trucidari, etc.: which would be the result of continued resistance. — rapi, etc.: i.e. dragged away as slaves, with a suggestion of violence in the process.

THE FALL OF SAGUNTUM.

14. circumfusa: as if the crowd had forced itself in again, though excluded before. — concilium: the word hints at the people taking part, or likely to do so, in the deliberations, as if in their own assembly. It is to prevent such action that the leaders resort to heroic remedies. — secessione: i.e. they hastily withdrew from the meeting. — publico, etc.: properly of place,
cientes eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasis-
et, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poeno-
rum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset nudat-
tam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal totis 3
viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium cru-
dele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est. Cui enim parci potuit ex iis qui aut inclusi cum 4
coniugibus ac liberes domos super se ipsos concrema-
verunt aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti 15
praeda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant et in caedibus vix ullam discrimen aetatis
ira fecerat et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et 2

but here referring to deposits or stocks on hand.—eodem, with it into the flames.—plerique: in par-
titive apposition with primores. It cannot be too often repeated, that ancient literature is addressed to
the ear, and proceeds like conver-
sation, with changes of the point of view and corrections as the thought proceeds. It is not necessary in
such cases to reconstruct sentences in English in order to say, really, something different from what the
author has said. We must proceed as in conversation, and make the corrections as we go on. Here,
‘the leaders hastily withdrew, etc. ...
and... threw themselves, many
of them, into,’ etc.
2. nudatum, etc.: the informa-
tion given by the storming party. The disturbance in the city had called off the soldiers, or demoral-
ized them.

3. momento: earlier writers add temporis or horae; cf. 33. 10.—ut omnes, etc.: the regular usage of
war when a city was taken by storm.
crudele, etc.: again a violation of strict grammar (cf. note on pler-
rique, above).—We must supply here the fuit that Livy doubtless
meant to put in.—cognitum, shown.
4. cui enim etc.: i.e. their des-
perate character was shown by
this behavior.—ante: taken with
quam, from which it is often sepa-
rated.
15. captum, etc.: almost like
‘the capture of the town yielded a
great deal of booty.’—ingenti: this shows that the preceding ac-
count is exaggerated, and Livy
accordingly apologizes in the fol-
lowing.—captivi, etc.: i.e. and so
were not made public property.
2. fuerant: in reference to the
ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constet et multam pretiosam suppellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

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

4 Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini

time of redactum esse. — redactum, realized; the technical expression in such cases for covering into the treasury, — vestem: including rugs and precious textile fabrics of all kinds. These things, as is still the case with Eastern nations, were objects of wealth.

CHRONOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES.

3. octavo mense: a construction without post, apparently colloquial in its character. — coeptum: sc. sit. Against republican usage Livy sometimes omits subjunctive forms. — quidam: e.g. Polybius, III. 17, and if Livy had consistently followed this authority, he would have avoided all this muddle, and the mistake at 6. 3. The embassy from Saguntum to Rome was in the consuls'hip of M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus, 219 B.C. Aurelius Victor says (42. 2), Hannibal Saguntum intra sex menses evertit.


4. fieri non potuit: depending on the supposition that the statements are true (ita sunt), in which case the facts were as stated, so that the proper logical connection is not really violated. — ad quos, etc. . . . et qui, etc.: the difficulty is that the thirteen months, besides the time which Hannibal spent in winter quarters, are too long for one consulate. — ad Ticinum: see 45. — ad Trebiam: see 55, 56.

5. fuere, fuerunt: Livy uses either form with apparent indifference; thus in c. 5 the three perfects all end in -ere, in c. 14 the three end in -erunt. — principio anni: the consuls now entered office March 15.

6. excessisse in, have fallen as late as; but the idea in Latin is of the progress of events and of time.

— pugna ad Trebiam: sc. facta; cf. 58. 11. Such condensed adjec-
non potest, quia C. Flaminius Ariminis consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio console, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitii perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna redit.

Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam retulerunt: omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaeque sociorum peremptorium indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginenses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent: nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque secum congressum nec rem Romanam tam desiderem unquamuisse atque imbellem. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacesisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum; Poenum hostem veteranum trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes, semper victorem, duci
tive expressions are an innovation of which Livy is very fond; cf. 25. 14, ad tempus; 53. 4, cis Hiberum; XXII. 42. 2, in castris. — Servili: the year 217 B.C. — quia, etc.: the gist of all this is that the consuls of B.C. 217 were elected under the presidency of Sempronius who did not go to Rome to hold the election till after the battle of Trebia, and returned afterwards to his command.

ALARM IN ROME.

16. legati: see 6. 4 and 9. 3.
2. que... et... et... que: a characteristic, arbitrary use of conjunctions. — pudor non lati, etc., shame that they had not given, etc.;

 cf. i. 5 n.—summa rerum, the fortunes of the city, as opposed to special matters of interest.
3. nam: connecting an imaginary verb of thinking, which, in such cases, constantly remains unexpressed.—rem Romanam: Livy is fond of using res for the State; cf. rem Carthaginensem, 2. 5; res Latina, I. 3. 1. This phrase is in Ennius (moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque) and later poetry.
4. Sardos, etc.: the wars are enumerated to show that the Romans had had no practice in arms, to speak of, since the First Punic War. The statements are somewhat in contradiction to those in 1. 2.—tumultuatum: any sudden and unorganized military action was
acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimae
urbis Hiberum transire, trahere secum tot excitos His-
panorum populos, concitatum aidas semper armorum
Gallicas gentes: cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum
in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.

17 Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant;
tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa
cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legio-
nes et socium quantum ipsis videretur et classis quanta
parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum
milia scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quad-
raginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quadringenti
equites; naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces
viginti deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iube-
rent populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici; eiusque belli
causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati dii ut
called tumultus, as opposed to bellum, a regularly conducted war.
6. trahere, etc.: in allusion to the allies of Hannibal.

THE ROMANS PREPARE FOR THE
War.

17. nominatae, etc.: the provinces of the consuls were arranged
by the Senate, and afterwards assigned to the respective individuals
by lot. The time here referred to is the spring of B.C. 208.
2. in eum annum: the levies were, at that time, made for a sin-
gle campaign, and the soldiers returned home for the care of their
crops. The force to be set on foot was decided by the Senate.—le-
giones: composed of Roman citi-
zens only.—socium: of these, as dependents, there was no limit fixed.
—ipsis: the consuls.
3. celoces, swift cruisers; see

Isidore, XIX. 1. 22 celoces, quas Graeci κάλης vocant, id est, veloces
biremes, vel triremes agiles, et ad ministerium classis aptae. Except in
Livy, celax is feminine.—deducti, launched, and so put in commission.
4. latum, etc.: i.e. the formal
declaration of war proceeds from
the vote of the whole people, while
the action of the Senate was only
administrative.—vellent, etc.: for
the direct velitis iubeatine, Qui-
rites, in the vote as put; cf. XXII.
10. 2. The asyndeton is regular in
archaic formulas.—supplicatio:
this was a season of prayer observed
by all the people individually, in
such of the designated temples as
each one chose. The worshiper
prostrated himself before the god,
kissed his hands and feet, and
touched with his forehead the
threshold of the temple. This ser-
vice was not originally Roman, but
of Greek origin. Most of the State
bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset.

Inter consules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio datae 5 legiones duae—ea quaterna milia erant peditum et trecenti equites—et sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti, naves longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque 6 copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia 7 L. Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud invalido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur; navium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus: sexaginta quinqueremes datae—neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant—et duae Romanae legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuordecim milibus sociorum pedi-
tum, equitibus mille sescentis. Duas legiones Romanas 9 et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sescentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fie-
rent, legatos maiores natu Q. Fabium M. Livium L. Aemilium C. Liciniun Q. Baebium in Africam mittunt ad percutiendos Carthaginenses, publicone consilio
2 Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginensi bellum.
3 Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum quod mandatum erat percutiendus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensis unus: 'Praecepta vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantes recesserat; ceterum haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et desoposcebat; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur et ut a confessis 6 res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit quaerendum censeam, sed utrum iure an injuria. Nostra enim haec

between nations.—publicone, etc.: i.e. whether it was Hannibal's own unauthorized act or that of the State (cf. 10. 2). As the tone of the embassy here is much less peremptory than that before (6. 8; 10. 12) described, Livy must be following different sources, and must have confounded the two. This he tries to explain in 4, below.

2. defenderent, etc.: if they disavowed the act, they would not of course defend it; but if they defended it, they would naturally avow it.—factum, as done.—ut indicerent: parallel with the other form of purpose, ad percutiendos.
4. et, even: the adversative turn introduced by ceterum prevents the ordinary et . . . et correlation. —tamquam . . . oppugnantem, on the ground that he was besieging: a new use of tamquam and the participle to give an alleged reason, probably borrowed from the Greek & with a participle.—suo: as opposed to publico.—ceterum, etc.: implying that this embassy was hasty also, and even more so than the other.—adhuc: i.e. 'nothing appears so far, but we don’t know what you will say next.'

5. nobis: opposed to Hannibal. —et . . . et: the demand to admit the wrong and the demand for restitution came together at once.—exprimitur: conative present.
6. privato: i.e. Hannibal’s. —quaerendum censeam: a regular formula for senatorial opinions. The modesty of the subjunctive is ironical.

7. nostra . . . est, is a matter for
quaeestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una dissipatio est, licueritne per foedus fieri. Itaque, quoniam discerni placet quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatius consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis — necdum enim erant socii vestri — cautum est. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus ictit, quia neque ex auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri; itaque aliiude integro foedus publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis

us to consider.— atque animadversio, and the consequent punishment.— quid, etc.: the form is determined by quaeestio, atque... nostrum being a kind of parenthesis.—vobiscum: opposed to nostra.—una, only one.—fieri: the subject implied is oppugnationem.

8. itaque, well then, introducing, after the ironical parenthesis, quoniam... faciant, the speaker’s discussion of treaty obligations.—quid, etc.: i.e. ‘since it is your pleasure to make the question turn on the responsibility of the State for the acts of its generals, we have a case which turns on the same question, for it is only on the second treaty that the independence of the Saguntines depends, and that was made by Hasdrubal and never ratified by us.’ Livy has well caught the difference between the formal and law-abiding Romans and the Carthaginians, who were less capable of seeing a legal point, and less tenacious of forms. Much that has the appearance of quibbling in Roman diplomacy depends on this feature of their character and the want of it in other nations.—foedus: i.e. the treaty after Catulus’ victory in 241 B.C.—caveretur: a legal word meaning to provide for by stipulation.

9. at enim: the regular formula to introduce an objection which is to be met and parried.—Hasdrubale, etc.: the first treaty was not ratified, but a commission sent to Carthage made a new treaty which Hasdrubal afterwards renewed (see 2. 7), apparently with an additional clause.—excipiuntur, are expressly provided for, being ‘taken out’ of the general words and mentioned apart.—nisi quod, etc.: see note above on quid, etc.

11. ne...quidem, not...either, as often.
icit, obligare potuit. Proinde omissit Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.’ Tum Romanus sinu ex toga facto ‘Hic’ inquit ‘vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, sumite.’ Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret utrum vellet, suclamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes respondeunt et, quibus accipere animis, isdem se gesturos.

Haec directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid

12. proinde: the regular particle to introduce a recommendation, or the like, after a preamble or statement of facts. — quod diu, etc.: it is implied that the talk about Saguntum is only a pretense, and they have meant all the time to declare war. — aliquando, at last; literally ‘some time,’ ‘if you are ever going to.’ Cf. Cic. Phil. II. 118 ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat quod iam diu parturit.

13. Romanus: Fabius Maximus Cunctator, the final conqueror of Hannibal, who as senior envoy was the spokesman. — sinu, etc.: Livy evidently means that the loose end of the toga is taken up like an apron to hold something. — sub, at, as following. — dare, etc.: in direct form, da utrum vis. — sub-clamatum est: merely a repetition with clamare of the sub already expressed.

14. iterum: used like our again to indicate the restoration to the former position. He first made the folds into a bag as if to hold something, and then let them out again.

Observations on the Treaties.

19. percunctatio: i.e. the demand as to which the Carthaginians wished, peace or war. — denuntiatio: the consequent declaration. — excisa: a variation from the usual gender, implying a nominative Saguntus; cf. Zacynthos.

2. nam: introducing what might have been said convincingly to justify the silence of the ambassadors on these points. — esset: another case in which the contrary-to-fact construction, in accordance with its origin (see Gr. 308, first footnote), can hardly be distinguished from the future condition thrown back into past time. If Livy had been arguing the question at the time, he would have said, si ..., sit ..., comparandum est (Gr. 307. d and f); but in the transfer to past time the contrary-to-fact idea comes to the surface, so that one feels that the real case, the treating the matter as a casus belli, shows itself as contrary to the idea contained in verborum ... esset. — quid ...
foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore foedere, quod
mutatum est, comparandum erat, cum in Lutatii foed-
dere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus
censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale
quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo
comprobatum sit foedus ut ne mortuo quidem auctore
quicquam mutaretur? Quamquam, et si priore foedere
staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis sociis utrorumque
exceptis. Nam neque additum erat ‟iis qui tunc essent‟
nec ‟ne qui postea adsumeren tur‟; et cum adsumere
novos liceret socios, quis aequum censeret aut ob nulla
quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut receptos in
fidem non defendi, tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii
aut sollicitarentur ad defensionem aut sua sponte descis-
centes recipentur?

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae impe-
ratum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates ut in
societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, trai-

comparandum erat, what comparison was there?
3. Lutati: cf. 18. 8.—diserte, in so many words.—ita . . . si, only on condition that; limiting, as often.—censuisset: for future perfect in the treaty.—exceptum: cf. 18. 9.—eo: i.e. Hasdrubal.—mutaretur: the emphasis is on the approval; if it were on the change, we should have mutatum sit.
4. quamquam: corrective, as often.—staretur: not different in point of view from esset, above, but the apodosis is here of a different kind. In a direct form it would be, ‟If we should stand by, etc., even then sufficient provision has been made,‟ etc., where the real logical apodosis is absorbed in cautum est, ‟that would make no difference, for,‟ etc.—nam, etc.: i.e. the provision was unlimited, and so might be held to apply both to existing allies and those afterwards acquired.—essent: indirectly quoted.
5. censeret: subjunctive in an indignant question thrown into past time.—ob nulla quemquam, that no one on account of any.—tandum ne . . . sollicitarentur: again a proviso (in a hortatory form) thrown back into the past by the general point of view of Livy’s argument.

THE ROMAN EMBASSY IN SPAIN AND GAUL.

6. ab Carthagine: cf. ab Sagunto, 15. 7.—adirent: the tenor of their instructions, depending on imperatum.—perlicerent: the pur, pose of adirent.—aut, or at least—implied by the exclusive meaning
7 cerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus bene-
nigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans
Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae ere-
runt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre
per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate
Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in con-
cilio respondit: 'Quae verecundia est, Romani, postu-
lare vos uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiae praep-
nonamus, cum qui id fecerunt [Saguntini], crudelius
quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis?
Ibi quaeratis socios censeo ubi Saguntina clades ignota
est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre ita insigne docu-
mentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae
aut societati confidat.' Inde extemplo abire finibus
Volciànorum iussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hspainiae
benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata His-
pania in Galliam transeunt. In iis nova terribilisque
species visa est, quod armati—ita mos gentis erat—
in concilium venerunt. Cum verbis extollentes glori-
virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii
petissent ne Poeno bellum Ýtalia inferenti per agros
urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu

of aut (‘or, if they couldn't do that,’ etc.).
7. a quibus, etc.: i.e. 'from whom they had a welcome recep-
tion, which,' etc., like the common
Latinism ab urbe condita. It is
the reception, not the ambassadors,
that is the real subject of erexerunt.
9. verecundia, sense of decency.
—qui: supply eos. —Saguntini: most editors follow Madvig in ex-
punging this as weakening the
effect of Saguntina clades.
10. censeo: here ironical. —sic-
ut . . . ita: almost if not quite the
same use of these words as the
common one where we should say
although . . . yet. The example was
a painful and tragic, but a forcible
and unmistakable warning.
20. in iis: i.e. in Gallis, im-
pied in Galliam before.—armati: originally no doubt the practice
among the Romans, as is shown
by the military character of the
comitia, but long since abandoned
in the advance of civilization.
Tacitus, G. II, describes the char-
acter and customs of similar assem-
bles among the Germans.
3. tantus, etc., such boisterous
laughter, no doubt accompanied by
risus dicitur ortus ut vix a magistratibus maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur; adeo stolida impudensque postulatio visa est censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis populantibus obicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam ob quaes aut pro Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; contra ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiarum pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pacatumque satis prius audatum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita: praecoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore—adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse,—ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniae Galliaeque populis legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo post quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem expectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama iam Hiber-nerum Poenos tramississe.

Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthagenim Novam in hiberna concessaret, ibique auditis quae Romae quae-

cries of displeasure.—sedaretur: cf. mutaretur, 19. 3.

4. censere: in apposition with postulatio, and followed by the accusative and infinitive instead of the usual gerundive, or subjunctive with ut or ne.—ne, etc.: the purpose of avertere.

6. gentis, etc.: cf. 25. 2.

8. ab sociis: cf. 25. 1. The alliance was of long standing, Mar-

seilles being a Greek city, even more advanced in civilization at that time than Rome. —inquisita, etc.: the main verb is cognita (sunt).—illi: i.e. Hannibal; even he would find them hard to manage.—subinde, from time to time; not found in prose before Livy; cf. French souvent, Ital. sovente.

9. ita: i.e. with this result as set forth above.
que Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non
ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis diy-
wenditisque reliquiis praedae nihil ultra differendum
ratus Hispani generis milites nihil convocat. ‘Credo ego
vos’ inquit, ‘socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hi-
spaniae populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitus-
que dimittendos esse aut in alias terras transferendum
bellum; ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum sed etiam
victoriae bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam
et gloriam quaeremus. Itaque cum longinquaque domo
instet militia incertumque sit quando domos vestras et
quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum
suos invisere volt, commeatum do. Primo vere edico{14}
adsitis, ut diis bene uivantibus bellum ingentes gloriae
praedaeque futurum incipiamus.’ Omnibus fere visendi
domos oblata ultero potestas grata erat, et iam desideran-
tibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desire-
rum. Per totum tempus hiemiss quies inter labores aut
iam exhaustos aut max exhauiendos renovavit corpora

HANNIBAL PREPARES TO INVADE
ITALY.

21. forent: Livy is very fond of this unusual form, especially as
an auxiliary, using it practically like extent, though sometimes the proper
difference between them (‘becoming’ and ‘being’) may be detected
(Riemann, Titre-Live, pp. 226–233). — seque, etc.: i.e. he heard
the facts which proved this. — cause: i.e. by his conduct in regard
to Saguntum.

2. partitis divenditisque: ac-
cording to Roman usage, by which
the booty was given to the soldiers,
or sold for the state. — reliquiis: see 15. 2. — ultra: he had waited
over one season in the campaign
against Saguntum; but probably
this is only inserted rhetorically by
Livy, as Hannibal would naturally
wait for the beginning of the next
year.

3. credo: the emphasis opposes
the idea of his addressing them to
their knowledge of the facts. ‘I
suppose you know, but still I will
say,’ etc. — ego: expressed on ac-
count of the fondness of the Romans
for contrasted pronouns. The em-
phasis is really on vos. — socii,
pacatis: used according to Roman
ideas; cf. Pax Romana.

4. ita: limiting, ‘only so.’ — hae
gentes: i.e. the conquered nations
of Spain.

6. adsitis: without ut, as often;
 cf. quae in censeo, 19. 30.

7. ul tro: i.e. without their ask-
ing for it.
animosque ad omnia de integro patiendae. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam
ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum ani-
mos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam
destinat firmatque Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum
Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Li-
guribus trecentis, Balearibus quingentis. Ad haec pe-
ditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mix tum
Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta et
Numidae Maurique accolae Oceani ad mille octingenti
et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites,
et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilli genus, elephanti
viginti unus. Classis praeterea data tuendae maritimae
orae, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem
gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinque-
remes, quadrirems duae, trireme quinque; sed aptae
instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes
erant et trireme quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit;
atque inde prefectus praeter Onusam urbem ad Horse-
rum per maritimam oram ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete
visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove dice-
ret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde seque-
retur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pavidum primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem secutum; deinde cura ingenii humano, cum quidnam id esset quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; tum vidisse post sese serpen- tem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgulorum stragē ferri, ac post inequii cum fragore caeli nimbum. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset quaerentem, audisse vastitatem Italiae esse: 'pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.'

Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit praemissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quae subjicta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit oraeque huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces, quae Hispanics Galliis iungunt, in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per Pyreneum saltum traduci exercitus est 4

Cic. de Div. I. 24. 49.—neque: neve would be more orthodox.—deflecteret: i.e. to look behind him. The notion that in such cases the divine manifestation should not be examined too closely is a very old one, and appears in religious myths and fairy stories without number, e.g. Orpheus, Deucalion, Demophon, Cupid and Psyche, Lohengrin, and others.

7. cura, curiosity, with which the word is akin.

9. moles ea, the monster, itself. —prodigii: i.e. its divine meaning, the question being naturally divided into two phases, though the answer gives them both in one.

HANNIBAL'S MARCH TO THE PYRENEES.

28. qua (along the road), where.
—transitus, passes.
2. fauces: a regular word for passes.
3. obtinendae regionis: a genitive of quality depending on praesidium, to denote purpose; cf. 22. 4 n.
4. saltum: another word for pass or defile; cf. 30. 5, 7; proba-
coeptus rumorque per barbaros mānāvit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constat ban tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae insuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroes animi inritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simul. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaearum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaearum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nutiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum misit, conloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se bly the southernmost pass of the Pyrenees, where later a place was known as Scaleae Hannibalis (Mela, II. 6. 89). — insuperabilis: perhaps a Vergilian reminiscence (Aen. IV. 40); so emunitus, 7. 7; invius, 25. 13; tabidus, 36. 7; semustus, XXII. 40. 3. Livy generally says inessuperabilis.

5. revocare: i.e. ask them to come back, which would have a bad moral effect on the rest. — anceps: i.e. either course would be dangerous. — ne, etc.: belonging only with the latter alternative.

6. supra, etc.: i.e. he made a virtue of necessity to avoid the ill effects of any other course. — et ipsos: i.e. as well as the others, although they had not taken the same decisive measures. — quoque: i.e. as well as the other seven thousand.

24. mora atque otium: i.e. the delay of the onward march and the consequent idleness of the troops, each of which would be demoralizing. — Iliberri: infected in 3 and 5, where it stands without oppidum; cf. ad oppidum Iiturgi occurrerunt, XXXIV. 10, with ad Iiturgin pervenit, XXVIII. 19.

2. trans Pyrenaearum Hispanos: see pugna ad Trebiam, 15. 6 n. — Ruscinonem: a town on the French side of the Pyrenees preserved to tradition by La Tour de Roussillon. — aliquot populi: explanatory apposition with Galli.

3. semet . . . velle: the usual indirect discourse without any verb of saying, except that implied in oratores. — accederent . . . processurum: notice the two forms of indirect discourse, request and statement, with their respective con-
Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilior esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliae, non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italian venisset. Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per finis suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

In Italian interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpis iam transisset, Boi sollicitatis Insurbibus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt ut non agrestis modo multitudo

structions, side by side, with a purpose clause (ut ex propinquo, etc.) appended to complete the list of examples.

4. accepturum . . . venturum: a very neatly arranged chiasmus.—hospitem, hostem: one of Livy's pet alliterations. —enim: introducing the reason of his willingness expressed in laetum and nec cunctanter.

5. per nuntios: opposed to the personal interview in the next sentence. —cum bona pace, in peace and friendship, a stock expression.

RISING IN CISALPINIC GAUL, IN ANTICIPATION OF HANNIBAL'S COMING.

25. in Italian: the emphasis marks a change of scene. The words are later defined by Romam.

2. cum: the usual 'cum inversum' with the indicative; see Gr. 325. b. —Boi: a Celtic tribe of unknown origin that, in the wanderings of their stock, had forced themselves into the valley of the Po and as far down as Bologna. They had been conquered in 224 B.C. (vetereis iras) after a severe struggle of some years' duration.—Insurbibus: farther north across the Po in the region of Milan, their capital. —nuper: the exact date of these colonies is not known, but it must have been just before this time; cf. 3. —deductas: the technical word.

3. agrum: the land assigned to the colonists. —agrestis, etc.: this
sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum, diffisi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius C. Servilius M. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantis imputet sit factus. Mutinae cum obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muriis, simulari coeptum de pace agi, evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conloquium non contra ius modo gentium sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi red-

implies that some colonists were already on their land, while the officers were still engaged in finishing their work. — triu[mviri]: a Roman colony was an armed settlement of Roman citizens, in or near hostile territory, made to defend the borders from hostile incursions. Each colonist had land assigned him, laid out according to prescribed rules, and a board of commissioners ‘led out’ the colony and assigned the lands. The colonies in New England and elsewhere were very much like them. Of this similarity we have a reminder in the American word lot (of land), *house and lot.* The local *plot* for the same thing has a like origin. — diffisi . . . moenibus: the colony could hardly have been abandoned, as it was soon after a strong post. Probably the officials, being important personages, and some of the settlers fled to the stronger position of Modena.  

4. haud dubium: *i.e.* all agree in giving his name, while in case of the others there is a discrepancy. Livy’s anxiety to be exact in such matters, compared with his free use of his imagination for the sake of graphic liveliness, is almost amusing. — annales: the early history was little more than a dry presentation of names and events in chronological order.

6. Mutinae: taking the place of an emphatic *here*, which is prevented by the long digression in 4 and 5. — ad . . . artes rudis, unacquainted with the science. This chapter well illustrates the plastic quality of *ad.* — coeptum: *sc. est.* The ellipsis of *est* and *sunt* in the perfect of passive and deponent verbs is unusually frequent in Livy; in this chapter see *praecipitatus* (9), *coeptum* (11), *intratae* (12).

7. contra ius: ambassadors were considered sacred in any case. — fide: and in this case a special pledge had been given, which of course would make the treachery more culpable.
derentur, eos dimissuros. Cum haec de legatis nuntiata essent et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato prefectus in insidias praecipitiatus, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita et, quia Gallis ad temptanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentes cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus silvae in tratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septimegentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, vicum spropinquum Pado, contendere. Ibi se munito ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium tutabantur. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum diletu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium

8. Manlius: see 17. 7. From which direction he came does not appear. — effusum: i.e. not in the regular order of march, but in loose detachments. — ad, towards; Manlius reached only Tannetum (13).
9. tunc: though in Livy’s time the district was well populated.
11. ducebatur: the common use of the imperfect with dum where there is a contrast of times.
12. occiderunt, ademere: see 15. 5 n.
13. Gallis, etc.: notice the chiasmus. — vicum: strict syntax would require ad; cf. XXII. 18. 7 and see Gr. 259. h. — propinquum Pado: really about ten miles south of it.
14. ad tempus, temporary; see 15. 6 n. — etiam: because the Brixiani, being Gauls, would not be expected to aid the Romans. Their capital was the modern Brescia.
26. tumultus: see tumultuatum, 16. 4 n.
2. consule: Scipio.
ferre Manlio iubent; qui sineullo certamine—abscesserant enimmetuhostes—Tannetumpervenit.

3 Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum prae
tore erat, scripta legione nova prefectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeram Etruriae Ligurumque
etinde Salluvium montes pervenit Massiliam, et ad
proximum ostium Rhodani—pluribus enim divisus am
nis in mare decurrir—castra locat, vixdum satis cre
dens Hannibalem superasse Pyreneaeos montes. Quem
ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, in
certus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis
ab iactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim de
lectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus
Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes
praemittit. Hannibal ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis
iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Co
lunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi
citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro muni-

**Scipio at Marseilles. Hannibal on the Rhone. First Meet-
ing of the Hostile Forces.**

3. et: opposing the war in Trans-
alpine Gaul to the campaign against
the Boi. — P. Cornelius: Scipio.—
eius: see *una legioni*, 2.— pro-
fectus, etc.: not agreeing exactly
with 20. 9, where the consuls are
represented as setting out before
Hannibal had appeared in Gaul.—
Ligurum: depending, with Sallu-
vium, upon montes. They lived
about Genoa. — Salluvium: called
also *Salys*, a Celtic Ligurian stock
on the coast between the Alps and
the Rhone. — montes: *i.e.* the
Alpes Maritimae. — Massiliam:
this city was in the lands of the
Salyes, but colonized very early by
the Greeks.

5. quoque: *i.e.* to say nothing
of the Pyrenees. — *occurreret*: the
indirect form of the question of
doubt 'quo nam... occurram.'—
iactatione maritima, sea-sickness.

6. ceteris: Livy thinks appar-
ently of several tribes, though there
is usually supposed to have been
only one nation, the Volcae (with
different special names), between
the Pyrenees and the Rhone. But
these tribes, like the American In-
dians, are variously conceived by
different writers.— colunt: used ab-
solutely (= *incolunt*) first in prose
by Livy. Notice the emphasis, 'their
regular dwelling-place is on both
sides of the Rhone, but they had
all crossed to the eastern bank.'—
citeriore... ulteriorium: *i.e.* in re-
ference to the position of Hannibal
and the approaching danger. Usu-
mento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum
traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Ce-
teros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum quos
sedes suae tenuerant simul perlicit donis ad naves undi-
que contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici
exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta
hominum urgeunte turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens co-
acta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem
usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inco-
hantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi
milites simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis in-
ducti alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et
capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se sua-
que transveherent, faciebant. Iamque omnibus satis
comparatis ad traiiciendum terrebant ex adverso hostes
omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes. Quos ut aver-
teret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis
cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine

ally in Latin Rome is the point of

7. eorum: sc. Volcarum.—tenu-
erant: i.e. they had been detained
by their desire to preserve their
homes.—perlicit...et ipsi: we
should expect cupiebant to be in
the emphatic place, opposed to
perlicit, but the et ipsi suggests the
emphasis and allows the verb to
give place to the (also emphatic)
motive for the eagerness. Such
emphasis by sample, as it were, is
not uncommon in Latin; see Gr.
344. e.—urgente: i.e. quartered
upon them and stripping the land of
provisions.

8. navium, large boats.—lin-
trium, skiffs, properly, canoes or
dugouts, as it would seem, for shal-
low-river service. Polybius says
(III. 42) μονήζυλα πλοῖα.—te-
mere: i.e. hastily or roughly made.
—vicinalem: i.e. not for long voy-
ages down the river, but merely for
use along the shore and across the
river.—novas: i.e. lintres, opposed
to those which were collected.
9. materiae, timber, wood for
building, the regular word, as ligna
(37. 2) is for fuel, wood for burn-
ing.—alveos, mere troughs, as it
were.—faciebant: the imperfect
gives the force, ‘went to work mak-
ing,’ or the like.
27. omnibus: sc. rebus, which
Cicero would have inserted.—ad
traiiciendum: the crossing was
probably not far from Avignon.—
terrebant, etc.: translate, they were
alarmed by, etc.
2. averteret: sc. Hannibal.—ad-
verso flumine, up the river; lit-
ernally, ‘against the current’; cf.
ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostes. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiorem, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere.
Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi virique et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani sine ulla mole in utres vestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunotis traictus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo significant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes

secunda aqua, 28. 7.—iter: cognate accusative.
3. circumducere agmen, to make a circuit.—facto: the usual (mostly colloquial) participial construction with opus; see Gr. 292. b. n.
4. ad id: i.e. for the expedition.—duces: sc. itineris.—supra: just as we say, above.—latiorem: i.e. the whole river. We may translate as if there were an esse, but the real construction is a predicate adjective. It is the river that is broader and has a shallower channel.—ubi dividebatur: independent of the information; hence in the indicative.
5. in utres... tranavere, throwing their clothing into wine-skins, they put their targets on them, and lying on these themselves (opposed to the targets), they swam across. This was a common practice among these tribes; cf. Caes. B. C. I. 48.
The utres (the ‘bottles’ of the Bible) were skins stripped off whole and tied up at the legs.
6. et alius exercitus, the rest of the army also, but in another way.—ratibus iunctis: i.e. not on a bridge of boats, but on floats made by ‘fastening’ logs together; cf. iuncto ponte, Tac. Ann. I. 49.—unius: with a kind of double meaning; ‘one,’ in reference to what goes before; ‘and only one,’ in reference to the following.
7. ex loco: with fumo, etc.—transisse, abesse: sc. se; see 12. 4 n.—ne tempori deesset, not to miss the opportunity.
8. iam paratas, etc.: the awkward emphasis is caused by its trying to say two things at once, as is so often done by our author, something like, ‘they had their conveyances all ready and fitted out, the infantry taking the skiffs, while the
lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen
ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte supe-
riore transmittens tranquillatatem infra traicentibus lin-
tribus praebebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a 9
puppibus trahebantur praeter eos, quos instratos frena-
tosque, ut ex templo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent,
imposerant in naves.— Galli occurrant in ripa cum 28
variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta
super capita vibrantesque dexteris tela, quamquam et 2
ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono
fluminis et clamore vario nautarum militum, et qui nite-
bebatur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera
ripa traientes suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes 3
adverso tumultu terribiliab ab tergo adortus clamor cas-
tris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, anicepsque
terror circumstabant et e navius tanta vi armatorum in
terram evadente et ab tergo improvisa premente acie.
Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, 4
qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt trepidique in

cavalry generally (fere, in oppo-
sition to pars magna) had the
transports.7— adversal: expressing
merely the force of the current of
the river against which the vessels
formed a barrier. The whole means
that the vessels crossed above, the
skiffs below, and gives the result of
this method.

9. pars . . . trahebantur: Livy
goes far beyond any earlier writer
in joining the singular of collective
nouns with a plural verb: cf. inuentus
obisstebant, 7. 7.— praeter, all except.

28. occurrant: the emphasis
gives a force like, 'they were met
by an attack of the Gauls on the
bank, who rushed at them,' etc. —
variis, all sorts of; cf. clamore
B. C. V. 37. 3; VII. 80. 4.

2. et ex adverso: Livy begins
as if he were going to mention the
attack in the rear, as opposed to
this, but he changes the form, and
we have iam satis, etc. in 3.— terre-
bebat: a picture of the situation,
with the imperfect as always. —
clamore: the noun precedes as
opposed to sono; cf. variis ululati-
bus, above.— nautarum militia: 
without any connective, as more
lively; besides, two clauses with et
immediately follow.— et qui, etc.: 
the shouts were occasioned by their
active exertions, as is usual with
such people.

3. adverso, in their front, op-
posed to ab tergo.

4. utroque, against both, liter-
ally, 'in both directions.'— trepidi,
in confusion.
vicos passim suos diffugient. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

5 Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo, certe variata memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis inritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timenter altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis constat rati- bus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem prionius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes quinquaginta latam a terra in annem por- rexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo injecta constraverunt, ut beluae audac- ter velut per solum ingrederentur; altera ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta,

**THE ELEPHANTS CROSS THE RHONE.**

5. *variata memoria, the account has been variously given.* — *ferocissimum,* etc.: cf. Frontinian, I. 7. 2 Hannibal iussit ferocissimum elephantum sub aure vulnerari et eum qui vulnerasset transnato statim flumine procurriere. *Elephantus exasperatus ad persequendum doloris sui auctorem transnavit annem, et reliquis idem audendi fecit exemplum.* — *nantem:* the omission of a connective is somewhat harsh, and the passage has been variously tinkered (*inde nantem, nando, sequetur nantem,* etc.), with the usual result of trying to rewrite an author like Livy. — *traxisse:* in a kind of stampede. — *ut quemque,* etc.: *i.e.* they blindly went beyond their depth, and as fast as they did so the current carried them over. Livy evidently thought, like Polybius (III. 46) and Pliny (*N. H.* VIII. 10. 28), that elephants could not swim; cf. *pondera ipso,* etc., 12, below. — *destitueret:* the iterative subjunctive of which Livy is very fond; *so agerentur, raping- rentur,* 10, and *fecisset,* 11; see 8. II n.

6. *ceterum,* etc.: Livy thus throws doubt on this account, which of course he found in some annalist, while only the second one is preserved in Polybius (III. 46). — *ut tutius,* etc.: *i.e.* as it would seem a safer plan to adopt, if one had the work to do.

7. *secunda aqua,* down the stream; cf. *adverso flumine,* 27. 2 n. — *parte superiore ripae,* higher up the bank.
huic copulata est; tum elephanti per stabilem ratem
tamquam viam praegredientibus feminis acti ubi in mi-
norem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis 9
quibus leviter adnexa erat vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot
navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis ex-
positis aliis deinde repetiti ac trajecti sunt. Nihil sane 10
trepidabant donec continenti velut ponte agerentur;
primus erat pavor cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum
raperentur; ibi urgentes inter se cedentibus extremis ab 11
aqua trepidationis aliquantum edebant donec quietem
ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excit-
dere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere
ipso stabiles deiectis rectoribus quae rendis pedetemptim
vadis in terram evasere.

Dum elephanti traiiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numi-
das equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat spe-
culatum ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent.
Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio 2
Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proe-
lium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur;
nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par 3
utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis

3. stabilem: i.e. the one made fast to the shore.

9. ab...navibus: the preposition suggests the agency of the
rowers.—pertrahitur: of course the smaller raft, supplied from
minorem, above.

10. nihil sane, not a bit. The phrase has a light, colloquial tone.
—ceteris: neuter, everything else, the other raft and the shore.

11. urgentes, crowding.—quie-
tem, etc.: i.e. they were so afraid
of the water that they kept still.

12. pedetemptim: in its literal
meaning.

THE FIRST SKIRMISH WITH THE
ROMANS.

29. 2. ante: see 26. 5.—quam
pro: this expression after a com-
parative is not found before Livy,
and was probably suggested by the
Greek, ἔ καιρις or ἔ προς; cf. 32.
12; 59. 9.—pugnantium: Livy
is exceptionally fond of using the
present participle like a substantive
or clause; cf. ridentis, 2. 6; migran-
tium, 30. 8; inferentiis, 44. 3.

3. vulnera, wounded, as we
should say.—caedes, the killed,
or the loss.—fugaque, and it was
iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum quadraginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallo-
rum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omunque belli ut summae rerum prosperum eventum ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

5 Vt re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat nisi ut ex consilliis coep-
tisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem incertum, utrum coemptum in Italian intenderet iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boio-
rum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces

only, etc.: an effect produced by the emphasis and the connection.—
ad, only, about.—nec, and not . . .
either, continuing the unexpressed thought that the Roman loss was a little less.—Gallorum: the loss of whom was not so important; the genitive is not partitive, but defines pars.—victi . . . ducenti: notice that the Latin often puts the numeral in agreement where we should expect a partitive construction. Here the identical form of the genitives of victores and victi would be confusing.—amplius ducenti: amplius, plus, minus, and longius are often thus used parenthetically without affecting the construction.

4. hoc: i.e. the skirmish of the cav-
alry.—principium simul omen-
que: we should conceive this as in apposition with hoc (as independent neuter), but the Romans probably felt the two substantives as denoting the same thing in two aspects and as in agreement with hoc, thought of as an adjective pronoun.—ut . . . ita: in the usual meaning of although . . . yet.—
summae rerum, the main issue,

the war as a whole.—haud: only with incruentam.—ancipitisque: we should say, but dubious; the Latin contents itself with putting the two together, and leaving the reader to set the ideas in opposition, as in ut . . . ita, above.

5. sui: this use of the reflexive is not unusual where mutual relationship is emphasized, and especially if the reflexive refers to the proper logical subject of discourse; cf. 43. 17; 44. 8; see Gr. 196. c.—
nec: correlative with et (Hanniba-
lem), below.—stare, become fixed; i.e. Scipio could come to no fixed conclusion.—ex, in accordance with, as e.g. in ex senatus consulto.—et
ipse, he too.

6. intenderet: indirect form for the dubitative intendam.—avertit: translate, is diverted, thus. keeping the emphasis. It often becomes necessary to change the voice to give the thought in its proper per-
spective.—legatorum, etc.: Livy has said nothing about arrange-
ments with the Gallic leaders, which had undoubtedly been made before-
hand.—integro bello, i.e. full force;
itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello
nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam adgrediendam cen-
sent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblit-
terata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immen-
sum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam,
metuebat.

Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit per-
gere ire atque Italian petere, advocata contione varie
militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque:”mi-
rari se quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror
invaserit. Per tot annos Vincentes eos stipendia facere
neque ante Hispania excessisse quam omnes gentesque
et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Cartha-
giniensium essent. Indignatos deinde quod, quicum-

the phrase is explained by nus-
quam... viribus. — libatis viri-
bus: as they must necessarily be by
conflict with a determined enemy.
.7. multitudo: opposed to Han-
nibal before spoken of. — timebat
... metuebat: the slight differ-
ence between these words is here
brought out better than usual;
timeo ordinarily puts the emphasis
upon the subject, and is a reproach,
while metuo marks the object as
something that may well be viewed
or apprehended with anxiety. —
superioris: alluding to the defeats
of the First Punic War. — iter...
Alpesque: this usage, usually called
‘hendiadyς,’ can hardly be called a
figure. The main idea is merely
presented in two aspects, the latter
being here further accented by the
phrase rem, etc. — utique, at any
rate, with inexpertis.

HANNIBAL’S ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.

80. ipsi: as opposed to the
army. — stetit: cf. 29. 5; the
change of order marks an obvious
change of emphasis. — pergere...
petere: the complementary infiniti-
ve as with statuo. — advocata:
the order is probably determined
by sound, but at the same time
the word is emphatic as opposed to
versat, the next action of the same
subject. — varie: i.e. by reproof
and encouragement.
2. mirari: the order represent-
ing a beginning, miror, etc., gives
a force like, ‘I can’t help wonder-
ing,’ or ‘I should like to know;’ etc.
This emphasis is still further marked
by -nam in quinam. — pectora:
with a force like, ‘what is the
matter with your courage, that has
always been so undaunted?’ — eos:
representing vos, which would, how-
ever, be omitted in the direct. —
facere: the present as with iam-
dudum and the like. — duo, etc.:
i.e. the Atlantic and the Mediter-
ranean. — Carthaginiensium es-
sent: this is very different from the
tone of the address to the Span-
iards in 21.
que Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traieciesse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in conspectu Alpis habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere—quid Alpis aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines?

3. ob noxam, as culprits. — or-bem: as yet a rhetorical exaggeration, but used with reference to later times.

4. tum: when they started from Spain.

5. prohibentibus: concessive.
— Italiae sit, belongs to Italy, i.e. is a part of Italy.

6. montium altitudines, high mountains; by this form of expression the important quality is brought out by being made abstract, and this abstract is made partially concrete by the use of the plural.

7. fingerent: representing an imperative, or a subjunctive of concession. — nullas, etc.: the rhetorical tone allows the omission of the adversative which we should naturally supply. — nec: a following nec does not contradict a preceding negative. — Alpis: i.e. 'no mountains were so high as that, and as for these particular ones, the Alps, they were quite accessible.' — pervias: the preceding refers to permanent inhabitants, these words refer to passing troops. — faucis: instead of the Mss. paucis.

8. non pinnis, etc.: i.e. 'they must have come on foot, and where they had come other individuals at least could go, and not only that, but whole peoples, for,' etc. — ne . . . quidem, not . . . either, emphasizing these as great bodies of men opposed to legatos. — eorum: i.e. the Gauls whose ambassadors had
agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo
tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato nihil secum 9
praeter instrumenta belli portant quid invium aut inex-
superabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo
menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse! Romam, 10
caput orbis terrarum, potentibus quicquam adeo aspe-
rum atque arduum videri quid inceptum moretur?
Cepisse quondam Gallos ea quae adiri posse Poenus 11
desperet. Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute
genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae aut itineris finem
sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Ro-
manis.

His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad 31
iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa 2
Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rectior ad
Alpis via esset, sed, quantum a mari recessisset, minus
obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in 3

come over. — cum liberis, etc.: and therefore encumbered, in refer-
ence to militi, 9. — migrantium: cf. pugnantium, 29. 2 n.
9. quidem, in fact. — armato: as opposed to the encumbrances
before mentioned. — exhaustum: with the figure of ‘draining a cup
to the dregs.’
10. caput orbis: cf. orbem, 3 n.
— asperum: i.e. so hard a thing
(lie varium et mutable semper femina), hence quod instead of ut
following.
11. cepisse, etc.: with a tone of
sarcasm, which may be represented
by forsooth in English. This sar-
castic turn prepares the way for
proinde, the regular illative con-
junction preceding an exhortation
(as in cederent). — aut . . . aut:
exclusive, i.e. these are the alterna-
tives, ‘they must do one unless they
wished to do the other.’ The form
is a common one in all languages.—
cederent, sperent: the change of
tense is abrupt, but such changes are
characteristic of Livy, and through-
out this speech they are more natu-
ral because the whole depends on
versat (1), a historical present;
see Gr. 287. e.— per eos dies,
lately.
This speech, like most of the
speeches in Livy, admirably illus-
trates his consummate skill as a
rhetorician, and deserves careful
study.

HANNIBAL WORKS TOWARD THE
ALPS.

81. 2. adversa ripa, up stream
along the bank; cf. adverso flumine,
27. 2. — esset: the usual subjunc-
tive where a reason is stated only
to be denied. — Romanum: cf.
26. 5.
Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus consere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes agri aliquantum amplexi confluent in unum; mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat: regni certamine ambigebant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, Braneus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem reiecta esset, abiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maioris restituit.

Ob id meruit commenatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes praeparari cogeabant. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tri-

4. quartis castris: i.e. quadri-duo; a natural use of castra as a measure of time, as a regular camp was made at the end of each day’s march; cf. σταθμὸς. — diversis: according to the divisions of the Alps, the Rhone coming from the Great St. Bernard region in the Pennine Alps, and the Isère from the southern side of Mt. Blanc among the Graian Alps. — Insulae: the modern department of Isère.

5. prope: i.e. north of the Isère. — iam inde: Livy probably has in mind the troubles of Rome with the Allobroges, and their conquest in 121 B.C.

6. pellebatur: the contest was still going on.

7. ea: i.e. that the power belonged of right to the elder. It agrees with sententia according to the regular Latin idiom.

9. recta, etc.: the straight line towards the mountains. — ad laevam: though Hannibal’s exact route has never been determined, yet it seems certain that he followed up the Isère, a course which would be ad laevam as opposed to the direct route from where he was (about Valence) to the Alps. — Tricastinos: the locality of this tribe is indicated by Aoust (Augusta Tricastinorum). — extremam: i.e. northern. — Vocontiorum: the territory of this powerful people reached from the Drac to the Durance, one of their chief settlements being at Die (Dea Vocontiorum). — Tricroios:
corios, haud usquam impedita via priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis 10 longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transiuit est. Nam cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluri- 11 bus simul neque isdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites (et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est), ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet. Et tum forte imbribus 12 auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post quam Hannibal a 82 ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus. Ceterum 2 ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos

their territory was east of the Drac, about Gap (Vapincum). — Druentiam, etc.: Livy seems to conceive the route as up the Isère, then across the bend in that river to the Drac, southerly along that river by Gap to the Durance at Embrun (Ebrodunum).

10. et ipse: as well as the Rhone and the Isère, 4. — difficillimus: agreeing in gender with amnis instead of fluminum.

11. gurgites, the pools, such as are always made by mountain torrents, alternating with shoals (vada), as every trout or salmon fisherman knows; by a kind of zeugma the accusatives depend upon volvens; cf. Amm. Marc. XV. 10. 11. Druentia flumen gurgitibus vagis intutum. — glareosa: i.e. the bottom is of loose rolling stones, instead of sand or pebbles, which would pack so as to make a firm footing.

12. et tum: i.e. besides the ordinary difficulties, it had the temporary disadvantage of a freshet, which, adding to the embarrassment, caused a kind of panic, reflected in incertis clamoribus. — incertis: i.e. the sudden outruses of those in the front or in the rear at some unexpected accident, the cause of which could not be at once determined, increased the disorder.

Scipio returns to Italy.

82. movit: often used absolutely by Livy of military movements; so eduo, 39. 10; teneo, 49. 2; duco, XXII. 18. 6. — facturus: see futuro, 4. 10 n. Scipio’s intention was to meet Hannibal before he crossed the Alps—a piece of strategy which Hannibal baffled by hastening his march (cf. 29. 6).

2. deserta . . . adsecuturum: the free use of participles in Latin
adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves redit, tutius facili-
usque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus.

3 Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam
provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum
maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit,
non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandos-
que novos sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdru-
balem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam
repetit, eo qui circa Padum erat exercitus Italiam de-
fensurus.

6 Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad
Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum per-
venit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, quâ incerta in
maius vero ferri solent, praecerta res erat, tamen ex
propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope
immixtæ, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iu-
mentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti,
animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu
quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus
in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumu-

makes the two objects of videt
seem precisely parallel.

3. *tamen*: opposed to the idea
implied in the preceding of with-
drawing his forces from Gaul.—
*sortitus erat*: see 17. 1.

5. *eo*: as opposed to the army
which he left behind him; cf. 39. 3.

**HANNIBAL REACHES THE ALPS.**

His Encounter with the
Mountaineers.

6. *campestri*, etc.: as there ap-
ppears to be no region on the upper
Durance corresponding to this de-
scription, it is likely that Livy has
no clear idea of the route or of the
nature of the country. He may,
however, have had in his mind the
broad valley near Gap. There seems
no reason why Hannibal should have
gone beyond the Durance.

7. *fama*, etc.: cf. 29. 7.—in
maius: Livy and the later writers
often use *in* with the accusative to
express result or purpose; cf. 12,
*in speciem.*—*vero*: ablative after
maius.—*ex propinquo visa*, etc.,
a near view of the mountain heights;
 cf. 1. 5 n. and 30. 6 n. Without
thinking of any particular place for
this first view, we may attribute the
description to Livy’s imagination of
the general terrors of the Alps.

8. *erigentibus ... agmen, as*
*they directed their march*; the dative
goes with *apparuerunt.*
los insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores in- 

dissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam 

stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa ius- 

sit; Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis postquam com-

perit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa 

omnia praeruptaque quam extentissima potest valle 

locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lin-

gua moribusque abhorrentes, cum se immiscuiscent con-

loquiis montanorum, edoctus interdii tantum obsideri 

suntum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima 

subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdii vim per an-

gustias facturus. [Die deinde simulando aliud quam 

quod parabatur consumpto] cum eodem quo constite-

rant loco castra communissem[n] ubi primum digressos 

tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus 

ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis 

impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte 

peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, rap-

tim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumulis quos hostes 

tenuerant consedit.

Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reliquum in-

cedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad 2 

stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente conspiciunt 

alios arce occupata sua super caput imminentis, alios 

via transire hostis. Vtraque simul obiecta res oculis 3 

animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut 

trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu mis-

ceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid 4

9. transitum ea non esse: i.e. on account of the opposition of the Gauls. — omnia, nothing but.
10. haud sane, etc.: giving a force like, ‘pretty nearly alike,’ etc. — ex aperto, openly, like ex consulvo, ex adverso, and the like.
12. laxatas: implying that they left sentinels, but not an army in force, as in the daytime. — manentium: cf. pugnantium, 29. 2 n.
38. 2. arce...sua, their strong position, i.e. the heights.
4. quidquid ... terroris, any
adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, diversis rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia adsuerti decurrunt.
5 Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussaerque valles augebant, territri trepidabant et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent; multoque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensa altitudinis defect, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo 8 iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quae quamquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret; 9 deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam incollem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et, cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum 10 auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fugā montanorum erant, sedatur, nec

alarm, however little. — iuxta, etc.: trail or no trail, it was all the same to the experienced mountaineers in their swift descents. — in vias: instead of the Mss. invia, which can hardly be justified grammatically, nor do invius and devius differ as ac would imply.
5. ab iniquitate: as if the difficulty of the ground were another enemy fighting them. — inter ipsos, with each other. — prius: i.e. sooner than his neighbor.
6. trepidabant, became unmanageable, rushing hither and thither instead of keeping in line.

7. in immensum altitudinis: instead of the idiomatic attributive adjective, Livy often uses a neuter adjective partitively with a noun; cf. 31. 2; 34. 7, 8; XXII. 20. 10; 45. 1. — armatos: i.e. even some who were not in the throng of frightened beasts of burden, but in the more disciplined ranks.
9. exutum: i.e. si exutus esset. — suis quoque, etc.: as he had feared, but he was obliged to do so lest the whole baggage train should be lost and so their expedition be useless.
per otium modo sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput eius regionis erat, viculos-que circumiectos capit, et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et quia nec a montanis primo perculsis nec loco magno opere impediebantur, aliquan-
tum eo triduo viae confecit.

Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut 84 inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; itaque oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandos ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respon-
disset obsidibus quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu quem in viam ipsi detulerant usus, nequaquam, ut inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Primi-
mum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitusque omnia ince-
debat. Vbi in angustiorem viam et parte altera sub-
jectam iugo insuper imminenti ventum est, undique ex

11. castellum: it is uncertain what place Livy had in his mind.

84. ut: qualifying frequentem cultoribus. — populum, district; cf. the local use of ὕμνος. These places cannot be identified. Perhaps Livy is thinking of the Caturges. — suis: alluding to the pro-
verbial Punica fides; cf. XXII. 16. 5.

2. magnō natu: emphatic position, as aged envos would naturally make a greater impression.

3. facturos: the construction of memorantes ends with Poeno-
rum, including only the preamble as it were, while the real statement is added in regular indirect discourse depending on the idea in oratores veniunt. — acciperet: for im-
perative of the direct.

4. dabant, offered; consative imperfect. — nequaquam ut, not at all as if.

5. omnia: cf. cetera, 8. 10 n.

6. angustiorem, etc.: again an uncertain spot. Livy picks out or invents details such as might be true in any Alpine locality. —
insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus emin-nus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebatur. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equi-tibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicumque ab tergo auxiliis reliqui erat, occursantes per obliqua montani interrumpito medio agmine viam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est. 35 Postero die iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris junc-tae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum pernicie, superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum modo in novissi-mum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem dare-t aut progressi morative aliquam occasiornem fecissent. 3 Elephanti sicut per artas praecipitantesque vias magna

a fonte ab tergo, comminus emin-nus: the double axis that is in harmony with the scene of hurrying and confusion.

7. versa . . . acies . . . fecit: an extreme case of a double statement compressed into one in the regular Latin manner; 'The soldiers wheeled to resist the attack and (by the difficulty they had in resisting) showed plainly,' etc. — fuerit: without quin it would be fuisset, the ordinary use of the indicative with words of necessity, etc., in the contrary-to-fact construction.

8. tunc quoque, even as it was. — agmen: i.e. the infantry, but in 9 the word means the whole army.

9. per obliqua: the enemy, being on their flank, ran down and forward into the break in the line between the cavalry and the infantry. — Hannibali: 'dative of the agent'; this construction was in Livy's time coming more and more into Latin, probably under Greek influence, and a natural blending of the person especially interested with the chief actor; cf. 39. 1; XXII. 34. 8.

85. 2. latrocinii: a regular word for desultory, predatory excursions, or guerilla warfare, as opposed to a real war. — daret: the usual subjunctive of repeated action. — progressi morative, advance parties or stragglers.

3. sicut . . . ita, although . . . yet.
mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque in-
cedent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat,
agmen praebebant.

Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia 4
pleraque et errores quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi
fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus
iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque 5
labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumentaque
aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vesti-
gia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malo-
rum nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum
ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum 7
signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet pigri-
tiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, praeg-
gressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde
longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus
Italam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circum-
padanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non 9
Italieae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana,

HANNIBAL AT THE SUMMIT OF THE PASS.

4. nono die: from the position in 32. 6 ff. This agrees with Poly-
bius (III. 53) who, however, prob-
ably has in mind a different route.
— iugum: apparently the summit of Mount Genèvre, the route which
Livy seems to have had in mind;
whether it was the real one or not
is another matter. — per invia, etc.: this has the air of being drawn from
Livys imagination, as there must
have been perfectly well-known
roads and the army had guides.

5. biduum: so also Polybius. —
stativa: as opposed to the regular
night encampment.

6. occidente, etc.: the morning
setting of the Pleiades, i.e. when
they appear in the west just before
sunrise, occurred October 26, and
marked the beginning of winter
(Pliny, N. H. II. 125). The time
is inserted to explain nivis.

8. praegressus, etc.: this story,
but with less detail, is also told by
Polybius (III. 54). It is agreed,
however, that no such point of view
can be found on any of the passes
over which Hannibal is likely to
have gone. He may have been
able to show his soldiers enough for
his purpose without having so clear
a view as Livy represents. — longe
ac late: an alliteration found in
many writers, usually written longe
lateque. — Italam . . . moeniaque,
etc.: cf. 32. 2 for a similar combi-
nation of constructions.

9. cetera: referring apparently
proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiæ in manu ac potestate habituros.

10 Procedere inde agmen coeptit, iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per occasiœm temptanti-
11 bus. Ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita adrectiora sunt, difficiliorus fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps,
angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu pos-
sent nec qui paulum titubassent haerere adfixi vestigio suo, aliique super alios et iumenta in homines occide-
rent.

36 Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque ita rectis saxis ut aegre expeditius miles temptabundus
manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminences
demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante praeceps

both to the nature of the ground
and the difficulties of the war.—
summum, at most.

THE DESCENT.

10. ne ... quidem: opposing the hindrance of the enemy to the morale of the soldiers as regards the difficulties of the way, implied in procedere ... coeptit; 'they were no longer daunted by the journey, nor did the enemy trouble them either.' — furtæ, stealthy attacks.

11. ceterum iter, etc.: the real difficulties of the way are opposed to the morale of the soldiers and the opposition of the enemy just contrasted.

12. neque sustinere se, etc.: referring back to lubrica. — nec qui paulum, etc.: referring to the whole, but, in a confused kind of chiasmus, particularly to praeceps; 'if they once staggered a little it was all over with them; they went down on the steep incline and (from its slipperiness as well as its steep-
ness) couldn't stop where they fell, but slid or rolled down, one upon another, men and horses all in a confused heap.' The feeling of antithesis is so strong that Livy starts a chiastic opposition with sustinere, etc., but does not make it complete and clear.

36. rupem: the whole as a mass; saxis: the parts as they were clambered over by the sol-
diers. The narrow way is repre-
sented as having a very steep slope in the direction of its length. — expeditus: i.e. with his limbs unen-
cumbered by arms or baggage. — temtabundus: i.e. feeling his way, crawling along, not walking. Livy has a fondness for adjectives in -bundus; cf. 53. 6; XXII. 18. 6. —virgulta, small shrubs. — stirpes, roots and trunks (of larger vegeta-
tion).

2. natura, etc.: Livy seems to represent the road as running along the side of a mountain, and the
recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites 3 constitissent, miranti Hannibali quae res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde 4 ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa quin per invia circa nec trita ante aquam visum longo ambitu circumuceret agmen. Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit. 5 Nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, mollii nec praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insisteabant; ut vero tot hominum iumento 6 rumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat lubrica glacie non recipiente 7 vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvisset, ipsis adminiculis prolabis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volubilabantur. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam 8 ingredientia nivem et prolabis iactandis gravius in conitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque

ledge of the road itself carried away at this point by a slide. — admodum, full. — altitudinem: apparently a mistake of Livy or his transcriber for latitudinem, for it is hard to see how the depth could have made any difference, whereas Polybius represents it as a length of about the same extent. Were it not for praeceps one would be tempted to emend in that sense.

4. digressus: i.e. he went forward from where he was. — haud dubia, etc.: res is inserted, instead of haud dubium alone, to give an idea like, 'the thing showed on the face of it,' etc. — quamvis, how-

ever: i.e. however far they had to go they must go around.

6. per nudam, etc.: i.e. when the new snow was melted they had to walk on ice covered with slush, and steep besides, — a situation that would naturally produce the results depicted. — infra: used like the more formal adjective or relative clause; cf. 8. 5 n.

7. adminiculis: the hands or the knees just mentioned. — tantum, nothing but.

8. iumenta, etc.: i.e. the heavier beasts of burden broke through the crust of ice, and were caught in the old hardened snow. — ingredientia: i.e. by walking on it.
velut pedica capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato: tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit.

Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanentibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefacienti. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliantque anfractibus modicus clivos ut non iumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora

THE USE OF FIRE AND VINEGAR.

87. tantum: as often in Livy, the cause is added in a demonstrative form; ‘they had great difficulty, [because] there was so much snow,’ etc.

2. muniendam: i.e. viam muniendam per, like ‘sailing the sea,’ ‘running the rapids.’ Probably munire meant originally ‘work in shares,’ as country roads are made, and was applicable either to fortifications, whence moenia; or roads, whence munire viam; cf. communiis, immuniis, and munus.—arboribus, etc.: if this is all true, the path must have led along the edge of a glacier from which they had now come out upon the mountain, as Livy has just said, 36. 7, nec stirpes, etc.—aceto, etc.: this statement has naturally been questioned. Polybius is silent on the subject, and complains (III. 47, 48) that many falsehoods were current in regard to the passage; Silius Italicus (III. 642) merely says excoquitur flammis scopulus; where did Hannibal get the vinegar, and could any-quantity have produced the effects here stated? But the ancients (e.g. Pliny, N. H. XXXIII. 71 silices igne et aceto rumpunt) speak of the explosive power of vinegar upon heated rock, and as vinegar-water (posca) seems to have been a common drink for soldiers (Spartianus, Hadr. 10), it may have been in Hannibal’s commissariat. Ammianus Marcellinus (XV. 10. 11) agrees with Livy, but locates the scene at the beginning of the ascent. Juvenal (10. 153 montem rumpit aceto) and Servius (Aen. X. 13 quas (Alpes) ante exustas aceto infuso rupit) echo the popular tradition.

3. anfractibus, signis.

5. inferiora, etc.: indicating that they had now descended.
valles apricosque quosdam colles habent rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi iumenta 6 in pabulum missa et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingenii.

Hoc maxime modo in Italian peruentum est, quintum maxime a Carthagino Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae 2 transgresso in Italian Hannibali fuerint nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum, viginti equitum fuisset scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret nisi confuderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta — in Italia magis adfluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt —; ex ipso autem audisse 5 Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amississe. Taurini Galli proxima gens erat in Italian degresso. Id cum inter omnes constet 6 eo magis miror ambigi quanam Alpis transierit, et vulgo

6. iam, gradually.

Discussion as to Hannibal’s Forces and Route.

88. maxime, in the main.— quidam: e.g. Polybius, III. 56.— quinto decimo: this does not agree with Livy’s own account (35. 4, 5, 7 and 37. 1, 4, 6), which seems to require nineteen days.

2. quantae, etc.: Polybius gives the account as recorded by Hannibal himself on a monument set up on the Lacinian promontory, as 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse; but this is inconsistent with what, according to Livy, Cincius had heard from Hannibal’s own lips.

3. L. Cincius: see Introd. 10.— maxime, etc., would have the greatest weight.

4. cum his, etc., including these, etc.— adducta: the infinitive, like audisse after the parenthesis, depends upon something like auctor est, implied in auctor moveret, 3.

5. Taurini: their name is preserved in Turin, and their country reached from that city to the Alps.

6. eo magis miror, etc.: i.e. since all agree that he came first among the
credere Poenino — atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium
7 inditum — transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis iugum
dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos
sed per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxi-
8 sent. Nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse
itinera; utique, quae ad Poeninum ferunt, obsaeptha
9 gentibus Semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule monti-
bus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum
ullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen norint in-
ditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice
Poeninum montani appellant.

89 Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinii, proximae
genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed ar-

Taurini, there would seem to be no
doubt that he came by some pass
in that region. But all do not agree
on that point, as Polybius e.g. makes
him come first to the Insubres.—
Poenino: sc. monte; the chain
from the Great St. Bernard to St.
Gotthard. — inde: i.e. from the
passage of Hannibal.

7. Coelium: Introd. 10. — Cre-
monis: perhaps the Little St. Bernard;
the name occurs only here. — Salassos Montanos: on
the east side of the Graian Alps
north of Turin on the Doria Baltea.
— ad Libuos: farther east than
the country of the Taurini. The
whole question is incapable of solu-
tion. Varro’s statement, as trans-
mitted to us by Servius (Aen. X.
13), is of some interest: Alpes
quinae viis Varro dicit transiri
posse; una, qua est iuxta mare
per Ligures; altera, qua Hannibal
transiti; tertia, qua Pompeius ad
Hispaniense bellum propectus est;
quarta, qua Hasdrubal de Gallia in
Italiani venit; quinta, qua quon-
dam a Graecis possessa est, quae
exinde Alpes Graiae appellatur.

8. ea: the two routes just men-
tioned, i.e. the Great and, per-
haps, the Little St. Bernard. —
Semigermanis: cf. Caes. B. G.
I. 31 seg.

9. id: i.e. the name Poeninus.—
Seduni Veragri: between Lake
Leman and the Great St. Bernard;
cf. Caes. B. G. III. 1. — norint:
there is irony in this ‘subjunctive of
modesty’; cf. censeam, 18. 6 n.—
eo, the divinity, usually called Sup-
piter Poeninus, from the Celtic
Penn. Many votive inscriptions to
this local divinity have been found
on the pass.

FIRST OPERATIONS IN ITALY.

89. peropportune, etc., it was a
most fortunate thing for the begin-
ing of operations that, etc.; notice
the emphasis. — Taurinis: for the
dative see Hannibili, 34. 9 n.— pro-
ximae genti: a pointless repetition
of 38. 5, unless Livy means that the
Taurini were the nearest people to
the Insubres in that (i.e. the south-
western) direction. — armare, pre-
pare for war; a rare, perhaps poet-
mare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat: otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex inuvie tabequi squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiiis trepido ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum repecto manus conse-reret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; iunxissetque sibi non metu solum sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi( ni eos circumspectantis deflectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars sequenda esset, Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus convenerantque duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis 8

ical, meaning.—alteri, one of the two, i.e. either. This may refer to the Insubres (see 25. 2), but apparently Livy does not recognize established relations between Hannibal and any nation of the Gauls, which must, however, have existed. —reficiendo: used absolutely without se; cf. agitando, 58. 10, and sepleiendi, XXII. 52. 6.

2. ex, after, as often where one thing immediately succeeds another. —efferata, like wild beasts; a strong expression for ‘like savages’ —movebat, affected.

3. ea: attracted to agree with causa, as in the standard example hoc opus, hic labor est. —navibus, by sea; cf. 32. 2.—Manlio: see 17. 7; 25. 8.—Atilio: see 26. 2. —tirone: cf. 26. 2. —ignominiiis: see 25. 9, 12.

4. venit: indicative, as simply defining a point of time. —stativis, camp; so called because it was not a mere encampment for a night, but a place of rest for some days; cf. 35. 5. —urbem: probably the modern Turin.

5. accolas Padi, who live along the Po.

6. et Hannibal: i.e. Hannibal also took the offensive, as well as Scipio, and for the same reason, viz. to secure the wavering Gauls. —quae: for utra. —praesentem, the first comer, whether himself or Scipio.

7. sicuti . . . ita, although . . . yet, as often; see 7. 6 n.
et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberri-
mum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod
adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem
virum credebat; et auxérant inter se opinionem, Scipio,
quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italian trans-
gresso Hannibali, Hannibalis et conatu tam audaci tra-
iciendarum Alpium et effectu.

Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traiere, et ad Ticinum
amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, ad-
hortandorum militum causa tales orationes est exorsus:

40 'Si eum exercitum, milités, ōducérém in aciem quem in
Gallia mecum habuí, superesíssem ióqui apud vos; quid
eñim adhortari referret aut eos equites qui equitatum
hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas
legiones cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secu-

8. et, even, i.e. as well as among
the Carthaginians and Spaniards.—
Scipionem, etc.: this explanation
shows that Livy invents this early
fame of Scipio from patriotic mo-
tives. Hannibal must have known
that the provinces were assigned by
lot, and could only judge of Scipio’s
eminence in a general way from the
fact that he had been elected a com-
mander.

9. auxérant, etc., they had added
to the high opinion which each had
of the other.

SCIPIO’S ADDRESS TO HIS SOLDIERS.

10. occupavit, was the first; cf.
occupant bellum facere, I. 14. 4; II.
48. 2. — tamen: i.e. in spite of
Hannibal’s celerity (4) and his re-
putation as a general (8).

40. si eum, etc.: the writing
of history with the ancients was a
branch of rhetoric, and all historians
delighted in composing speeches
suited to the occasion. The sub-
stance of this one is given in Poly-
bius (III. 64), but it is worked over
by Livy. — apud vos: there is here
the peculiar Latin ‘telescoping’ of
two different forms of thought; ‘If
I had that army, I should have re-
frained from addressing it, but with
you it is necessary.’

2. referret: i.e. in the case (con-
trary to fact) supposed. — vicis-
sent: see 29. 3. The difference of
mood in this clause and in quem
. . . habuí, just above, and cum
quibus . . . habuí, just below, is
instructive; this clause is condi-
tioned on the main protasis, ‘If I
had that army,’ and hence is in the
subjunctive pluperfect, while the
other clauses are not so conditioned,
and are therefore expressed in the
indicative. The whole matter of at-
traction or ‘essential part,’ so called,
depends on the relation which the
clauses bear to the main idea. In
other words, formal grammar is only
logical sense put into language.—
legiones: as Hannibal had avoided
tus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro
victoria habui? nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae pro-
vinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis au-
spicis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque
Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Han-
nibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario cer-
tamini obtuli, novo imperatoris apud novos milites pauc
verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem igno-
retis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum quos terra
marique priore bello victis, a quibus stipendium per
viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Sic-
liam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine
iis vobis illisque animus qui victoribus et victis esse solet.
Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi
sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detracta-
vere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu
Alpium amissis [qui plures paene perierint quam super-

contact with the Romans except in
cavalry reconnaissance (cf. 31. 3),
the foot-soldiers had not engaged.

3. nunc: introducing, like the
 corresponding words in many other
languages, the actual state of the
case.—Cn. Scipione: 32. 3.—
meis auspicis: only the com-
mander-in-chief had the right, as
representing the Roman people, of
taking the auspices, i.e. of con-
sulting the gods as to the conduct
of the war; his subordinates com-
manded only so far as concerned
human relations.

4. consulem: a supreme com-
mander as opposed to subordinates.
—voluntario: because his proper
province was the war in Spain (32.
3), and hence the defense of Italy
was not his affair.

5. ne . . . ignorretis: as often,
the purpose of saying what is said,
not the purpose of the thing itself.

—viginti: in the first negotiations
between Lutatius and Hamilcar
Carthage was to pay a war indem-
nity for twenty years, but this period
was reduced to ten years (Polyl. I.
62; III. 27).—capta . . . habetis,
have taken . . . and hold; see 13.
6 n. — belli praemia: carelessly
said of Sardinia; see Introd. 5.

6. nec nunc: as opposed to the
time during which the Carthagin-
ians had acknowledged defeat by
keeping quiet.

7. nisi creditis: a common form
of reductio ad absurdum.—detrac-
tavere: i.e. by abandoning the con-
test on the Rhone and proceeding
to cross the Alps.—duabus partibus:
the two-thirds is a rhetorical
exaggeration.—qui . . . supersint:
these words only contradict what has
just been said, duabis . . . amissis:
one clause is probably a clumsy gloss
on the other,
8 sint] plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora 9 ac vires vix sustinere vis utra possess. Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame frigore inlunie squalore erecti, confusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praestut artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata 10 fracta que arma, claudi ac debiles equi: cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis; reliquias extremas hostis, non hostem habetis; ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, cum vsos pugnaveritis, Alpes viciss Hannibalem videantur. 11 Sed ita forsitant decuit, cum foederum rupture duce ac populo ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profiligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, 41 commissum ac profiligatum confiscere. Non vereor ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum alter animo affectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem

8. at enim, but, you say, regularly introducing a consideration to be overthrown. — pauci, only a few, in its usual meaning. — robora ac vires, strength of resistance and strength for attack; cf. l. 2 n.

9. effigies, mere forms; an expression for which, as indicating at least some substance, umbrae, outlines, is substituted to represent more strongly the emaciated condition of Hannibal's troops. — praeusti artus, with hands and feet frozen, literally, 'at the extremities,' like praecactus, praetruncus, and other compounds of praeco. — torrida: this must refer to the inflammation caused by exposure; torpida, a suggestion of Lipsius, has been adopted by some editors. — quassata, rickety, as opposed to actual fracture, expressed by fracta.

10. cum hoc, this is . . . with which. — vos: emphatically opposed to Alpes.

11. ita, etc., perhaps it was better so; namely, that nature should overcome them first, inasmuch as they had offended the gods, and only the finishing of the war be left to the Romans, who were the next aggrieved parties. — forsitata: without influence on the mood, as in poetry and later prose. — profigatum: an almost technical term for 'breaking the back' of a war, opposed both to commissum on the one hand, and confiscum on the other.

41. 2. licuit, etc.: the confirmation of Scipio's sincerity, in that his actions show his confidence, for he might have avoided this contest. Hence the emphasis on licuit, I
ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum consenerdi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, regressus ad navis quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Vtrum, cum declinarem certamen, improvidus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lassessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat utrum alios repente Carthaginenses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodevicensi denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum

3. tamen: opposed to the statement that he might have gone to Spain, etc. — praeterveherer: the emphasis expresses the idea that he was merely accidentally passing by, and went out of his way to meet the enemy.

4. equestri: see 29. 2. — fugientium: cf. 40. 2. — regressus, etc.: if we read with the oldest MSS. neque regressus ad navis erat, we must assume the loss of a protasis like si secutus esset, and make regressus a noun. — tanto (independent of quanta): so great as you see or know it to be. — timendo: ironical.

5. utrum, etc., is it that, etc., since 'whether' in direct questions is obsolete in English. — declinarem, etc.: a circumstance that might make it seem as if now he had unexpectedly fallen on the enemy, since he avoided them before. — occurrere in vestigiis eius, confront him in his path; a very forcible expression, probably suggested by vestigiis sequi and the like.

6. iuvat, I would like to. — ad Aegatis: in the final contest of the First Punic War; see Introd. 4. — duodevicens denariis, etc.: this ransom is not elsewhere mentioned, but may well have been a formal recognition that the Carthaginians were prisoners. The amount is a small one, at that time not far from three dollars apiece.
Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et
servus populi Romani a patre relictus. Quem nisi Sa-
gunturnum scelus agitaret, respiceret profecto, si non
patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera
Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro
praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves impositas victis
Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui
decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus
est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo
adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum
indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si sérı̄os videátis
vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad
Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame, in-
terficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam tricere
atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem
delere: veniam dedimus precanibus, emisimus ex obsi-
dione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae
duximus cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his impe-
titis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam

7. Herculis: cf. Alpes nulladum via, nisi de Hercule fabulis credered libet, superatas, V. 34. 6. — vectigalis: as paying tithes and the like. — stipendiarius: as paying an indemnity. The whole is exaggerated, as the Carthaginians only paid a certain sum for ten years, a limit which was reached before Hamilcar’s death in 228 B.C.

8. nisi, etc.: i.e. unless Hannibal were driven mad by the consciousness of his crime at Saguntum. The pursuit of the wicked by the Furies or otherwise is regularly expressed by agitare. — respiceret, have regard for. — domum, the honor of his house; the breaking of Hamilcar’s pledges by his son would dishonor the family.

9. iussus, etc.: to increase the humiliation. — consule: Lutatius Catulus. — leges, conditions.

10. ego: only expressed from the fondness for opposing persons. — animo, spirit, as warriors. — velim, I would have. — indignatione: an additional feeling beside the ordinary courage and desire to win.

11. licuit: cf. 2 n. — humanorum (sc. suppliciorum), that man can suffer.

12. veniam, etc.: i.e. ‘we might have (licuit) done all that, but instead we granted indulgence,’ etc. — tutelae, etc.: an exaggeration of some permission, contrary to the treaty of 241 B.C., to get material of war in Italy (Polybius, III. 27; I. 83; Nepos, Ham. 3).

13. imperitis, favors, things granted to them. — furiosum: cf.
nominem veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de posses-

sione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab 
tergo exercitus qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova 
possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si 
ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Vnus quisque se non 
corpus suum sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis pro-
tegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas sed 
identidem hoc animo repugnet, nostras nunc intueri manus 
secatum populumque Romanum: qualis nostra vis vir-
tusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac 
Romani imperii fore.'

Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius 42 
quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus circumdacto ad 
spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos vincitos in 
medio statuit armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum pro-
jectis interroga interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis 
levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare 
ferro vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque 2

agitaet, 8 n.—atque utinam, etc.: another motive,—the war is not
for glory, but for existence.

14. de: of something as a prize. 
—quondam: in the First Punic
War.—pro: of something to defend.

15. nos: in distinction from the 
supposed other army.—vincimus: 
the almost colloquial use of the 
present in protasis for the future, 
agreeing with the English idiom.—
quas dum, etc., to enable us, etc.

... while they are surmounting 
them, a turn made necessary by the 
impossibility of putting two relative 
words in one clause in English.

16. unus quisque, every single

one of you, more emphatic than 
quisque alone.—domesticas, for 
his family.—nostras, etc.: translate, with change of voice, 'that our 
deeds are watched by,' etc.

17. deinde, thereafter. —illius, 
there, opposed to here, implied in 
nostra.

HANNIBAL'S DEVICE TO RALLY HIS
ARMY.

42. rebus, by actions. —ad 
spectaculum, to witness the exhibi-
tion.—victor, if victorious, a con-
dition in shorthand as an appos-
tion.
poscerent et deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat quem fortuna in id certamen legeret; cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Vbi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicinis homines erat sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur. Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus furtur: 'Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicinis erat. Ac nescio an maiora vincula maioresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris for-

2. in id (sors): to see which should fight; cf. ad id, 27. 4, and see in maius, 32. 7 n.
3. cuiusque, and the one whose. — exciderat: the ancient method of casting lots was to put tablets into a vessel, either with or without water, and shake them out one at a time. — alacer inter gratulantes: artfully put together to show the feelings of all at once; the successful one was glad, and the rest congratulated him. — sui moris: cf. 28. 1.
4. dimicarent: the subjunctive of repeated action; though this is frequent in and after Livy, the indicative is also used, as in exciderat, just above. — spectantes, etc.: i.e. such was the bravery of the combatants that they excited admiration even among the Carthaginians.

HANNIBAL'S SPEECH.
43. paribus: the regular word for pairs of gladiators. — adfectos: i.e. his soldiers; cf. circumdato exercitu, 42. 1. — contione: a re-assembling of the army in another form at headquarters, the regular place for addresses.
2. sortis, fate, as they either conquered or died. — exemplo, case, which served as an example or illustration of their own. — vestra: we should expect this to be emphatic, but it is displaced by an artificial emphasis on aestimanda, as opposed to exemplo (the real case as opposed to the illustration), whereby a chiasmus is produced. — vicimus: instead of the natural vincemus, because underlying the whole is the idea, 'if you have learned the lesson of this sight, we are already victorious.' — spectaculum: i.e. an ordinary exhibition for entertainment only. — imago, representation. — condicinis, situation.
3. nescio an, I don't know but, i.e. 'I am inclined to think,' — the usual force of the words.
tuna circumdederit: dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt 4 nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentis, circa. Padus amnis, maior Padus ac violentior Rhodano, ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, 5 ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna quae necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit quibus ampliora homines ne ab diis quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tan- tum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute reciperraturi esseremus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent: quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum conges- tumque possebant, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite 7 dum, diis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora con- sectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculo- rumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam opulenta 9 vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum iteris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum 10

4. dextra, etc.: showing wherein the necessity of fighting for life is greater on them than on the captives. — duo: the Tuscan Sea and the Adriatic. The army is conceived as facing south. — ne ad effugium quidem, not even to escape, much less to make an attack with or receive support. — circa: they are thought of as in a bend of the Po. — maior Padus: the repetition enhances the effect. — integris, etc.: i.e. in full numbers and vigor, before they were weakened by the losses and fatigues of the Alps.

6. nostra: opposed to parentibus. — reciperraturi: the future participle gives the force of 'trying to' or 'going to in case we conquered.' — quidquid, etc.: the real state of the case is added without any particle, the antithesis being enforced by the emphasis; 'if it were only Sicily, etc., it would be enough, (but in fact) everything,' etc.

7. in: see 32. 7 n. — agite dum: the colloquial use of dum with the imperative to increase the force.

8. vastis, desolate, thinly inhabited.

9. tempus: opposed to satis (equivalent to satis diu).
fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaris victoriam fore: saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incluti populi reges-que perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam, dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est cur illi vobis comparandis sint? Ut viginti annorum militiae vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispâniae et Galliae populos vincentes hoc pervenistis; pugnabis in exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso victo circumseiso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique; ducem. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semestri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? Cui si quis demptis signis Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud

11. magni, etc.: i.e. the fame of the Romans has made the war seem much more difficult than it will really be, for the reputation of a people is no sure criterion of their prowess in the actual contest. — perlevi momento: i.e. (properly) some matter of shifting weight has decided the case, but of course implying only a small effort on the part of the opponents.

12. nam, etc.: i.e. setting aside the prestige of the Romans, they are not to be compared to you in fighting qualities. The evidence for this Hannibal proceeds to give.

13. ut ... taceam, to say nothing of. — illa: that which you have shown. — hoc: archaic and colloquial for the more common huc; cf. XXII. 14. 5.

14. pugnabis, you will have to contend (emphatic). — caeso, etc.: see 25.

15. an me, etc.: the words ignoto duci suggest vaguely that the leaders are not to be compared any more than the armies, especially in respect to the mutual confidence between soldiers and leader, which is here the main point, the other qualities of the leaders being only incidentally touched upon; hence the form of question (‘isn’t this true,’ or,’ etc.—eductum: cf. 1. 4 and 3. 2.— desertore: see 32. 2.

16. consul: instead of imperator
parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me miles donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantessque. Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac robeiris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos sociis fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, cum pro patria tum ob iram iustissimam pugnaturas. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis vim quam arcantis. Accedid praeterea et stimulat animos dolor iniuriae indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima

or dux, to stigmatize Scipio's inexperience in war.

17. notata, exactly noted. — sua: cf. sui, 29. 5 n.

44. quocumque, etc.: a reason for confidence from the spirit of the troops. — frenatos infrenatosque: almost equivalent to 'heavy' and 'light,' the latter referring to the Numidians (46. 5), who are called infrini by Vergil (Aen. IV. 41) and by Silius (I. 215) gens necia frieni.

3. inferimus bellum: the technical term for an offensive war. — infestis signis: the same idea as the preceding in a different form (in a hostile attack). — inferentis, arcantis: see pugnantium, 29. 2 n.

4. accendit, etc.: i.e. we not only have the greater spirit for the attack, but there are also special reasons why our feelings are inflamed and goaded on. — dolor iniuriae indignitas, the sense of wrong and outrage; a case similar to the so-called hendiadys; the first is subjective (the mental pain), the other two are objective (the acts of the enemy, in two aspects, that caused the feeling). — ad supplicium, etc.: the details of the iniuria and indignitas. — oppugnas- setis: indirect discourse quoted from the demand. — deditos: equal to si deditis essemus. — fuerunt: the regular indicative in the periphrastic conjugation in the apodosis to conditions contrary to fact (Gr. 308. d').
gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere aequum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque quos non excedamus, neque eos quos statuit terminos observat. ‘Ne transieris Hiberum! Ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis!’ Ad Hiberum est 7 Saguntum. ‘Nusquam te vestigio moveris!’ Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Sicilian ac Sardiniam ademisti? admis etiam Hispanias? et inde si decessero, in Africam transcedes. Transcendes autem dico? duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis 8 relictum est nisi quod armis vindicarimus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet qui respectum habent, quos sua terra suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient: vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et, omnibus inter victoriarm mortemque certa desperatione abrup-tis, aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius

5. *sua*: predicative. — *habeamus*: not the ordinary indirect question, but a subjunctive question put in the indirect form. — *modum imponere*, *to prescribere, set the limits*. — *circumscribit, draws lines* (really the *termini* below). — *neque, and yet... not*.

6. *ne*, etc.: an imaginary *altercation* between Rome and Carthage. Such passages at arms were common in Latin oratory, and Cicero (Att. I. 16. 8, 10) reports a famous one between himself and Clodius. — *ad Hiberum, on the Ebro*; *i.e.* Saguntum is not across or north of it. Hannibal objects to the construction of the treaty (see 2. 7 n.) just implied. The words have been variously explained and emended. — *nusquam*, etc.: Rome, as if cornered by Hannibal’s remark, says, in a climax of arrogance, ‘then don’t stir from where you are.’

7. *relictum est*: implying ‘we shall have nothing,’ which makes *vindicarimus* the better reading; *vindicaremus* would mean, ‘they have determined to leave us nothing except what we rescue from them by arms.’

8. *illis*: the Romans. — *timidis*: the more regular construction, instead of the accusative, after *licet* with an infinitive (Gr. 272. 2). — *respectum habent, have something behind them to look to*. — *sua*: allowed because *quos* is really the subject of discourse, although the grammatical object; see 29. 5 n. — *viris*: an uncommon construction, imitated from that with *licet*, above. — *omnibus*: for *omnibus rebus*. — *dubitabit, shall waver*. 
quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus destinatumque animo est, iterum dicam, vicisti: nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalis acerius datum est.'

His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent. Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponunt; Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet principumque animos ad defensionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohaerandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia Africa Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Cartha-

9. fixum, etc.: probably a reminiscence from Vergil’s animo fixum immotumque (Aen. IV. 15). — iterum: cf. 43. 2. — contemptu mortis telum: a conjectural emendation from contemptum of the oldest manuscript. For the figurative use of telum cf. Cic. de Am. 17. 61 nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas exsimare oportet benevolentiam civium.

Movements of the Two Armies.

45. 2. Maharbalem: mentioned also in 12. 1 as the lieutenant of Hannibal. — ala, a squadron, so called because in line of battle the cavalry was stationed on the wings.

3. Victumulis: apparently a village in the territory of Vercellae. The armies were both west of the Ticinus.

4. certa, definite, as opposed to the general statements made in 43. 6, 9.

5. velit, maluisset, vellent: the change of tense is characteristic of Livy’s vivid style. — immunem: i.e. free of rent or taxes. — argento: the same as pecuniam above; cf. French argent.
ginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum 7 popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit binaque pro iis mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum prectionem caput pecudis saxo elisit. 9 Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

46. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, 2 super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente 3 consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquu copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent,
speculandus, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium sese expediebant. ScipioiaculatorsestGallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiis; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublatoiaculatorse fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Indequitum certamen erat aliquamdui ances; dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatsum. Hic

camps. — etipsi, who also. — circa: see 7. 5 n.
4. hominum equorum: for the asyndeton see 28. 2 n. — sese expediebant, began to, or proceeded to form, a force often expressed by the imperfect.
5. iaculatorse: these seem to have been stationed between the bodies of Gallic horse; cf. 6. in fronte: the Romans had two lines, the Carthaginians only one, and thus outflanked the Romans; see 7. quod roboris, all the best; i.e. the strength of the Italian allies. — frenatos: heavy Spanish cavalry. — Numidis: these were infrenati and lighter; cf. 44. 1 n.
6. vixdum: with sublato. — inter subsidia: i.e. into the spaces left between the squadrons of the heavy cavalry in the rear, of which they now became a part (ad secundam aciem). — quia turbabant, etc.: this explains only labentibus; the main clause, iam... venerat, is explained by the two present participles; some were thrown by their frightened horses, others dismounted to aid their comrades.
7. donec: referring to the idea, 'and thus continued', implied in the preceding. — paulum: with ab tergo. — is pavor: like quo metu and similar expressions which are regular in Latin; fear of the impending cavalry attack demoralized the Romans. — auxit: 'this effect was increased by the wounding of the consul and his consequent peril.' — intercursu, etc.: an antithetical idea, added in Latin fashion in the form of a mere attribute.
8. hic: Scipio Africanus, the
erit iuuenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.

47 Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit; quo facile apparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte iussis militibus vasa silentio colligere castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iux-

elder. — erit: i.e. he will appear later as such; cf. Florus, I. 22. 11 hic erit Scipio qui in exitium Africae crescit, nomen ex malis eius habitur. — perfecti, etc.: the customary ‘ab urbe condita’ construction; see I. 5 n. — de: as if the victory were won from him. Compare the base-ball slang, ‘so many hits off him’ (the pitcher), which is due to precisely the same feeling.

9. fuga: not before mentioned, but implied in perculit. — tamen: i.e. though the Romans were beaten, yet the only utter rout was chiefly on the part of the javelin-throwers. — quos primos: since they had fled to the rear, and the cavalry had pressed forward in the fight. — alius: opposed to the portion of the cavalry apparently implied in maxime; cf. Polybius, III. 65. Another view makes alius equivalent to reliqui, including the entire cavalry in equitatus. — confertus: opposed to fuga effusa. — nusquam, etc.: i.e. they retired in good order, with no confusion or rout.

10. servati: cf. perfecti, 8 n. — Coelius: see Intr. 10. — malim equidem, I should prefer however to believe. — plures: e.g. Polybius (X. 3), on the authority of the younger Laelius. — obtinuit: intransitive, as if it were (id) verum esse, for which quod loosely stands.

RESULTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT.

47. 2. vasa ... colligere: the technical expression for breaking camp, probably slang in origin, like ‘pick up one’s traps,’ or ‘boots and saddles.’ — ab Ticino: as Scipio’s base of operations, although he had advanced beyond it (45. 3). — iunxerat: the subject (Scipio) is loosely implied in the preceding. The verb is emphatically opposed (by antici-
erat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis, copias traeiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solvientes cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo transasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impedimentum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis eius vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnis inflati travexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerint, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci possét. Potiores apud me auctores sunt qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini

3. Placentiam: Scipio's new position of defense on the other side of the Po, so that the northern side was now abandoned. — mortorum: for qui morati erant. — citeriore: from Hannibal's point of view. — solvientes: evidently the rear guard, whose duty it was to cross last and then set the bridge adrift; but apparently they were too late, and the bridge was cut on the southern bank by the others, who had crossed.

4. auctor est, records. — Magonem: Hannibal's brother; see 54. 1. — in ordinem, so as to form a line across the river; see 32. 7 n.

5. ea, this story. — fidem fece-rint, can gain belief, properly 'create belief.' The perfect is practically equivalent to the present, from a fondness in Latin for marking the completion rather than the progress of an action; cf. XXII. 59. 10. — neque . . . et: correlatives. — ut iam: i.e. even if we go so far as to admit, etc., yet, with that already allowed, the rest would be impossible. — utres: cf. 27. 5 n. — petenda fuerint: a coniunctivus modestiae, and the past tense of the periphrastic conjugation is used for a contrary-to-fact apodosis. The change in construction from superasse veri simile est is awkward, but may be caused by the greater certainty of this part of the statement (certainly the baggage, etc., could not have crossed there).

6. potiores, of greater weight. — iungendo flumini: dative after
inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites et Hispano-
rum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen
legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit gravius
peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu
fluminis diei uni us itinere Placentiam ad hostes conten-
dunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia
castra communivit et postero die in conspectu hostium
acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

48. Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu
tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliariibus Gallis facta est.

2. Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad
portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos
Poenus beneigne adlocutus et spe ingentiurn donorum
accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popu-
larium animos dimisit. Scipio, caedem eam signum de-
fectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus contactosque eo
scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam
gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis
insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium
iam in loca altiora collisque impediteores equiti castra
movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque
Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, tur-
basset utique novissimum agmen ni aviditate praedae in
vacua Romana castra Numidae deportissent. Ibi dum

locum, as in official titles and the
like. — cum Magone: i.e. qui cum
Magone erant.

SCPIO ON THE TREBIA. CLASTI-
DIUM BETRAYED TO HANNIBAL.

48. 2. adlocutus et . . . ac-
censos: connected as if they were
grammatically as well as logically
parallel.

4. Trebiam: this river flows
north into the Po, near Placentia.
Scipio must have gone up the river
on the western bank, somewhat out
of the plain. — iam: on account of
the comparative, 'places that began
to be,' etc.

5. minus . . . fefellit: i.e. he was
less successful in getting off unob-
served. — missis: emphatic as con-
tinuing the idea of minus fefellit;
'he was discovered and pursued.' —
utique: i.e. the rear if not more.
perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus; et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantisque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio, nec vexationem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et collegam—iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat—ratus exspectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia quae per hostium agros euntem nusquam praeparatis commeatibus maior in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum con-gesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magnus pretio, nummis aureis quadrimgentis, Dasio Brundisino praefecto praesidii corrupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est.

Cum ad Trebiam terestre constitisset bellum, interim

6. _cum iam_, etc.: the construction is a compressed one; 'when the Carthaginians came in sight of the Romans, the latter were already across and making their camp, and so they killed only a few;' etc. — _moratorum_: probably, as in 47. 3, the perfect participle, though Livy uses nouns in -tor with unusual freedom; see _hortator_, 11. 7; _insidiator_, XXII. 28. 5. — _citra_: from the point of view of the pursuers.

7. _collegam_: Sempronius; see 44. 7 and 51. 5.

9. _Clastidium_: a small place a little south of the Po and some distance west of the Trebia, now Casteggio. — _vicum_: probably fortified as a depot, though not properly an _oppidum_. — _quo_: notice the difference of idiom in English; we say, 'where they had gathered'; the Latins, 'whither they had brought together.' — _nec sane, and for rather a small price too_; cf. 32. 10 n. — _nummis aureis_: these had not been coined in Hannibal's time, but probably the amount is reckoned according to their value a little later, about $5.00.

AFFAIRS IN SICILY.

49. _interim_: _i.e._ during the events described in 26-48.
circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandum oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae; novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opcrienis, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis praeter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italian missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lillybaei occupandi praecipuum curam esse; credere eadem tempestate, qua ipsi diis iecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Aegatis insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, perscript monetque ut Lillybaeum firme teneret praesidio.  

Extemplo et circa civitates a praetore missi legati tribu-

et a Sempronio . . . et ante adventum: the order of narrative is chiastic. — Sempronio: see 17. 1.  
6. — terra marique: here a mere phrase, as only naval operations are mentioned.  
2. novem, octo, tres: partitive apposition to viginti. — tenuerunt, held their course, succeeded in reaching the islands; see movit, 32. 1 n., and cf. cursum tenuit, XXII. 31. 5.  
3. ad eas conspectas, etc., these were seen from Messina and, etc.; the regular Latin compressed construction. — Hierone: Hiero II. abandoned the Carthaginians early in the First Punic War, and was the steadfast friend and ally of Rome till his death in 216 B.C.; see Intr.  
4. — nullo repugnante, without resistance, as they were apparently helpless. — Messanam in portum: see Gr. 259. h.  
4. cuius . . . classis, etc., the fleet to which, etc.; the position of classis is idiomatic; Gr. 201. d. — veteres socios: see Intr. 3.  
5. credere: this would be parenthetic in the direct form, eadem, credimus, tempestate, etc. — forent: see 21. 1 n.  
6. praetori: Aemilius was apparently assigned to Sicily with Sempronius in case the latter should have to go to Africa; see 17. 6; 51. 1.  
7. et, et, perque: introducing the three effects of Hiero's advice to the praetor. The period is awkwardly constructed, and there is much doubt about the text. — circa,
nique suos ad curam custodiae intendére, et ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli, edicto proposito ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent ut, ubi signum datum esset, ne quid moram conscen-8 dendi faceret; perque omnem oram qui ex speculis pro- spicerent adventantem hostium classem missi. Itaque,9 quamquam de industria ita moderati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses ut ante lucem accederent Lily- baem, praeensum tamen est quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant: extemplo datum sig-10 num ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum; pars militum in muris porta- rumque stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Cartha- ginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis arma- mentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe ab- sumpto. Vbi inluxit, recepere classem in altum ut12 spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam13

around among; a new use of circa after verbs of motion, frequent in Livy. — suos: i.e. Roman garrison. — intendere, teneri: historical infinitives, as the action is a continued one, while by missi (sunt), in 8, a single act is stated. — edicto: the substance of the order is given in ut . . . deferrent, and the intended effect in ut . . . ne . . . faceret. — socii navales: the service of crews on ships was less honorable than that of the legions on land, and hence originally the marines were allies and not Roman citizens.

9. itaque: connecting the discovery with the means by which it was accomplished. — ante lucem, just before daybreak (and not earlier).

— sublatis: i.e. set, instead of being taken down and stored away. — armamentis: i.e. sails, masts, and yards which could be shipped or unshipped at pleasure, according to the weather; cf. demendis, 11.

10. ad arma: the slogan itself; cf. III. 15.6 alternae voces AD ARMA audiebantur; Hor. C. I. 35. 15 nee populus frequens AD ARMA cessantes, AD ARMA concitét; see triumphum, 62. 2 n. — in naves conscensum, the ships were manned, naturally by the sailors. — erant: the use of this word takes a new point of view, the time of the arrival.

11. et: i.e. they too were affected by the fact of the discovery and changed their tactics.
et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et
militum multitudine ac virtute. Vbi in altum evecti
sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires
conferre velle; contra eludere Poenus et arte non vi
rem gerere naviumque quam virorum aut armorum malle
certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus adfatim in-
structam classem ita inopem milite habebant et, sicubi
conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus arma-
torum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animadversum est,
et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas
illis minuit. Extemplo septem naves Punicae circum-
ventae, fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et septingenti
fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque, in his tres
nobilis Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis,
una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce,
in portum reedit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui
Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit.
Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem instructam orna-
tamque obviam duxit transgressusque ex regia in prae-

BATTLE AT LILYBAEUM. ARRIVAL
OF SEMPRONIUS. LOYALTY OF
HIERO.

50. evecti sunt: Romans as
well as Carthaginians, as is implied
in nec . . . pugnam, just above.
— conserere, etc.: in those times
naval battles were commonly fought
by boarding and grappling, and the
soldiers fought much as in land
battles.

2. eludere, to manoeuvre: i.e. to
seek opportunities for ramming and
disabling the adversaries' ships.

3. si-cubi, whenever, literally,
'if anywhere.' — par: i.e. equal to
that of the boarding ship.

4. sua: see sui, 29. 5 n.

5. circumventae, captured.

6. perforata, rammed by the
beak of the enemy. — reduce: i.e.
not sunk, but kept afloat and brought
into harbor.

7. instructam: a suggestion of
Wölflin; the best MS. has only
ornatamque, but of course que
requires another word, and Cicero
and Livy use instruo and orno to-
gether of ships.

8. praetoriam: not the praetor's
ship, but that of Sempronius. The
old meaning of praetor ('leader')
is retained, as in praetorium and
toriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse precatusque prosperum ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulae et Cartha-9 giniensium conata exposuit pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adiuvisset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vestimentaque sese legio-10 nibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo maritimisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. Ob haec cons-11 suli nihil cunctandum visum quin Lilybaenum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navi-12 gantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaenum fusasque et captas hostium naves accepere. A Lilybaeo consul Hierone 51 cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendum Siciliae oram ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthagi-13 niensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gis-14 gonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaenum, captivique et a con-15 sure et a praetore praeter insignes nobilitate viros sub

cohors praetoria. — in Siciliam: i.e. the western part, to which he was to sail.
10. volentibus: probably dative, in imitation of the Greek idiom; cf. 11. profecti: for the gender and number see Gr. 187. 6. n. — pugna-12 tum: sc. esse. — accepere, heard (the news).

cruise of the Roman Fleet.
Sempronius hastens to Scipio.

51. a Carthaginiensibus: Malta was not ceded to the Romans in 241 B.C.

2. milibus: governed by cum, paulo minus being parenthetical; see 29. 3 n. — traditur: by a kind of zeugma, middle with Hamilcar, but passive with oppidum. — a consule, etc.: depending on venie-13 runt (see Gr. 246. a), but since each commander sold his own prisoners, the idea 'of the consul,' etc., is suggested.— praeter, etc.: the most distinguished were held as a kind of hostages. — sub corona venie-14 runt, were sold at auction. Cato and other Romans derived the phrase from the garlands (coronae) worn by captives to be sold into slavery; others from the cordon (corona) of soldiers about the captives (Aul. Gell. VI. 4).

52. Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virium erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis

3. postquam . . . censebat: the rare imperfect after postquam, on account of the force of the tense, not on account of the relation of the verb to the main clause; cf. 12. 4 n. and see Gr. 324. a. — nec, yet . . . not; there is a thought implied, 'the report was not confirmed, nor,' etc.; see Harv. Stud., Vol. II., p. 129 seq.

4. urbem: i.e. Vibo.

5. repetenti: i.e. from the Vulcanian islands. — de . . . et ut, reporting . . . and ordering him.

6. Ariminum: in order to join his colleague by the easier though longer route.

7. ipse, etc.: the army was sent on in advance, while the consul remained to take measures to secure Sicily. — inde, etc.: probably by the line of communication where thirty years later the Aemilian Road ran, through Bologna, Modena, Parma, and Piacenza. — ad Trebiam: see 49. 1.

THE BATTLE OF THE TREBIA.

52. iam ambo consules, etc., the fact that, etc.; see Gr. 292. a. — oppositum: agreeing with the nearest noun, though belonging also to consules; see Gr. 187. a. 1.
declarabat. Tamen consul alter equestri proelio uno et vulnere suo minutus trahi rem malebat; recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incoebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praedia militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populi omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros declinant legatisque ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Corneli nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa

2. tamen: i.e. notwithstanding the obvious consideration that they must conquer here if anywhere. — minutus, weakened, dispirited. The MSS. have et minutus, suggesting that something has fallen out. — recentis: i.e. integri, not affected by any reverses. — ferocior, more confident, as often. — patiebatur, could brook; see Gr. 277. g.

3. quod inter, etc.: this expression implies that the Romans were encamped on the east bank of the Trebia and that the fight took place on the left bank; for, as the Trebia flows somewhat northeast and the course of the Po also is here somewhat north of east, there would be no land between the two rivers except on the west. The position of Clastidium (48. 9) and the apparently unopposed junction of Scipio with Scipio (51. 7) favor the same view. Livy's account (cf. cc. 47, 48, 56) is hopelessly confusing. — per ambiguum favorem, while favoring both parties. — spectantes, who were aiming at.

4. modo ne, provided only ... not; see Gr. 314. a. — moverent: sc. Galli. — accitum: see 29. 6; the emphasis makes this the important part of the statement, 'that it was at their request,' or 'that he had been called in,' etc.

5. eam iram, anger at this, according to the regular idiom; cf. quo metu, 5. 4 n. — deinceps, in succession; see 8. 5 n.

6. ad id: sc. temporis. — futuros, those who would be.

7. agendae rei, of taking action. — cum ... tum: introducing as usual the general and particular. —
facinora tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recen-
tem Boiorum perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis
in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguis-
sent ope, defensos censebat. Is tum collega cunctante
equitatum suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme ad-
mixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam
mittit. Sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc gravis praeda
plerosque cum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem
daemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hos-
tium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus sub-
sidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna
sequentes cedentesque cum ad extremum aequassent
certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos
58 fama victoriae fuit. Ceterum nemini omnium maior ea
iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua
parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicisset:

ut, although; Gr. 313. a. — recentem, etc.: see 25. 2.
8. continendis: the dative of the end with gerundives, though
restricted in the earlier Latin, is
coming more and more into use;
see Gr. 299. — primos defensores,
the support of the first; see 1. 5 n.;
we should expect primos defendere,
but Livy mixes the act in the doing
with the example or effect after the
act is done. — censebat: this for-
mal word suggests a regular council
of war.
9. ferme, most of them, the de-
scription of the kind being inserted
parenthetically. — trans Trebiam:
i.e. according to the most probable
view, to the west.
10. sparsos: the Carthaginian
foragers. — stationes: the outposts
of the enemy at their camp. —
unde: i.e. from the camp. — rur-
sus: a third moment, the arrival of
Roman reinforcements.

II. sequentes cedentesque: an emendation of the impossible
sequentesque. — caedes, penes:
Madvig’s suggestion for filling the
evident gap in the text.

Effect of the Cavalry Skirmish.
58. ceterum: in allusion to
fama, etc., above. — ca: sc. victo-
ria, — iustior, more complete, prop-
erly, ‘fulfilling all requirements.’
— consuli: Sempronius, the one
who was engaged in the contest.
— qua parte, etc.: i.e. the cavalry,
in which the enemy were so much
superior. — se vicisset: if the verb
of emotion (gaudio efferri) is prac-
tically a verb of saying or thinking,
the infinitive is preferred to a quod
clause. But here, too, Livy uses
the infinitive more freely than any
previous prose writer; see 10. 11;
50. 8; XXII. 14. 7; 59. 10.
restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter conlegam qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrire. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum exspectari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos. 'Quantum ingemiscant' inquit 'patres nostri, circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventis intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpis Appennimunque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse?' Haec adsidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope continentabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differre-

2. dilatam: for this idiomatic construction after verbs of wishing, see Gr. 292. d. N. — senescendum: i.e. lose one’s vigor; Livy is fond of this metaphor: *senescere civitatem*, I. 22. 2; *Hannibalem ipsum et fama senescere et viribus*, XXIX. 3. 3. differri: rhetorical question in indirect discourse; see Gr. 338; for the impersonal use of the verb, cf. 21. 2. 4. cis Hiberum Hispaniam: cf. *pugna ad Trebiam*, 15. 6 n. — pelli: conative present, *were being driven*, i.e. the effort was being made. 5. ingemiscant: we should expect the imperfect, as contrary to fact, but the case is treated rhetorically as a possible one, just as in English either construction may be used. — circa, etc.: in harmony with the tone of the speech; only the army of Regulus had approached Carthage, and it was speedily defeated. — suae: the emphatic position continues the emphasis of *Poenum*. 6. adsidens, at the bedside of: an almost technical word for attending on the sick. — continentabundus: i.e. addressing the soldiers; the idea is that he said these things so freely that a crowd gathered and so, as if in a meeting, he tried to prejudice the soldiers against his colleague; for the adjective see 36. 1 n. — stimulabat: notice the emphasis. — ne, for fear that, as there is an idea of fear implied in the main clause. — in novos consules, to the next official year; the evil effects of frequent change of magistrates and the consequent jealousy
tur et occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae dum aeger collega erat. Itaque nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propinquum certamen milites iubet.

Hannibal, cum quid optimum foret hosti cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque impovide quicquam consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat.

Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum melior rem ex ducibus inutilem vulner faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam quanto longius ab domo traherentur.

Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda quae vellet tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.

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

of successors in office are noticeable in Roman history. — *erat*: instead of the usual present with *dum* on account of a kind of contrast of times; *i.e.* 'before he got well'; Gr. 276. c. N.

7. *itaque nequiquam*, etc.: the emphasis gives a force like, 'And so, in spite of the vain remonstrances of Scipio.' — *foret*: see 21. 1 n.

10. *segnius*, *less eagerly*. — *ab domo*: the preposition is regular with *longe* and *prope*.


**THE BATTLE OF THE TRENIA.**

54. *in medio*: between Hannibal's camp and the Trebia. — *rivus*: it is impossible to tell which of the many water-courses of the region is meant. — *inculta ferme*: as usual such ravines are waste land.

— *equites quoque*: *i.e.* not merely for foot-soldiers, but deep enough for both man and horse.
ipse oculis perlustravit, 'Hic erit locus' Magoni fratrum, ait 'quem teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est.' Ita praetorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. 'Robora vironum cerno' inquit Hannibal; 'sed uti numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singuli vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligite. Mago locum monstrabit quem insideatis: hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis.' Ita mille equitibus mille peditibus dimissis Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praecipit ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum exspectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum iam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque

gendo: probably the only instance in prose Latin of a gerund in the dative with an object; see Roby, 1382. — Magoni: 47. 4.
2. centenos: i.e. a hundred from each arm.
3. praetorium, the council (of war); so called from the place where it was usually held, though here it must be supposed that the council was held in the field on the spot. — robora vironum, a picked body, the choicest troops; cf. robore peditum, 34. 5. — turmis manipulisque: Roman technical terms, and a chiastic variation on pedite atque equite, 2. — caecum ad artem: cf. ad artes rudis, 25. 6.
4. iniecto, having set on foot; but the word is used as with cupidio, metus, and similar words. — citra: from Hannibal's point of view.
5. tumultum, sudden attack. — ferox, confident, from his previous success. — ad destinatum... consilio, for the purpose already settled in his mind.
interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludium praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat et, quidquid aurae fluminis appropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis. Vt vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt — et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbri —, tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et procedente iam die fame etiam deficerere. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostis nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baliare locat ante signa, levem armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in

8. ad hoc: *i.e.* in addition to the effect of the severe weather. — ope: perhaps such as the use of fire, as well as oil; see 55, 1. — quidquid appropinquabant, *as fast as, whatever advance they made.* — acrior: because of the comparative idea implied in the first clause.

9. ut vero: the formal climax; cf. *tum vero.* — erat, reached, the cause being given in *aucta,* etc. — utique: a kind of correction of the preceding: 'the extreme of cold came when they entered the water; at any rate, after they came out they were almost frozen.' — procedente iam, beginning to get on.

HANNIBAL COMES OUT TO BATTLE.

55. 2. locat: the change of subject is abrupt and perhaps occasioned by the emphasis given to Hannibal in the preceding. — ante signa: Livy uses the regular Roman expression, and probably so far the tactics of the two armies were nearly alike; cf. *per manipulos,* 1. — levem armaturam: it seems from this apposition and from the statements in 6 and 9 that the Balearians included all the light armed; the number (8,000) is surprisingly large, and perhaps *et* has fallen out before levem. — dein, *next in order;* the local sense is unusual; cf. *deinde,* XXII. 4. 2. — quod, etc., *the strength and stay of his army;* twenty thousand, according to Polybius. — in cornibus: the regular place for cavalry. — ab cornibus, etc.: *i.e.* from the regular wings outward to lengthen the line; cf. *eminentes,* etc., 7.
utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentis equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est. Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua levis armatura est, quae res effecit ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur. Nam cum vix iam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obrutis sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentis Poenus paulo ante curatis corporibus in proelium attulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis si cum pedite solum foet pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite iaculabantur in latera et elephanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese intulerant.

3. resistentibus, stopping their flight. — excipere: i.e. they were caught and cut off from the main body in their detached and irregular pursuit.

4. Romana: we should expect Romanorum; cf. milia armatorum fortia, XXII. 60. 20. — nominis Latini: this term included those who had the qualified Roman citizenship, originally given to residents of towns in Latium. — Cenomanorum: living about Brixia and Verona. They were at feud with their neighbors and so likely to be on the side of the Romans.

5. maiore, too great, for them to withstand.

6. quae . . . ut, and the result of this manoeuvre was that. — fessi integris: the ill-matched physical condition of the combatants is added chiastically to their unequal numbers. — plerisque: all except the original skirmishers, the Numidians. — insuper, besides. — coniecta: strictly the participle should agree with iaculorum.

8. animis, by sheer courage, notwithstanding their physical condition.

9. in mediam . . . aciem: they
et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvisa praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime praeter spem omnium adversus elephantos. Eos velites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, 56 fodiebant. Trepidantisque et prope iam in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam eoque novus terror additus Romanis ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alia evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere et, cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis neque prae imbri satis decernere pos- sent qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpsti sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, ali vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere, aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et

had apparently advanced obliquely, and were now concentrated on the infantry in the centre.

Rout of the Romans.

56. 2. in orbem: the accusative on account of the double idea of forming a circle and fighting in it.

3. imibri: the first mention of this circumstance; cf. 6. — Placentiam, etc.: throughout this chapter Livy apparently feels that the battle was fought on the east side of the Trebia, or that Placentia was on the west side; see 52. 3 n.
5. contendere: perfect.
6. homines: i.e. Carthaginians.
iumenta et elephantos prope omnis absumpsit. Finis 7 insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium 8 castrorum et quod reliquum ex fuga semerium ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri 9 nequibant prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimilarunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiecto Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est ut iam 57 ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse quo portis moenibusque vim arcerent: uno consule ad Ticinum 2 victo alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulisibus, duobus consularibus exercitus victis, quos alias duces, quas alias legiones esse quae arcessantur? Ita territis 3 Sempronius consul adventit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falle-

—— prope omnes: Polybius (III. 74) says that all but one perished; see 58. 11.

8. itaque, etc.: the consequence of torpentes gelu, and the implied demoralization. This night scene is not mentioned in Polybius, and the items seem very improbable,—the prompt securing of the rafts, the strange inactivity of Hannibal, and the sudden appearance of the wounded Scipio.—ex fuga semerium: a conjecture of Luchs. Something is needed with ex magna parte.

9. dissimilarunt, pretended not to. — Scipione: Sempronius is not mentioned, but is presumed to be already at Placentia; hence duorum.

ALARM IN ROME. HANNIBAL'S WINTER MOVEMENTS.

57. Romam: for the emphatic position cf. in Italiam, 25. 1 n.—iam, next; i.e. after his successes against the protecting armies.

2. revocatum: see 51. 5.

3. Sempronius, etc.: this journey of the consul is mentioned only by Livy; cf. 15. 6.
4 ret, transgressus, inde, quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis in hiberna reedit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminianus.

5 Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque iis impeditione erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli oppugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat iussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi. Equestre interim proelium commissum; in quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus inieicto defensum egregie praesidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato vulnere ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde

4. quod unum: referring to comitiis . . . habitis. — consules: for the official year beginning in March, 217 B.C. — Flaminianus: as he had been consul in 223 B.C., iterum would regularly be added.

5. Celtiberis, etc.: because these were more accustomed to a rough country.

6. emporium: probably a fortified harbor or port on the river.

7. consul: probably Scipio, though he was last heard of at Cremona. The return of Sempronius from Rome is first given at 59. 2. — quadrato agmine: see 5. 16 n.

8. saucius: Hannibal's second wound; see 7. 10.

9. Victumulas: cf. 45. 3. — ire pergit, he hurries on; a favorite phrase in Livy, implying haste and energy, and regularly in the historical present.

10. emporium, storehouse for supplies; see the same word in 6 in a different relation. — Gallico bello: the desperate effort in 225-222 B.C. of Gauls from both sides of the Alps to invade central Italy, which ended with the capture of Mediolanum (Milan) by Cn. Scipio and the planting of Roman colonies at Cremona and Placentia. —
locum frequentaverant accolae mixti undique ex finiti-
mis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex 
agris compulerat. Huius generis multitudo fama im-
pigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa armis ar-
reptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam 
acies in via concurrerunt, et cum ex altera parte nihil 
praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi 
et miles duci fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum 
a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praesidium 
inha moenia accepere; iussisse arma tradere cum dicto 
paruissent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam 
vi captam urbem diripere. Neque ulla quae in tali re 
memorabilis scribentibus videri solet praeterrmissa clades 
est: adeo omne libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae 
superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere 
hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora 
erant, quies militi data est; et ad prima ac dubia signa 
veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quo-

frequentaverant, had increased the population.— tum: i.e. at this particular time, in contrast with the general statement which precedes. 12. agmina, columnis; cf. XXXIII. 9 phalanx, agmen magis quam acies aptiorque itineris quam 
pugnae. — in via: i.e. without waiting to form.

14. scribentibus, historians; cf. rerum scriptores, I. I, and see pugnantium, 29. 2 n. — clades, outrage; properly, injury to person and property. — omne, etc., every species of, etc., was practiced; properly, 'an example of every cruelty was displayed,' i.e. the case was extreme enough to serve as a precedent and warning. — adeo: see 11. 1 n. Compare Hannibal's treatment of prisoners in 48. 10.

HANNIBAL ATTEMPTS THE APENNINES.

Polybius says nothing of the events narrated in 58 and 59.— Hannibal's attempt to cross the Apennines, the cavalry battle, and the march of Sempronius to Lucca. It is difficult to justify the reported movements of Hannibal and Sempronius, nor is it credible that what is said of Hannibal could have taken place between the signa veris (58. 2) and the start for Etruria in XXII. 1 (iam ver appeterbat). The withdrawal of Sempronius to Lucca (59. 10) can hardly be reconciled with the statements in 63. 1 and 15.

58. erant: see note on ducetur, 25. 11.

2. ducit, began his march (con-
que gentem, sicut Gallos Ligureseque, aut vi aut voluntate adiuncturus. Transseuntem Appenninum adeo atroc adorta tempestas est ut Alpium prope foeditatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra ententes vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere; dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere. Tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo quo deprensi erant loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento, cum super gelida montium iuga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis deiecit ut omnibus omis-
sis procumberent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est ut ex illa 9 miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpenti-bus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, 10 ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi man- sere. Multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra mo- 59 vit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul — iam enim redierat 2 ab Roma — detractavit certamen. Atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere; postero die in- gentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra perseverentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal 4 paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum

omissis: i.e. chiefly the tents which they were trying to set up.

9. strage, heap, i.e. the whole army prostrate on the ground.
10. movere ac recipere: sc. coeperunt, anticipated from est coeptus. — ad alienam opem, to the others for help.
11. septem: cf. 56. 6; XXII. 2.
10.

A CAVALRY SKIRMISH.

59. ad (decem): cf. 22. 3 n. — milia (progressus): without passuum, as occasionally in other writers; hence our 'mile,' though the distance is somewhat greater, while 'pace' is a single step, not a double one, like passus: cf. momento without temporis, 14. 3.

3. ingentibus animis, etc.: the account reads like a pure fabrication.

4. confertos: i.e. ita ut conferti essent. — media castra: Hannibal's camp is conceived of as laid out like the Roman camp; so in 6, below.
Ad erumpendum exspectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei hora erat cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra laevaque emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla saeva aut utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset: nox accensum ingentiibus animis proelium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam caedes et, sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit; sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfeci. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucamcessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

6. laxatam (sc. esse), slackened.
— dextra laevaque: cf. media, 4.

7. saeva aut: a conjecture from the MS. aequa aut; other suggestions are aequa aut and varia et.

8. accensum: cf. accensa, 58. 6.
— dimidium eius, half that, just as in English.

9. maior, etc.: i.e. the quality of the loss was out of proportion to its amount.— quam pro: see 29. 2 n.
— equestris ordinis: i.e. knights proper (equites quo publico) who in earlier times had constituted the whole cavalry. Strictly speaking, there was no ordemque equester before the legislation of Gaius Gracchus in 123 B.C.

10. secundum, immediately after; Livy is exceptionally fond of this preposition in its temporal sense.— Lucam: in the valley of the Serchio, on the southern slope of the mountains, in the same general depression as the Arno (Leghorn, Pisa, Florence). If this is true, Sempronius thus abandoned the country north of the Apenines and guarded the roads through Etruria.— traduntur: by the Ligurians, who had in some unexplained manner captured them.
Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in 60
Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab ostio 2
Rhodani prefectus Pyrenaesarque montes circumvectus
Emporias adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu orsus 3
a Laetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen,
partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituen-
dis, Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae 4
fama non ad maritimos modo populos sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes
valuit; nec pax modo apud eos sed societas etiam armo-
rum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliarum cohortes ex
iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum provincia 5
erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesi-
dium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam
eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis in
acem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen vi-
sum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi
dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separa-
tim quam adversus duo simul rem gerere. Nec magni 7

Nothing is said of their subsequent fate.

SCIPIO, HANNO, AND HASDRUBAL
IN SPAIN.

60. Scipio: cf. 32. 3. — Scipio
... fecit: an admirable example of
a Latin period, and of the function
of participles, conjunctions, and
gerundives to express what is prepara-
tory and subordinate to the main
fact.

2. Emporias: as its name indi-
cates, this was a Greek city, the
chief port for voyagers from the
East to that part of Spain; it is
the modern Ampurias.

3. Laetanis: the MSS. have
Lacetanis, but this people dwelt
inland at the foot of the Pyrenees
(23. 2).

4. inde: i.e. by his conduct on
that occasion. — clementiae: as
the best MSS. have clementiaeque,
either some word like sustitiae has
fallen out, or the que has crept in
by some blunder. — iam: with the
idea of continual increase of sav-
ageness as you go back from the
cost.

5. provincia: see 5. 1 n. — ali-
enarentur: subjunctive on account
of the idea of purpose involved
(‘before they should be,’ ‘to pre-
vent their being’). — eduxit: used
absolutely, as in 39. 10; cf. movit,
32. 1 n.

6. Hasdrubale: who was in
command west of the Ebro.
certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex milia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praeсидio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, ex pugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica, ac vilium mancipiorum; castra militem ditavere, non eius modo exercitus qui victus erat, sed et eius qui cum Hannibalem in Italia militabant, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyreneaeum relictis.

61 Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amisaque castra acceptit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantisque per agros, quod ferme fit ut secundae res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, maiore fuga ad naves compellit; nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprime-

7. cum (praesidio), in addition to. — nam: i.e. 'I say the garrison of the camp, for they took that too.' — dux cum ... capiuntur: cf. filiam cum filio accitos, XLV. 28. 11. A plural verb after a singular subject followed by cum is occasionally found in nearly all writers except Caesar; Cicero has two instances, Phil. XII. 11. 27 and ad Fam. XIV. 7. 2.

8. rerum, mancipiorum: predicate genitives of material after fuit, joined with the predicate nominative supellex. — fuit, consisted of. Notice the variety of genitives and of predicate constructions in this paragraph.

9. castra: the emphatic position gives the contrast without any particle. — exercitus: to be joined with caris rebus (valuables). — gravia ... ferentibus: i.e. as they would be if the soldiers carried them. — citra: from the point of view of the army when it began its march.

61. accideret: cf. 10. 12. — mille equitum: in the singular mille is usually an adjective; cf. XXII. 31. 5; 37. 8. — tamquam ... occursurus: see 4. 10 n. and 18. 4 n.

2. classicos ... socios, marines and crews. — quod, etc., as it usually happens that, etc.: quod loosely refers to the idea in vagos, etc., and has the ut clause in explanatory apposition.
retur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad 4 famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, præsidió Tarracone modico relictó Emporías cum classe rediit. Vixdum 5 digressó eo Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis socio-rum vastát. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis 6 Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio reliquit ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu in-vasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrīm urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsedit intraque dies paucos 7 pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in 8 Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilio finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul iam urbe, cum intrare vellent, exceptis insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim milia; 9 exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio 10 fuit per quos raro unquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit; adeoque plateos ac vineas Romanorum ope-ruerat ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo, cum Amusicus 11 princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti ar-

4. *animadvertisset*: *i.e.* he punished them for their negligence in allowing the straggling.
5. *Ilergetum*: the location of these tribes, and in fact the topography of the campaign, is not very certain nor, indeed, important.—*ipsorum*: the pronoun emphasizes the treachery of the Ilergetes.
6. *cis Hiberum . . . agro*: see 15. 6 n.
8. *ferentes*: *i.e.* qui ferre vole-bant (conative). — *procul urbe*: see 5. 8 n.
9. *duodecim milia*: it is in-credible that so many tried to enter, unnoticed, a beleaguered town. — *exuti, throwing off*: the force is
genti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

62 Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt, in quis ingenuum infantern semestrem in foro holitorio triumphum clamasse, et in foro boario bovim in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecssse, et navium speciem de caelo adfulisse, et aedem Spei, quae est in foro holitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvi hastam se commovisse et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinario consedisse, et in agro Amiternino multis locis humomin speciei profecta veste visos nec cumullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum vigili gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire de-

that of the middle voice, as in de-
duntur, 11.

11. talents: ablative of price with pacti; cf. XXII. 52. 3.

PORTENTS AND EXPIATIONS IN AND
NEAR ROME.

62. Romae: for the position cf. in Italiarn, 25. 1 n. — temere, thoughtlessly; said of anything not done with due consideration.

2. foro holitorio: the vegetable market was outside the Porta Carmenalis between the Capitoline hill and the Tiber; the cattle market (forum boarium) was southeast of this, toward the Circus Maximus. — triumphum: the cry of the soldiers and people was lo triumphi (Hor. C. IV. 2. 49), hence the word is used as object, like AD ARMA OR ARMA clamare; see 49. 10 n.

4. hastam: probably the spear of Juno, who was worshiped at Lanuvium in a peculiar form armed for battle, in a cult which was closely connected with the Roman religion. — pulvinario: the couch on which the goddess was placed for a lectisternium.

5. hominum speciei: though specie is the ablative of quality, the phrase is, with intentional vagueness, a kind of subject of visos (esse). — lapidibus pluvisse: probably a meteoric shower. — sortes: the little wooden tablets with inscriptions (XXII. 1. 11), which, being put in a jar and drawn out, constituted the regular Italian form of oracular divination. — extenuatas (sc. esse), had shrunk.

6. libros: sc. Sibyllinos. — de-
cemviri iussi; quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Pices novemdiiale sacrum edictum, et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est diis caesae, et dum ex auri pondo quadranginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est, et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae erant, imperatum et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido; Romae quo-

— cemviri: Livy (X. 8. 2) calls them carminum Sibyllae ac fatorum populi hius (sc. Romani) interpretes. — quod, etc.: for this particular portent there was a precedent to follow, even from the days of Tullus Hostilius (I. 31. 4); for all the others (cetera) the sacred books must be consulted. — novemdiiale sacrum: as human efforts depended on the course of nature, which was ordinarily uniform, any disturbance of that uniformity was regarded as indicating the displeasure of the gods. It was all-important that the gods should be appeased by sacrifices, and these were single or continued according to the degree of displeasure as indicated by the magnitude of the occurrence. In this case a nine days’ rite, occupying the Roman week (nundinae), was the regular procuratio, or proper expiation. The precise rites are not known, but the time was a holiday (feriae imperatiae in this case), and probably a sacrifice was offered each day to Jupiter. — subinde, one after the other, in consequence of the number of prodigies; see 20. 8 n. — procurandis: 46. 3 n. — tota civitas: this would seem to indicate that the sacrifices had the nature of the supplicatio, in which all the citizens individually took part, going to the temples with their wives and children and making private sacrifices to their favorite gods. — operata, engaged; a religious word, with a special meaning as a perfect participle (hence fuit) of being occupied in a religious function.

— lustrata: the lustratio consisted in a procession of priests and victims around the spot to be purified, accompanied by sprinklings and prayers and followed by a sacrifice; see I. 44. 2. — maiores: the full-grown victims, which were, of course, more costly; see XXII. 1. 15. — editum est (sc. ut caederentur): i.e. by the decemviri upon an examination of the books.

— pondo: this ablative (in weight) has come, by the omission of a case of libra, to be indeclinable, and itself to mean pounds. — Lanuvium Iunoni: see Gr. 225. b, and cf. 259. h. — matronae: nominative plural; cf. XXII. 1. 18. — in Aventino: evidently this cult was connected with that of Lanuvium. — Fortunae: probably on general principles, as nothing is mentioned concerning her before. This is also the case with Juventas and Hercules. — Algido: a mountain ridge in Latium, where was an old cult of Diana. Perhaps the rites to Fortune were connected with hers, as the most famous temple of Fortune was at Praeneste, not far distant.
que et lecisternium Iuventati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere iussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

63 Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae legiones quae Placentiae hibernabant sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiiis Arimini adset in castris. Hic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum

9. Iuventati: this goddess, one of the vague deities of the Romans called *Indigetes*, was identified with the more anthropomorphic Hebe, and so regarded as the wife of Hercules. — nominatim: in a *supplicatio* the people worshiped not all at the same temples, but at whatever shrine they pleased. Here, however, the express mention of these two divinities would make it obligatory to worship them especially, while general *supplicatio* could be performed at will. — Genio: the protecting divinity of the Roman people, here first mentioned.

10. praetor: because the consuls were in the field. Attilus appears to have returned to Rome after giving his troops to Scipio (39. 3). — vota: what the vow was does not appear. — in decem annos, for the next ten years, as a period to look forward to; cf. *ad quinquennium proximum*, XXII. 10. 2. — stetisset: in the vow steterit; cf. 21. 9.

11. vota: this word had become practically a noun, but here it is joined with *haec* in the same construction as *procurata*; see 1. 5 n. — ex (libris), in accordance with, as often. Here the development of that meaning is plainly seen. — levaverant: taking a new point of view, as, for instance, the time of the *comitia*, which is passed over without mention. — religione, religious fear, i.e. the demoralization connected with the unfavorable omens above mentioned.

C. FLAMINIUS, CONSUL ELECT.

63. alter: his colleague (for the consular year from March 15, 217 B.C.) was Cn. Servilius, the candidate of the aristocracy. — edictum, etc.: it would appear that the consuls elect had certain powers in regard to preparing for their functions, yet it is not safe to take such a time as this as a criterion for the ordinary usage. — ad consulem: apparently Sempronius (15), as Scipio is not mentioned. Nothing, moreover, is said about Sempronius's army being at Lucca (59. 10 n.).

2. hic in provincia, etc.: usually the entrance upon office was made at Rome with special religious ceremonies; cf. 8, below. — memori, etc.: he was afraid of being called
certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat, invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato back or hindered by the hostile senate. — tribunus: he had proposed (B.C. 232) an agrarian law for colonizing Picenum; cf. Cic. Sen. 4. 11. In pursuance of this plan, he later built the great North Road (via Flaminia) to Ariminum. — abrogabatur, it was attempted to annul (B.C. 223), as irregular in respect to religious observances. — triumpho: the Senate tried to prevent his triumph after his campaign against the Insubres (B.C. 223).

3. invisus: carelessly joined with the subject of habuerat instead of agreeing, like memori, with Flaminio implied in consilium erat. — novam, revolutionary; cf. novae res. — legem: probably in 220 B.C., when Flaminiius was censor; it was directed against the greed of the aristocracy, and all commerce on their part. — uno patrum: the ablative with de or ex is much more frequent with unus. — cuive: i.e. a son of a senator, who, after his father’s death, had not yet become a senator. The form of expression is caused by the fact that a son during his father’s life could not strictly hold property; hence filius senatoris would not be exact enough for the law. — maritimam, sea-going; i.e. it was only directed against foreign commerce. — amphorum: the tonnage of vessels was thus measured, an amphora containing a cubic foot of wine, or about seven gallons. Three hundred amphorae would be about seven and one-half tons. These statements ignore the difference between the Roman and English foot.

4. patribus: to be joined with indecorus.

5. auspiciis ementiendis, by falsely pronouncing the omens unfavorable; since nothing could be done without consultation of the auspices, these became a potent instrument of fraud in the hands of the nobility. — Latinum feriarum: the first act of the consul was regularly the ordering of the sacrifice to Jupiter Latialis on Mons Albanus, a delay which Flaminius wished to avoid. — consularibus: i.e. used against consuls. The Ro-
itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo sed iam cum diis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisis ipse et sibi uni invissum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indicaret Iovique Latii sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne auspicio profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exsilii causa solum vertisset. Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum. Revcandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogen-dum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi officius quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti placuit — Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum moverunt quam priore consulatu litterae moverant ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, im-

mams were masters in the arts of filibustering.

7. inauspicato: because there was a flaw in the proceedings.— ex ipsa acie, etc.: Flamininus received the dispatch summoning him to Rome as he was about to fight the Insubres, but he refused to read it till after his victorious engagement. — spretorum (sc. deorum atque hominum): opposed to revocantibus.

8. initi magistratus: see i. 5 n.

9. paludatus: with the paludamentum or scarlet cloak of the general. — lixae: a mere camp follower or sutler. — solum vertisset: a technical term for going into banishment.

11. censuerunt: the formal vote of the senate.
molantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit; fuga procul etiam maior apud ignaros quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis in Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.

13. ei: a good example of the dativus incommodi; see Gr. 235. N. — sese cum proripuisset: always a dire omen.

14. procul: opposed to circumstantes. — etiam maius: i.e. than the facts naturally would cause.

15. legionibus: nothing is said about new levies, which no doubt were made, nor how Sempronius came from Lucca. The whole differs from Polybius’ account, and is extremely confused in itself. — exercitus, etc.: as Flamininus, and not the army, is the proper subject of acceptis, we should expect exercitum ducere coepit. The book ends with a confusion of grammar as well as of history.
TITI LIVI

AB VRBE CONDITA

LIBER XXII.

1 Iam ver adpetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, postquam, pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premi-que utriusque partis exercituum hibernis viderent, ver-
terunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate qua consenserant consensum indicantium, ser-

HANNIBAL STARTS FOR ETRURIA.

PRODIGIES AT ROME.

1. Iam . . . itaque: cf. 19. 11. —ver: as opposed to prima ac dubia signa veris, XXI. 58. 2. But Livy probably took this part from another source which did not mention either the earlier attempt or the wintering in the Ligurian country; in that case the clause nequiquam, etc., may be one of our author's favorite additions to conceal the joints. —movit: see XXI. 32. 1 n.—et . . . et, on the one hand . . . and on the other; as often in Latin, the co-ordinate propositions are opposed with some more intimate relation implied. —cum ingenti periculo: the choice and position of the adjective and the insertion of the prepo-
sition give great emphasis to the phrase.

2. Galli, etc.: explaining the preceding statement. —pro eo ut, instead of; the expression occurs only here. —viderent: the sub-
junctive with postquam, after the analogy of cum, is so extremely rare that most editors read videre; but see Gr. 324 b; Kühner, Lat. Gr. 208; Hale, Cum-constructions, p. 246.

3. petitus: sc. Hannibal. Livy is less careful than earlier writers about changing the subject suddenly. —servatus erat: the pluperfect in reference to the point of time as-

assumed above, the moment of de-
vatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum 4 hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hi-
bernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus Martis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettu-
lisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a 6 domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncu-
parture. — nunc . . . nunc: first found in Lucretius (II. 131), and in prose in Livy. — tegumenta capitis, wigs, according to Polybius III. 78. — errore: i.e. by creating uncertainty about his person. Such confounding of subjective and objective phases of an idea are common in Latin. One man’s uncertainty is the other’s deceit.

4. ceterum: i.e. he had succeeded in escaping, but still his fear was a factor in his determination to move. — hic: i.e. harum insidi-
arum; cf. is favo, XXI. 46. 7 n. — idibus Martibus: at this time the beginning of the political year, though by the confusion in the cal-
endar it came about two months too early.

5. ibi cum, etc.: at the first meeting of the senate according to the regular order of business; cf. 9. 7, where, however, the first rela-
tio, namely de religione, is mentioned. Probably here both ques-
tions were so closely bound together that it made no difference which came first. — iustum, regular: in that he had withdrawn without the due formalities, the lex curiata de imperio and the others mentioned in the following. — redintegrata,

etc.: see XXI. 63. 6. — auspicium: the immediate communication with the gods expressed in the auspices, which passed from one representa-
tive of the populus Romanus to another, but only, as in all Roman affairs, through the regular cere-
monies therefor provided. — esse: the usual infinitive in rhetorical questions, depending, like the other infinitives, on the idea of saying or thinking implied in invidia.

6. magistratus: i.e. only magis-
trates duly inducted. — id: sc. aus-
picium: the main thing without which there could be no iustum imperium, in the religious sense. — a domo: inasmuch as all the pro-
cedings mentioned must be per-
formed at Rome, and could not be done abroad, and at the same time were necessary conditions to the possession of the auspices. — publicis: just as each house had its household gods, so the great house-
hold, the state, had divinities of the same sort. — privatis: certain cere-
monies were performed by the con-
sul in his own house before proceed-
ing in his robes of state to enter upon his office. — Latinis feriis: see XXI. 63. 5 n. — votis: the first rite of the consul was to proceed from his
7 patis secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquid spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigiliae equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum, et Praeneste ardentes lapides caelo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in caelo visas pugnantemque cum luna solem, et Capenae duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretis sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis, et Antii metentibus cruendas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum findi velut magno hiatu visum quaque patuerit ingens lumen effusisse, sortes sua sponte adtenuatas unamque excidisse ita scriptam ‘Mavors telum suum concutit,’ et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli house (privatis penatibus) to the Capitol and there offer a sacrifice to Jupiter. — ferre: opposed to sequi.

7. privatum: opposed to magistratus. — sine auspiciis, etc.: i.e. without the sacred rites that established the mystic relation between the commander and the gods. The whole religious system of the Romans is full of these ritualistic ideas, and is the chief source and model of all later ritualism. — in externo, etc.: i.e. the place, as well as the forms of the rites, was all-important, an idea consonant with the whole ritualistic conception. — nova atque integra, anew from the beginning: independently of all the history of the city from its foundation by auspices (augurate). — concipere: a technical expression including all the preliminary proceedings of augural consecration and the like.

8. augebant, etc.: here Livy, as often, makes the connection with what is implied rather than with what is said. The religious alarm is implied in the hostile speeches made in the senate, though only the invisidia is expressly mentioned. The whole account, without going into details, shows the character of the early Roman religion; cf. notes on XXI. 62.

11. sortes: see XXI. 62. 5 n. — sua sponte: i.e. without any apparent cause.

12. via: Livy uses the ablative of ‘place where’ without a preposition more freely than the earlier
ardentis fuisset lunaque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde 13 minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut erant nuntiata, 14 expositis auctoribusque in curiam introductis consul de religione patres consuluit. Decretum, ut ea prodigia 15 partim maioribus hostiis partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, cum decemviri libris inspexissent, 16 ut ita fieren quem ad modum cordi esse divis e carminaibus praefarentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, 17 Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, et Iunoni Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur, et Iunoni Reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrifacaretur, matronaeque pecunia 18 conlata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni Reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisternium fieren, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae donum darent, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembriam mense pro se writers; cf. montibus, 4. 6; campis, 43. 10; tumulis, XXI. 32. 13.

13. minoribus, etc.: see XXI. 62 with notes. — lanatas: instead of the natural hair (pili).

14. auctoribus, witnesses; the authority for the occurrence. — de religione: cf. 5 n.

15. maioribus, supplicatio: see notes on XXI. 62. 7 and 9.

16. decemviri libros, etc.: see XXI. 62. 6 n.—carminibus: sc. of the libri Sibyllini. Little is known of the source and character of the contents of these books, but they seem to have been written in Greek hexameters.

17. pondo: see XXI. 62. 8 n. — Iunoni Minervaeque: these two goddesses were combined with Jove in the Capitoline cult.

18. pecunia: such voluntary contributions (stipes) were not uncommon in the Roman worship. Pieces of money were even offered to the divinities of rivers and springs by being thrown into the water, and considerable deposits of such offerings have been found intact. — et ipsae, also; i.e. they as well as the matrons. — unde = ex qua (sc. pecunia); see XXI. 10. 9 n. — Feroniae: see I. 30. 5 n.

19. iam: i.e. in treating the re-
ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lecsternium-que imperatum — et eum lectum senatores straverunt — et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat, cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propriorem viam per paludes petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros et omne veterani robur exercitus admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit, sequi Gallos, ut id agmi-

igious observances all together, Livy comes finally to the last month in the year (217 B.C.) in which, as the time of the Saturnalia, a special offering was made to Saturn.—lec-sternium: usually only to Greek divinities, but here to those of Rome by some identification of native and foreign deities. — straverunt: i.e. at their own expense. — convivium: i.e. a general feast like a barbecue, in which all the people joined. — Saturnalia: not now established for the first time, but probably enlarged and made more binding. — clamata: the whole people, slaves and all, ran about crying, Io Saturnalia; cf. Macrobius, I. 10. 18 quo solo die (i.e. Dec. 19) apud aedem Saturni convivio dissoluto Saturnalia clamitabantur.

HANNIBAL IN THE MARSHES OF THE ARNO.

2. dilectu: dative; cf. exercitus, II. 5. — profectus, etc.: the same event as in 1, i, but resumed after the digression about the omens.— Arretium: see XXI. 15. 6. 2. longius, etc.: some route farther down the valley of the Po, as by Mutina or Bononia. — propriorem, etc.: what route is uncertain. There are several gaps in the Apennines by which Hannibal might have gone, but he seems to have come out of the marshes at Faesulae. The movement was apparently a surprise to the Romans, who expected him to follow them up as he had done before. His object was perhaps to rouse a rebellion of the various nations of Italy and only to fight under circumstances where he could gain the prestige of victory. — solito: this ablative after a comparative first appears in prose in Livy; cf. 14. 2; it is frequent in Ovid.

3. et omne, and in fact the whole; robur includes Hispanos et Afros. — admixtis, etc.: not, as was often the case, with the whole baggage train in the rear. — coactis: i.e. in case they were, etc. — agminis medium: see XXI. 33. 7 n.—
nis medium esset, novissimos ire equites, Magonem 4
inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gal-
os, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia
gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, 5
qua modo praecirent duces, per praealtas fluvii ac pro-
fundas voragines hausti paene limoimmergentesque se
tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se pro-
lapsi neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant neque
aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa 7
aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis taedio
animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia pas-
sim morientes; maximeque omnium vigiliae conficiebant
per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum om-
nia obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent
corpora, inveniri possis, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insu-
per incumbebant aut iumentorum itinere toto prostra-
torum passim acervi tantum quod exstaret aqua

equites, i.e. apparently his heavy
cavalry, as opposed to the light
(expeditis Numidis).

4. mollis : i.e. without endur-
ance, easily discouraged under diffi-
culties; cf. XXI. 25. 6. — talia:
referring to the implied difficulties
of the march. — dilaberentur: i.e.
slip away and desert. — subsis-
trent: i.e. refuse in a body to go
on. — cohibentem: a conative
present equivalent to a future, and
hence naturally having the prothesis
si dilaberentur, etc.; cf. orantes,
XXI. 6. 2 n.

5. primi: i.e. the veterans. —
qua modo, etc.: i.e. anywhere,
providing only their leaders would
go ahead, hence the subjunctive
praecirent. — hausti, etc.: the two
expressions seem pleonastic, but the
first may express the first plunge,
and the second the later progress
in wallowing through. In a pic-
turesque writer like Livy the vivid
effect is often produced by dwelling
on one thing in several of its aspects.

6. sustinere, etc.: i.e. keep them-
selves from falling when they once
slipped; cf. XXI. 35. 12. — adsur-
gere: i.e. find a firmer footing by
getting out of a hole.

7. aegre, etc.: i.e. dragging
along without energy or spirit, as
opposed to those who gave up en-
tirely. — procubuissent: iterative
subjunctive; see XXI. 4. 4 n. —
conficiebant, exhausted them; cf.
‘done up.’

8. sarcinis, individual luggage;
i.e. the arms, tools, clothing, food,
cooking utensils, etc., which were
made up into bundles, attached to
poles (‘muli Mariani’), and car-
rried on the shoulders. The collect-
tive baggage (impedimenta), tents,
engines of war, etc., was carried on
pack-animals and in wagons. — tan-
quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium 10 cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, aeger oculis ex verna
primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto,
qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua extareat, vectus,
vigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo gra-
vante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat,
altero oculo capitur.

8 Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tan-
dem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit,
castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores
habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse.
2 Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum
itineraque et copias ad commenat expeditiones et cetera,
quaes cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura in-
quirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiea
fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque
iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum
tum quod extareat aqua, merely
an elevation above the water; i.e.
not expecting any place fit to lie
down in, but merely to be out of
water.

10. primum: the deinde is want-
ing, but would belong with ele-
phanto, etc. It is crowded out by
the tamen.— variante, changing
from . . . to. — unus: cf. XXI. 58. 11 n.

11. tamen: i.e. though he rode
high up on an elephant, yet he
could not escape the effect of
the malarial atmosphere (caelo)
of the marsh air. — gravante, affect-
ing; properly, making (it) worse.
— altero, one (of two), as often; cf.
Nepos, Hann. 4 adeo gravi
morbo adfectur oculorum ut posse
unquam dextra aequo bene usus
sit; Juv. 10. 157 o qualis facies et
quali digna tabella, cum Gaetula
ducem portaret belua luscum.— capitur: cf. capti auribus et oculis,
XXI. 58. 5; captus omnibus mem-
bris, II. 36. 8.

THE POSITION OF THE TWO
ARMIES.

8. 2. consilia . . . exsequebat
ur: an admirable illustration of
Hannibal’s habit and an explanation
of his great successes. — atque, et,
—que, et: for the arbitrary use of
the conjunctions, cf. XXI. 16. 2 n.
— animum, disposition; i.e. how
he was likely to act, as opposed to
his definite plans (consilia). —
copias: i.e. the resources for pro-
visioning his army. — inquirendo
exsequebatur: a little stronger than
inquirebat alone.

3. regio, etc.: giving in irregu-
lar order the details which Han-
nibal discovered. — et omnium
rerum: see 2. 3 n.
opulentii; consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo 4 legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio eius temperatatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicosque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem 5 ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum; quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus parat, et laeva relicito hoste Faesulas petens, medio 6 Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminiius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse 7 quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorun ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italiana vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa 8 suadentibus, collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exer-

4. ferox, etc.: cf. XXI. 63. 2 et seq. The word expresses both confidence and aggressiveness. — ab: with the common idea of post hoc ergo propter hoc. — non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem: if these words have a common predicate, placed in the second clause, the negation in ne . . . quidem belongs to the first clause as well, and thus non modo means not only not. — legum: as passed by the people. — patrum: i.e. the auctoritas of the senate as distinguished from absolute laws. — insitam: i.e. natural to him in any case, even without his previous success. — civilibus: his various political measures, such as the assignment of the Gallic territory, and his famous Flaminiun Road and Circus. — bellicos: his victory over the Insulrians in 223 B.C. — rebus: ablative of respect.

5. satis apparebat, it was pretty clear. — agitare, bai; referring, like the English word, to the hunting of animals.

6. Faesulas petens: this can hardly be correct, as Arretium would not be on Hannibal’s left. He must have gone southerly to the west of Arretium.

7. quieturus erat, would have, etc., the protasis being contained in quieto hoste. — vero: like ‘you may be sure,’ indicating the determining circumstance. — iam: i.e. he had got so far as that, when he ought to have been stopped in the beginning.

8. ceteris omnibus: emphatically opposed to Flaminiius; Polybius (III. 82) says τινῶν οὑμενων. A council of war is indicated in which the higher officers joined, though of course the commander had the right to disregard their opinions. — collegam . . . cohi-
citibus communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohiberendum, iratus se ex consilio pro-
riquit signumque simul itineris pugnaeque cum pro-
posuisset, 'Immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus' inquit; 'hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e
manibus perpopuletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C.
Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint.' Haec simul
increpans cum ochius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in
equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque
lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa
erant velut foedro omine incipienda rei insuper nuntiatur
signum omni vi moliente signifer convelle nequire.
Conversus ad nuntium 'Num litteras quoque' inquit 'ab
senatu aduers, quae me rem gerere vetent? abi, nuntia,
effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerint.’ Incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, super quam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodiogio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumnumque lacum omni clade bellii pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat. Et iam pervenerat ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasmennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relictto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles in surgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque

effodiant, etc.: such contempt of the superstitions of the times is occasionally found in Roman history, enough to show that the leaders did not care for them themselves, but followed them on account of the common people; cf. Claudius’ chickens in the first Punic war. The construction is the indirect discourse of command.

14. consilio: i.e. the one now to be carried out. — in vulgus, in general, as opposed to primoribus.

THE BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENUS.

4. Trasumnum lacum: now Lago di Perugia, at the south end of the same valley in which, at its northern end, lies Arretium. — pervastat: this account can only be loosely given, for Cortona is some distance south of Arretium, and the valley is rather narrow there. The ravages must have been farther north and east. The movement was evidently to march by Flaminius’ left flank and cut him off from Rome, or at least to give the appearance of marching on the city, and so bring on a battle under favorable circumstances.

2. loca, etc.: evidently near the northeast corner of the lake. — ubi maxime, just where; cf. tum maxime. — subit, comes close to. — via, etc.: i.e. only space for a road and very narrow at that. The emphasis is on via, and a new idea is added in perangusta. — ad id ipsum: i.e. to pass by. — deinde: the local sense is very rare; cf. 45. 6 and dein, XXI. 55. 2. — inde: i.e. from the plain again. Polybius (III. 83) and Livy do not agree in their topography of the battle-field. From Borghetto, near the northwestern corner of the lake, a defile skirts the water, extending east and southeast to La Torricella. This space is about nine miles long and at no point more than a mile and a half wide. At Passignano a bold headland divides the defile into two parts, either of which satisfies Livy’s description, and in one of them the massacre probably took place.
levem armaturam post montis circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

4 Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coeptit, id tantum hostium quod ex adverso erat conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput haud detectae insidia. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque impro visa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus colliibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coemptum est quam satis instueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

5 Consul perculsis omnibus ipse satis, ut in re trepida,

3. post montis: i.e. on the flank behind some low hills, out of sight. — fauces, the mouth or entrance.

4. pridie, etc.: of course they encamped as usual at night. They probably halted in the first plain, and the battle was fought in the second near the road to Perugia. — pandi, deploy; the passive form has the middle force, or coeptit would be coemptum est, in accordance with Livy’s usage; cf. senatus consulta coeptit, II. 29. 6 n. — ex adverso: i.e. the camp of Hannibal (in aperto, 3). — haud detectae: Stroth’s conjecture for the impossible deceptiones of the MSS.

6. pariter, in concert.

7. satis cerneret, could clearly distinguish anything; it was still dusk and misty. — sensit, became aware. — instueretur . . . possent: for the subjunctive, see Gr. 327.

VALOR OF THE ROMAN SOLDIERS.

5. consul perculs, etc.: i.e. amid the utter demoralization of his army Flaminius retained his own presence of mind. — ut in re, etc.: the common restrictive force of ut,
impavidus turbatos ordines vertente se quoque ad disso-
nos clamores instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et, 
quacumque adire audiriique potest, adhortatur ac stare ac 
pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione 
deum sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse; per medias 
acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus 
ferme periculi esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tu-
multu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, 
tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordines et locum 
noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae 
competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati 
magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior 
usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnerum 
ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepantium 
paventiumque clamores circumferabat ora oculosque. 
Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati haerebant, alios 

‘considering,’ or ‘in view of,’ ‘so far as was possible,’ or the like; cf. 
XXI. 34. 1. — vertente se quoque, 
where every man turned (automati-
cally, without any definite purpose), 
explaining turbatos.

2. nec enim: the best transla-
tion must take in English the direct 
discourse. The peculiar force of 
nec enim (for you see, etc.) is con-
ected with an expression like state, 
milités, etc., with its implied ‘and 
you must if you expect to escape,’ 
etc. — vi ac virtute: cf. vis virtus-
que, XXI. 41. 17.

3. consilium: referring to ad-
hortatur (1) and the wise plan 
indicated in per medias, etc. (2). — 
imperium: with reference to iubet 
(1).— tantum . . . ut . . . ut: see 
Gr. 332. d.— signa, etc.: a neces-
sary condition for the restoration of 
order (instruit, 1). The first word 
refers to the manipulate, the second 
to the century, the third to par-
ticular posts therein. — ut vix, etc.: 
i.e. they had hardly presence 
of mind enough to make an indi-
vidual resistance. — onerati: be-
cause they had not spirit to use 
them. — et erat: i.e. and no won-
der, for they had to act as individ-
uals simply defending themselves 
against dangers indicated by the 
sound, and having no use of their 
eyes to direct them in concerted 
action.

4. vulnerum, of the wounded; 
cf. XXI. 29. 3. — ictus: i.e. the 
thud or clash of weapons as they 
struck. — strepantium: the assail-
ants, shouting. — paventium: the 
attacked, as they uttered cries of 
terror. — ora oculosque: an allit-
eration found in very many writers.

5. alii, etc.: i.e. the soldiers were 
forced to act contrary to their dis-
position in both directions, some 
to fight who tried to fly, some to 
fly who wished to fight.
6 redeunte in pugnam avertbat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnis partis nequiquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebant, apparuitque nullam nisi in dextera
7 ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles
8 aut cohorte aut manipulo esset: fors conglobabat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit arder animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnis, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

6 Tris ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est.
2 Eum et robora virorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat
3 opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant

7. principes, etc.: at this time, and until 105 B.C., the principes stood behind the hastati. — pro signis: the standards were carried in front of the second line. — cohorte: another military anachronism, as the cohors was not the tactical unit till Marius, B.C. 105.

8. ante aut post, in front or rear, but with an allusion to the antesignani and postsignani. — animorum, passions. — animus, desire, the singular being more definite than the plural. — motum terrae: this earthquake is mentioned by other authors, e.g. Coelius (Cic. Div. I. 35, 78); Plut. Fabius, 3;
Plin. N. H. II. 84. 200. Ovid (F. VI. 765) puts the battle on the 23d of June, but as the calendar was much in advance of the true time, it was probably about the middle of April.

DEATH OF FLAMINIUS. CARNAGE OF THE ROMANS.

6. 2. eum: emphasized as if belonging to both clauses, but as the flow of the narrative is broken, insignemque is used to make a new start instead of the expected
et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques — Ducario nomine erat — facie quoque noscitans consulem ‘En’ inquit ‘hic est’ popularibus suis, ‘qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus! Iam ego hanc victimam manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo.’ Subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obtruncatoque prius armigero qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupiensem triarii objectis scutis arcure. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; etiam nec lacus nec montes pavor obstabat: per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et viri super alios alii praecipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quod capitis uniforme eest, sese immergunt. Fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit, quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis haurientur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equibus passim trucidabantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis per adversos hostis eruptione im-

antithesis of robora, etc., and hostes.
3. facie quoque: as well as by his military insignia by which he would be known even to strangers. — cecidit: in his former consulship; see XXI. 63. 2 n. — urbem: what city is meant is uncertain; Milan (Mediolanum) was taken by Cn. Scipio and Marcellus in 222 B.C.
5. magnae partis: i.e. of the whole army; opposed to sex milia in 8. — per omnia, etc., over ground all cut up with defiles and broken into precipices; referring (chiastically) to montes. — evadunt: conative present; see Gr. 276. 6.
6. pars magna: i.e. of the fleeing portion. The difference between this expression and magnae partis in 5 is indicated by the different order of the adjective and noun. — pars . . . se immergunt: see XXI. 27. 9 n.
7. capessere: the infinitive with impello is poetic and here first in prose. — immensa, impossible; the lake is about ten miles long and eight miles wide. — nequiquam fessi: i.e. their fatiguing swim had done no good.
pigre facta, ignari omnium quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere praecaligine poterant. Inclinata denique re cum incandescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis quam citatis-simo poterant agmine sese abripuerunt. Postero die, cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quae Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecit.

7 Haec est nobilis ad Trasumenum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem petiere;

8. agerentur: the subjunctive on account of the indirect discourse idea; see Gr. 334. c. r.—ex saltu: in the direction of Perugia.—scire: referring to news and the like from the field, as opposed to perspicere, meaning direct sight.

9. inclinata, etc.: i.e. finally, but not until the battle was decided. —dispulsa nebula, the breaking away of the mist; see XXI. 1. 5 n.

10. conspectos, etc.: i.e. lest they should be seen and so, etc.

11. abire: sc. eos; passurum: sc. se; see XXI. 12. 4 n.

12. Punica religione: see note on perfidia, XXI. 4. 9.—atque, that is; for this defining use of atque, cf. supplicatio habita atque adorati dii, XXI. 17. 4, and in liberos atque in sanguinem suum crudesce, Cic. de Fin. I. 34, with Madvig’s note.—omnes: cf. 7. 5. According to Polybius (III. 85) after Hannibal had told the prisoners that Maharbal had promised without his sanction, he put the Romans into custody and dismissed the allies without a ransom.

Consequences of the Battle.

7. inter paucas, as few others; i.e. there are few to be compared to it. —memorata, memorable; properly (often) mentioned, and so presumably worthy of mention, a sense often found with the perfect
d duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea ex 3 vulneribus periere. Multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex 4 vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal captivorum qui Latini nominis essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flaminii quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invent.

Romae ad primum nuntium clabis eius cum ingenti 6 terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades adlata 7 quaevae fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percinctantur. Et cum frequentis contiosinis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo 8 ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor 'Pugna' inquit 'magna victi sumus.' Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo

3. multiplex: i.e. many times greater.
4. nihil, etc.: i.e. generally under any circumstances, and especially in this case where there is a good authority. — scribentium: cf. scribentibus, XXI. 57. 14 n. — Fabium: see Intr. 10. — potissimum, rather than any other.
5. captivorum: genitive of the whole with (eis) qui, etc. — Latini nominis: see XXI. 55. 4 n. — cum, and that too with; the preposition, as generally with a noun and adjective, gives an additional circumstance. — inquisitum, etc., sought but could not find. In the Latin compression of sentences by means of participles, the main idea, as here (inquisitum), is often forced into a subordinate form. For other instances of this mark of respect paid by Hannibal to his foes, see 52. 6; XXV. 17; XXVII. 28.

CONSTERNATION IN ROME.

6. ad nuntium: not merely at, which meaning the preposition often approaches, but to meet or to learn the news.
7. contiosinis modo: i.e. the people assembled as if officially called together. — comitium: the smaller place of assembly separated from the great Forum proper. — curiam: adjoining the Comitium; here the magistrates were in session with the senate.
auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum, superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas distracti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens, circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cernerès, ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantisque aut consolantis redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Vnam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors fili falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi ad primum conspectum redeuntis fili gaudio nimio examinamat. Senatum praetorès per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinet consultantes quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

10. ignorantium: the flexibility and expressiveness of the Latin present participle, in the hands of an artist like Livy, should be noticed through the second half of this chapter.

11. ordine, in detail. — inquisissent: though antequam and priusquam have, in general, the construction of cum in narration (Gr. 327), purpose and repetition are implied in this case; see Kühnast, Livianische Syntax, p. 238.

12. cernerès: cf. discerneres, XXI. 4. 3 n. — gaudia, luctus: plural, because each case was a separate gaudium, etc. We make it more abstract and make one general expression do for the whole.

13. complexu: this word is in Valerius Maximus (IX. 12. 2), who evidently is quoting from this passage; the MSS. have conspectu. — alteram: Pliny (N.H. VII. 180) and Gellius (III. 15) connect this case with the battle of Cannae.
Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nun- tiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio propraetore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule, in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam averterat iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei fama varie homines adfectit: pars occupatis maiore aegritudine animis levem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id quod acciderat per se aestimare, sed, ut in adfecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam in valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum 4 aegrae et adfectae civitati quodcumque adversi incidere, non rerum magnitudine sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil, quod adgravaret, pati possent, aestimandum esse. 

Itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut

A NEW DISASTER. FABIUS APPOINTED DICTATOR.

8. essent: the subjunctive used as with *cum* to represent a situation, as if, ‘while they were yet at a loss.’ — ab Servilio: he had taken command of the forces at Ariminum, and at the news of Hannibal’s advance had sent this cavalry to reinforce his colleague, intending to follow with his whole army. This cavalry had come too late and had crossed into Umbria to join the main body.

2. pars, etc.: the two points of view are that of persons immediately affected by the great calamity who thought little of this small one, and that of those who, being more philosophical, saw farther and estimated the calamity in its relation to the enfeebled state, to which even a slight reverse was serious.

The thought is easily followed, but for translation the sentence must be broken up.

3. magis: to be joined with *sentiretur."

4. tum: representing a *nunc* of direct discourse.

5. iam diu: the last for actual service (*rei gerendae causa*) was A. Attilius Calatinus, B.C. 249. Fabius had been dictator to conduct the elections in 221 B.C. — *dictatum dicendum*: in apposition with *remedium*; cf. *parendum* XXI. 4. 3 n., and see Gr. 301. R. — *quia*, etc.: the peculiar rigidity of the Roman polity, as well as the ways of correcting that rigidity are well illustrated here. Usually the consul named (*dicere*) the dictator for six months, and he in turn named the *magister equitum*. The necessity of the appointment was determined as an executive matter by the senate. The
6 nuntium aut litteras mitti [nec dictatorem populo creare poterat], quod numquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et
7 magistrium equum M. Minucium Rufum; iisque negotiun ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firma-
rent et praesidia disponerent, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penati-
bus dimicandum esse quando Italam tueri nequissent.
9 Hannibal recto itinere per Vmbriam usque ad Spole-
tium venit. Inde cum perpopulato agro urbem oppu-
pugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae haud prospere
3 temptatae viribus quanta moles Romanae urbis esset,
in agrum Picenum avertit iter non copia solum omnis
generis frugum abundantem sed refertum praeda, quam
4 effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies ali-
quot stativa habita, reflectusque miles hibernis itineribus
ac palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo

essence of the office was that its incumbent was the sole and supreme head of the state, and was 'out of politics'; see 31, 8-10 and notes.
6. nec . . . poterat: as these words yield no satisfactory sense they have been variously emended or dropped altogether. If they are retained, praetor should probably be read for populo. — quod . . . erat: referring to what follows. — Fabium: see XXI. 18.
7. fluminum: i.e. around the city, as the Tiber and the Anio.

HANNIBAL IN LOWER ITALY. RELIGIOUS PREPARATIONS AT ROME.
9. Spoletium: on the Flaminian Road, a colony since B.C. 241.
2. repulsus: Hannibal seems to have had no material for siege, and in general no idea of using that mode of warfare. This probably accounts for his failure to attack Rome itself. — unius: not equivalent to an indefinite article, but emphatic, 'a single colony of Rome' as compared with the vast resources of the capital itself.
3. in agrum, etc.: Hannibal was marching through the subjected regions of Central Italy towards the later-acquired territory of the South. He was evidently trying to arouse a coalition of the subject nations against the great power, but with a want of success that is surprising. — avertit iter: with reference to recto itinere (1), the direct advance upon Rome by the Flaminian road.
4. magis, etc.: i.e. the great vic-

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum quo die magistra tum iniit vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, cum edocuisset patres plus neglegentia caerimoniarum auspiciorumque quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consuile esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire iubentur. Qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius

tory of Trasimenum was valuable more for its results than favorable in regard to its cost and difficulty.

5. prefectus: marching along the eastern slope of the Apennines. — Hadrianum: the town of Hadria is near the coast of the Adriatic, the next important point south of Ancona. — Luceriam: a very strong position, the key of Apulia.

6. Servilius: his force seems to have been useless through the whole campaign except so far as he may have overawed the Gauls.

7. iterum: see 8.5; the Romans were so punctilious about distinctions that Livy records the fact that it was the second dictatorship of Fabius, although it has no impor-
tance for the narrative. — ab diis orsus: this was the regular order of business according to Varro (Gellius, XIV. 7. 9 docet de rebus divinis prius quam humanis ad senatum referendum esse); cf. 1. 5 and notes. — ipsos deos: i.e. through the Sibylline books.

8. prodigia, etc.: as ordinarily the proper piacula were known. The Sibylline books were usually consulted only in the most extraordinary cases. — decemviri: see XXI. 62. 6 n.

9. fatalibus, of doom; the Sibylline books, as containing the fates impending and the means of averting them. — quod, . . . votum: not mentioned in detail in XXI.

His senatus consultis perfectis L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus consulente collegium praetore omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet: iniuussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in haec verba populus: 'Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam salvam, servata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est quaque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cist Alpis sunt, tum donum

62. 10, but no doubt made at that time.

10. ludos magnos: games promised (votivi) in connection with some extraordinary event, but often identified with the ludi maximii, or Romani, which were observed annually in September; see I. 35. 7; Cic. de Rep. II. 20. 36; de Div. I. 26. 55. — ver sacram: originally a vow to offer to the gods whatever should be born in the following March and April, in case the threatened calamity should be averted. Later, instead of the human sacrifice, children born in those months were, on reaching maturity, driven forth blindfolded to find a new home. To such emigrations several Italian communities traced their origin.— esset: for erit of the direct discourse.

II. senatus: as opposed to the decemviri. — Fabium: as the head of the state these religious duties should rest on him, but in this case, on account of other occupations, he was excused by the senate, and the praetor urbanus (33. 8) ordered to take charge. — ex collegi, etc.: i.e. that for the religious details the pontifices should be consulted.

THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

10. pontifex: as spokesman for the college.

2. velitis, etc.: the usual form of a rogatio. — ad quinquennium: cf. in decem annos, XXI. 62. 10 n. — servata erit: the MSS. have servaverit, but the old form servavit would be expected, and the omission of the subject (sc. Jupiter from Iovi in 3) is extremely awkward. — quod duellum, etc.: as all such vows were regarded as contracts with the divinity, the utmost
duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex 3
suillo ovillo caprino bovillo grege quaeque profana erunt,
Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque iussisset. Qui 4
faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo
faxit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oportet- 5
bit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet
occidetve insciens, ne fraud esto. Si quis clepsit, ne
populo scelus esto neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die 6
faxit insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si
servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea
quam senatus populusque iussisset fieri, faxitur, eo popu-
lus solutus liber esto.' Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni 7
voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus trecentis tri-
ginta tribus triente, praeterea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis
aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite 8
nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum
coniugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed
agrestium etiam quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quo-

exactness was necessary. duellum
is the archaic form of bellum, from
duo; cf. bis, also from duo.—duit:
the subjunctive of indirect command,
depending on velitis, etc.
3. profana: i.e. not already con-
secrated. The plural is on account of
the plural idea implied in the
different kinds of animals men-
tioned.—fieri: loosely depending
on iubeatis. The construction is
characteristic of old formulae. The
word has a peculiar religious sense,
like sacrificari, throughout the
passage.—ex qua die, etc.: the
vow was not fulfilled until 195 B.C.
(XXXIII. 44).
4. faxit: archaic future perfect;
so clepsit, 5.
5. moritur: the old and collo-
quial use of present for future.—
profanum: i.e. in that case the
owner and the people shall be free
from obligation. The loss shall
fall on the divinity.—rumpet, in-
jure; a technical word.—clepsit:
in this case the owner would be
unable to perform the rite, and both
he and the people should be free.
—cui: datius incommodi.
6. atro die: i.e. on an inauspi-
cious day, when sacrifices were for-
bidden. There were many such in
the Roman calendar, as the days
after the Kalends, Nones, and Ides,
and the anniversaries of great na-
tional disasters.—faxitur: i.e. fac-
tum erit, an old passive of faxit.
7. aeris: (i.e. assium) limiting
milibus.—triente: the three
words before this were supplied by
Scaliger from Plutarch, Fabius, 4.
8. in aliqua sua, etc.: i.e. not
being without a stake in the country
9 que contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cerei. Tum aedes votae. Veneri Erucinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit.

11 Ita rebus divinis peractis tum de bello deque re publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praetera ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edictoque proposito ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, ut ii commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius qua iturus Hannibal esset,

they participated in the anxiety for its safety.

9. in conspectu: set in public, for the lectisternium. — Iovi ac Iunoni: as the supreme rulers; Neptuno ac Minervae: associated according to Greek ritual, as Poseidon and Athena, and representing commerce (on the sea) and the arts; Marti ac Veneri: also a Greek combination, the exact significance of which here is not obvious, except that Mars would stand for success in war; Apollini ac Dianae: standing for health; Vulcano ac Vestae: representing fire

and the hearth; Mercurio et Cerei: for trade and agriculture. The whole list embraces the twelve great gods of Olympus.

10. vovit: the temples were consecrated in B.C. 215 (XXIII. 31).

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

11. 2. scriberet, enroll; conscribere (8) is more usual. — e re publica, for the interest of, etc.; cf. in rem.

3. Tibur: accusative of the end of motion after conveniendum.

4. ut . . . ut: repeated for the sake of clearness; cf. ut . . . ne,
tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse via Flaminia prefectus obviam consului exercituque, cum ad Tiberim circa Ocricum prospexisset aegmen consulemque cum equilibus ad se progressentem, viatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque, vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii, fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam profiscisci iussus navibusque, quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in verba iuraverant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant in navis impositi, alii ut urbi praesiderent relicti.

Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveni-
2 endum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Praeneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem illos Martios animos Romanis debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit; ceterum tacita cura animum incessit quod cum duce haudquaquam Flamini Sempronique similiutura sibi res esset ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Han nibali ducem quaesissent. Et prudentiam quidem novi dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam hauddum expertus agitare ac temptare animum movendo crebro castra populantdoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit; et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in alicuiu flexu viae, si excipere degressum in aequum posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat modo ab hoste intervallo, ut

2. exploratis: cf. inexplorato.
4. 4. — ducit: sc. exercitium; cf. educet, 3, and movit, XXI. 32.
1 n. — commissurus: cf. futuro, XXI. 4. 10 n.
3. quo primum die, on the very day when he first.
4. increpans quidem: opposed to cura incessit in 5; i.e. though he blustered in this way, yet he was alarmed at the change of tactics. — illos: Haupt's suggestion for the impossible quos of the MSS. — Martios: a sarcastic allusion to the asserted origin of the Romans; cf. vobis, Martis viris, XXXVIII. 17.
5. cura, etc.: cf. Silius Ital. VII. 305. Fabius me noctibus aegris, in curas Fabius nos excitat. — tum demum, now at last.
6. prudentiam quidem: opposed to constantiam with a concessive force, to be sure, etc. — novi: the MSS. have non vim. — constantiam, the steadfast character, which enabled him to restrain himself under provocation. Hence Hannibal continued his old tactics. — hauddum: found only in Livy.
7. si posset, to see if he could; see Gr. 334. f.
neque omitteret eum neque congrederetur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturae statio composita instructaque in subitos tumultus et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat; neque universo periculo summa rerum committerebatur et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum finitimoque receptu adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud quam quod impar erat imperio morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat. Ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua immodicus primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat,

8. usus: such as fodder and the like. — cogerent: iterative subjunctive; see XXI. 8. 11 n.
10. universo periculo, to a general engagement. — et, and yet at the same time; a force given by the use of the co-ordinate neque in the preceding. — parva momenta, the gradual influence; each momentum represents an experiment with its own influence, while the adjective indicates that the effect was slight in each case; cf. perlevi momento, XXI. 43. 11. — receptu: i.e. the camp. — iam: indicating the gradual working of the new policy; tandem: the ultimate result. — paenitere, to be dissatisfied.
11. Hannibalem, in Hannibal. — magis infestum, a greater enemy. — qui, etc., who had nothing to hinder him from, etc. — impar: the consuls were of equal power, and each had essentially full control of his own army, while the imperium of the magister equitum was subordinate to that of the dictator. — morae: to be joined with nihil; cf. id morae, XXI. 45. 9.
12. ferox: almost equal to rash; i.e. confident and violent, eager for active operations. — ferox . . . immodicus: chastic. — inter paucos: i.e. he began his murums privately, and being encouraged thus he spread them abroad. — pro cunctatore, etc.: i.e. Minucius, as is often done, distorted the virtues of Fabius into their kindred vices; cf. Hor. Sat. I. 3. 55 at nos virtutes ipsas inverimus atque sincerum cupimus vas incrustare, etc. Cunctator became an honorary title of Fabius, and Ennius’ line unus homo nobis CVNCTANDO restituit rem is quoted by several Latin writers. —
premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

18 Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, inritat etiam de industria ducem Romanum, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus cladibusque sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumenum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum infecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad con-

3 ciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Cam-

paniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut Campaniam ex Samnio peteret, moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem

premendo, by decrying; cf. 59. 10. — quae pessima ars, etc.: a general reflection of Livy in regard to his own times.

HANNIBAL IN SAMNII AND CAM-

18. ex Hirpinis: the Hirpini were in southern Samnium, but since the dissolution of the Samnite league after the conquest of the country by Rome, they are conceived of as an independent community; cf. 61. 11. — Samnium: here the territory of the Caudini. — etiam: i.e. in addition to the natural provocation of his march, he takes special pains to be as irritating as possible.

2. dimissi: see 7. 5. — iam tum: i.e. immediately after they were released. — popularium, of their countrymen.

3. hi nuntiantes: they had either remained with Hannibal, or perhaps had joined him again from Capua. — res maior, etc.: i.e. it was too important a matter to believe on the authority of two unim-

portant persons. — tamen: opposed to the cum-clause modified by the description of Hannibal's state of mind.

4. rebus, by action, as well as by words. — pluribus, etc.: i.e. a more numerous delegation and some of the more influential citizens among them to make the matter more sure.

5. ipse: as opposed to their return to Capua. — Casinatem: Casii-

num was on the Latin Way in Latium, commanding the entrance
ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occu-
passet, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis in-
terclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum 6
nominum pronuntiatione os, Casilinum pro Casino dux
ut acciperet fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per
Allifanum Caiatinumque et Calenum agrum in cam-
pum Stellatem descendit. Vbi cum montibus flumi-
nibusque clausam regionem circumspeisset, vocatum
ducem percuttatur ubi terrarum esset. Cum is 8
Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum
cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia
regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum 9
terrem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Ma-
harbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum praeda-
tum dimisit. Vsque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio 10
ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terro-
remque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, 11
cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, vide-
licit quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec
abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus
parere.

into Campania some forty miles north-west of Capua, while Casili-
num lay in the plain of Campania, on the Volturnus, only four or five
miles from Capua.

6. pronuntiatione os: these
words fill an evident gap in the
MSS. — suo itinere, his proper
road; namely, that along the upper
valley of the Volturnus through
Allifae to Venafrum. It does not
appear why Hannibal should wish
to approach Capua by way of Casin-
um. He would thus block the
Latin Way, but the Appian would
still be open for the Romans. The
incident is not in Polybius and has
an unreal look. — campum Stel-
tatem: on the edge of the Campa-
nian plain between Cales and
Capua.

8. mansurum, pass the night; a
frequent colloquial meaning; cf.
mansio, and Fr. maison.

9. in agrum: i.e. along the
Appian Way towards Mt. Massi-
cus.

10. Sinuessanas: Sinuessa is
on the coast at the foot of Mt.
Massicus, the ridge that separates
Latium from Campania, running
from the sea back to the Apenni-
nines.

11. videlicet, and naturally.
14 Vt vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa; quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Vt vero in extrema iuga Massici montis ventum est, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, 'Spectatum huc' inquit Minuci us 'ut ad rem fruendam oculis; sociorum caedes et incendia, venimus? Nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nos-tra cunctatione et socordia iam hoc progressus? Tantum, pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut, praeter quam oram illi Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numi-darumque ac Maurorum iam factam videamus. Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moe-nia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem lenti spectamus.

MINUCIUS FOMENTS DISCONTENT AMONG THE ROMAN SOLDIERS.

14. amoenissimus, etc. : cf. Cic. Agr. II. 29. 80 unum fundum pulcherrimum populi Romani.—per iuga: Fabius was remaining up in the mountains and following the Carthaginian along without descending into the plains to give him battle.—de integro: cf. 12. 12. 2. solito: see 2. 2 n. 3. ut vero: referring to the moment when it became plain from the fact that they did not descend that Fabius was avoiding battle. 4. nullius alterius, in the eyes of nobody else; see Gr. 203. c. n.—colonos, etc.: B.C. 297; see X. 21. 5. hoc: XXI. 43. 13 n. 6. pro, alas! a very rare use of this interjection without a case.—illi: alluding to the First Punic War.—factam, become the property. 7. indignando: notice in this chapter Livy's exceptional fondness
Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius nostram quam deorum invocantium opem: nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus deviasque callis exercitum ducimus conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacuminca saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac Poenis totiens servaverint maiores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, cum esset satis altum Ianiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, quae nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? post multos annos cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an Luceriam premendo for the ablative of the gerund; he sometimes uses it with the force of a present participle.

8. saepius, etc.: the natural resource in trouble was an appeal to the gods, but here the allies called upon the Romans even oftener than upon the gods. — pecorum: these were driven to the mountains for pasture in the summer, and naturally in grazing would stray from the direct roads.

9. nobis: for the fusion of two ideas in a single construction (by us and for us), see neutros, etc., 17. 6 n., and Hannibali, XXI. 34. 9 n.

11. dictatorem, etc.: i.e. the news that, etc. — esset satis altum, etc.: i.e. if he had wanted to carry on war in this way, the Janiculum, to which he would first come from Vei, would have answered the same purpose as Mt. Massicus answers for us; but instead of that he descended to the level ground and fought the enemy. — busta Gallica: so called because (V. 48. 3) the victims of a plague among the Gauls after their sack of Rome in 390 B.C. were there burned. Varro says (L.L. V. 157) that the bones of the Gauls were there collected.

12. Furculas Caudinas: in this defile, somewhere near Caudium, in 321 B.C., the Roman army, under the consuls Spurius Postumius and T. Veturius, was caught in ambush and literally subjugated by Gavius Pontius. The disgrace was avenged by Papirius Cursor two years later at Luceria, in northwestern Apulia.
obsidendoque et lacesendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit?

13 Modo C. Lutatius quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, impediam suomet ipsam instrumento atque adparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse: arma capias oportet et descendas in aequum et vir cum viro congregiaris; audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant.' Haec velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta fercia evolubantur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio ducem praelaturos.

15 Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostis intentus prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed iam etiam Romae infañem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum exquial use of the present subjunctive in clauses virtually contrary to fact (cf. si hic sis, alter sentias). — quoque: with militum; in prose, with very few exceptions, quoque follows the qualified word.

**FIRMNESS AND SUCCESS OF FABIUS.**

15. pariter, equally; qualifying intentus and further explained by the clause in suos... in hostes. — haud minus quam: tautologically used instead of a simple conjunction, apparently to increase the emphasis of in suos. — animum: here equivalent to purpose, although it is used also in reference to the enemy as well and means really moral courage. — tenore, course; ablative of manner with extraxit. — aestatis reliquum: see XXI. 33. 7 n.
traxit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti 2
certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea
regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta
vineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam neces-
sariis fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio.
Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias quibus intraverat 3
Falernum agrum reditum, Calliculam montem et
Casilinum occupat modicis præsidiis, quae urbs Vul-
turno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro
dividit; ipse iugis isdem exercitum reducit misso explo-
ratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio
Mancino. Qui ex turba iuvenum audientium saepe 5
ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum progressus
primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hos-
tem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas prospexit ac
per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus 6
certamine est animus excideruntque præcepta dictato-
ris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere
sese iussertam quam in conspectum hostium veniret.
Numidae alii atque alii occurrentes refugientesque ad 7
castra prope ipsa eum cum fatigatione equorum atque
hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa 8
equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus cum
prius quam ad coniectum teli veniret avertisset hostis,
quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientis. Mancinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium rediit omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso [rursus] cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatum perfugerunt.

11 Eo forte die Minucius seconiuxerat Fabio, missus ad frandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal duxitus erat.


4 Inclusus inde videri Hannibal via ad Casilinum obessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitium sociorum Romanis commetatus subveheret, Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni harenas stagnaque et

9. in proelium rediit, turned and gave battle; for in, denoting purpose, see XXI. 32. 7 n.
12. duxitus erat: cf. movit, XXI. 32. 1 n.

Stratagem of Hannibal.
16. 2. carptim, in successive charges. — restitit: opposed to the ideas in procursando and recipiendo sese; they were neither driven back nor did they pursue.
3. lenta: i.e. not fought with any great spirit. — ex...voluntate: i.e. such as Fabius wished in accordance with his design not to fight at all, unless under very favorable circumstances.
4. Formiana, etc.: Livy seems to give all the difficulties of the
per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset. Nec Hannibalem 5 fefellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset petendique montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum valibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium oculorum spècie 6 terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis 7 consiliis talis apparatus fuit: faces undique ex agris collectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat; ad duo 8 milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad montis ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto 17 ante signa acti. Vbi ad radices montium viaque an-2 gustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montis. Et metus ipse relucentis flammæ a capite calorque iam ad vivum ad imago cornua veniens velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu haud secus quam 3 silvis montibusque accensis omnia circa virgulta visa

country in the neighborhood without much regard to Hannibal's exact position, but the picture makes a good pendant to that of the Romans with all Latium open behind them.

5. suis artibus: see XXI. 34. 1 n. — per Casilinum: i.e. up the Volturus. — montes, etc.: farther to the north about Trebula, crossing Mt. Tifata, or even as far north as Teanum. — Romanus: i.e. the small force sent to Mons Callicula (15. 3).

6. ludibrium oculorum, a trick by which their eyes were 'fooled.' — principio noctis: opposed to the daylight, when he would be seen. — ad montes: in the direction of the pass.


SUCCESS OF THE STRATAGEM.

17. 3. repente: like an adjective qualifying discursu; cf. deinceps, XXI. 8. 5 n. — circa: see XXI. 7. 5 n.
ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammatm
hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui
ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in
summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere,
circumventos se esse rati praesidio excessere; qua
minime densae micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter
petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves
palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo cum procul
cernerent, veluti flammae spirantium miraculo attoniti
constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum
vero, insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant
se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturae hostium incurrere;
ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientis
ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal trans-
ducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium
oppressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.

18 Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias
esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine
suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis
proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armatu-

4. excessere: this seems misleading, as it appears from the whole
as well as from Polybius' account (III. 94) that the Romans were not
alarmed, but attacked the supposed enemy.—tamen: i.e. though they
went in the direction where there were the fewest lights, yet they did
come upon some.

5. flammes spirantium, fire-breathing monsters; the participle
is intentionally vague; cf. hominis specie visos, XXI. 62. 5. This part
may well be true, after they came in sight.

6. levi armaturae: perhaps the
soldiers who drove the cattle.—
neutros pugnam incipientis =
utrosque, cum neutri pugnam inci-
perent; as often in Latin, two
thoughts have but one sentence,
and the fondness for merging the
negative into some early word (cf.
nei, nego, etc.) here results almost
in obscurity.

Fabius follows Hannibal. Han-
nibal escapes toward Apulia.
Fabius is summoned to Rome.

18, utique, in any case; he did
not wish to fight, and certainly not
in the night.

2. sub iugo: this does not seem
to agree with the end of 17, but
Livy evidently had no clear idea of
the proceedings.—suis: such am-
biguous uses of the reflexive are not
ram facile—et enim numero aliquantum praestabant — Romani superassent nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale pervenisset. Ea, adsuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior cum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu, campestrem hostem gravem armis statariumque pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Paelignos populabundus reedit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat nec absistens nec congradiens. Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apuliam repetens Geronium pervenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa ruinas pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non

uncommon where the context makes the meaning clear. — pervenisset: changed to supervenisset by most editors since Gronov.

3. velocitate corporum, speed in running, as opposed to their lighter equipment. — campestrem: i.e. not accustomed, like the Spaniards, to mountains. — statarium, trained to fight in line; not light troops for skirmishing. — pugnae genere, on account of the nature of the context. — elusit, escaped; but with an allusion to the manner of fighting, by dodging and eluding the Romans; cf. XXI. 50. 2.

4. aliquot: a thousand, according to Polybius (III. 94).

5. super Allifas: with consedit. He was still watching Hannibal.

6. per Samnium: apparently going up the Volturus and then across the mountains, through the lands of the Pentri and Caraceni, the northernmost tribes of Samnium.

— Paelignos: in the mountains, but occupying the valley of the Aternus, which flows eastward into the Adriatic. — populabundus: for Livy's fondness for adjectives in - bundus see XXI. 36. 1 n. — reedit: loosely used in reference to 9. 5.

7. flexit: descending on the eastern side of the mountains. — Geronium: on the borders between Samnium and the Frentani, off the main route through Apulia, up in the mountains. Larinum is on the route, a short distance northeast. — urbem: earlier usage requires a preposition; Gr. 258. b. 3.

8. revocatus, etc.: by a loose
imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens
cum magistro equitum ut plus consilio quam fortunae
9 confidat et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flamini-
umque imitetur; ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope
aestate per ludificationem hostis: medicos quoque plus
interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere;
10 haud parvam rem esse ab totiens victore hoste Vinci
desisse ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus—haec nequi-
quam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est pro-
fectus.

19 Principio aestatis qua haec gerebantur in Hispania
2 quoque terra marique coequit bellum est. Hasdrubal
ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum
3 paratumque acceperat, decem adiectis quadraginta na-
vium classem Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine

narrative construction the verb fol-
lows at the end of 10. The period
is awkwardly constructed, and the
present participle agens is inexact.
— imperio: i.e. in virtue of his
authority as commander-in-chief
forbidding Minucius to fight.—
consilio: i.e. not content with
ordering, he shows by argument
the excellence of his plans and
even entreats (precibus) his sub-
ordinate not to disobey.—agens
cum, urging upon; used in gen-
eral of any influence brought to
bear by one person on another,
something like ‘dealing with’ in
colloquial use.—consilio: in a
slightly different sense from the
preceding; cf. ratione non fortuna,
23. 2.—confidat ... censeret:
for change of tense see XXI. 30.
11 n.

9. Sempronium: at the Trebia;
see XXI. 52 f. — Flaminium: at
Lake Trasimennus; see 4. 4 f.—
ne nihil, etc.: i.e. not to think
they had accomplished nothing in
the campaign when they had baffled
the enemy through the whole sum-
mer, for in cases of sickness also an
expectant treatment was often more
beneficial. — movendo: referring
to settling the functions of the
patient’s body in activity by ener-
getic treatment. — agendo: refer-
ring to the physician himself, while
quie te refers loosely to both patient
and physician.

10. haec ... equitum: Livy
thus sums up the whole advice of
Fabius to Minucius, adding that it
was all in vain.

The departure of the dictator
gives a fitting opportunity to resume
the story of events in Spain.

Operations in Spain.

19. aestatis: i.e. B.C. 217. The
narrative is resumed from XXI. 61.
2. numerum: see XXI. 22. 4.
3. atque ita, and at once; prop-
erly, ‘and so (equipped).’ — Car-
thagine: sc. nova; see XXI. 5.
profectus navis prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus consilgere quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turris Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem promunturiis, cum repente eques

4 n. — navis: as Hasdrubal was with the land forces, the MSS. navibus is indefensible. — quacumque, etc.: *i.e.* either by land or sea; *utrumque* would be more exact.

4. Scipio: we should expect the dative (which is found in some inferior MSS.) or that *ei* be added to *idem ... fuit*; cf. XXI. 18. 3. — ingentem: a not unnatural transfer of the adjective from auxiliarum to famam; if it was a great body of reinforcements, the story would be a great one also. — ad naves: first with delecto, *i.e.* for marine service, and also in idea with imposito, an economy of words which is characteristic of Livy and almost of the Latin language. — pergit: used almost like our *proceeds*, and with the same twist of language; of course if one ‘keeps on,’ he doesn’t stop, and so ‘loses no time’; see XXI. 57. 9 n.

6. universo, etc.: to indicate the general panic in the fleet and army at once, like ‘a general panic far and wide through the whole force.’ — multas et ... positas: as usual in Latin the two adjectives are connected by a conjunction; the towers were numerous and well placed for their purpose. The whole explains the discovery of the approaching fleet.

7. inde: *i.e.* from the towers. This description indicates how near
alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die exspectantis, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam iam haud procul portu esse. Haec equites dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat varioque omnia tumultu strepunt ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque fugientium magis et terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt, rap-timque omnia ac praepropere agendo militum apparatu nautica ministeria impedientur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus non adpropinquabat modo, sed derexerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati et temptata verius pugna quam inita in fugam averterunt classem. Et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tum multis the Romans come to effecting their surprise.

8. quietos: some were in one position, others in the other. — procul portu: see XXI. 5. 8 n.

9. equites, etc.: the lively description follows the course of time, — first the advance guard arrives and calls the soldiers to arms, and presently Hasdrubal with his army comes in, and the noise and confusion are varied and general as each part of the force hurriedly performs its functions. It is in such bits of description that Livy excels.

10. vixdum, etc.: they had hardly embarked when the ships were unmoored. — cum alii, etc.: when the stern lines, which were made fast to the land, were cast off, the ships swung round and lay at anchor, and in some cases they slipped the cables also. — agendo: an ablative of manner (Gr. 301 footnote) applying to the whole action. — apparatu: the means of impedientur. The two parties mutually hinder each other. — trepidatione, hurry, bustle; their running hither and thither in their haste to get under way.

11. et iam, and by this time; i.e. when they had got ready to start. — temptata, etc., making a show of fighting; i.e. they only started a battle rather than really fought one at all. — in fugam: running for the mouth of the river to seek protection with the land army.

12. adversi: the difficulties were increased by the necessity of sailing
simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis alii sicco litore excepti partim armati partim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae.

Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque 20 aciem toto praetentam litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem navis omnis, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori inlisas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere, ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum eius victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant.

Itaque ad Onusam classe provecti; escensio ab navi- 4 bus in terram facta. Cum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem 5 agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam praedia gravis ad 6 Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti erat ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit sublato ceterum omne incensum est. Nec 7 continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, 8

against the current; cf. adverso fiumine, XXI. 27. 2 n.—excepti, by way of; literally 'received by,' i.e. from their ships upon the shallow waters, etc.

RESULTS OF THE ROMAN NAVAL VICTORY.

20. insecuti, etc.: i.e. the Romans made a dash in after them in spite of the protecting land force, and towed out the deserted ships.

4. Onusam: cf. XXI. 22. 5. The position of the town is uncertain, but it must have been south of the Ebro.

6. Longunticam: still farther along the coast, but in the same neighborhood. —sparti: a grass of which cordage was made. This region was the only source of supply.

7. Ebusum: the name of one of the Pityussae Islands between the Balearic Isles and the coast of Spain, some distance to the north-east of New Carthage.

8. quae: a relative usually takes
biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata ubi in spem
inritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad popu-
lationem agri versi direptis aliquis incensisque vicis
maiore quam ex continent praeda parta cum in naves se
recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes
ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis reditum-
que in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui
Hiberum accolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati
concurrerunt. Sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani
facti sint obsidibus dati populi, amplius fuere centum
viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens
Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus.
Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum aestatis tempus,
fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod
ipsorum HIspanorum iniqua avidaque in novas res sunt
ingenia, Mandonius Indebilisque, qui antea Ilergetum
regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad

the gender of the predicate instead
of that of the antecedent; see Gr.
199. — in spem: see note on in
maius, XXI. 32. 7.
 9. petentes: cf. orantes, XXI.
6. 2 n.
 10. et: i.e. as well as those near by.
 11. sed: contrasting the com-
nunities that actually (vere) sub-
mitted with those that merely sent
envoys. — facti sint: the subjunc-
tive characterizes the indefinite
antecedent of qui; see Gr. 320. a.
 12. Castulonensem: in the
Sierra Morena, at the head of the
Guadalquiver. — concessit, retired,
before the Roman advance.

FIGHTS WITH NATIVE TRIBES.

21. fuisset: its protasis is im-
plied in per, etc. — per, for all; i.e.
for anything that was done by
them.

3. Mandonius Indebilisque: these Spanish chiefs were brothers
of great influence (haud dubie om-
nis Hispaniae prncipes, XXVII.
17) and aided the Carthaginians
during most of the war. In 209
B.C., because of the suspicion and
arrogance of Hasdrubal, son of
Gisco, and the respectful treatment
of their women as hostages by P.
Scipio, they formed an alliance with
the Romans, but in three years they
transferred their allegiance back to
Carthage. In 205 B.C. Indebilis
fell on the field while fighting with
great heroism, and Mandónius was
surrendered by his followers to the
Romans, and by them at once put
to death. — saltu: sc. Castulonensi;
cf. 20. 12.
maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Ad
versus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis a
Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultuarium manum,
fudere, mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis magna-
que parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem 5
ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutan-
dos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium, 6
castra Romana ad Novam Classem erant, cum fama
repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes 7
regionis suae legatos miserant obsidesque dederant
Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt,
provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu inva-
dunt. Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdru-
bale duobus proeliiis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim
milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis
militaribus signis capiunt.

Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam 22
venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu
missus cum triginta longis navibus et octo milibus mili-

4. tribunus, etc.: indicating the slight effort by which they were
quelled, as the tribune was a subordinate officer whose duties were
mostly routine, though he could sometimes be placed in command.
—missi: for the number see XXI. 60. 7 n.—tumultuarium, irregu-
lar; i.e. not a regular organized army, but only a suddenly gathered
throng; cf. tumultuum, XXI. 16.
4 n.—exuta: i.e. in their flight;
cf. XXI. 61. 9.
5. tamen: i.e. though it was easily
quelled.—cis: not east of the Ebro,
as the Ilergavones lived on the
cost beyond the Ebro. It must
mean 'back to the Ebro on that side.'
6. Novam Classem: apparently
east of the Ebro, perhaps among
the Ilergetes.
7. Celtiberi: the powerful nation
west of the Idubeda Mountains,
holding many strong places like
Numantia, and occupying the region
of Castile. They were dangerous
enemies of the Romans for many
years after this.—miserant: in-
serted by Gronov to prevent a harsh
zeugma.

ARRIVAL OF P. SCIPIO. CUNNING
OF ABELUX.

22. 1. Scipio: he was consul in
218 B.C., wounded at the Ticinus,
and had wintered at Cremona
(XXI. 46. 7; 56. 9).
2 tum magnoque commeatu advento. Ea classis ingens
agmine onerariorum procul visa cum magna laetitia
civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit.
3 Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit,
ac dein de communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum.
4 Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello
haud cunctanter Hiberum transgressiuntur nec ullo viso
hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius
Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in
arce custodiri praevidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad
Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populos animos
morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa
defectionis lueretur.
6 Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam
fidelis consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis
Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis, tum, qualia plerumque
sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem.
7 Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei priditione venien-
tem ad hostis nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame
corpus esse ratus, id agebat ut quam maximum emolu-
8 mentum novis sociis esset. Circum specetis igitur omni-
bus quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus
potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem
maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hi-

2. agmine, etc.: the reason why
the fleet was so large.
3. communi, etc.: emphasizing
their harmony and their uniting in
council and acting in concert, so dif-
f erent from the discord of the consuls.
6. sollerti, etc., more clever than
honest; a euphemistic expression,
such as one naturally uses for ras-
calities that benefit his own side.
— qualia: i.e. tali ingenio, qualia.
— fortuna: i.e. the fortunes of the
Carthaginians.
7. ceterum: opposed to the idea
implied in the preceding that Abelux
wanted to desert to the Romans. —
corpus, person, as opposed to mate-
rial advantage or gain of some kind.
8. eius poterat: we should ex-
pect suae and the subjunctive, but
Livy adds the clause as a kind of de-
inition, from his own point of view,
without referring it to Abelux’s
mind; and this as usual affects alike
the pronoun and the mood of the verb.
spaniae amicitiam. Sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum velut ignorantem monet, quo statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendo esse. Miranti Bostari percunctantique, quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, 'Obsides' inquit 'in civitatem remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. Volt sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituentorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiuver meum et rei suapte natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam possim adiciam.' Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, etc.: such hostages were the children of the most prominent men.

10. velut: i.e. acting as if Bostar was not informed, to give an appearance of honesty to his suggestion.

11. volentibus: cf. pugnantium, XXI. 29. 2 n. — quos metus, etc.: i.e. since the presence of the Romans had removed the bond of fear, they must try to retain their allies by good-will.

12. id subitum . . . donum: referring back to gratia, which would imply some great service. — tantae rei, of so much importance; i.e. what there was that could be given great enough to produce the required effect.

13. obsides: i.e. this is the donum referred to. — maximum, opera, etc.: i.e. make a special effort to win over the Spaniards in addition to the effect of the act itself.

15. ad (cetera), in accordance...
nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret expromit, et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimissus cum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum prefectus, veluti ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eum eodem ordine quo si Carthaginienium nomine sic ageretur. Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura Carthaginienium fuerat. Illos enim gravis superbosque in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo adventu incognitus ante ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat; et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent ni hiems, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginenses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

with: i.e. not up to their standard of cunning; cf. the similar occasional use of προσ.
17. excitatis: sc. e somno.
18. sic ageretur, the thing were done.
19. futura fuerat, would have been; see Gr. 308. d.—illos: the Carthaginians as more remote in thought, though last mentioned.—expertos: passive, as often; cf. per-populato, 9. 2; emensam, XXI. 30. 5; inauspiciato, 63. 7.—fortuna et timor: the emphatic ideas; i.e. that it was only these that had induced them to send back the hostages, while with the Romans it appeared an act of pure generosity.
20. Romanus: sc. Scipio.—ante, already.—et, then too; introducing another—the third—reason for preferring the Romans.—haud frustra, not without good cause; i.e. he had joined the better party in changing his allies.
21. consensu, approval.—forent: see XXI. 21. 1 n.
Haec in Hispania secunda aestate Punici belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis sol-lers cunctatio Fabii fecisset; quae ut Hannibalem non mediocris sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos, cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret, ita contempta erat inter civis armatos pariter togatosque, utique postquam ab-sente eo tementia magistri equitum laeto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Ac-cesserant duae res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hos-tium abstineri iussit, ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces videri posset, altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso. In permutandis captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Poenum-

Unpopularity of Fabius.

28. ut ... ita, although ... yet, as so often.—ratione, by strategy; the customary use of the ablative of this word to express a systematic method of doing any-thing.—fortuna, at haphazard; properly, trusting to the fortune of war for success. The use of the ablative without cum is a little forced, but is excused by the con-nection with racione.

3. contempta, scorned; for the participle in its adjective use, see Gr. 291. 8. —armatos ... toga-tosque, citizens and soldiers.—utique, etc.: Livy anticipates what is narrated in the next chapter.—laeto (eventu), encouraging success.

—prospemo eventu, real advan-tage.—fuerat: the pluperfect with postquam, contrary to the rule, is to be referred to the desire to express the state of mind after the victory had been gained; see Gr. 324. a, and cf. accesserant in the following.

4. fraude, etc.: a shorthand ex-pression for 'occasioned by the trick-ery,' etc.—circa: see XXI. 7. 5 n.
—hostiwm: equivalent to hostilem.—ea: for the attracted gender, cf. the familiar hoc opus, hic labor est.

5. dubio, suspicious; i.e. that might possibly be judged unfavorably.—in eo (i.e. facto), in the matter, referring to the act described below.

6. primo, etc.: see XXI. 1. 2 n.
que, ut, quae pars plures recuperet quam daret, argenti
7 pondo bina et selabras in militem praestaret. Ducentis
quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus
recepisset argentumque pro eis debitum, saepe iactata
in senatu re, quoniam non consuluissest patres, tardius
8 erogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste agrum misso Romam
Quinto filio vendidit fidemque publicam impendio pri-
vato exsolvit.
9 Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae
atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum paucA reliquerat
10 tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exerci-
tus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione
erat simul castris praesidio et circumspectans necunde
24 impetus in frumentatores fieret. Romanus tunc exer-
citus in agro Larinati erat. Praeerat Minuciuss magister
equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dic-
tatore. Ceterum castra, quae in Monte alto ac tuto loco
posita fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabantur-
que pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiaora, ut impetus aut
in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relictA cum levi

—quae = utra. — pondo: see
XXI. 62. 8 n.
7. non consuluissest: i.e., he
was thought to have exceeded his
authority in making the agreement
without the approval (auctoritas) of
the senate. — erogaretur, was ap-
propriated; the technical term,
though properly used of the people.
8. fidem, debt; properly, the
pledge he had made on behalf of
the state. — exsolvit: as a pound
of silver now contained 84 denarri,
the whole amount would be about
$10,000.

Cavalry Skirmish of Minucius.
9. Gereoni, etc.: cf. 18. 7. The
discrepancy in the accounts is no
doubt due to Livy's careless use of
different authorities.
10. duas... partes, two-thirds,
as in general partes is used
for the denominator of a fraction
which is one greater than the nu-
merator.— expedita, under arms,
as opposed to the foragers, who
would be encumbered with booty.
—praesidio et circumspectans:
cf. adlocutus et... accensos, XXI.
48. 2 n.
24. profecto, in the absence of,
to render the emphasis. — ante:
see 18. 8.
2. posita: cf. contempta, 23. 3 n.
—calidiaora, more hot headed.— ut
impetus fieret, of attacking; defin-
ing consilia calidiaora.
praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem, quod minime quis crederet, cum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militem frumentatum duabus in castris retentis dimisit, dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio milia in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum se sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae cepurent. Quos tenenti locum contempta paucitate Romani postero die cum deieicissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum utique exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies. Simul et per aversa castra [e castris Hannibalis] equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat. Iamque artibus Fabii [pars exercitus 10 aberat iam fame], sedendo et cunctando, bellum gerebat.
receperatque suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni 
moenibus erant. Iusta quoque acie et collatis signis 
dimicatum quidam auctores sunt: primo concursu Poe-
num usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione facta re-
pente versus terrem in Romanos, Numeri Decimi 
Samnitis deinde interventu proelium restitutum. Hunc, 
principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde 
erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo milia pedi-
tum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab 
tergo cum apparuisset. Hannibali, speciem parti utri-
que praebuisse novi praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma 
venientis. Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid ti-
mentem receppisse suos, Romanum insecutum adiuvante 
Samnite duo castella eo die expugnassee. Sex milia 
hostium caesa, quinque admodum Romanorum; tamen 
in tam pari prope clade vanam famam egregiae vic-
toriae cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam 
perlatam.

25 De iis rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione 
actum est. Cum laeta civitate dictator unus nihil nec 
famae nec litteris crederet et, ut vera omnia essent, 
secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret, tum M. 
Metilius tribunus plebis id enimvero ferendum esse

3 n.; stimulando, II. 3 n. — rece- 
perat: Livy carelessly changes the 
point of time to that of Hannibal 
already in his camp.

II. iusta: as opposed to the 
skirmish with the foragers. — aucto-
tores sunt = tradunt.

12. unde = ex quo oppido; cf. 
Cic. Clu. 5. II municipii Larinatis, 
ex quo erat, . . . nobilitate facile 
princeps.

13. castella: apparently out-
works of the camp.

14. vanioribus: i.e. treating it 
as a victory at all was sufficiently 
vain-glorious, but the boasting of 
Minucius was more idle still.

Politics at Rome. Fabius and 
Minucius Made Equal in 
Power.

25. in senatu: in reference to 
the conduct of the war.—in con-
tione: before the people in refer-
ence to future political action.

2. ut, though.

3. id enimvero: quoted without
negat: non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse 4 rei bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare et in ducendo bello sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu imperium habeat. Quippe consulum alterum in acie ceci- 5 disse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sar- 6 dinia ocupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore provincia praetore egerat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, propo in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, 7 quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit, sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupien- 8 tem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione libe- 9 ratos extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostis. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, 10

change from the direct form; see I. 51. 8 n., and cf. Cic. Verr. II. 1. 66 enimvero ferendum hoc quidem non est.

4. rei bene gerendae, the attempt at success. — gestae obstare, stood in the way of its recognition when obtained. The two participles are opposed to each other as future and past, though that is not the English way of putting it; see Gr. 296. footnote, and cf. ante conditam condendamve urbem, Praef. 6 n. — ducendo, prolonging.

5. quippe: introducing the reasons why Fabius was the only magistrate with the imperium. — alterum, alterum: Flaminius (6. 4) and Servilius (11. 7).

6. praetores: sc. T. Otacilius (10. 10) and A. Cornelius Mamma (XXIII. 21. 4).

7. quo: ablative of separation after concessum sit. The construction is common with cedo, but very rare with this compound. — tamquam, etc.: an allusion to the treaty with Hasdrubal (XXI. 2. 7). — trans Hiberum agro: see pugna, etc., XXI. 15. 6 n. — Poenis: dative of advantage (Gr. 226. N. 2).

8. hostibus captivis, captives taken from the enemy.

9. ut ... ut, as soon as ... as if. — abscesserit: for abscessit of the direct discourse; see Gr. 287. c. N.

10. esset: imperfect because the condition is a continued one, though
audaciter se latum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset. Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis. Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur, cum hostem verbis extolleret biennique clades per temeritatem atque inscitiam ducum acceptas referret et magistro equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, prope diem effecturum ut sciant homines bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam multa milia hostium occidisse maiorem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset nocte ad exercitum abit. Luce orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque

the pluperfect would stand in the apodosis; see Gr. 308. a.—audaciter: Quintilian says (I. 6. 17) the use of this form instead of audacter was, in his time, pedantic.—modicam: i.e. less drastic than the one suggested.—promulgaturum: the technical term for giving notice of a proposed bill.

11. ita, in that case, i.e. when that bill had passed.—consulem, etc.: i.e. for the purpose of having another magistrate with the imperium.

12. in actione, as a speaker; not being a popular man with the multitude, Fabius was not likely to gain anything by debate in the contio.—acceptas referret: not in its technical meaning of charge, but still with a vague allusion to its commercial use, repeated in rationem, etc.

14. bono imperatore: a loose use of the ablative of manner.—fortunam: cf. 23. 2 n.

16. Regulo: he had been consul in B.C. 227, and was now old (40. 6).

17. plebis concilium: probably the comitia tributa for passing the law.—magis, etc.: i.e. there was more feeling in favor of the law than willingness on the part of any prominent men (auctoritas) to
magistri equitum animos versabat quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod vulgo placebat prodire, et favore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerrat. Vnus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum. Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pecunia a patre relict a animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit: quaestura quoque et duabus aedilitati bus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura perfunctus iam ad consulatus spem cum attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidiam petiit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit.

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in

come forward as its champions.—
favore superante, though a large majority was in its favor.

C. Terentius Varro.

18. Varro: see 34, where his career is continued. — sordido: in allusion to the mean occupation of his father (lanium).

19. ipsum, etc.: i.e. he had actually peddled his own meat, like the driver of a butcher's cart.

26. liberalioris, less servile, as opposed to the humble nature of his former occupation. — toga: the lower classes appeared in their tunics only (tunicatus popellus), while respectable persons never went out without the toga. — forum: as the center of business and public life; i.e. he became a shyster (rabula or latrator).

2. proclamando: a contemptuous word instead of orando, or dicendis causis, which would be used of a real advocate. — populi: in its later use, referring to the common people. — honores, office, though of the humblest sort, as is implied in quoque (3).

3. quoque: i.e. these offices admitted Varro into the nobility. — attolleret animos, began to aspire; had the confidence to think he could attain this office.

4. auram, etc.: cf. arbitrio popularis aurae, Hor. C. III. 2. 20. — dictatoria: not merely against the dictator, but such as a dictator naturally excited in the popular mind. — tuli, carried off, by taking up the cause single-handed.

5. eam rogationem latam, the passage of this bill; cf. amissae, XXI. 1. 5 n. — quique ... quique:
exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dicta-
torem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt; ipse, qua
gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos
tulerat, eadem et populi in se saevientis iniuriam tulit;
acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus de aequato
imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii iure
artem imperandi aequatam cum invicto a civibus hosti-
busque animo ad exercitum rediit.

27 Minucius vero cum iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset
rebus secundis ac favore volgi, tum utique immodice
immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam
Q. Fabio gloriari: illum, in rebus asperis unicum ducem
ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dic-
tatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habe-
at annalium, iussu populi aequatum in eadem civitate
in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris
tremere atque horrere soliti sint: tantum suam felici-
tatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secutum suam, si dictator
in cunctatione ac segnitie

a very rare use of -que . . . -que,
found in Livy only with relative pro-
nouns.—in contumeliam, as an
insult; see in maius, XXI. 32. 7.
n., and cf. in omen . . . acceptum,
XXI. 63. 14.—acceperunt, took;
almost like the English expression.

6. gravitate animi, dignity, but
with reference to the unruflled feel-
ings with which as a gravis vir, one
not easily moved (cf. levis), Fabius
accepted the situation. — crimi-
nantes, etc.: the two classes are
the active enemies, and the people
who were supposed to be impartial
and only misguided.

7. litteris senatus: the action
of the senate putting in force the
vote of the people; cf. litterae ab
senatu, XXI. 51. 5.—invicto, etc.: 

VAINGLORY OF MINUCIUS.

27. rebus, etc.: ablatives of
cause, loosely used after Livy's cus-
tom.

2. tum utique: opposed to iam
ante; cf. 24. 8 n. — immodice im-
modesteque, violently and without
restraint; two aspects of the same
character, the former referring to the
degree of his action, the latter, to his
want of self-restraint in so conducting
himself. — Hannibale victo ab se,
in his victory over Hannibal.

3. minori: applied by Minucius
to himself, though grammatically
the reference is ambiguous.— ae-
quatam: he himself treats the
action as a leveling down and not
up: cf. 26. 5.

4. felicitatem: notice the weight
deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret. Itaque 5 quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuen-
dum omnium primum ait esse quem ad modum imperio
aequato utantur: se optimum ducere, aut diebus alternis 6
aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus
alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par hosti 7
non consilio solum sed viribus etiam esset, si quam
occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudqua-
quam id placere: omnia fortunam eam habitura quam-
cumque temeritas collegae habuisset; sibi communicatum
cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse: itaque se num-
quam volentem parte qua posset rerum consilio geren-
darum cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum
eo, exercitum divisurum suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia
non licet, quae posset servaturum. Ita obtinuit ut 10
legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividere.
Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evene-
runt. Item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini 11
nominis auxilia diviserunt. Castris quoque se separari
magister equitum voluit.

given to good fortune as an
indication of the favor of the gods;
hence secuturum se fortunam
suam, meaning that Minucius
would take advantage of this fa-
vor if his colleague continued in
his old course. — deorum: with
the same idea which is expressed
in felicitatem and fortunam,
above.

6. alterius: i.e. one of the two
at a time, each having the whole
army at his disposal.

8. fortunam, etc.: i.e. the en-
tire issue of the campaign, as well
as the rashness of his colleague,
would be alike the sport of for-
tune; cf. 29.1. — esse: oratio obli-
qua, whereas placere is historical
infinite.

9. parte: for the ablative cf. quo.
25. 7 n. — qua posset: sc. cedere;
i.e. though Fabius had to give up
half the army, he would still be able
to contribute to the judicious con-
duct of the war,—as the sequel
proved (29. 3–6). — tempora aut
dies: cf. diebus alternis and parti-
tis temporibus, 6.

10. prima et quarta, etc.: two
legions, with the accompanying aux-
iliaries, formed the regular consular
army. — evenerunt: sc. sorte; see
XXI. 17. 1 n.

11. numero: a loose ablative of
manner.
Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit — neque enim quicquam eorum quae apud hostes agerentur eum fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem; nam et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem procurorum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere.

Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus tendens insidiis eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes, ut quaedam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alcuiaius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum

**MINUCIUS IS DRAWN INTO AN AMBUSH.**

28. neque enim: introducing the reason generally for any feeling at all on the part of Hannibal. — agerentur: subjunctive of indefinite frequency; see note on haesisset, XXI. 8. 11.

2. nam: introducing the reason for the particular feeling. — liberam, unrestrained; i.e. by his colleague. — se, etc.: indirect discourse depending on the thought implied in gaudium.

4. causam, an occasion. — contrahere: used on account of the idea of joining battle; cf. committere pugnam, manus conserere, and the like.

5. non modo, not only not; see 3. 4 n. — quicquam, any place, belonging both with silvestre and vestitum.

6. re ipsa: opposed to prima specie. — insidiis: dative after natus in the sense of aptus; cf. loca nata insidiis, 4. 2. — et erant: and in fact there were; hence the emphatic position. — anfractibus, depressions, because of the rolling or uneven surface.
avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu con-9
tempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos
inde hostis ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidis-
simos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat et vanis minis
increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam dimittit,10
deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum
hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legioni-
bus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque11
alia crescente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equi-
tumque iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque
viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum,12
praecoccupatam inferiorem loco succedens tumulum, pulsa
detrusaque terrem in succedentem intulit equitem et
ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter percul-
sos impavida sola erat videbaturque, si iusta ac recta
pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura: tantum ani-
morum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta; sed14
exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terremque
in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut
nec animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam
superesset.

Tum Fabius primo clamore paventium audito, dein29
conspecta procul turbata acie ‘Ita est,’ inquit; ‘non cele-
rius quam timui deprendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio 2

8. avertit: sc. Hannibal.
9. pellendos... hostis: i.e. the
task of driving, etc., like the gerund
with dare, locare, etc.: see Gr.
d.—ad arma: see XXI. 49.
10 n.
11. iustam, regular; i.e. a com-
plete line of battle as opposed to a
skirmishing party.—expleverat,
finally filled out; the pluperfect be-
ing used to take a new point of time.
12. inferiore loco: as the hill
had been occupied by the enemy,
the Romans were obliged to make
the attack from below.
13. recta, front to front.—esset:
a contrary-to-fact protasis to futura
(esse); see Gr. 308. footnote, and
337. N. 3.
14. animus... spes: an effec-
tive chiasmus; see XXI. 6. 1 n.

FABIUS GOES TO THE RESCUE.
29. ita est, etc.: confirming his
apprehensions; see 27. 8.
aequatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. · Sed aliud iurgandi suspensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferte: victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus.’ Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret aut manum conserveret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis ferci pugna hostis continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc congobati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, inferebant que signa in hostem, cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus ‘Saepe ego’ inquit ‘audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti oboediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniiique negata sors est, secundam ac medium teneamus et, dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio iungamus; ad praetorium eius signa cum

5. *volventes orbem*, forming a circle; differing from congobati, as referring to the beginning of the movement before the forces made a solid body.—*sensim*, only gradually, as opposed to the disorderly retreat before.

8. *eum primum*, etc.: cf. Cic. *Clu.* 31. 84 *sapientissimum—esse dicunt eum cui quod opus sit ipsi veniat in mentem; proxime accedere illum qui alterius bene inventis obteneret*. The sentiment is as old as Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 293 seq.). — *extremi ingenii esse*, has the feeblest powers.

9. *nobis*: referring to the speaker, with his supporters and partisans as well.
tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos, milites, eos quorum vos modo arma ac dexterae texerunt patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriabam dies hic dederit.' Signo dato conclamatur inde ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incidentes ad dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant converterunt. Vt constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante aliros magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset circumfusosque militum eius totum agmen patronos consalutasset, 'Parentibus' inquit 'meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod fando possum, aequavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi cum meam salutem tum omnium horum. Itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus magis quam honoratus sum, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihi exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa haec legionesque restituo. Tu, quaeo, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos

11. salutabitis: equivalent to an imperative.

**Submission of Minucius.**

80. conclamatur: the order was given by an understood signal, whereupon the cry to break camp (colligere vasa) ran along the lines; see XXI. 47. 2 n.

2. ante tribunal, etc.: the army proceeds to the elevated platform (tribunal) in front of the general's headquarters (praetorium), where a formal halt is made and the standards set up in regular form.

3. modo, just now; i.e. in his salutation.

4. oneratus, honoratus: such jingles and puns were affected by many Latin writers even in the most serious discourse; cf. the verse quoted by Varro, *L. L. V. 73 onus est honos qui sustinet rem publicam.*

— primus, etc.: *i.e.* though the bill was in his favor, he takes the initiative, etc.—antiquo, abrogo: technical words for voting against a proposition and annulling an old law, respectively. — quod tibi, etc.: a common prayer preceding any formal action among the Romans, like "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," at the end of our formulae.

5. placatus, etc.: implying that they had forfeited their positions by their action.
6 quemque tenere iubeas.' Tum dextrae interiunctae militesque contione dimissa ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, laetusque dies ex admodum 7 tristi paulo ante ac prope exsecrabili factus. Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam volgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirma, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus 8 ad caelum ferre. Pari gloria apud Hannibalem hostisque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent cuius terribilem famam a 10 patribus accepissent; Hannibalemque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

81 Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram et obsidibus utrimque accep- tis in Africam transmisit et, priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque

**AFFAIRS ON THE SEA.**

**81. dum, etc.: the narrative is resumed from ii. 7. — centum viginti: the number is supplied from Polybius. — Sardiniae: Polybius (III. 96) says the Carthaginian fleet retreated from Sardinia to Carthage on the approach of Servilius. — utrimque: i.e. from both islands.**

**2. Menige: Meninx was an island on the coast of Africa, southeast of the Lesser Syrtis, famed as the home of the Lotophagi. — incoentibus: see XXI. 29. 2 n. — ipsorum: one would expect suus, but it is displaced by the intensive**
ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta effusi ac si in insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere inlati cum a frequentibus palantes, ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum cum Ti. Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amissum. Classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam currum tenuit, traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato eius P. Cincio Romam reducereetur. Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semestri imperio acciperent.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Coelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum because of the contrast with the inhabitants of the other island.  
3. iuxta ac si, just as if.
4. palantes, straggling, as opposed to the considerable bodies indicated by frequentibus.
5. ad: see XXI. 22. 3 n.
7. ipse: opposing Servilius to the fleet. — pedibus, by land, not necessarily on foot; cf. πεζῷ. — freto: sc. Siculo. — collega: the syntax is careless, as this word belongs only to accitus (not to traiecit). — semestri: the regular limit of dictatorial power.

**THE TITLE OF FABIUS.**

8. omnium, etc.: the excursus is in the manner of Livy; cf. XXI.

15. 3; 38. — annales, the accounts; properly, a record of events by years, whence the word comes to mean history in general. — dictatorem, etc.: i.e. that he was officially and regularly a dictator in this campaign. — primum, etc.: i.e. that his was the first case in which the people voted for a dictator; Coelius not only makes him a dictator, but represents the practice as changed by this precedent.

9. Coelium ... fugit: the force of precedent in Roman polity is curiously illustrated by this argument, which amounts to no more than that this action was contrary to established order, and therefore could not have been taken. —
procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisse dicendi dicituris; quam moram quia exspectare territa iam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo cretur qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore creatus erat, fuisse dictator crederetur, facile obtinuisset.

82 Consules Atilius Fabiano Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto hibernaculis mature communitis, quod reliquum autumni erat, Fabi artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis,

Gallia: i.e. the ager Gallicus between Ariminum and Ancona (9.6).
—ius dicendi: a dictator was not elected, but appointed by a chief magistrate who was sometimes elected for that express purpose. In this case, as there was only one consul, and as he was detained in the field, this method could not be followed, whence Livy argues that the people must have elected a pro-dictator.

10. iam: referring to the battles of Ticinus, Trebia, and Trasimenum. Many editors adopt Lentz’s insertion of tertia after territa.—eo decursum esse, this expedient was resorted to.—pro dictatore: as they could not elect a dictator, they elected a person to act as such. The tenacity of the Romans in regard to forms was accompanied by an equal ingenuity in evading them, no doubt a natural effect of the tenacity.

11. augentes, magnifying; i.e. by writing dictator bis, instead of pro dictatore, dictator.—titulum: the actual inscription under the wax mask (imagi), which in the case of curule officers was preserved in the atrium by their descendants, and constituted the title of the family to nobility. This inscription contained the name and all the offices of the deceased.—obtinuisset, succeeded in making; with the idea of gaining a point, establishing the exaggeration as true, as if it were purposely done.

THE FABIAN POLICY CONTINUED.

82. Fabiano: the Latin is fond of using possessive adjectives; see Gr. 214. a. 2.—concordia: opposed to the dissensions of Scipio and Sempronius, and of Fabius and Minucius.

2. carpentes, skirmishing with; cf. carpem, 16. 2.—casum, risk; in translation such inversions of the point of view are often necessary and very often convenient; here the uncertain chance of a general engagement, considered absolutely, is the same thing as the risk, from the point of view of the Romans.—
non veniebant; adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal 3 ut, nisi cum fugae specie abeundum timuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relictà spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si inequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediente constituisset 4 bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quandraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque ita verba facta ut dicerent: scire sese populi 5 Romani aerarium bello exhauriri, et cum iuxta pro urbi- bus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana, atque imperio geratur, aequum censuisse 6 Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret, eo iuvalre populum Romanum; si quam opem in sese 7 crederent, eodem studio fuisset oblaturos. Gratam sibi non veniebant, would not come; see Gr. 277. g.

3. coactus, straitened; used absolutely. — timuisset: Madvig changed to ei fuisset because of abeundum, instead of a ne-clause. But the infinitive is occasionally found after expressions of fear; cf. me crimen subitum timerem, II. 7. 9 n., and see se vicisse, XXI. 53. I n.—repetiturus fuerit: a kind of double subjunctive, containing the result after ut and the apodosis to nisi, etc.; see Gr. 308. d. N.—inequentes: i.e. for the next year. — gererent: the apodosis relinguatur (in Hannibal's mind) is loosely expressed in relictà.

4. iam: in reference to the gradual approach of winter. — ut dicere- rent: this addition to ita verba facta (sunt) is usually explained as furnishing a verb on which the following oratio obliqua may depend. But pleonasm is exceptionally frequent in Livy; cf. ab initio ordi- endae rei, Praef. 12; itaque ergo, I. 25. 2; praecoccupatos ante, XXI. 20. 8. Quintilian (VIII. 3. 53) gives legati retro domum, unde venerant, abierunt from a lost book of Livy as an instance of 'vitanda macro- logia,' and Caligula (Suet. Cal. 34) criticised Livy ut verbosum in his toria neglectenterque. With this passage cf. orationem ita finivit ut dicere, XXXVI. 28; atque ita locu- tus est ut dicere, Cic. Phil. IX. 4. 9.


6. subsidium: i.e. a resource for the time of need. — foret: see XXI. 21. 1 n.

7. in sese: in their own persons, as opposed to the treasure. — gra- tum, etc.: i.e. would confer a favor
patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res
8 Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignoque iudicaverint
ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum qui libentes
darent quam re maius ampliusque, acciperent. Legatis
gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera quae ponderis minimi fuit accepta.

38 Per eosdem dies specularum Carthaginiensis, qui per
biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque mani-
2 bus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti,
quod in campo Martio coniurassent; indici data libertas
et aeris gravis viginti milia. Legati et ad Philippum
Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium
4 Pharium, qui bello victus ad eum fugisset, et alii in
Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxiliis-
que suis iuvissent, simul ad visendum ex propinquo quae
5 in Bois atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quo-

2. coniurassent: nothing is
known of the nature or object of
this plot. The subjunctive is that
of quotation; so fugisset, 3; iu-
vissent, 4; and vovisset, 7.—
aeris gravis: as opposed to the
reduced weight of the as in the
depreciated coinage. Its value was
considered the same as that of the
sesertius, or nearly five cents.
3. Philippum: Philip V., con-
quered by Flamininus at Cynosceph-
halae in 197 B.C.—Demetrium: a
Greek turncoat from Pharos (now
Lesina) an island near the Dalma-
tian coast of the Adriatic. He had
forsaken his queen, Teuta of Scodra,
for the Romans, but soon deserted
them. After his defeat by Aemilius
Paulus in 219 B.C. he fled to Philip.
5. ad Pineum . . . in Illyrios: see
Gr. 259. b.—Pineum: Pineus,
or Pinnes, the stepson of Teuta.
He was at first under the regency of
Teuta, and then ruled Illyria under
que regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquaque quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano C. Pupius et K. Quinctius Flamininus aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret; se in eam diem quam iussisset comitia edictum. Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum sine detrimento rei publicae abseddi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius quam consul alter a bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici com-

the guardianship of Demetrius. — stipendium: after the defeat of Teuta, in 228 B.C., she surrendered to Rome a large part of her realm and the Illyrians paid an annual tribute.

6. adeo, to such a degree, sc. as is indicated by the previous details. — cervicibus: i.e. like a burden carried on the back and shoulders. The figure is a very common one; cf. Justinus, XXIX. 3 nec Romani, tametsi Poeni et Hannibal in cervicibus erant, soluti metu Macedonico videbantur. — longinquaque: the adjective is not unnaturally transferred from rei to cura.

7. in religionem venit, a scruple arose. — quam, etc.: the matter should be in XXI. 25. 13, but is not mentioned there. — biennio ante:

Manlius was praetor the year before: see biennio, 30. 9 n. — locatam, contracted for.

8. creati, etc.: i.e. according to the usual meaning of the verb, the praetor urbanus presided at the election. — in arce: to distinguish it from the great temple of Concord on the slope towards the Forum.

AN INTERREGNUM AND A CONSULAR CAMPAIGN.

9. ut . . . veniret: the ut-construction because the letter contains a command; but as it also contains a statement of fact, the next clause is accusative with infinitive.

II. dictatorem: probably because a dictator could be in office
torum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M. 12 Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum rediit. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges prodicti a patriibus C. Claudius Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magni certa-
mine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectorum principum populi
busque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et
dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem,
volgus extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa
ope obstabant, ne se insectoro sibi aquari adsumecerent
3 homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, co-
gnatus C. Terenti, crinando non senatum modo sed
etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuisset comitia
perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo con-
ciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus per multos annos bellum
quaerentibus Hannibalem in Italian amductum; ab is-
dem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Cum
quattuor legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisset

at the same time with the consuls, while the appointment of an inter-
rex would imply that the other magistrates were out of office. The
dictator would be appointed for the particular purpose only.

12. interregnum: apparently the term of office of the consuls
had expired.

84. consulibus: i.e. they were
retained as proconsuls, in the same
manner that later became regular.
—prodi, etc.: it would seem that
the interrex was appointed by the
Senate (9).

2. Varroni: see 25. 18.—sui:
referring to volgus.—populari-
bus, of a demagogue.—opibus:
sc. concussis. — aliena invidia: i.e.
more by hatred towards another
than regard for himself.—extra-
here, to rais (ex), with the idea
of difficulty and impropriety (tra-
here).—se insectando, etc.: i.e.
for fear of the precedent, if men
should be able to rise to their dig-
nity by attacking them.

3. ciliabat: the force of the
imperfect ('proceeded to,' or 'was
engaged in') need not be expressed
in English, which is less careful
than the Latin in regard to the
‘progressive’ tenses.

4. quaerentibus: see XXI. 2.
7; 6. 4; 18. 13.

5. universis, if united.
eo, quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobilis ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisses; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, cum vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse; eum populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei qui mature vincere quam diu imperare malit.

7. *id foedus*: *i.e.* a conspiracy to that end. — *hominem novum*: in the same sense as later, the first of his family to attain a curule office.

8. *plebeios nobiles*: *i.e.* men not originally patricians, but of the new nobility, based upon curule office and consequent membership of the Senate. — *iam*, etc.: *i.e.* had now come to be. — *initios*, etc.: doubtless a metaphor from the induction into the mysteries of any secret society. — *patribus*: the old nobility, original patricians. The syntax is *ulative of the agent*; cf. *Hannibali*, XXI. 34. 9 n.

9. *actum*: *i.e.* that this was what they had been aiming at. — *ut* . . . *iniretur*: object clause in apposition with *id*. — *ut* . . . *essent*: purpose clause.

10. *iis*: the consuls. — *dictus*, etc.: it seems to be forgotten that it was the Senate that decided the point. — *expugnatum esse*: *i.e.* that they had carried their point in a high-handed manner, through their tools, the augurs. — *vitosus*, *irregular*; with a *vitium* or flaw in his appointment.

11. *eos*: *sc. patres*. — *consulatum*, etc.: *i.e.* the interregnum was in the hands of the Senate; but in the case of the consulate, one of the persons must be chosen from the commons since the Licinian Rogations, passed in 367 B.C. — *populum*: essentially the same as *plebs*, though not strictly so even here. — *liberum*, *untrammled*: *i.e.* without the coercion of the nobility. — *diu imperare*: a thrust at Fabius (25. 4).
Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patri- 

iciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda L. Manlio Volsone 

M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium iam familiarum 

plebeis, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum 

alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus 

creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae. 

Tum experta nobilitas parus vuisse virium in competitori-

bus eius L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul 

fuerat, ex damnatione collegae, ex qua prope ambustus 

evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusan tem ad 

petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitiali die conce-

dentibus omnibus: qui cum Varrone certaverant, par 

magis in adversandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde 

praetorium comitia habita: creati M. Pomponius Matho 

et P. Furius Philus. Philo Romaè iuri dicundo urbana 

sors, Pomponio inter civis Romanos et peregrinos evenit. 

Additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, 

L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes 

creati sunt, nec cuquam eorum praeter Terentium con-

THE ELECTION OF CONSULS AND 

PRAETORS.

85. 2. nobilium iam: see 34. 

8 n.—unus, alone: the patricians 

so divided their vote among the five 

candidates that no one was elected. 

—ut . . . essent: a result clause. 

3. eius: i.e. of Varro. —consul 

fuera: in B.C. 219. The law for-

bidding re-election to the consulate 

within ten years (VII. 42) was this 

year suspended, quod bellum in 

Italia esset (XXVII. 6). —damnna-

tione: in consequence of some 

irregularities in connection with the 

war with Demetrius (33. 3). —prope 

ambustus, so as by fire: a figure 

often used of accused persons; cf. 

40. 3. —ad petitionem compellit, 

induces to stand.

4. par . . . collega, more as an 
equal to thwart him than as a real 

colleague.

5. iuri dicundo: the regular da-

tive construction with descriptions 
of offices, and so here attached to 
sors, which would more naturally 
take the genitive. —urbana sors: 
i.e. as praetor urbanus. —inter 
cives, etc.: i.e. as praetor peregrinus.

6. additi, etc., two other praetors 

were chosen. There had for ten 

years been four praetors. —Mar-

cellus: the conqueror of Syracuse 
in 212 B.C. He fell at Venusia in 

208, and was buried by Hannibal 

(XXVII. 27, 28).

7. omnes: sc. praetores, while 
eorum includes consuls as well. — 

nec cuquam, etc.: i.e. no untired
sulem mandatus honos quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem 86 copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores ut vix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem milia novo-rum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas 3 milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiec-tis, ut quina milia peditum, treceni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent, [septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in 4 castris Romanis fuisse, cum pugnatum ad Cannes est], quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, 5 maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinciri hostem dictator praebuerat.

Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones 6

man was elected to any of the offices except Varro, and in the other cases excellent men were passed over to avoid doing so. — fortibus ac strenuis: cf. XXI. 4. 4 n. — in tali tempore, in such an emergency; a favorite phrase in Livy, always in this sense; cf. quo in tempore, 61. 14. — novus: explained above by quem . . . gessisset.

STRENGTH OF THE FORCES.

86. 2. alii: a verb may be supplied from variant (1), or from auctores sunt (4).

3. milibus: used like a distributive; milleni was apparently not yet in use. — treceni: there is some confusion here, as, according to XXI. 17. 3, there was already a cavalry contingent of 300 in a legion.— peditis: n. numeral.

4. septem . . . est: as these words only summarize what has just been stated and are awkwardly constructed, Weissenborn rejected them as a gloss. Furthermore, fuisse is not in the MSS., though it is indispensable, and in castris, instead of in acte, is inexact. — quidam: e.g. Polybius (III. 107).

5. spem posse, etc.: see 29. 6.

PRODIGIES.

6. ceterum: resuming the narrative after a digression, as frequently in Livy. — priusquam, etc.: i.e. to prevent superstitious fears, religious matters were attended to before anybody went to
moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi
7 propterterritosvolgo hominesnovis pro digii. Nam et
Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem
tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in
Sabinis sudasse, et Caeretes aquas fonte calido gelidas
8 manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis
terrebat; et in via fornicata, quae ad Campum erat, ali-
quot homines de caelo tacti examinatique fuerant. Ea
9 prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Paesto pateras
aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiae
actae, aurum non acceptum.

37 Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno
2 commetatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nun-
tiarunt caedem C. Flaminis consulis exercitusque allatam
adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria
3 regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quam-
quam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admi-
rabiliorum prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse,
4 tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella
iuvari soleant, misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant, magno
5 opere se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum
omnis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac
viginti adferre sese: acciperent eam tenerentque et
6 haberent propiam et perpetuam. Advexitus etiam tre-

the field. — decemviri libros, etc. :
see I. 16 n., and XXI. 62. 6 n.
7. lapidibus: cf. XXI. 62. 5 n.
8. erat, used to lead; the arcade
was not in existence in Livy's time.

EMBASSY OF HIERO.

87. Hierone: see XXI. 49.
3 n.—Ostia: accusative plural.
The feminine singular form is more
common; cf. II. 7.
2. adlatam, the news of.—potu-
erit: the common perfect in result
clauses (Gr. 287. c.); but there is
here an interesting syntactical com-
plex, because the whole statement is
in indirect discourse, because potu-
erit is apodosis to the condition
implied in sua propria, etc., and
because of the behavior of possum,
etc. (Gr. 308, c.), in such situations.
5. sese: in this section, as in the
next, the envoys speak of themselves,
but in 7 ff. they again personate the
king. — propiam, etc.: implying
centa milia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commes- 
tus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo 
iussissent subvecturos. Milite atque equite scire nisi 7 
Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; 
levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris 
Romanis: itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac fundi-
torum, aptam manum adversus Balaeres ac Mauros 
pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium 9 
quoque addebat, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia eve-
nisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in 
terra sua bellum haberent minusque laxamenti daretur 
iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu ita 10 
responsum regis legatis est, virum bonum egregiumque 
socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in 
amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem 
Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuvisse. Id 
perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum 11 
et a civitatibus quibusdam allatum gratia rei accepta 
non accipisse populum Romanum. Victoriam omenque 12 
accipere sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, 
templum Iovis optimi maximi; in ea arce urbis Roma-
nae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem 
fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittariique et fru-
mentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad...
navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in
Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est
ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

88 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morātī dies, dum ab
2 sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod
numquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis
3 militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter
sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum conventuros neque
iniussu abituros, et ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum
convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decurianti
4 equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant sese fugae atque
formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros
nisi teli sumendi aut aptandi et aut hostis feriendi aut
civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere
ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem
translatum.

6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, con-
sulis Varronis multae ac ferores fuere, denuntiantis
bellum arcessitum in Italianam ab nobilibus mansurumque
7 in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores
8 haberet, se, quo die hostem vidissent, perfecturum. Col-
legae eius Pauli una, pridie quam ab urbe proficisceretur,
contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil incle-

maximi, below, and vellent iuβerent, XXI. 17. 4.
13. navium: the number has
fallen out, but may perhaps be sup-
plied from XXI. 51. 7. The fleet of
Servilius had been recalled (31. 6).

PREPARATIONS AND DISSENSIONS.

88. dum venirent: see XXI.
8. 1 n.
2. iure iurando; a special oath,
besides the ordinary one of enlist-
ment (sacramentum).

3. decuriatum, etc.: i.e. the
forming into military divisions of
the horse and foot, respectively;
the organisation. — convenissent:
iterative subjunctive; see XXI. 4.
4 n. — suā: as opposed to the
compulsion of the other oath by the
tribunes.
5. voluntario: opposed to legi-
timam, etc. — ipsos: opposed to
tribunos.
6. contiones, addresses to the
people. — denuntiantis, for he de-
clared openly.
menter in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se qui dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret quae sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque praedicere posset qua cum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus: se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non praecipitum; optare ut, quae caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, prae terquam quod stulta sit, infelici etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscantem adlocutus furtur:

'Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L. 89 Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, super vacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules etiam me indicente omnia e publica fideque vestra faceretis, et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te 3 talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequiquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera parte claudente re publica malis consiliis idem ac bonis

9. qui, how. — togatus: the paludamentum was not assumed till the moment of departure; Varro was as yet a magistrate engaged in civil business only.

11. consilia, etc.: the expression is a shorthand one, and more epigrammatic than clear, since homines can hardly 'give counsel to circumstances.' But the proper form, regere res, would spoil the antithesis; cf. Horace, Ep. I. 1. 19 et mithi res, non me rebus subiungere conor. — optare, that he prayed; almost always used with religious associations.

12. id locorum: used of time, as often in many writers.

13. sua sponte, on the face of it; i.e. by his speech, without any study of it; cf. I. 11.

Speech of Fabius to Paulus.

89. 2. indicente: a very rare and apparently colloquial compound of in (negative) and dicens, like in-dictus.

3. nunc: i.e. as the case is; see XXI. 40. 3 n. — malis, etc.: i.e. and the folly of Varro shall have
iuris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestor hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te, et cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certatus, et adversus Hannibalem, legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuus militibus te sit oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria; tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere; hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armam iuventutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atqui si, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoror aut nobilior alius Trasummenno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam adpetendo gloriam modum exesserim; sed ita

the same rights and powers as the wisdom of Aemilius,

4. hic: sc. Varro, as nearer in fact; see Gr. 102. a.

5. sis . . . sit: dependent on nescio an, and thus made co-ordinate with the preceding clause, though really containing the reason of it.—legiones: Livy often applies Roman technical terms to the Carthaginians; cf. cohorts, XXI. 14. 2; tumris manipulisque, 54. 3. —Varro dux tuis, etc.: e.g. as Minucius had prejudiced the soldiers of Fabius (12. 12; 14. 4 seq.).

6. tamen: i.e. though I unwillingly refer to Flaminius on account of the omen, yet, etc.—demum: i.e. not until he was consul, as opposed to Varro, who began much earlier.

7. iactando, by loose talk of.—armatam: emphatically opposed to togatos. —extemplo res, etc.: i.e. when there will be an opportunity to carry out at once the rash counsels which he now only expresses in words.

8. atqui, etc.: i.e. it is clear that Varro will practice his rash counsels. Now if he does, I can already predict the result.

9. adversus unum, in the presence of a single auditor; as one might do before an assembly.—exesserim, would I wish to overstep.—sed, etc.: i.e. though I have
res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet — stultorum iste magister est —, sed eadem ratio, quae fuit, futura, donec res eadem maneunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis viris equis commeatibus iuvant iuvabuntque: id iam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores prudentiores constantiores nos tempus diesque facit; Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui videt; in diem rapto vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet quem Hiberam amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti, nec his paucis iam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quam diu pro Gereoni, castelli Apuliae inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet! Sed ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor: Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide quem ad modum eum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis

the reasons mentioned for not saying it, yet the fact is so and it must be said.

10. stultorum, etc.: i.e. it is only fools who need that lesson; hence the emphasis. For the sentiment cf. II. 17. 32 ἡχθέν δὲ τοῦ ἡμῶν δένυο.— ratio, reason, as opposed to experience, just referred to.

11. iuvant: omnia is the grammatical, but cives et socii the real subject.

13. inter omnia, etc.: cf. XXI. 32. 9 n.—sui: partitive genitive instead of suum in agreement.— in diem: belonging to rapto vivit together, but with special reference to rapto; cf. 40. 8.

15. senescat, grows weaker.

16. ne adversus, etc.: just the opposite turn of thought to that in 9, but with equal propriety, for if he boasted before Aemilius he would be in no danger of being misunderstood.
quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui quod hostium milites volent, idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, si adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstinguui numquam: vanam gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit. Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli vocent: malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego ut nihil agatur moneo, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasioni tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt; festinatio improvida est et caeca.'

Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit, magis fatentis ea quae diceret vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse:

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18. oportet, it rests upon you; not exactly like necesse est, nor on the other hand the ordinary force of oportet, but apparently a more primary meaning of the word.

19. laborare, is eclipsed, with a conscious figure. — nimis: this word is not necessary for the exact opposition with numquam, but gives a pathetic turn to the thought.

20. timidum pro, etc.: cf. 12.

21. ratio, fortuna: cf. 18. 8.— tuae potestatis, etc.: i.e. keep under your control, not slacken your hold for a moment, as explained in armatus, etc.— suam: for the reflexive see Gr. 196. c. n.

22. clara certaque: an alliteration found in several authors and periods. With many Latin writers, Livy had a fondness for this kind of assonance; in this chapter note auribus animis (2), ratio res (10), sede solo (11), fame ferro (14), audentem agentem (20).

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Reply of Paulus.

40. haud sane laeta, not very hopeful.— fatentis: cf. denuntiantis, 35. 6.

2. intolerabilem: cf. 27. 1.
quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerar-rium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare in-3-cendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare ut omnia prospere evenirent; sed si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiecturum.

Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prose-4-quentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates de-essent. Vt in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu 5 ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur virium esset, eonsulum anni prioris M. Atilium 6 aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt, Geminum Ser-vilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Han-nibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non 8 solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus supera-bat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, 9 quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset,

3. semustum: cf. ambustus, 35.3 n.—optare: cf. 38. 11 n.

DEPARTURE FOR THE FIELD.

4. ab, immediately after.—pro-sequentibus, escorted by. —sua: the reflexive pronoun, because cons-ulem is the real subject of dis-course; see Gr. 196. c.—turba, etc.: i.e. his escort was more im-pressive with respect to its size merely, for the lack of distinguished citizens (dignitates) was felt.—

conspectior: cf. conspiciebantur, XXI. 4. 8.—dignitates: the plural of abstract nouns for the concrete is less unusual in Livy than in the earlier prose writers; cf. servitia, 57. 11; altitudines, XXI. 30. 6; frigora, XXI. 58. 1.

5. in castra: apparently in the same place as before; see 24. 1.—ut, in such a manner that.

6. aetatem excusantem, alleg-ing his age as an excuse.

7. dimidia, etc., increased by half.
Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

41. Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haud-quaquam par Poenis dimitacio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu 3 insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die — nam alternis imperitabant — imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus debellari, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnun haud aegerrime pati; quin potius credere velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas 6 prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum militae castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit

9. parata fuerit, etc.: this mixed construction, uniting in one an apodosis and a result, is a natural consequence of the method of growth of the contrary-to-fact condition. Hannibal might have said, parata est, si ... exspectata sit, 'if we wait to give them time, they are all ready to desert.' This, thrown into past time, becomes parata fuit, si ... esset (foret); thus a contrary-to-fact suggestion arises in the protasis, and then fuit becomes fuerit after the ut.

SKIRMISHING BETWEEN THE LINES.

41. consulis: Varro, of course, though he has not been mentioned.
transque proximos montis laeva pedites instructos con- 7
dit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem mediam
traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum 8
castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret.
Crebri relictii in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse 9
longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castro-
rum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere
in locis consules voluisse.

Vbi inluxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde pro- 42
pius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit.
Tum satis comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit 2
ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo
trepidam ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint,
quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos
ignis. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri iuberent 3
ducerentque ad persequendos hostis ac protinus castra
diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus turbae militaris
erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum 4
praecavendumque esse; postremo, cum aliter neque
seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset,
Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana explo-
ratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere 5
extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum duobus equiti-
bus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura re-
nuntiat insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum 6

9. praeciperet, get in advance.
—sicut, etc.: i.e. he now pretends
to practice a ruse, as he had really
practiced one with Fabius, though
the circumstances were very differ-
ent; see cc. 16-18.

HANNIBAL'S RUSE DETECTED.

42. subductae stationes, the
drawn; see XXI. 1. 5 n.—adeun-
tibus: the scouting parties of the
Romans.
2. praetoria: each consul had
his own headquarters.—nuntian-
tium: to be joined with concurs-
sus; cf. pugnantium, XXI. 29. 2 n.
3. unus turbae: the ablative
with de or ex is the regular partitive
construction with unus.
4. sustinere, hold out against.
quae vergat in hostem relictos; tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relictā; argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad praedam vidisse.

7 Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, hauquaquam dux defuit:
8 nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti porta signa collegae iussit. Quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flaminini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulure quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis: nam forte ita evenit ut, cum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugere rent eo die ad dominos; deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius


7. *ituros: sc. se; cf. moturum*, XXI. 12. 4 n. — *Varro:* he had the *imperium* that day.

8. *auspicio:* apparently an ablative of time. — *non addixissent:* *i.e.* the sacred chickens, consulted according to custom, did not give a favorable omen to *approve* the action. — *nuntiari:* the technical word is *obnuntio.* The taking of the auspices by Aemilius seems to have been somewhat irregular, but he still had apparently the right to take them, though his act might not be conclusive. — *porta:* for the ablative see Gr. 258. g.

9. *Claudi,* etc.: the famous case in which P. Claudius Pulcher, in 249 B.C., off Drepana, had thrown the chickens overboard, saying that they should drink anyway, if they wouldn't eat.

10. *di,* etc.: the gods acted by producing the events described in *nam forte,* etc. — *distulere:* they only *postponed* it, because the disaster soon happened at Cannae.

12. *consules . . . fecit,* re-established the *consuls* in the dignity and authority of their office. — *ambitio,* desire for *popularity; i.e.*
suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem solvisset.

Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanosquam ad ultimum temere evertos vidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra reditit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conluvionem nium gentium sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentium que annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercennarios milites maxime Hispani generis de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut relictio peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo matuoria messibus Apuliae loca, simul quod, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditoria levibus ingenii essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiyfactis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par

with the soldiers. — suam: the reflexive is used as if Livy had said alter ambitiosus. — primum: i.e. Varro’s authority was first sacrificed, and it is intimated that Aemilius’ also was lost. — eos: the soldiers implied in imperii and ambitio.

HANNIBAL RETIRES TO APULIA.

48. nequiquam reditit, he returned without success, because his plan was discovered.

2. in dies: as this form is used only with comparative ideas, it may be meant that more and more new designs were hatched every day.

3. annonam, the high price of grain. — primo, postremo: the superlatives imply other complaints. — famem, absolute want; no grain at any price.

5. movere, etc.: according to Polybius (III. 107) Hannibal advanced to Cannae, occupying its citadel and seizing the stores of the Romans, before the arrival of the new consuls. — levibus ingeniiis, fickle natures, such as the Gauls and Spaniards were always said to be.

6. similiter: i.e. as in the last attempted ruse. — ut insidiarum, etc.: this time Hannibal wished to delay the Romans, and so he repeated his stratagem, meaning to have it taken in the opposite sense from the last.
7. Statilium: see 42. 4.
9. sententia: according to the vote of the council of war in which Aemilius was voted down. Luchs and others insert ex before sententia; see Gr. 253. N.—Cannas: a village of Apulia, on the Aefidus (Ofanto) near its mouth. — ur- gente fato, driven by fate; the words are from Vergil, Aen. II. 653; see insuperabili, XXI. 23. 4 n.
10. Hannibal, etc.: Livy gives no account of Hannibal's going there, except loosely in 5. — Volturmo, the Stirocco; a hot wind blowing powerfully from the southeast, especially in May and June. The camp thus faced northwest. Nothing is said as to which side of the river, but it seems evident that Livy thought of the south side as the place of the principal camps, and the north side as the place of the battle. For a clear discussion of the difficult question, with maps and plans, based on a study of the documents and a personal examination of the terrain itself, see Dodge's Hannibal, chap. XXVII. — cam- pis: cf. via, I. 12 n.

THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ.

44. bina castra: these were on opposite sides of the river, the smaller one on the north bank. — intervallo: Polybius says the smaller Roman camp was about ten stades from the larger, and a little further from the enemy.
amnis utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportuneitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem nancus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, derigit aciem lacesitque Numidarum procuratione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Semproniique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro Paulo speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu cepisset Italiam: se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque im providam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret: videret ut, quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aeque in pugna vigerent manus.

2. utrisque: of the Romans; cf. ex minoribus, etc., in 3.

3. trans Aufidum: i.e. on the north bank.—quia, etc.: because the Carthaginian camp was on the south side.

4. natis, etc.: because the whole of Apulia, though high, is very level, and especially just here not far from the coast. With natis ad pugnam cf. natus legendis insidias, 28. 6.—invictus: cf. memoria, 7. 1 n.

5. Paulus, etc.: i.e. each consul reproached the other with disasters received under a form of strategy similar to the one approved by his colleague.

6. testaretur, etc.: Varro went farther, and charged the whole success of Hannibal to the feeble policy of the other party.—usu cepisset, had gained by prescription. By the Twelve Tables an undisturbed possession for two years gave a title, and Hannibal had now been in Italy two years.

7. ille, etc.: i.e. Aemilius washed his hands of all responsibility, but would share the fortunes of the rest. —videret, let his colleague take care.—quibus, etc.: sc. esset, implied in vigerent, which is equivalent to an adjective with essent.—lingua prompta: cf. lingua promptum, II. 45. 15.
Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras recipierit copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romano-rum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero adeo indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum propositum instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adiuovere consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque quas in castris minoribus habuerant copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu — id erat flumini propius — Romanos equites

45. ad multum diei, *till late in the day;* see XXI. 33. 7 n.
2. ex minoribus, etc.: a kind of adjective phrase to *aquatores;* see XXI. 15. 6 n.
3. evecti sunt, *they dashed ahead.*
4. tumultuario auxilio, *skirmishing auxiliaries;* so called from the Roman standpoint, as not, like the solid native legions, fitted for regular pitched battle, but only for raids, and the like. The singular of *auxilium* is very rare in this concrete sense. — *ne transient, from crossing;* see Gr. 331. e. 2. — *fuerit:* Luchs and others read *fuit,* but the clause is essential to *ea causa tenuerit,* etc.; cf. *vicissent,* XXI. 40. 2 n., and see Gr. 342, with footnote.
5. sors, etc.: governing imperii immediately, while diei limits the two combined. — *nihil consulto collega, without consulting his colleague at all.* — *signum:* the red flag, the signal for battle.
6. *ita instruunt,* etc.: the river here flows nearly northeast; and as Varro's right was nearest the river, his line must have run northerly and faced to the east. This would seem to bring the sun in the eyes of the Romans, whereas it is stated that the sun was *obligatus* (46. 8), *i.e.* shone along the two lines. We must suppose, then, that in the final position the lines were nearly parallel with the river, with the Carthaginians nearest to it. There seems to be no bend in the river sufficiently large to contain the two armies so as to have the river on
locant, deinde pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites 7 sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxilliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua 8 tenuere, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus levique alia armatura 46 praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope 2 ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitis datum, media acie 3 peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros 4 Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem: ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumenum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem 5 formae fere erant, dispersae ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesium adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum

the east of them.—deinde: local; see 4. 2 n.

7. ad medium, etc.: perhaps overlapping the legions, inasmuch as Polybius represents the lines as thicker than usual; but iuncti may merely mean standing next. — facta: attracted by acies; see Gr. 204. b.

8. tenuere, commanded.—pugna: by a natural association equivalent to acies.

46. ut quosque, etc.: i.e. he marshaled the detachments in the order in which they crossed.

3. firmata, composed of; cf. XXI. 56. 2.—utraque cornua: referring only to the infantry. The plural is irregular; cf. utraque (Ariovisti uxor) in ea fuga perierunt, Caes. B. G. I. 53.

4. Afros: i.e. his heavy foot-soldiers. As Polybius says they were all thus armed, the bracketed words have doubtless been inserted from the next line.—ita: used as adeo often is, to explain a previous statement, as if it were ita armati erant ut crederes. —ceterum: instead of a second et; cf. XXI. 18. 4 n.

5. scuta: the oblong curved shield known to us from Roman monuments, as opposed to the round shield (clipeus) of the Greeks and the light-armed troops. —prae-longi, etc.: broad swords, not intended for thrusting, but only for
cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat: 6 Galli super umbilicum erant nudi; Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis candore miro fulgentibus constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum stetere in 7 acie, milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextrae Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. 8 Sol, seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita stetere, peropportune utrique partis obliquus erat, Romanis in 9 meridiem, Poenis in septemtrionem versis; ventus— Voltumnus regionis incolae vocant— adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

47 Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levi- bus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextrae Romano con- 2 currit, minime equestris more pugnae: frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad eva- gandum relictio spatio hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies 3 claudebant. In directum utrimque nitentes stantibus 4 ac confertis postremo turba equis vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magnà iam ex parte certa-

cutting, while the others, though short, were used for thrusting, like the modern rapier.

6. nudi: this would give them a savage and desperate look.—praetextis purpura: i.e. with a crimson border.


8. sol, etc.: the fight took place in the early morning when the sun was in the east, loosely speaking.

9. Voltumnus: see 43. 10 n.

47. minime ... pugnae: the usual method of fighting with cavalry was by rapid manoeuvres, charg- ing and retreating and making various flank movements, but here there was no room for such tactics, and the cavalry could only advance in solid body against each other like infantry.

3. in directum, straight ahead. —stantibus: i.e. stopping, unable to advance. —turbas: ablative of manner. —vir: in apposition with nitentes. —detrahebat: attracted into agreement with the distributive vir. —pedestre: i.e. by the men dismounting. —tenen: i.e. notwithstanding the stubborn resistance indicated in the preceding.
men factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub eques-
tris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et
viribus ct animis par, dum constabant ordines Gallis His-
panisque; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, obliqua 5
fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis
tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie.
Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere, 6
ac tenore uno per praecps pavore fugientium agmen
in mediam primum aciem inlati postremo nullo resi-
stente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque 7
reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique
steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut 8
pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam
sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant,
irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere
alas, mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostis.
Hinc Romani defuncti nequiquam proelio uno, omissis 9
Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, adversus
Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, 10
quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi
cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

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4. dum, but only so long as; hence the tense of constabant; see Gr. 192.

5. obliqua fronte: i.e. in a kind of wedge, probably like the formation en échelon. — densa: i.e. as they aimed at a particular point the line was gradually thickened there. — cuneum: i.e. a curved line projecting from the front.

6. impulsis: the enemy, of course. — tenore uno: see 37.

10 n. — in medium, etc.: i.e. they forced their way through the bulging first line to the second, which was apparently straight. — ad subsidia: i.e. to a place in a line with the somewhat retired heavy African infantry.

8. pulsus: cf. amissae, XXI. 1.

5 n. — sinum: i.e. the center was even driven in farther back than the wings. — cornua: i.e. they made a crescent-shaped body to inclose the advancing Romans. — alas: the same as cornua, above. — cornua: the extremes of the infantry stationed in the crescent.
Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis in medium aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni parte consertur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriantur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplices caedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanics et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit

48. a, with; as regularly with verbs of beginning. — fraude: this story is not mentioned by Polybius, and is probably a Roman invention.

3. in medium aciem, into the lines, but not necessarily at the center. — consertur: the idiomatic present with dum; cf. the imperfect constabant, 47. 4 n.

5. alibi terror: i.e. on the Roman right (47. 3). — alibi pertinax, etc.: i.e. at the center. — in, in spite of. — ea parte: this seems to have nothing to refer to. Hasdrubal was in command on the Carthaginian left, and there is no indication in Livy that he went around the Roman rear. — ex media acie: this also is confused, as the Numidians were on the right wing. Perhaps the words only mean from the main fight. The movements are very different, but clear, in Polybius (III. 116).

49. parte altera: apparently at the center (46. 7), though there is nothing definite opposed to it.
saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum denuntianti cuidam, iussisse 3 consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hanniballem ferunt ‘Quam mallem vincos mihi traderet.’ Equitum pedestre proelium, quale iam haud dubia 4 hostium victoria, fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati truci- darent quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen 5 iam paucos superantibus et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt equoque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum 6 cum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo crurore oppletum consulem vidisset, ‘L. Aemili,’ inquit ‘quem 7 unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere debest, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam 8 sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.’ Ad ea consul: 9 ‘Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nutia publice patribus, urbem 10

2. omissis, etc.: i.e. they dismounted to be on a par with the consul; cf. arma omittenda, XXI. 58. 3. — et, even; Livy rather frequently uses this word with the intensive force of etiam or vel.
3. denuntianti, reporting; there is a suggestion of formality, and that the communication was an important one. — ferunt: even Livy is skeptical about the reality of this scene. — quam mallem, etc.: ironical for ‘that is as good as if,’ etc.
4. quale: sc. fid, or the like. — victoria: ablative. — pellere, force to flee.
5. pepulerunt tamen, yet they did finally, etc. — superantibus, the survivors.
6. praetervehens: this word is so often used as a deponent that the active participle takes on that sense.
7. quem unum, you the one man whom.
9. tu quidem: it is a mannerism of the language to attach the concessive to pronouns.
Romanam muniant ac, priusquam victor hostis advenit, praesidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio, L. Aemilium praecipuum eius memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere exspirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator collegae exsistam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam. Hae eos agentis prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem, ignorantes quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equibus nullo munimento tegente vicum circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte secum consilio nulli fugientium insertus aministrum quinquaginta fere equibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites et tantadem prope civium sociorumque pars caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii — inter eos Cn. Serviliun Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul fuerat —, octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in

11. reus: as he might be for misfeasance in office on account of the disaster. — iterum: see 35. 3 n. — accusator: as he might be obliged to be, to justify himself.
12. oppressere, overtook. — Venusiam: about thirty miles southwest of Cannae, distinguished later as the birthplace of Horace.
15. et tantadem: Madvig’s emendation of the MS. stanta.
16. undetriginta: out of forty-eight, the full quota for the eight legions. — consulares . . . aedilicii: in apposition with tribuni militum. — ante: in 221 B.C.
17. qui eos, etc.: i.e., who had held curule offices, but had not yet been chosen into the senate by the censors under the Ovinian Law.
senatum legi deberent, cum sua volutante milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par, ceterum uti eis quae post pugnam accidere levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem pro- didit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus esset, nuntium qui in maioribus erant mittunt, dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, cum aeque coniungi possent? Quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere quam animus deesse. Tum P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum ‘Capi ergo mal- multis’ inquit ‘ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interro- gantibus Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua

cum, and yet, notwithstanding their previous eminence. — sua: with patriotic pride Livy emphasizes his statement that so many dignitaries had enlisted as common soldiers.

THE VANQUISHED.

50. Aliensi: i.e. the battle of the Allia, in 390 B.C., after which Rome was taken by the Gauls.

3. alterius morientis fuit: a poetical expression for ‘died with him’; they stayed with Paulus, as opposed to secuti sunt.

4. nuntium mittunt, send word; for the following constructions cf. 33. 9 n. — ex laetitia epulis: cf. pugna ad Trebiam, XXI. 15. 6 n.

5. alii: opposed to alii in 6. — aeque, just as well (in that way).

6. capita: cf. deminuti capite, 66. 15. — Romanus, etc.: the honor of having a Roman for a slave would be greater.
7 contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur? Non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsaepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompoti obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostis. Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vul-
tis.' Haec ubi dicta dediit, stringit gladium cuneoque
facto per medios vadit hostis; et cum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in maiora castra ad sescentos evaserunt, atque inde protinus alio magnio agmine adiuncto Canu-
sium incumules perveniunt. Haec apud victos magis
impetu animorum, quem ingenium suum cuique aut fors
dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio ciusquam
agebantur.

51 Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratulare-
tur suaderentque ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod

7. tu: continuing the individual appeal begun above (Romanus, etc.); cives estis: resuming the general address with which Sempronius began (mavultis, etc.). —
cives, fellow-citizens; the usual meaning with a possessive pronoun or a genitive of the name of a person; cf. civis vester, XXI. 13. 1.

8. opprimit: see Gr. 327. a.


10. haec . . . cuneoque: the hexameter may possibly be from some early poet, but more probably slipped from Livy unawares (Cic. Or. 56. 189 versus saepe in oratione
per imprudetiam dicimus). The first four words occur in Lucilius, and seven times in the Aeneid. Livy begins his history (Praef. 1) with the beginning of a hexameter (Facturusme operaet pretium sim), and the first sentence in the Annals of Tacitus is a complete one (Vrbem Romam a principio reges habuere).

11. protinus, continuing on.

12. impetu animorum, courageous impulse. — ciusquam: this pronoun is used because of the negative idea implied.

THE VICTORS.

51. ceteri: opposed to Mahar- bal in 2. — bello: much stronger
reliquum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal, praefectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus 'Immo, ut quid hac pugna sit actum scias, die quinto' inquit 'victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, praecedam.' Hannibali nimis laeta res est visa maiorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: 'Non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis.' Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Posterio die, ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandum stragem insistunt.
6 Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equites-que, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et iacentis vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantis cervicem iugulumque et reliquum sanguinem iubentes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentisque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus nasso auribusque laceratis, cum ille manibus ad capiendum telum intulibus in rabiem ira versa laniando denticibus hostem exspirasset.

52 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda et omnium primum bracchio obiecto flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore vigiliis vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti; ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios

6. iacebant: the position and tense of the verb give great vividness and a kind of tone to the ghastly picture; cf. stabant delicati ad palum nobilissimi iuranes, II. 5. 5.—ut quem cuique, etc.: i.e. not in their regular lines, but as individuals had happened to be fighting or dying. —stricta, smarting, though the Latin gives the cause rather than the effect.

7. et iacentis: opposed to adsurgentes; these could not rise.

9. convertit omnes, drew the attention of all.—vivus: this word is not emphatic at the end of the phrase, as has been sometimes thought. The sense is, 'there was on the ground a Numidian with a Roman lying on him. He was still alive, but with his nose, etc., where the Roman, finding his hands powerless, etc., had expired, etc.' —naso: i.e. the Numidian's.

CAPITULATION. ESCAPE OF SOME TO CANUSIUM.

52. ad multum diei: cf. 45. 1 n.—bracchio, a piece of wall. —flumine: the Aufidus; see 44. 2.

2. omnibus: the Romans. —etiam: postpositive, as not infrequently in Livy; cf. 7; XXI. 54. 7. —ipsius: Hannibal.

3. in capita, etc.: i.e. so much apiece for their ransom. —nummis quadrigatis: silver denarii, stamped
ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretió persoluto
cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostis acce-
perunt, traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum
cives socique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex 4
maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad
quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine,
alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat,
Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque
eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti. Praedá in-
gens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid
argentí — quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat, nam
ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, ute-
bantur — omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est. Tum 6
sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit.
Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum.
Consulem quoque Romanum conquiritum sepultumque
quidam auctores sunt.

Eos qui Canusium perfugerant mulier Apula, nomine 7
Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque
a Canusinis acceptos, frumento veste viatico etiam iuvit,
pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu
honores habiti sunt.

Ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Q. 53
Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore

cendum facto: i.e. table-ware. —
utique: however they might do at
home, in the field, at any rate, they
used very little.
6. consulem, etc.: cf. 7. 5 n.
7. tantum: i.e. the city only af-
forded them protection and shelter.

HEROISM OF YOUNG SCIPION.

53. de, of: the language is
ggradually expressing relations more
and more by prepositions instead of

Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat, omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem et ad Ap. Claudia summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis vīri filius, nequiquam eos perdītam spem fovere, desperatam comploratamque rem esse publicam: nobiles iuvenes quosdam, quorum principem M. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfigiunt. Quod malum, praeterquam atrox super tot clades etiam novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli.

Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse: i rent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent; nulla verius quam ubi ea cogitentur hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium Metelli, et cum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus adlatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio 'Ex mei animi sententia' case endings (Gr., note on p. 205); cf. sub condicionibus ii, XXI. 12. 4; ad artes rudis, 25. 6; redierat ab Roma, 59. 2.

3. admodum adolescentem: about nineteen years old; see XXI. 46. 8.

4. comploratam, given up for lost: the figure is from a dying man.

6. praeterquam...etiam: occasionally used by Livy instead of praeterquam quod with a verb, or non modo...sed etiam; see Kühnast, Liv. Syntax, p. 355. — novum: i.e. an unexpected blow of a different character coming on top of their many calamities. — stupore ac miraculo: a kind of hendiadys, where the same thing is viewed subjectively and objectively. — torpidos: i.e. ita ut torpīdi essent; cf. immobiles defixit, XXI. 33. 3. — negat: in the emphatic first place to enforce the negative, as if it were non consilii, inquit, etc.

8. nulla: modifying castra; some late MSS. have nullo loco. — ea, such sentiments.

9. pergit ire: see XXI. 57. 9 n. — hospitium, quarters; i.e. the place where he was staying.

10. ex mei, etc., upon my soul:
inquit 'ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens 11 fallo, tum me Iuppiter optimus maximus, domum, fami-

liae remque meam pessimo leto adficiat. In haec verba, 12 M. Caecili, iures postulo ceterique qui adestis; qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat.' Haud 13 seclus pavidum quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, iu-

rant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

Eo tempore quo haec Canusia agebantur Venusiam 54 ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias beneigne accipiendo 2 curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos et pediti denos et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt, cetera- 3 que publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vincere-
tur. Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat, et iam 4

a regular formula of oath. — ut: we should expect an ita with non before alium, but these two words are supplied by the equivalent neque: 'as I will not myself, neither (so not) will I let anybody else, etc.'

11. si scien se fallo, etc.: a regular phrase in the oath; cf. XXI. 45. 8, and I. 24. 8. The present tense is archaic and colloquial (Gr. 276. c).

12. in haec verba: the accusative in such phrases is regular, on account of the idea of following the dictation; see 11. 8 n.

13. iurant omnes: notice the emphasis, 'they all take the oath,' doing as he commanded.

AFFAIRS AT VENUSIA.

54. fuerant: the pluperfect, be-

cause sparsi is used like an adject-

ive; see Gr. 291. b. r.

2. eos omnes, this whole body; hence the emphasis. — in singulos equites: to bring out the distribu-
tive idea. In regard to the foot such emphasis is unnecessary, hav-
ing been once expressed, and therefore the simple dative is used with the distributive numeral. — togas: the dress of civilians was apparently worn by officers and knights at win-
ter quarters and in camp. — quadri-
gatos: see 52. 3 n.

3. muliere: an individual, and a woman at that, as opposed to populus. There is an undercurrent of disapproval of the niggardliness of the people of Canusium.

4. et iam: in reference to the gradual coming of the stragglers, and explaining gravius.
ad decem milia hominum erant; Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolam esse alterum consulem accepserunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae essent, sciscitatumque simul utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere iuberet Canusi. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit. Et iam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat, moenibusque se certe, etsi non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus consulibus exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat. Numquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque adgrediar narrare quae edissertando minora vero faciam. Consule exercituque ad Trasumenum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem

6. Varro, etc.: the answer to the message. — consularis exercitus: Polybius (III. 117) says they numbered about three thousand (cf. duarum instar legionum, XXVI. 28). They were condemned to do garrison duty in Sicily for the remainder of the war (XXIII. 25). — defensuri: the loosely-used future participle gives the idea of would or could.

Consternation at Rome.

7. Romam: the change of scene is emphasized; cf. XXI. 25. 1 n. — occidione occisum: the regular phrase for absolute extermination; cf. θανάτῳ θανεῖν, and “destroy with destruction” in the Old Testament. — fuerat: not like fuerant in 1, but the more careless use of the tenses common in later Latin; see reference above.

8. salva urbe: in allusion to the capture of the city by the Gauls (50. 3). — edissertando: only here in classical prose. — minora vero: cf. minus vero, XXI. 32. 7. — non vulnus, etc.: i.e. this was not merely a new blow added to the former one of Trasimenus, but a disaster many times greater.

— multiplex: cf. 7. 3 n. — amissi: for the nominative see Gr. 330. a and b. It is doubtful whether an infinitive was felt in such cases at all; cf. ‘were reported lost’ in English. — nec ulla . . . factam: depending loosely on the idea of reporting contained in nuntiabantur, here treated as if used impersonally; such changes are irregular, but not uncommon.
nec militem esse; Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium, ac iam prope totam Italian factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Compares cladem ad Aegatis insulas Carthaginiensium proelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere et vectigalis ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit: nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod minore animo latae sunt.

P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt ut de urbis custodia consulerent; neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandum Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Cum in malis sicuti ingentibus ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expediret, obstrepertque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et nondum palam facto vivi mortuique per omnes paene domos promiscue comploraretur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites


11. compares: the potential subjunctive. — ad Aegatis, etc.: see Introd. 4. — vectigalis, etc.: in allusion to the indemnity paid by the Carthaginians at the end of the first Punic war; see XXI. 41. 7 n. — pugnam: the battle of Zama, where Scipio ended the war in 202 B.C. — nisi quod, etc.: i.e. a comparison would show, not that those calamities were greater, but that they were borne with less heroism.

55. curiam Hostiliam: said (I. 30. 2) to have been built by Tullus Hostilius, and to have kept this name till 52 B.C., when the building was burned during the riot at Clodius' funeral. It was rebuilt by Faustus Sulla as Curia Cornelia, and again, in 29 B.C., by Augustus as Curia Iulia. It was back of the Comitium, at the northeast of the Forum, probably where now is the church of St. Adrian.

2. venturum: Livy uses indifferently the infinitive, or quin with the subjunctive, after non dubito; cf. 39. 15, and see XXI. 53. 1 n.

3. ne consilium quidem: i.e. not even think what to do, much less do it. — expedirent: i.e. patres. — obstreperet, etc.: the women are conceived as assembled in the Forum, wailing and inquiring for news, and thus by their cries disturbing (ob) the consultations of the senate. — nondum palam facto: vis. who were alive and who had been killed. Hence the living and the dead were alike mourned for.

4. equites, etc.: the first thing
expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunctando—aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore—referant quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit et, si quid dii immortales, miseri imperii, reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant: matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, complurator familiarum coercet, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent—suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem exspectent—custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare; ubi conticuerit [recte] tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, summotaque foro per magistratus turba patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discississent, tum demum litterae a the officials, to avoid idle rumors. — fortuna: i.e. of the life or death of members of the family. — auctorem, information, but of an official character, sent by the magistrates.

8. ponant: i.e. the committee of safety, the patres. — urbe: Madvig's change from the MS. urbem. — recte: this seems pointless, and is probably a抄ist's blunder.

56. in hanc, etc.: i.e. without debate, the vote being taken at once by a division (pedibus issent). — tum demum, not until then, the usual sense of the words.
C. Terentio consule allatae sunt: L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem; ad decem milia militum ferme esse in compositorum inordinatumque; Poenum sedere ad Cannas; in captivorum pretiis prae- daque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinam. Tum private quoque per domos clades vulgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus ut sacram anniversarium Cereris interimissum sit, quia nec lugenibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desere rentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum sedato urbis tumultu revocati in curiam patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia letterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore: regnum Hieronis classe Punica vastari; cui cum opem implorandi ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse aliam classem ad Aegatis insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuen dam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur. Itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

Litteris consulis praetorisque recitatis censuerunt

2. decem milia: not consistent with 54. 1 and 4.
3. nundinamentum, dickering, used in a disparaging sense.
4. private, etc.: i.e. authentic information as to individuals.—sacrum Cereris: this cannot have been the regular Cerealia, which came in April, for the battle of Can nae was fought Aug. 2 (Gellius, V. 17, 5), i.e. by the corrected calendar, probably in June.—matrona: the cult was celebrated by matrons.
5. diebus triginta: the usual time of mourning was ten months, the old Roman year; cf. II. 7. 4.
7. Hieronis: of Syracuse; see XXI. 49. 3 n.
8. aliam = reliquam; cf. alius exercitus, XXI. 27. 6.

RENEWED EFFORTS AT ROME.

57. praetoris: the more exact title is given in 56. 6, propraetore.
praetorem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli ut, cum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat. L. Cantilius scriba pontificius, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat ut inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decem viri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare, et quaecum futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro bovario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

M. Claudium: cf. 35. 6 n. — per commodum, without injury to.
2. sub terra, etc.: Pliny (Ep. IV. 11) describes the penalty as inflicted in Domitian's reign.
3. quos: sc. ex eis, the relative referring loosely to the class.
4. hoc nefas: i.e. the crime of the Vestals. — libros adire: i.e. to learn what were the proper expiatory rites; cf. XXI. 62. 6 n.
5. Fabius: the historian; see Introd. 10. — Delphos, etc.: notice the triple construction with missus; see Gr. 259. § and 302. — suppliciis: in the earlier, perhaps the original sense. — futura finis: Livy makes finis feminine only here and in three other places.
6. interim: i.e. before the response was heard from Delphi. — fatalibus libris: probably not different from the Sibylline books. — foro bovario: see XXI. 62. 2 n. — iam ante: in the Gallic war, ten years earlier. — minime Romano: Livy evidently wishes to put the responsibility for the rite upon the foreign books (1. 16 n.). But the accounts of the self-devotion of Curtius and of the Decii and the ver sacrum (9. 10 n.) seem to show
Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus 7 ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classic—ea legio tertia erat—cum tribu 8 nis militum Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegae, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum diletect edicto iuniores ab annis septemdecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt. Quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites affecti. Item ad socios Latinum 10 que nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi 11 diletectus inopia liberorum capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo milia iuvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius scisciantes singulos vellentne militare, empta publice armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore 12 redimendi captivos copia fieret.

that human sacrifices were made in early Italy; see Pliny, N.H. XXVIII. 2. 12.

7. scriptos habebat: not the same as scripterat; cf. clausum habuit hostem, 4. 5, and see Gr. 292. c. —urbi praesidio: cf. II. 9.

8. tertia: on what principle of numbering is uncertain, as the third is also mentioned in 53. 2; perhaps this is tertia classic. —Teanum: in the northern corner of Campania, commanding the connections between Rome to Capua. —Furio: praetor urbanus (35. 5).

9. dictus: naturally by the consul in accordance with Romam veniret in 1, but no mention is made of his journey. —ab annis septemdecim: though liable to military duty at seventeen, young men were not usually chosen till about nineteen. —praetextatos: boys under seventeen, who had not yet assumed the toga virilis.

10. Latinum nomen: see XXI. 55. 4 n. —ex formula, according to the rolls, as kept by the single states and provided for in the treaties with the allies.

11. novi: inasmuch as slaves had not been employed before, and in general the troops were always freemen. —servitiis: cf. dignitates, 40. 4 n. —publice, by the state.

12. magis: doubtless on account of the moral effect of ransoming captive soldiers; see note on viles, etc., 59. 1. —cum, although. —minore: i.e. than that paid for the slaves.
Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum captivis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset; Romanos quoque vocatos, quod numquam alias antea, satis miti sermone adloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse, et se id adniti, ut suae in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere; pretium fere in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquantum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium quo pepigerant dedentes se, laeti tamen quacumque conditionem paciscendi accepserunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei quam ut iurarent se redituros acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingeni homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites adsequitur. Vbi

3. cedatur: sc. ab eis. The emphatic contrast is sufficiently indicated by the position of suae.
4. redimendi . . . copiam: cf. 57. 12. — in capita, etc.: cf. in, etc., 54. 2 n.
5. equitibus, in the case of, etc., but expressed in Latin by the dative of reference.
6. placuit: used indefinitely, probably to include both parties.
7. animus: i.e. of the senate.
8. minime Romani: a patriotic exaggeration, for such sharp prac-
Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. 59 Quorum princeps 'M. Iuni vosque, patres conscripti,' inquit 'nemo nostrum ignorat nulli umquam civitati vicires fuisse captivos quam nostrae; ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non alii umquam minus neglegendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem sequentem fessi labore ac vulneribus vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur nec ulla iam per confertos hostis erumpendi spes esset nec esse nefas duceremus quinquaginta milibus hominem ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil iam auxili erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redesisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos

tice was not uncommon; cf. the transactions at the Caudine Forks.
9. verbis, in the name of, but not necessarily using his exact language.

APPEAL OF THE PRISONERS.

59. senatus . . . datus est: cf. XXI. 12. 8 n.— vicires, etc.: for this thoroughly Roman sentiment, see Horace, C. III. 5, and notice the force of such derivatives from captivus as 'cattivo,' 'chétif,' 'cattiff.'
2. neglegendi: i.e. to be disregarded and left in the power of the enemy.
4. diei reliquum: see XXI. 33. 7 n.
6. tunc demum: see 56. 1 n.
7. maiores, etc.: i.e. we are not without a precedent.— a Gallis: after the capture of Rome in 390 B.C.
— vestros: as the senate was mainly recruited from the noble families, it doubtless consisted largely of the scions of those who, sixty-four years earlier, had sent the embassy to Pyrrhus.— illos, as every one knows.— legatos: among these
tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misse. Atque et ad Aliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romano-rum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam qui ne in acie quidem fuerunt, sed praesidio castris relictì, cum castra tradentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicioni in-video, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim: ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusi constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. Sed et illis bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, cum beneficio vestro redempti atque in

was the famous C. Fabricius. — Tar- rentum: Pyrrhus established himself here after his victory at Hera- clea, in 280 B.C.
8. atqui, and yet, introducing the minor premise, 'those battles were much less bloody than this of ours.' — nec supersumus, etc., and only those of us survive for whose slaughter, etc.
9. de nostris quidam: cf. nemo nostrum, 1, and note on de, 53. i. — fuerunt: Madvig's reading for the indefensible refugeunt of the MSS.
10. equidem, etc.: concessive; 'though I do not, etc., yet I am forced to say.' — premendo extuli- sisse: cf. 12. 12; for the perfect extulisse see Gr. 288. d. R., and Roby, 1371. — illi, etc.: the argument is, 'you retain as soldiers those who did not surrender, but in fact their only superiority to us is in swiftness of foot, which enabled them to escape, flying unarmed from the field.' — non prius, etc.: 'they did not stop till (they stopped) at Venusia, etc.' — praetulerint: properly an apodosis with omitted protasis, as in the potential subjunctive, but amounting to an expression of possibility or propriety: 'they cannot plume themselves.' The perfect does not differ from the present in sense; cf. fidem fecerint, XXI. 47. 5 n.
11. sed et, etc.: 'but they will still make good soldiers, and we no less so, in fact more so from gratitude.' The survivors were in fact only used for garrison duty in Sicily; see 54. 6 n.
patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia servorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi possumus quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, injuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis: Pyrrho vide- licet, qui hospitum numero captivos habuit? an barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimi potest? Si videatis catenas squalorem deformi- tatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque responsum vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis qui absunt ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum

12. dilectum, etc.: 'the character of your levies shows that you need soldiers and that you take much worse soldiers than we are.' —fortuna: 'station in life, in which we are far superior.' —nam si, etc.: 'I only compare the price to be paid, for if I should compare the quality it would be an insult to the name of Roman.'

13. illud, etc.: 'and the character of the enemy ought to influence you also.' —nullo nostro merito, *without any fault of ours.

14. qui ... existimari potest: a kind of prolepsis; cf. 'I know thee who thou art'; see Gr. 334. c.—avarior, crudelior: either of these qualities would make hard masters. These were the stock charges of Romans against Hanni- bal; cf. 50. 6, and see note on vitia, XXI. 4. 9.

15. si videatis, etc.: 'as you would be so moved as to be glad to buy your slaughtered legions back if you should see them, so you would be affected no less if you saw the condition of the captives.' —campis: cf. via, i. 12 n.

16. intueri, etc.: 'one phase of the suffering you can have before your eyes in the tears of the relatives, and this may give you a hint as to the sufferings of the men themselves.' —in vestibulo: the Comitium, the vacant space in front of the Curia, northeast of the main part of the Forum; cf. in comitio, 60. 1, and in comitio, in vestibulo curiae, XLV. 24. 12, and see note on curiam Hostilium, 55. 1.
esse quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Si, me dius fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse cen-seamus, cum indigni ut redimeremur vobis visi simus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio captivi; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? Suum quisque animum habet, patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum: magis me famae periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent.'

Vbi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba quae in comitio erat clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes ut sibi liberos fratres cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro turbae virorum immiscerat. Senatus summotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice im-
pensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi, 
si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex 4 
aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praedios ca-
vendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, 5 
priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque videatur, severitatis, 
interrogatus sententiam ita locutus furtur: 'Si tantum- 6 
modo postulassent legati pro iis qui in hostium potes-
tate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum 
brevi sententiam peregissem; quid enim aliud quam 7 
admonendi essetis ut morem traditum a patribus ne-
cessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc 
autem, cum prope gloriati sint quod se hostibus dedide-
rint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, 
sed etiam iis qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, 
atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aequum censuerint, nihil 
vos eorum, patres conscripti, quae illic acta sunt igno-
rare patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus 8 
sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum 
testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem 
adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem securi essent, 
milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium 
potestate essent. Sed cum, fessis pugnando hostibus, 9 

for the presiding magistrate to ask 
the senators in order to state their 
views *(dicere sententiam)*.  
3. nec: adversative, 'and at the 
same time . . . not.'  
4. dandam mutuam, should be 
* lent. *— *praedibus*, personal sure-
ties, whose property was bound, 
however.— *praediiis*, mortgages.— 
cavendum populo, *that the people 
should be secured*; *i.e.* the money 
was to be loaned on proper security 
by the state.  
5. Torquatus: consul in 235 
and 224 B.C.— *plerisque*: people 
in general, not the senators.— *se-
veritatis: this was a family trait; 
for the syntax, see *annorum*, XXI. 
1. 4 n.  
6. postulassent: opposed to 
gloriati sint, below.  
7. quid aliud, etc.: a not 
uncommon short-hand expression, in 
which a neuter pronoun represents 
a full expression with a verb or 
participle implied in what follows; 
cf. *quid aliud quam admonemus*, 
IV. 3. 3; *quid aliud quam iolley*, VI.  
41. 7. — nunc: opposed to the con-
trary-to-fact supposition. — *gloriati 
sint*: instead of excusing themselves 
and asking a favor.
tum victoria laetis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent et septem milia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequentur: ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si, ut nobis adolescetibus priori Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostis, dixit: ‘Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones,’ si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem, si nemo tantae virtutis extitisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat;
reducet in patriam ad parentis, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. Vt servemini, deest vobis animus: quid, si mori-
endum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaqinta milia
civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent.
Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil umquam mo-
vebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet.
Liberi atque incolumnes desiderate patriam; immo desi-
derate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis: sero nunc
desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure civium, servi
Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio reediti estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem ves-
trum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem;
Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma
tradi iubentem. Quamquam quid ego ignaviam istorum
accuso, cum scelus possim accusare? Non modo enim
sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obistere ac reti-
nere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertis
summovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium
agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret? Quorum si ceteri similes fuissent,
emenem hodie ex iis qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt

say let us die, he says save your-
selves, and you lack the courage to do it.'

14. servemini: with the force of
the middle voice. — esset, faceret-
tis: the same kind of construction
as in 12. — vilem, etc.: i.e. 'make
you willing to sacrifice your lives.'

15. desiderare: continuing the
confusion of time, but alluding to the
desideratum expressed by the
mouthpiece of the captives. — de-
sideratis: returning again to the
present moment. — deminuti cap-
pite: a technical expression for the
loss of the condition of citizenship
(caput); cf. capitis minor, of Regu-
lus, Hor. C. III. 5. 42.

16. pretio: the position adds to
the scornful character of the ques-
tion; 'is it at the cost of a ransom
that you are to recover the rights of
Roman citizens which you have for-
feited, etc.?'

17. ignaviam, etc.: i.e. he puts
the charge in the mildest form,
while the next sentence shows that
they are guilty of treason. — ni .
summovissent: as if ac retinui-
sent were added to the apodosis;
see Gr. 308. b. N. — prius, etc.: i.e. to carry out his bold purpose,
Sempronius had first to overcome
an armed band of his fellow-citi-
zens.

18. fuissent: here the contrary-
19 civem haberet. Ex milibus septem armatorum sescenti exstiterunt qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his sescentis hostes obstere: quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censestis fuisse? Haberetis Hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusii fortia fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quem ad modum hi boni fidelesque — nam fortis ne ipsi quidem dixerint — cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest adfuisse erumpentibus, qui ne erumpsrent obsistere conati sunt, aut non invider eos cum incolumitati tum gloriae illorum per virtutem partae, cum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. At enim ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi val- lum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia vitae deessent adfectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitati- bus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se

to-fact form is regular. — haberet: referring to present time, according to rule.

20. futurum fuisse: for the direct fuisset (Gr. 337. b. 2). — fortia fidelia: cf. Romana, XXI. 55. 4 n.

21. nisi quis: a reductio ad absurdum, as with nisi vero, nisi forte. — adfuisse, etc.: i.e. they cannot be faithful citizens who did no service to their fellows in their sally, and that they did not do this is obvious from their resistance to the sally. The infinitive is Luchs’ emendation of fuisse ut; Madvig proposed aut fuisse. — aut, etc.: i.e. or rather that they are not the enemies of good citizens on account of jealousy. This goes to show their worthlessness.

22. at: introducing a supposed objection.

23. dies noctesque, etc.: ironical expansion of the supposed ob- jection.

24. orto sole, etc.: i.e. on the con- trary, they made haste to surrender.
ipsos. Haec vobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. 25 Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, in castra refuggerunt; cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos 26 redimam? Cum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere et castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali qui per medios hostis e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriae restituerunt.'

Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque 61 plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summam homines movit, quia nec aerarium exhauriri, magna iam summa erogata 2 in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem maxime huiusce Rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Cum triste responsum, non redimi 3 captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luc tus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis fle tibus questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt.

25. decuerat, erat: the indicative of expressions of propriety, etc., with an implied protasis contrary to fact (see Gr. 311. c.), is here retained with cum, where a concessive implication would ordinarily have been brought out by the use of the subjunctive. Instead of saying 'whereas' or 'although,' Torquatus puts together, by a very expressive idiom, what ought to have been done and what actually was done.

26. vos: Torquatus addresses sometimes the deputation and sometimes the senate. — redimam: Luchs' change to redimamus is quite gratuitous; cf. redeam, 59. 18 n. — oportet, necesse est: i.e. moral obligations, as well as their natural duty under the circumstances, were ignored.

RESULT OF THE DEBATE.

61. attingebant, were connected with.

2. in servos emendos: a rare form of purpose in Livy; cf. XXI. 21. 10 n.

3. prosecuti sunt: i.e. the crowd of relatives of the captives as described in 60. 1 and 2.
4. unus, etc.: Cicero (de Off. III. 32. 115), on the authority of Acilius (Introdict. 10), says there were several (plures) who attempted this trick, and Livy himself uses the plural in book XXIV. 18, and gives the number as ten in the other version (8). — reeditu: cf. 58. 8.— relatum est: see 7 n. — omnes, unanimously. — publice, in the service of the state, to mark the solemnity of the proceeding.

5. ita, on the condition, as often when the word is followed by ne; see Gr. 319. b.

6. longius = diutius. — spe: the idiomatic ablative with comparatives; see Gr. 247. b. — alios insuper: for the pleonasm, see note on ut dicereant, 32. 4. — tris insuper legatos: cf. tres deinceps turres, XXI. 8. 5 n.

7. tum demum: see 56. 1 n. — relatum esse: the technical expression used of a magistrate consulting the senate. No case of a tribune doing this is mentioned earlier. — nec censuisset: idiomatic, instead of et censuisset non; cf. the use of nexo.

8. per causam, under the pretext. — religione: cf. iure iurando, 4. — victor, etc.: i.e. and accordingly the prisoners were not surrendered. — paucis sententiis, by a small majority.

9. proximis censoribus: an ablative of time, as often with consulibus. — notis ignominiosiisque: they were dropped from
miniisque confectos esse ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores quam quid veri sit discernere queas.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defeceret autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, praeter hos Vzentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotoneienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consultis Romam adventum nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis; quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunet et obviam itum

their tribes, and became aerarii, and the horses furnished by the state were taken from such as were knights: see XXIV. 18, and Gellius, VI. 18. — foro: as the scene of official life. — deinde: for the adjective force, see deinceps, XXI. 8. 5 n. — luce, etc.: of coming abroad generally; cf. publico, 55. 6 n.
10. firma steterat: for Livy's explanation, see 13. 11. — imperio: sc. Romano.
11. defeceret, etc.: this summarizes the defections of several subsequent years, and the Galli had previously revolted (XXI. 55. 4). — Atellani, etc.: Campani has probably fallen out of the text. Their revolt is described in the first chapters of book XXIII. — Hirpini: see 13. 1 n. — praeter, except.
12. praeter, besides. — Graecorum: i.e. the part of Italy known as Magna Graecia.
13. pacis, etc.: cf. Eutropius, III. 10 in quibus malis nemo tam Romanorum pacis mentionem habere dignatus est.
14. quo in tempore: cf. in tali tempore, 35. 7 n. — magno animo: i.e. the state showed such magnanimity, in spite of Varro's being the cause of the disaster. The dissensions had been of a political nature, and the state was now too much reduced to indulge in partisan controversy. — cuius ipse causa, etc.:
frequenter ab omnibus ordinium sit et gratiae actae
15 quod de re publica non desperasset; qui si Carthagini-
ensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

the plebeian Varro was probably
made the scapegoat for the blunders
of the government; cf. causam belli,
XXI. 21. 1. Valerius Maximus (III.
4. 4) says that the dictatorship was
offered to him, and according to
Frontinus (IV. 5. 6) non vitae cu-
piditate sed reipublicae amore se
superfuisse reliquo aetatis suae tem-
pore adprobavit: nam et barbam
capillumque submisit et postea num-
quam recubans cibum cepit; hono-
ribus quoque, cum ei deferrentur a
populo, renuntiavit dicens felicio-
ribus magistratibus reipublicae opus
esse.—frequenter, in large num-
ers; the temporal meaning is sel-
dom found till after Livy.

15. nihil, etc.: crucifixion was
a penalty for unfortunate gener-
alship among the Carthaginians
(XXXVIII. 48).—foret: not the
indicative, fuerat or erat, because
the necessity itself is here condi-
tioned; see Gr. 308. c. N. 1. The
imperfect here, as often, refers to
past time; see Gr. 308. a. For the
form, cf. forent, XXI. 21. 1 n.
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