COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS
EDITED BY
CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

LIVY. BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.
GREENOUGH AND PECK
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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 accum, arena, exaustum, millia, 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), Wölfflin (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 northermost point of the coast of Africa, and had gradually extended its
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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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... continuing 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 wresting 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 Thucydides. 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,
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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* (praefari) 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-
ducе Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gesserunt. Nam neque validiores opibus uлiae inter se civitatis gentesque contulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas be
artes inter se sese sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli anicepsque Mars fuit ut propius pericum fuerint qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam

ond from other Punic wars. — duce: foreign officers are variously entitled by the Romans, even by words which have a technical meaning in Latin, as imperator, 3. 1; and praetor, 3. 4; cf. the English use of ‘captain’ and ‘general.’

2. nam neque, etc.: notice how the artist gives four co-ordinate grounds for his maxime omnium, etc., without monotonous formalism, but yet with clearness and precision. The first two are co-ordinated by neque . . . neque; the second two are introduced by et . . . et. Thus the power and resources of the nations, the fact that they were each at the height of their powers, the fact that they were acquainted each with the other’s tactics, and that the fortune of war was long in the balance, are all brought out, without monotonous parallelism, as reasons why the war was a notable one. To these main reasons are added two supplementary causes with etiam, the general hatred of the two nations, and the particular animosity of the leader himself. — opibus: the first point, including all the resources of war, essentially the same as is later referred to by virium aut roboris. — his ipsis, etc.: the second point, indicating that these nations were at the height of their power. — virium: properly, active strength, but here quantitative as to numbers, etc. — roboris: passive strength, qualitative as to the stuff the soldiers 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 imperatim, 3.— conserebant: the expression is extended from the regular manum, pugnam, etc., consere. 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 ultro inferrent arma, Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent 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 sacrís 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 parti-
tive 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. — ultro, unal-
lacked: 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 with-
out 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. — imperitatum: 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 puerum 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 tuvenum, XXII. 15. 5; Torquatus, priscæ seueritatis, 60. 5. — blandientem, coaxing. — duce-
retur: 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 dis-
affected subjects; see Introd. 5. — exercitum, etc.: the sacrifice was, as usual, offered at the beginning of the expedition. — tactis sacrís: usually the swearer took hold of the altar, but here apparently he lays his hand on the victim. Probably Livy had no definite idea, but changes to sacrís 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) μηδέπερ Ὑφαλοις εὐνοήσειν, which agrees with XXXV. 19. 3 nunquam amicum fore populi Romani, and with Nepos (Hann. 2) nunquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore, and the account given by Appian (13. 9) ἐχώρησε ἑκεῖναι Ὑφαλοῖς δὲ ἐς πολιτεῖαν παρέλθει. 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 Africae fraude Romanorum stipe 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 inlaturosuisse, 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
Livy.

Aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens hospitii 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 interfeci ab eo domini obturcavit, comprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam si evasisset vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut superante laetitia dolores, ridentis etiam speciem praecedebant.

4. **aliam**: opposed to *flore*, etc. — *profecto*, unquestionably, opposed to *uti* ferunt. — *animi*: though grammatically dependent on *inde* om, 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. *hospitii*: 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 *amicitia principum*; hence we have *hospitii* alone, but *conciliandis*, etc., in full. — *regulorum*: chieftains of petty tribes. — *principium*: important men in tribes not ruled by a chief. — *bello aut armis*: a double expression merely to match the two branches, *hospitii*, 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*, 1. 5 n. — *comprehensu*, 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 *comprehensu*, just as *eo fuit*, etc., with *ridentis etiam*, is a climax on *haud alio*, etc. Livy is nothing if not
buerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sol-
licitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat,
foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque
imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter
imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

3 In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin praer-
rogativam militarem, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal
in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium
forcible. — ridentis: see pugnant-
tium, 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 be-
comes a mere jumble of words.

7. cum hoc: resuming the story
after the digression. — quia: intro-
ducing 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 refer-
tence 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 Cartha-
ginians, so that its neutrality was
guaranteed as a kind of buffer be-
tween the two great powers, as is
often done in modern times. Its ter-
ritory may possibly have reached to
the Ebro. — mediis: used loosely;
not that necessarily it lay geograph-
ically between the two.

HANNIBAL MADE COMMANDER-IN-
CHIEF: HIS CHARACTER.

3. 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 neces-
 sary),' but Livy says, 'in place of
Hasdrubal (the next commander
was Hannibal),' taking the success-
 sion for granted and simply oppos-
ing the new commander to the old.
The Latin has a fondness for em-
phasizing persons. — haud dubia,
etc.: describing the situation before
the actual choice politically of the
new commander. The best MSS.
read praerogativa militaris ... se-
quebatur; either Livy allowed him-
self here a strange anacoluthon, or,
as is more probable, the text was
early corrupted. — praerogativam:
originally used with tribus or cen-
turia for the first (praed) body se-
lected 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 actatis’ inquit ‘Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit, justo iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento adsum facere libidini praetorium. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimirum 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, had urged that he should be despatched to the army.

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

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 actatis: 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 exsuscitetur. Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior 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 effect ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parentum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres utrum imperatoris un exercitu 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. — effectit: 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 effectit, and not an explanation requiring nam. — parentum: 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
duce 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 modius finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora: id quod gerendis rebus superesset quieti 7 datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus 8 nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana crudelitas; perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius.

first comes into frequent use with Livy (Gr. 309, b).

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. — vitiæ: 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
10 iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque
vitiourum 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
esset, nihil prolataeundum 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 iungen-

HANNIBAL’S OPERATIONS IN SPAIN.

5. ceterum: resuming the nar-

ative 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.
1–3), 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.

2. Saguntinis, etc.: as the first
step in a Roman war.

3. quibus oppugnandis: a
loose use of the ablative of cause.
Operations against the town are
really meant, hence oppugnare. —
quia, 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 diripitque; quo metu percussae minores civitates stipendio imposito imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque praedia Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium somu- rumque animis in se firmatis vere primo in Vaccaeos promotum bellum. Hermantica et Arbocala, eorum urbes, vi captae. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermantica profugi exsulibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gentis, cum se iunxisse, concitans Carptanos, adortique Hanni balem regressum ex Vaccaes haud procul Tago flumine agmen grave praedia turbavere. Hannibal proelio abstinent, castrisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, annem vado traecit vallo-

later become involved. — fungendo: 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, fungendo) 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 Cartagena, 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 promotit, 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 Hermantica, etc.

6. Hermantica: probably the modern Salamanka.

7. ab Hermantica profugi = et qui ab Hermantica 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 e 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 transœuntes statuit. Equitibus
praecipit ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur
impeditum agmen; in ripa elephanto—quadraginta
autem erant—disponit. Carpetanorum cum appendi-
cibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque centum milia fuere,
invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et
ingenio feroces et multitudine freti et, quod metu ces-
sisse credebat hostem, id morari victoriam rati: quod
interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine ullius
imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in annem 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 stabili, comminus eminusque rem gere-
ret. Pars magna flumine absumptra; quidam verticoso
amni delati in hostis ab elephantis obtiriti sunt. Postremi,
quibus regrissus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia tre-
pidatione. 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 at-
tack 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 op-
posed to medios gurgites; cf. 31.
11. — temere, etc.: i.e. they could
be ridden down by a mere random
dash of the horsemen.—commi-
nus 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
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 be-
long to the dependent verb, collige-
rentur, though the sentence begins
as if postremi were to have a predi-
cate of its own. — varia, etc.: i.e.
pavore recipient animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in editionem accepit. Et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

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

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 ordinary line of march, which was not intended for fighting. — ingressus: 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 Saguntins. 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. adeset: in its technical sense of appearing as counsel or supporter. — sator: cf. serebantur above. — orantes: a rare form of purpose; cf. cohibentem, XXII. 2. 4.

3. consules, etc.: the consuls for this year, viz. 219 B.C., were M. Livius Salinator and L. Acemlius Paulus, who were succeeded in 218 B.C. by those here named. By blindly following different authorities, Livy falls into a chronological blunder, and tries to extricate himself in 15. 4-6. — introductis: the ambassadors were introduced into the senate on the motion of the consuls, on the occasion of the discussion in that body as to the course to be pursued (de re publica rettulissent).
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 trae- 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 provinciarum Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, aliis totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intenderant bellum; erant qui non temere movendam rem tantam exspectandasque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Haec sententia quae tutissima videbatur vicit, legatique eo maturius missi P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deprec- dum.

4. quibus: i.e. qui, si eis; cf. postremi, 5. 16 n. — Hannibali: opposed to the Carthaginian government at home. — deferrent: this word closes the sentence without 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, expectation, as often.

6. relata: cf. retulissent 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 proceedings. — decernentes: in its regular sense of giving one's individual 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 Hannibalem: i.e. as in 4. — absisteretur: indirect for si non absisteret (ite 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 = Ardeatum. 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. — disciplinae 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.—fidem socialem: 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 fidem frangere, quum ipsa Romana re publica tenebantur; in quo suo facto laudantur ab omnibus terrae 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
operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis 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-
set quin opera ac vineae desererentur. Obsidio deinde

see 5. 8 n.—effectum operis: i.e. the actual attack at the wall itself.—succeedebat: 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 elatuus, 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 operations 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. tumultuariis: 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 accusative, 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 genus ictus.—tragula: a heavy missile spear used by the 'barbarian' nations 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 naturally 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 distinguished between an active siege and a mere 'investment' for the purpose of cutting off supplies and
per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnerum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessat. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi ad moverique aries. Abundat multitudine hominum Poenus: ad centum quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur; oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distinere coepi non sufficiabant. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri quassataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem: tres deinceps turres quantumque inter eas muri erat cum frangore ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni, qua, velut si pariter utroque murus

reinforcements. — curaretur: not 'cured,' but attended to. The subjunctive is used because of the idea of purpose involved. — ut...ita: see 7. 6 n. — operum ac munitionum: 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 chiastic with both the parenthetical clause and the main opposition, oppidani, etc. It is to be remembered, however, that in a chiastic 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 (iam). 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. — deinceps, 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; deinceps, 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. — utroque: i.e. the Carthaginians, as well as the towns-
LIVY.

[Book XXI.]

7. texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conseri solent, sed iustae acies velut patenti campo inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo consti-
7. rant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos inritat, Poeno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum adnatitur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora oppo-
9. nentibus nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acerius et con-
10. fertim magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnera-
bantur nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente
telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili
abiegnio et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum,
unde ferrum estabat; 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,
12. quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque

mem. It was a stormy party on
both sides.

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

8. admittatur: future condition
with logical conclusion; see Gr.
357. t. — patria: a variation on ur-
been above, but the fate of Saguntum
is thus emphatically connected with
the national destiny of its people.

9. verró, turned 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. — ce-
tura: very unusual adverbial accu-
sative plural, found in prose before
Tacitus only in Sallust, and twice
elsewhere in Livy, viz. I. 32. 2 and
35. 6; cf. solicetum 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 pro-
perly ferrum, but as it makes no
difference whether that or phala-
rica is subject, Livy is careless
about the change. — id . . . quod,
the fact that. — haesisset: the sub-
jective of repeated action, which
has by Livy's time become a fami-
liar 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 insequentes ictus praebat.
Cum diu ances puisset certamen et Saguntinis,
quia praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi, Poenus,
quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente
oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruins muri expellunt,
inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo
fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; qui
bus obviav 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
protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntios-
que ad principes factionis Barcinae praemittit ut praepararent
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
magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum
adsensu audientium egit, per deos foederum arbitros ac

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-
rae esse, have time; for the dative,
see Koby, 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 suscitantem bellum; monuisse, praedixisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non stirpem eis conquiescere viri, nec umquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera. 'Iuvenem flagrantem cupidine regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praebentes ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde acentur foedere; mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanae legiones dúcibus 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 venientes 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.—praedixisse: referring to the reasons he had given why they should not send Hannibal; these were prophecies of the result, hence prae. —manes: a bold figure combining 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 accomplished, 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 majority; so vos and vester below.—ulti: agreeing in gender with Romani implied in Romanae legiones.

6. utrum, etc.: the question assumes that the war is folly, and asks the causes of the folly, after which Hanno proceeds to show why the Carthaginians cannot expect 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, etc.: we should say, 'violated the law of nations'; the Latin more concretely says, 'taken away the right (secured by that law).'-tam
men: i.e. notwithstanding the violation 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 proponite 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, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo dii homines-9 que, et id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus 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 complained 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 prevailed.' — Tarento: apparently a treaty excluded the Carthaginians from Italy, whereas in 272 B.C. they had sailed into Tarentum. — ex foedere: a natural shorthand expression, almost modern in its abruptness.

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 following. 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 impassioned oratory. — homines: properly 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. — ei . . . dedit: this form of expression takes the place of diiudicavit which would have governed id; it also adds the man-
vineas turresque admovet, Carthaginis moenia quatit
arie: 
Sagunti ruinae — falsus utinam vates sim —
nostris capitis 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 iuven-
em tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac
detestor; nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti foe-
deris, sed, si nemo deposceret, devehendum in ultimas
maris terrarumque oras 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,
alius qui Hannibali nutriti ut exercitum ab Sagunto
abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis
dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis redder-
ner in which the decision was ex-
ressed.

10. Carthagin... habendum: 
notice how the main emphasis 
changes, first on Carthagini as op-
posed to the general idea of the 
war in Spain (hinted at in Hann-
bibal, etc.), then on Sagunti as 
opposed to nostris, then on sus-
ceptum as opposed to habendum, 
while the other opposition, Sagun-
tinis... Romanis, is left in the 
second place. Only the most care-
ful reading can show the marvelous 
Latin order in this 
sentence.

11. in eo, (Hannibal). — paternas: i.e. with 
Hamilcar. — sed: i.e. 'I know my 
words will not 

say, that as I rejoiced 
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 rep-
resented on the stage and in works 
of art. — huius: opposed to the 
one Hamilcar had in mind.

12. dedendum: connected by 
nece with tamquam furiam, etc., 
and thus dependent on detestor. — 
deposceret: deposit, the reading 
of the best MSS., seems impossible, 
as the demand is represented as 
already made (6). But in the en-
thusiasm of his rhetoric Livy may 
have forgotten what preceded. — 
accidere: an improvement on ac-
cedere 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 argu-
bant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Ro-
manum. Responsor inde legatis Romanis est, bellum 2
ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum
Romanum inuste 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 vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis.
Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostis stimulando,
nunc spe praemiorum accendit; ut vero pro contione 4
praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi
omnes sunt ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi
resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a proeliiis quietem
habuerant nec lacessentes nec lascissiti per aliquot dies,
ita non nocte, non die quoniam 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 preced-
ing assertion. Strictly the word in-
troduces the antecedent to a result
clause, but here the order is re-
versed, and the two clauses are
made co-ordinate.

Continuation of the Siege of
Saguntum.

3. legationibus: rhetorical plu-
ral, 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 ac-
tivity 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 dwell-
ing 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. — stimu-
lando: explanatory of ira, in a
manner matching praemiorum.

4. vero: cf. 7. 10 n. — pro con-
tione, 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...
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 admodum catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus quingenos ferme Afrosum 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 arma- torum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis ducunt. Vtrimque summa vi et munitum 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-
tium essent. Paulisper tamen affectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carthago-
mosque, qui duo populi dilectus acerbitate consternati retentis conqueritoribus metum defectionis cum praebuisisset, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segni erat Mahar-
bale Himilconis filio—eum praefecerat Hannibal—ita impigre rem agente ut ducem absese 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, atrocisque 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 condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis

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**ALCO AND ALORCUS 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
6 iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos
Saguntinos, Alorus, vincì animos ubi alia vincantur
adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretatem fore pollicetur;
erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice
7 Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo
custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetor-
rem Saguntinum — et ipse ita iubebat — est deductus.
8 Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum
esset factus, summota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco
18 datus est, cius talis oratio fuit: 'Si civis vester Alco,
sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita
pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset,

5. postulabatur autem, now the
       demands were. — redderent res:
the technical term for making res-
mittation; cf. 10. 6 n. — tradito, etc.:
       i.e. so that it should not be hidden.
Other property would remain in the
city to be plundered. — egressi:
they were to abandon the place and
leave it to the Carthaginians. — sin-
gulis, etc.: i.e. with only the cloth-
ing they had on.

6. animos, spirit, pride, which
would prevent them from accepting
the proposed terms. — alia: i.e.
their means of resistance. — inter-
pretem, messenger, agent (acting
unofficially); originally a broker be-
tween merchants in foreign trade,
hence its later meaning. — pollic-
tur: used of voluntary offers.
       tum: in opposition to his condi-
tion in time of peace. — publice:
       i.e. recognized by the state. This
relation of hospitium, leading on to
mutual services and protection, ex-
isted either between individuals or
states, and was a substitute for con-
sular relations and the like in com-
mercial intercourse. Alorus had
probably engaged in trade with the
city. It was in this way that such
relations arose. — amicus, personal
friend, as opposed to the other
relation.

7. praetorem: used in the Ital-
ian sense of chief magistrate. — et
ipse, etc.: as opposed to his being*
arrested and taken to headquarters
as a spy, or the like.

8. quo: i.e. to headquarters. —
subnota: the technical term for
excluding witnesses; cf. XXII. 56.
1. — senatus: the praetor seems
to have convened the Senate at
once. — datus est: the technical
term for giving an audience of the
Senate.

18. civis: the emphasis op-
poses Alco to the speaker, a for-
eigner. — venit, went; cf. 19. 7.
— quo, on which (sc. itineret). — ora-
tor: cf. interpres, 12. 6 n. In the
case supposed he would have been
an official legate. — transfuga: the
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 loquer apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus resti-titis 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 amittitur 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.—venissem: 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.—restititis: the perfect with dum contrasts the time with some other, here indicating that the time is no more.—pacus: 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 reliquit, locum adsignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne publicum privatumque ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniu-gum 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 multitudo permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum dare-tur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum | coni-

vantage is in each case matched with a compensating advantage. — dirutam, capitam habet: almost the same as diruit, cepit, 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 praecipitataverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum imperatoris dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal totis viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est. Cui enim parci potuit ex iis qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverunt aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant et in caedibus vix ulla discrimen aetatis ira fecerat et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et

but here referring to deposits or stocks on hand.—eodem, with it into the flames.—plerique: in partitive apposition with primores. It cannot be too often repeated, that ancient literature is addressed to the ear, and proceeds like conversation, 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. nudatam, etc.: the information given by the storming party. The disturbance in the city had called off the soldiers, or demoralized 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 plerique, above).—We must supply here the fuit that Livy doubtless meant to put in.—cognitum, shown.

4. cui enim etc.: i.e. their desperate character was shown by this behavior.—ante: taken with quam, from which it is often separated.

15. captum, etc.: almost like ‘the capture of the town yielded a great deal of booty.’—ingenti: this shows that the preceding account is exaggerated, and Livy accordingly apologizes in the following.—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 constat et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

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

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 brevia aliqua, 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

**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 consulship of M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus, 219 B.C. Aurelius Victor says (42. 2), *Hannibal Saguntum intra sex menses evexit.* —*Carthagine:* *sc. Nova.*

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 con- sulate. — *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 Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio console, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna reedit.

Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab 16 Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt: omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthagineses 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 3 hostem aciorem bellicosioremque secum congressum nec rem Romanam tam desidem umquam fuisset atque imbellem. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios 4 laccassisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum; Poenum 5 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. 1. 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 *Statut*; 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 Hispanicorum populos, concitatur avidas 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 legiones et socium quantum ipsis videretur et classis quanta parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum milia scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadranginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quadrangenti equites; naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iubenter 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 urged by the Senate, and afterwards assigned to the respective individuals by lot. The time here referred to is the spring of B.C. 218.

2. *in eum annum*: the levies were, at that time, made for a single campaign, and the soldiers returned home for the care of their crops. The force to be set on foot was decided by the Senate. — *legiones*: composed of Roman citizens 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 θήρας vocant, id est, veloces biremes, vel triremes agiles, et ad ministerium classis aptae. Except in Livy, *celox* 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 *vellitis iubeatis*, *Quirites*, 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 service was not originally Roman, but of Greek origin. Most of the State
bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset.


His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fie- 18

5. ea: cf. ea fides, 13. 3 n.—naves longae: called quinqueremes, 3, above.
6. ita: cf. 13. 5.—transmis- surus: cf. 4. 10 n.—satis esset, should prove sufficient.
7. et ipse: i.e. as well as the consul—Galliam: Cisalpine Gaul, lately conquered, where he would be near at hand. But Livy assumes that the Romans knew Hannibal's plan at this time, which they probably did not.—mittebatur, was going to be sent, a use of the conative imperfect.

8. ea parte, that arm of the service: i.e. naval force; cf. 53. 1.—iusto, regular complement of. The number was three hundred.
9. provincia: not a province in the later sense, but a region as the seat of war.—eodem: explained by in Punicum bellum.—versa: neuter, qualifying the objects of habuit.

SECOND EMBASSY FROM ROME TO CARTHAGE. 'DECLARATION OF WAR.'

18. iusta, due formalities, according to the fetaial law as held
rent, legatos maiores natu Q. Fabium M. Livium L. Aemilium C. Liciniun Q. Baebium in Africam mittunt adpercunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio

2 Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum.

3 Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum quod mandatum erat percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: 'Praecepts vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis; ceterum haec legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur et ut a confessis 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 percunctandos.


4. et, even: the adverisive 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 as 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
quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo facerit arbitrio; vobiscum una dicceptatio est, licueritne per foedus fieri. Itaque, quoniam discerni 8 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—neicum 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 10 enim quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque ex auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri; itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent 11 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 quaestio, 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 ommittite 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 ferciter, dare utrum vellet, succlamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus accipèrent animis, isdem se gesturos.

19 Haec directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis discaptare, 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, ad, as following. — daret, etc.: in direct form, da utrum vis. — subclamatum 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 foedere 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 4 staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis sociis utrorumque exceptis. Nam neque additum erat 'iis qui tunc essent' nec 'ne qui postea adsumerentur'; et cum adsumere 5 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 defectionem aut sua sponte descissentes reciperentur?

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperatum erat, in Hispanicam, ut adirent civitates ut in societatatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traie-

**comparandum erat,** *what comparison was there?*

3. *Lutatii* : 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 *esse,* 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,* 13. 7. — *adirent* : the tenor of their instructions, depending on *imperatum.* — *perlicerent* : the purpose of *adirent.* — *aut,* or at least implied by the exclusive meaning
cerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus bene-
nigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans
Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae erexe-
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 prae-
ponamus, cum qui id fecerunt [Saguntini], crudelius
quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis?
Ibi quae reris 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 Hispaniae
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 gloriam
virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii
petissent ne Poeno bellum Italia inferenti per agros
urbesque suas transitum darent, tautus 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-
plied 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. 11, describes the char-
acter and customs of similar assem-
blies 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 populandos obicere. Sedato tandem fremitu respondent legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium injuriam ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; contra ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendumque pendere et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita: praeoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore — adeo feroecia 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 exspectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos trasmississe.

Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Novam in hiberna conesserat, ibique auditis quae Romae quae-

cries of displeasure.—sedaretur: cf. mularetur, 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 di-
wenditisque reliquis praedae nihil ultra differendum
ratus Hispani generis milites 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 haec gentes non pacis solum sed etiam
victoriae bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam
et gloriem 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 volit, commeatum do. Primo vere edico, ut
diis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis gloriae
praedaeque futurum incipiamus.’ Omnibus fere visendi
domos oblatas ultro potestas grata erat, et iam desideran-
tibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus deside-
rium. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut
iam exhaustos aut mox exhauseriets corpora

**HANNIBAL Prepares To Invade Italy.**

21. **forent:** Livy is very fond of this unusual form, especially as an auxiliary, using it practically like *esse*, though sometimes the proper difference between them (‘becoming’ and ‘being’) may be detected (Riemann, *Titre-Live*, 2 pp. 226-233). _- seque_, etc.: _i.e._ he heard the facts which proved this._- causam:_ _i.e._ by his conduct in regard to Saguntum.

2. **partitis divenditisque:** according to Roman usage, by which the booty was given to the soldiers, or sold for the state._- reliquis:_ 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 account of the fondness of the Romans for contrasted pronouns. The emphasis is really on *vos._- socii,_ pacatis:_ used according to Roman ideas; cf. *Pax Romana._

4. **ita:** limiting, ‘only so.’ _- haec gentes:_ _i.e._ the conquered nations of Spain.

6. **adsitis:** without _ut_, as often; cf. _quaeratis censo_, 19. 10.

7. **ultra:** _i.e._ without their asking for it.
animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad editum convenere.


8. **vere primo**: _primo vere_ (6) is more usual; cf. Ital. _primaveria._
9. **recensuisset, reviewed and numbered. — Herculii**: originally a Phoenician divinity; he is here identified with his double, the Carthaginian Melkarth. — **vota**: _i.e._ those for the victory at Saguntum. — **evenissent**: an indirect quotation from the vow.
10. **partiens... in**: between the two, giving some to one and some to the other; hence the accusative with _in._ — **inferendum, etc., attack and defense. — ne, etc.: explaining arcedum. — ab Sicilia**: _i.e._ to attacks proceeding from that quarter.
11. **pro eo**: _i.e._ in place of the force sent home to Africa, expressed in _praesidio._ — **melior, etc.:** for this explanation awkwardly tacked on in the style of later Latin, we may say, 'where each,' etc.— **mutuis pigneribus**: each pledged to be faithful to the other, because each could only defend his own country by being faithful to the common cause, and so defending the other's.
12. **caetratos**: light infantry armed with the _castra_, a targe like the _pelta_, or like the shield of the Scotch Highlanders.— **mixtos**: as opposed to the _Baleares._
13. **civitates**: _i.e._ of Africa.
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 Libyrophenices, mixtum
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 auxilii genus, elephanti
viginti unus. Classis praeterea data tuendae maritimae
orae, quia, qua parte bellii vicerant, ea tum quoque rem
gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinque-
remes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae
instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes
erant et triremes quinque.

5 Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus reedit;
atque inde profectus praeter Onusam urbem ad Hibe-
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-

22. 2. Hasdrubali: see Hor-
ace, C. IV. 4. 70. — provinciam,
as a field of operations; see 5. 1 n.
3. ad (mille): adverb, equiva-
lent to fere or circiter. — terres-
tris: probably used with reference
to classis, which is immediately to
follow, as if he had said, 'to have
every kind of land forces repre-
sented (besides the fleet which was
to be given).'
4. tuendae orae: genitive, charac-
terizing classis and giving the
end or purpose of data (est); Gr.
298. R. — qua parte: i.e. in naval
warfare. — vicerant: in the previ-
ous war. — triginta, etc.: i.e. only
thirty, etc., fully equipped.

HANNIBAL'S DREAM.

5. Gadibus: see 21. 9. Poly-
bius says nothing of this visit to
Cadiz. — Onusam: the name is
constructed from omissam of the
MSS., with the aid of XXII.
20. 4.
6. ibi fama, etc.: for another
version of the dream, on the au-
thority of Coelius Antipater, see
retur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pavidum 7 primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem se-
cutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum, quidnam id
esset quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, tem-
perare oculis nequivisse; tum vidisse post se se men-
tem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgul-
torum strage ferri, ac post insequi cum fragore caeli
nimbum. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset 9
quarentem, audisse vastitatem Italiae esse: 'pergeret
porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto
esse.'

Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit 28
praemissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exer-
citus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus spec-
cularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia
equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargus-
osome et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quae subjecta Pyre-
naeis montibus est, subegit oraeque huic omni praeefecit
Hannonem, ut fauces, quae Hispanias Gallis iungunt,
in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad 3
praesidium obtinendae regionis data et mille equites.
Postquam per Pyreneaeum saltum traduci exercitus est 4

Cic. de Div. I. 24. 49. — neque: neve would be more orthodox. —
deflector: 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 gen-
itive of quality depending on praes-
sidium, to denote purpose; cf. 22.
4 n.  
4. saltum: another word for
pass or defile; cf. 30. 5, 7; proba-
coequus rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpétanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae insuperabilique Alpium transitiu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi inritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpétanos quoque ab se dimissos simul.

Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyreneaeum transgrediur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli quamquam Italicae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyreneaeum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibalis nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum misit, conloqui se met ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberri accederent, vel se

bly the southernmost pass of the Pyrenees, where later a place was known as Scalae Hannibalis (Mela, II. 6. 89). — insuperabili : perhaps a Vergilian reminiscence (Aen. IV. 40); so emunitus, 7. 7; invius, 25. 13; tabidus, 36. 7; semustus, XXII. 40. 3. Livy generally says inessuperabili.

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: inflected in 3 and 5, where it stands without oppidum; cf. ad oppidum Iliturgii occurrerunt, XXXIV. 10, with ad Iliturgin pervenit, XXVIII. 19.

2. trans Pyreneae Hispanos: see pugna ad Trebiain, 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 Insubribus 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 arretis 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 CISALPINE 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 invernsum’ 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. (veteres iras) after a severe struggle of some years’ duration. — Insubribus: 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 triumviro agrum metantis impetus sit factus. Mutinae cum obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulare 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. — triumviri: 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 8 essent et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant plerisque 9 incultis. Ibi inexplorato prefectus in insidias praecipitatus, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita et, quia Gallis ad 10 temptanda ea defect spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentos cecidisse satis constabat. Iter 11 deinde de integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territanti et pavendi 13 fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, vicum propinquum Pado, contendere. Ibi se muni 14 mento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium tutauntur. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus et Punicum insper Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium praetorem cum una legionem Romana et quinque milibus sociorum dilectu 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 tumultua tum, 16. 4n.
2. consule: Scipio.
ferre Manlio iubent; qui sineullo certamine—abscesserant enim metu hostes—Tannetum pervenit.

3. Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum praetore erat, scripta legione nova prefectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Salluvium montes pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum ostium Rhodani—pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit—castra locat, vixdum sati s credens Hannibalem superasse Pyreneaeos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum sati s refectis ab iactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim defectos 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. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro muni-

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

6. ceteris: Livy thinks apparently 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 Indians, are variously conceived by different writers.—colunt: used absolutely (= 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 . . . ulteriorum: i.e. in reference to the position of Hannibal and the approaching danger. Usu-
mento haberent, omnibus ferme sui trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum quos sedes suae tuerant simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traiici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum uredge 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 suaque transvehent, faciebant. Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traiiciendum terebant ex adverso hostes omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes. Quos ut aver-teret, Hannomen Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine

ally in Latin Rome is the point of view.

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.—urgete: 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 shallow-river service. Polybius says (III. 42) μονδείλα πλοία. — te-

tere: 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. linteas, 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-

erally, ‘against the current’; cf.
ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traicieto 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 traiciactus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quieta unius diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo significant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accept Hannibal, ne temporis deesset dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes.

secunda aqua, 28. 7. — iter: cognate accusative.
3. circumducre 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, abesset: sc. se; see 12. 4 n. — ne temporis 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 superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra tractentibus lintribus praebebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a 9 puppibus trahebantur praeter eos, quos instratos frenatoseque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposerant in naves. Galli occursant in ripa cum 28 variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita vibrantesque dexteris tela, quamquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera ripa tracten tes suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes 3 adverso tumultu terribilior ad tergo adortus clamor castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancesquae terror circumstabant et e navibus 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 opposition to pars magna) had the transports. 2. et ex adverso: 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. inventus obistebant, 7. 7.—praeter, all except.
28. occursant: 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 vario. 2. — moris sui: cf. Caes. B. G. 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.—terrebat: a picture of the situation, with the imperfect as always. — clamore: the noun precedes as opposed to sono; cf. variis ululatibus, above.—nautarum militum: 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, opposed to ab tergo.
4. utroque, against both, literally, ‘in both directions’—trepid, in confusion.
vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

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

**THE ELEPHANTS CROSS THE RHONE.**

5. variata memoria, the account has been variously given.—feroccissimum, etc.: cf. Frontinus, I. 7. 2 Hannibal iussit feroceissimum elephantum sub aure vulnerari et eum qui vulnerasset transnato statim flumine procurrire. Elephantus exasperatus ad perseverandum doloris sui autorem transnavit amnem, et reliquis idem autendis fecit exemplum. — nantem: the omission of a connective is somewhat harsh, and the passage has been variously tinkered (inde nantem, nando, sequeretur 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. pondere ipso, etc., II, below.—destitueret: the iterative subjunctive of which Livy is very fond; so agerentur, raperentur, 10, and fecisset, 11; see 8. 11 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 alli deinde repetiti ac traiecti 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. Excis-
dere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere
ipso stabiles deectis rectoribus quaerendis pedememptim
vadis in terram evasere.

Dum elephanti traiciuntur, 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. Pro-
lium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur;
nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par 3
utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis

8. stabilem: i.e. the one made
fast to the shore.
9. ab...navibus: the preposi-
tion 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: newer, everything else,
the other raft and the shore.
11. urgentes, crowing.—quie-
tem, etc.: i.e. they were so afraid
of the water that they kept still.
12. pedememptim: 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, ὃ κατά ἢ πρὸ; 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; inferentis, 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 Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum prosperum eventum ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

Vt re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat nisi ut ex consiliis coepitisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem incertum, utrum coepatum in Italian intenderet iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus conserveret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum 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 cavalry. — principium simul omenque: 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 (Hannibalem), 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 perspective. — legatorum, etc.: Livy has said nothing about arrangements with the Gallic leaders, which had undoubtedly been made beforehand. — integro bello, in full force;
itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello nusquam ante libatis viribus Italianam adgrediendam consent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italian petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: mirari se quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere neque ante Hispania exessisse quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginensium essent. Indignatos deinde quod, quicum-

c frase is explained by nusquam ... viribus. — libatis viribus: as they must necessarily be by conflict with a determined enemy.

7. multitudo: opposed to Hannibal before spoken of. — timebat ... metuebat: the slight difference between these words is here brought out better than usual; timor 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 'hendiadys,' 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 infinitive 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. — vari: i.e. by reproof and encouragement.

2. mirari: the order representing a beginning, miror, etc., gives a force like, 'I can't help wondering;' 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, however, be omitted in the direct. — facere: the present as with iamdudum and the like. — duo, etc.: i.e. the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. — Carthaginensium essent: this is very different from the tone of the address to the Spaniards in 21.
que Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad
delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem
terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab oc-
casu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam
multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Py-
renaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum,
Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohi-
bentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in
conspectu Alpis habeant, quorum alterum latus Italiae
sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere — quid
Alpis alius esse credentes quam montium altitudines?
Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis: nullas profecto terras
caelum contingere nec inessuperabiles humano generi
esse. Alpis quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere
animantes: pervias/faucis esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos,
quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpis
transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed
advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpis ingentibus saepe

3. ob noxam, as culpitis. — or-
bem: as yet a rhetorical exagger-
ation, but used with reference to
later times.
4. tum: when they started from
Spain.
5. prohibitibus: concessive.
— Italiae sit, belongs to Italy, i.e. is
a part of Italy.
6. montium altitudines, high
mountains: by this form of ex-
pression the important quality is
brought out by being made ab-
stract, and this abstract is made
partially concrete by the use of the
plural.
7. fingerent: representing an
imperative, or a subjunctive of con-
cession. — nullas, etc.: the rhetori-
cal tone allows the omission of the
adversative which we should natu-
really supply. — nec: a following nec
does not contradict a preceding neg-
ative. — 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, empha-
sizing 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 praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium aut inex-sperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse! Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo aspe-rum atque arduum videri quid inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea quae adiri posse Poenus desperet. Proinde aut cedent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rector ad Alpis via esset, sed, quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in come over. — cum liberis, etc.: and therefore encumbered, in reference 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 (like varium et mutabile 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 sarcastic turn prepares the way for proinde, the regular illative con-junction preceding an exhortation (as in cedercents). — aut . . . aut: exclusive, i.e. these are the alternatives, ‘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 throughout this speech they are more natural 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 illustrates his consummate skill as a rhetorician, and deserves careful study.

HANNIBAL WORKS TOWARD THE ALPS.

31. 2. adversa ripa, up stream along the bank; cf. adverso flumine, 27. 2. — esset: the usual subjunctive where a reason is stated only to be denied. — Romanum: cf. 26. 5.
Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conse-
re. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara
Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes
agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum; mediis
campis Insulae nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allo-
brogos, gens iam unde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut
fama inferior. Tum discors erat: regni certamine am-
bigebant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitar, Bra-
neus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui
iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius sedi-
tionis peropporunti disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem
reiecta esset, abiter regni factus, quod ea senatus prin-
cipumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit.
Ob id meritus commenatu copiaceque rerum omnium,
maxime vestis, est aditus, quam infames frigoribus
Alpes praeparari cogeabant. Sedatis Hannibal certa-
minibus 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. quadrin-
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. στραβώς. — diversis: ac-
cording to the divisions of the Alps,
the Rhone coming from the Great
St. Bernard region in the Pennine
Alps, and the Isère from the souther-
n side of Mt. Blanc among the
Graian Alps. — Insulae: the mod-
ern 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 be-
longed 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 lae-
vam: though Hannibal's exact
route has never been determined,
yet it seems certain that he fol-
lowed 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. — Tri-
castinos: the locality of this tribe is
indicated by Aoust (Augusta Tricas-
tinorum). — extremam: i.e. north-
ern. — Vocontiorum: the territory
of this powerful people reached from
the Drac to the Durance, one of
their chief settlements being at Die
(Dei Vocontiorum). — Tricorios:
corios, haud usquam impedita via priusquam ad Dru-
entiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis 10
longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu
est. Nam cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen
navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluri-
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 stable nec
tutum ingredienti praebet. Et tum forte imribus 12
auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum
super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamo-
ribus turbarentur.

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

dinary difficulties, it had the tem-
porary disadvantage of a freshet,
which, adding to the embarrass-
ment, caused a kind of panic, re-
lected in incertis clamoribus.—
incertis: i.e. the sudden outrites
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 dis-
order.

SciPIO returns to italy.

82. movit: often used abso-
lutely by Livy of military move-
ments; so educo, 39. 10; teneo, 49.
2; duco, XXII. 18. 6.—facturus: see
futuro, 4. 10 n. Scipio's in-
tention was to meet Hannibal be-
fore 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 rediit, 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 tue ndos tantummodo v iteres socios conciliandosque novos sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdruba-lem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo qui circa Padum erat exercitus Italian de-fensurus.

6 Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum per-venit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, quā incerta in maius vero ferri solent, praecipa res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iu-mentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu

8 quam dictu foediora, terrem renovarunt. Erigenibus 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 withdrawing 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 appears to be no region on the upper Durance corresponding to this description, 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. erigenibus . . . agmen, as they directed their march; the dative goes with apparuerunt.
los insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis postquam comperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque quam extentissima potest valle locat. Tum per eodem Gallos, haud sane multum linguæ moribusque abhorrentes, cum se immiscuisissent conloquis montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. [Die deinde simulando alius quam quod parabatur consumpto] [cum eodem quo consti- rant loco castra communissent, 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 tenerant consedit.

Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reliquum incedere coepit. iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente conspiciunt alios (arce occupata sua) super caput imminentis, alios via transire hostis. Vtraque simul obiecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu miscerit agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid

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 consulro, 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.
88. 2. arce . . . sua, their strong position, i.e. the heights.
4. quidquid . . . terroris, any
adieissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, diversis rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia adsueti 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 repercussaque valles augebant, territi trepidabant et icti forte aut vulnerati ad eo consternabantur ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent; multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis desicci, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quae quamquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuat, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret;

9 deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrat ex superiore loco et, cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum 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 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 impera facturos; comcomatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandos ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes feren, benignum cum responsisset obsidibus quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu quem in viam ipsi detulerant usus, nequaquam, ut inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Pri-

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

2. ut: qualifying frequentem cultoribus. — populum, distrit; cf. the local use of δῆμος. These places cannot be identified. Perhaps Livy is thinking of the Catu-
riges. — suis: alluding to the pro-

verbal Punicā fides; cf. XXII. 16. 5.

3. magnō natū: emphatic posi-
tion, as aged envoys would naturally make a greater impression.

3. factūros: 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 imperative of the direct.

4. dabant, offered; conative im-

perfect. — 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 eminus 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 equibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliqui erat, occursantes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equibus atque impedimentis acta est.

Postero die iam segnii intercursantibus barbaris iunctae 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 novissimum agmen, utcunque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent.

Elephanti sicut per artas praecipitesque vias magna

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**a fonte ab tergo, comminus eminus:** the double asyndeton is in harmony with the scene of hurry 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 *fuit*, 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 incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia 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 labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumentaque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenero. Fessis taedio tot malorum nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum ingentem terrem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet pigritiae et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae 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 Polybius (III. 53) who, however, probably 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 Livy's 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.* — *Italiam . . . moeniaque,* etc.: cf. 32. 2 for a similar combination of constructions.

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

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

Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque
ita rectis saxis ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus
manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes
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 . . . coepit; ‘they were no longer daunted by the journey, nor did the enemy trouble them either.’—furta, 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 steepness) 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 soldiers. 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 vegetation).

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 constitissent, miranti Hannibali quae res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digestus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa quin per invia circa nec trita antea quamvis longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit. Nam cum super veterem nimem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec prae Alps facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi lucatia erat lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adivisissent, ipsis administrulis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve ad quas pede aut manu quisquam enti posset erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volubantur. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia nivem et prolapsa iactandis gravius in contendo 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 praecepus one would be tempted to emend in that sense.

4. digestus: 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, however: 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. — ingredien-
velut pedica capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

87 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 immanibus dejectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt mollientque anfractibus modicis clivos ut non iumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumin 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. communis, immuns, 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 stirs pes, 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 flammae 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, insignias.

5. inferiorea, 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 Italianam perventum est, quinto 88 mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae 2 transgresso in Italianam 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 confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum adducta — in Italia magis adluxisse 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 Italianam 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 inditum — transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis iugum dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent. Nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique, quae ad Poeninum ferunt, obsaeptha gentibus Semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorumullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen norint inditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Poeninum montani appellant.

89 Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, 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.— Cremonis: 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 solution. Varro’s statement, as transmitted to us by Servius (Aen. X. 13), is of some interest: Alpes quinque viis Varro dicit transiri posse; una, quae est iuxta mare per Ligures; altera, qua Hannibal transit; tertia, qua Pompeius ad Hispaniensem bellum profectus est; quarta, qua Hasdrubal de Gallia in Italiam venit; quinta, quae quondam a Graecis possessa est, quae exinde Alpes Graiae appellatur.

8. ea: the two routes just mentioned, i.e. the Great and, perhaps, the Little St. Bernard. — Semigermanis: cf. Caes. B. G. I. 31 seq.

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 Iuppiter Poenis, 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 beginning of operations that, etc.; notice the emphasis. — Taurinis: for the dative see Hannibili, 34. 9 n. — proximae 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 southwesterly) direction. — armae, prepare 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 inluvie tabeque 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 ignominiius trepido ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus conserve ret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnatar; iunxissetque sibi non metu solum sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi( ni eos circumspectantis defectionis 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

ical, meaning.—alteri, one of the two, i.e. either. This may refer to the Insubes (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 sepelendi, XXII. 52. 6.

2. ex, after, as often where one thing immediately succeeds another. —effera ta, 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.—ignominiius: see 25. 9, 12.

4. venit: indicative, as simply defining a point of time. —statischus, 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 Italiam trans-
gresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci tra-
ciendurum Alpium et effectu.

Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum trainere, et ad Ticinum
amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, ad-
hortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus:

40 'Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem quem in
Gallia mecum habui, supercedessem Ioqui apud vos; quid
epim 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 moti-
es. 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
. . . habui, just above, and cum
quibus . . . habui, 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 detractam certamen pro
victoria habui? nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae pro-
vinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis aus-
spiciis 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 imperator in apud novos milites paucu
verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem igno-
retis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum quos terra
marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per
viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Sicil-
iam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine
is 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 auspiciis: 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... ignoretis: 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 (Polyb. I.
62; III. 27).—capta... habetis,
have taken... and hold; see 13.
6 n.—belli praemia: carelessly
said of Sardinia; see Intro. 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 parti-
bus: 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 nactus esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora 9 ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. Effigies imo, umbrae hominum, fame frigore inluvie squalore ejecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praestri artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque 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 vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. 11 Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profigare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profigatum conficere. Non vereor ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, 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. 1. 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. — praestri artus, with hands and feet frozen, literally, 'at the extremities,' like praecactus, praetrunco, and other compounds of praec. — 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. — forsitan: 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 comissum on the one hand, and conficere 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, /
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 Rhodonum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum consérendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium rap-tim 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, lâcessère ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat utrum alios repente Carthaginienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an idem sint qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodevicensis denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum

**Might have.** — *haberem*: i.e. in the case supposed; 'if I had gone I should now have,' etc. — *minorem . . . molem belli, a less difficult war*. The Latin loves to make such words as *bellum* concrete, to express the preparations or armament and the like; hence the use of *molem*; cf. *tanti belli impetus navigavit*, Cic. *pro Lege Manil. 12. 34.*

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. — *recessus*, etc.: if we read with the oldest Mss. *neque recessus ad navis erat*, we must assume the loss of a protasis like *si secutus essem*, and make *recessus* 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 Intro. 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 hisi Saguntinum scelus agitaret, respiceret profecto, si non patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera
Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab console nostro praedium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves impositas victis
Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque accipet, 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 servos videatis
vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad
Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame, in-
terficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam traiicere
atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem
delere: veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsi-
dione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae
duximus cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his imperti-
titis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam

7. Herculis: cf. Alpes nulladum via, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas, V. 34. 6. — vectigalis: as paying tithes and the like. — stipendiarius: as paying an indemnity. The whole is exagger-
ated, 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 conscious-

ness of his crime at Saguntum. The pursuit of the wicked by the Furies or otherwise is regularly expressed by agitare. — respiceret, have re-
gard for. — domum, the honor of his house; the breaking of Hamil-
car'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 in-
stead 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. impertitius, favors, things

granted to them.—furiosum: cf.
nostram 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 possum praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Vnus quique se non corpus suum sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis pro-
tegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas sed identidem hoc animo repuet, nostras nunc infuei manus senatum populumque Romanum: qualis nostra vis vir-
tusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.'

Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratu circumdata ad spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum pro-
jectis interrogare interpretum iussit, equis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque

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agitaret, 8 n.—atque utinam, etc.: another motive,—the war is not for glory, but for existence.
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 quique, 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 exhibition. —victor, if victorious, a condition in shorthand as an apposition.
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 condicionis 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 fertur: '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 condicionis 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 maitus, 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 combattants that they excited admiration even among the Carthaginians.

HANNIBAL'S SPEECH.

48. paribus: the regular word for pairs of gladiators. — adfectos: i.e. his soldiers; cf. circumdata 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. — condicionis, 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. 7 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 occurrístis. 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- 6 tum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute recipieraturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent: quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis futurum est. In hanc tam opinam mercedem, agite 7 dum, diis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in 8 vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora con- sectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculo- rumque vestrorum vidístis; tempus est iam opulenta 9 vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris 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. — recipieraturi: 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
abit. Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam diffi-
cilem existimaritis 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 compa-
randi sint? Vt viginti annorum militiam vestram cum
illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis colum-
nis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot
ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos vincentes hoc
pervenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa
aestate caeso victo circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc
duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in praetorio
patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe educ-
tum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem
non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsisarm, quod multo
maius est, Alpium, cum semestri hoc conferam duce,
desertore exercitus sui? Cui si quis demptis signis
Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoranturum cer-
tum 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 trifling 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. pugnabitis, 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 lau-

datis a me miles donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus
ignotus inter se ignorantesque. Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, vetera-
num peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenato

sos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, cum pro patria tum ob iram iustis-

simam pugnaturus. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugna-
turi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus
inferentis vim quam arcentis. Ascendit praeterea et
stimulat animos dolor inuria indignitas. Ad supplicium
depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes
qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciati-
bus adfecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima

or dux, to stigmatize Scipio's inex-

17. notata, exactly noted. — sua: 
cf. sui, 29. 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
infreni by Vergil (Aen. IV. 41) and by Silius (I. 215) gens nescia
freni.

3. inferimus bellum: the tech-

ical term for an offensive war. —
infestis signis: the same idea as the preceding in a different form (in a hostile attack). — inferentia,
arcentis: see pugnatum, 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 inuria 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 inuria and indignitas. — oppugnasse-
setis: indirect discourse quoted from the demand. — deditos: equal to si dediti essumus. — fuerunt: the regular indicative in the periphras-
tic conjugation in the apodosis to conditions contrary to fact (Gr. 308. d).
gens sua omnia suiique arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bel-
lum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere
aequum censeat. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis
montium fluminumque quos non excedamus, neque cos
quos statuit terminos observat. 'Ne transieris Hiberum!
Ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis!' Ad Hiberum est
Saguntum. 'Nusquam te vestigio moveris!' Parum
est quod veterimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardi-
niam ademisti? adimis etiam Hispanias? et inde si
deessero, in Africam transcendes. Transcendes au-
tem dico? duo consules huius anni, unum in Africam,
alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis
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, omni-
bus inter victoriam mortemque certa desperatione abrupt-
tis, aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius

5. sua: predicative. — habe-
amus: not the ordinary indirect
question, but a subjunctive question
put in the indirect form. — modum
imponere, to prescribe, set the lim-
its. — circumscribit, draws lines
(really the termini below). — ne-
que, and yet . . . not.
6. ne, etc.: an imaginary alterca-
tio between Rome and Carthage.
Such passages at arms were com-
mon 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 construc-
tion 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, in-
stead of the accusative, after licet
with an infinitive (Gr. 272. 2). —
respectum habent, have something
behind them to look to. — sua: al-
lowed 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, vicissit: nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est.

His adhorationibus cum utrimque ad certamen ac censi 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 populii Romani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insibrium quinque milia passuum a Victimulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese datum esse in Italia Africa Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi, qui accepsisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maliusset, ei se argento satisfac turum; 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 ex sistam operet 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, maliusset, 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
popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Scer-
vis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit bina-
que pro iis mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut
rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem
retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterisque precatus deos,
ita se mactarent quem ad modum ipse agnum mactas-
set, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit.
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,
super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam
et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus
evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente
consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iacu-
latoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex
propinquuo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent,

6. qui (domos): i.e. the allies. — secum: the common short-cut
comparison (comparatio compendiaria) for cum sua fortuna.
7. bina, two apiece, instead of the
one thus freed.
8. rata, faithfully kept, not annulled (cf. irritius). — agnum, etc.: a
common form of oath with the ancients; cf. 1. 24. 9. — silicem:
the preservation of flint knives into
the bronze and iron age is an in-
stance of the conservative influence
of religion. — si falleret: repre-
senting the direct si fallo. — Io-
vem: probably put by Livy for Baal, the supreme divinity of the
Carthaginians. — mactarent: indi-
rect for the imperative or subjunctive
present, as mactasset reproduces
mactavero.
9. auctoribus, as vouchers, or
guarantors. — quisque: really in
apposition with omnes. — id morae,
that the only delay was.

CAVALRY ENCOUNTER NEAR THE
TICINUS.

46. 3. procuratis: in such cases
proper sacrifices were made to avert
the omens, for which procurare is
the technical word. — Scipio, etc.: the
battle begins with a reconnaissance,
and the two reconnoitring
parties meet between the two
speculandarum, 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. Scipio iaculares et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidis; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculares fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu aniceps; 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 propulsatum. 

368 camps. — et ipsi, who also. — circa: see 7. 5 n.

4. hominem equorum: for the asyndeton see 28. 2 n. — sese expediebant, began to, or proceeded to form, a force often expressed by the imperfect.

5. iaculares: 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. — quad 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 iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiuscem 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 moventiumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iux-

erit: i.e. he will appear later as such; cf. Florus, I. 22. 11 hic erit Scipio qui in exsultum Africam crescit, nomen ex malis eius habiturum. — perfecti, etc.: the customary 'ab urbe condita' construction; see 1. 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 religuis, 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). — inuexerat: 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 traiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut externa 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 possit. Potiores apud me auctores sunt qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini

3. Placentiam: Scipio's new position on the other side of the Po, so that the northern side was now abandoned. — moratorum: for qui morati erant. — citeriore: from Hannibal's point of view. — solventes: 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 fecerint, 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: corollaries. — 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 Hispanorum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes conten-
dunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communivit et posterio die in conspectu hostium acie derecta potestatem pugnae fecit.

48 Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugient; quos Poenus benigné adlocutus et spe ingenti donorum accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos populer
lium animos dimisit. Scipio, caedem eam signum de
defectionis 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 prefectus ad Trebiam fluvium iam in loca altiora collisque impeditiores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum sefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, turbasset utique novissimum agmen ni aviditate praeda in vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi dum

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

Scipio on the Trebia. Clastidium betrayed to Hannibal.

48, 2. adlocutus et . . . accensos: 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 . . . sefellit: i.e. he was less successful in getting off unob-
served. — missis: emphatic as con-
tinuing the idea of minus sefellit; '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 cita 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 communiat. 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 conesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino praefecto prae sidii 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 terrestre 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; *insidiatior*, 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 Vulcami 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 opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis praeter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Aegatis insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, perscriptit monetque ut Lilybaeum firme teneret praesidio. Exemplo et circa civitates a praetore missi legati tribu-

et a Sempronio . . . et ante adventum: the order of narrative is chiasitic. — 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. b.

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 intendère, 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-
dendi faceret; perque omnem oram qui ex speculis pro-
spicerent adventantem hostium classem missi. Itaque, 9
quamquam de industria ita moderati cursum navium erant Carthaginenses ut ante lucem accederent Lily-
baeum, praesensam tamen est quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant: extemplo datum sig-
num ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclaumatum 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 ut 12
spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum et portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam 13

around among; a new use of circa after verbs of motion, frequent in Livy. — suos: i.e. Roman garrisons. — 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 neu populus frequens ad arma cessantes, ad arma concitetur; 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 instructam classem ita inopem milite habeant et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numeros armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septime naves Punicae circumventae, fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolmis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.

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

13. memoria, etc.: i.e. of the great battle of the Aegates in the First Punic War.

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 instructo and orno together 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 polllicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adiuvisset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vestimentaque sese legio-
nibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo maritimisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum visum quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves accepere. A Lilybaeo consul Hierone 51
cum classe regia dimitto relictio praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gis-

gonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore praeter insignes 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. patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, I. 54. 9; see Gr. 235. c, and, for a full list of the Latin examples, Roby, 1152.

11. profecti: for the gender and number see Gr. 187. b. N. — pugnatum: 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 venirent (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 venierunt, 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).
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 . . . nor; there is a thought implied, 'the report was not confirmed, nor,' etc.; see Harv. Stud., Vol. II., p. 129 seq.

4. urbes: 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 Padunque agri est Galli tum incoelant, 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 praeda militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus injuriae ad vindices futuros declinant legatisque ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio 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. intregi, 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 Sempronius 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. earn 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 recem-
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 terrem
caedemque 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 aquassent
certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos
fama victoriae fuit. Ceterum nemini omnium maior ea
iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua
parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicesse:

ut, although; Gr. 313. a. — recen-
tem, 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 defensos,
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
description 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.

Effect of the Cavalry Skirmish.
58. ceterum: in allusion to
fama, etc., above. — ea: sc. victo-
ria. — iustior, more complete,
properly, '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 vicesse: if the verb
of emotion (gaudio efferri) is prac-
tically a verb of saying or thinking,
the infinitive is preferred to a quad
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 horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari? 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 pavanis intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpis Appenninumque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse?' Haec adsidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope contionabundus 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 civilatem, 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. — contionabundus: 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 cernēret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quicquam consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferocius factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat.

Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus inten-tusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum melior-em ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secururam 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 praebaltis utrimque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus

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.

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.

11. facere, to force it. — milita-

bant: sc. Galli, but not of course those just mentioned.

THE BATTLE OF THE TREBIA.

54. in mediō: 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. — te-
ipse oculis perlustravit, 'Hic erit locus' Magoni fratri 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 viorum 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 obequitate 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 praeceptum 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 viorum, a picked b-dy, the choicest troops: cf. robore peditum, 34. 5. — turmis manipulisque: Roman technical terms, and a chiastic variation on pedite atque equite, 2. — caecum ad artes: 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 auroe fluminis appropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis. Vt vero refugientes Numidas inequentes aquam ingressi sunt — et erat pectoribus tenues aucta nocturno imbri —, tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassitudine et procedente iam die fame etiam deficere. 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. Baliares locat ante signa, levem armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in

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. eminences,* etc., 7.
utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentis equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incatuṣi excipierentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia præterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est. Proelium a Balaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsistere, 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, obruti sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a Balaribus 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 foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite iaculabantur in latera et elephanti iam in medium peditum aciem sese intulerant.
et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum ac terrenem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime praeter sperm omnium adversus elephantos. Eos velites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti versus sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant. Trepidantisque et prope iam in suo con- sternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi ex- templo haud dubiam fecere fugam eoque novus terror additus Romanis ut fus a auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme homi- num, 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 praecib 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 absumpit sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, aliis vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contende- dere, 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. *imbri*: 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.

iumenta et elephantos prope omnis absumpsit. Finis 7
insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita tor-
pentes 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
nequiban praie lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese
dissimularunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Sci-
pione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde
Pado traiecto Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hiber-
nis una colonia premeretur.

Romam tautus 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 Ticanum 2
victo alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulibus,
duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces,
quas alias legiones esse quae arcessantur? Ita territis 3
Sempronius consul advenit, 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. dissimularunt, 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 Italam, 25. 1 n.—
iam, next; i.e. after his successes
against the protecting armies.
2. revocatum: see 51. 5.
3. Sempronius, etc.: this jour-
ney 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 rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

5 Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque iis impeditoris erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magnio munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli oppugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levii armatura prefectus 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 inegens defensum egregie praesidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quie te sumpta et vixdum satis percurato vulnere ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergít. 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. — Flaminius: 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 pergít, 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 deditioe facta praesidium
intra moenia accepere; iussique arma tradere cum dicto
paruissent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam
vi captam urbem diriperent. Neque ualla quae in tali re
memorabilis scribentibus videri solet praeterrmisca clades
est: adeo omne libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae
superbiae editum in miseris 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, columns; cf.
XXXIII. 9 phalanx, agmen magis
quam acies aptiorque itineri quam
pugnae. — in via: i.e. without
waiting to form.
14. scri
tibus, historians; cf.
rerum scriptores, I, I, and see
pugnantium, 29. 2 n.— clades, out-
rage; properly, injury to person
and property. — omne, etc., every
species of, etc., was practiced; prop-
erly, 'an example of every cruelty
was displayed,' i.e. the case was
extreme enough to serve as a
precedent and warning. — adeo:
see II. 1 n. Compare Hannibal's
treatment of prisoners in 48. 10.

HANNIBAL ATTEMPTS THE APEN-
NINES.

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 Sem-
pronius, 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 appetebat). The with-
drawal of Sempronius to Lucca
(59. 10) can hardly be reconciled
with the statements in 63. 1 and 15.
58. erant: see note on duceba-
tur, 25. 11.

2. dicit, began his march (con-
que gentem, sicut Gallos Ligureisque, aut vi aut volun-
tate adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox
adorta tempestas est ut Alpium prope foeditatem super-
verit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora,
primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra eni-
tentes 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 tor-
pere. 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
esse, tantum nivosae grandinis deiecit ut omnibus omis-
tive); cf. movit, 32. 1 n.—adiuncturis, to secure: cf. futuro, 4. 10 n.
3. superaverit: the usual breach of the consecutio temporum in clauses
of result; see Gr. 287. c.—aut arma, etc.: the alternatives were
that either they had to drop their shields, etc., or, if they tried to
struggle against the storm with them, they were caught in the
cyclone and thrown to the ground on account of the greater surface they
presented.—constitere, they halted, to secure a firmer footing.

4. spiritum: this does not differ in sense from animam, but rep-
resents the same thing in a different phase. The outgoing breath
was stopped, and so they could not alternate their breathing as a func-
tion of the inner organs.—aversi a vento, with their backs to the wind.

5. tum vero: a decisive mo-
ment; cf. ut vero, 54. 9 n.—fragores: the same idea as sono, but
added to connect with ignes and give the idea of separate peals alter-
nating with flashes.—capti, etc.: the fact that they could neither see
nor hear increased their terror.

6. tandem (after primo and
dein): the three moments are the
halt, the sitting down, and the en-
camping.

7. quicquam: with explicare,
the material (hides or canvas) for
the tents; with statuere, the poles.

—statutum esset: the subjunc-
tive, as in vellet, 9, is that of
repeated action. The statement is
inconsistent with what has just been
said.

8. aqua: i.e. a thick mist. —ni-
vosae grandinis, sheet. —omnibus
sisc procumberent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpenti- bus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, 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 proelho ad Trebiam facto superfluerant, septem assumpti.

Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra mo- vit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul — iam enim redierat ab Roma — detrectavit 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 persequerunt, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal 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 converti 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, post-quam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equibus dextra laevaque emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum roboe mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla saeva aut utriusque partis pernicie clarius fuisset si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset: nox accensum ingenti-bus 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 interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duabus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

7. saeva aut: a conjecture from the MS. aeaut; 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 equo publico) who in earlier times had constituted the whole cavalry. Strictly speaking, there was no ordo 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 Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab ostio Rhodani prefectus Pyrenaesque montes circumvexit Emporias adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu orsus a Laetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen, partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituen-dis, Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae 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 armorum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum provincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesi-dium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni

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 preparatory and subordinate to the main fact.

2. Emporias: as its name indicates, 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 Laetanis, 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 instiicie has fallen out, or the que has crept in by some blunder. — iam: with the idea of continual increase of savageness as you go back from the coast.

5. provincia: see 5. 1 n. — alie-narentur: subjunctive on account of the idea of purpose involved ('before they should be,' 'to prevent 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 praesidio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica, ac vilium mancipiorum; castra militem ditavere, non eis modo exercitus qui victus erat, sed et eis qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentiibus essent, sita Pyreneaeum relictis.

61 Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitem, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantisque per agros, quod ferme fit ut secundae res neglegiantiam creent, equite passim dimisse 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. — sita: 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 receptit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico relickto Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsedit intraque dies paucos pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxillium finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul iam urbe, cum intrare vellent, exceptit insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit per quos raro umquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo, cum Amusius 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 volebant (conative). —procul urbe: see 5. 8 n.

9. duodecim milia: it is incredible that so many tried to enter, unnoticed, a beleaguered town.—exuti, throwing off; the force is
genti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconom in hiberna reditum est.

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 ingenum infantern semestrem in foro holitorio triumphum clamasse, et in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium speciem de caelo adfulsisse, 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 Amiterino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos nec cum ullo 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 deduntur, 11.

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

PORTENTS AND EXPLANATIONS IN AND NEAR ROME.

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

2. foro holitorio: the vegetable market was outside the Porta Carmentalis 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 Io triumphe (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 as 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 specie: though specie is the ablative of quality, the phrase is, with intentional vague-ness, 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 Piceno novemdiale sacrum edictum, et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque maiores qui-bus editum est diis caesae, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta 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 huius (sc. Romani) interpres.
— 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. — novemdiale 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 (mundinae), 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.
7. 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 caede-
rentur): i.e. by the decemviri upon an examination of the books
8. 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. b. — 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 lectisternium Iuventati et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria dicta, 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 exercitus idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum

9. Iuventati: this goddess, one of the vague deities of the Romans called Indiges, 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 shrines 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. Atilius 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 quinqueannium 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 nавem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quae estus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasorì legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus alii 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 Flaminius 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. — amphorarum: 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. — Latinarum 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-
itineres 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 invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret.

Iovique Latari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne auspicato prefectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus prefectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exsiliis causa solum vertisset.

Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Ariminii quam Romae magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret.

In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti placuit — Q. Terentius et M. Antistius prefecti nihil magis eum moverunt quam priore consulatu litterae moverant ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, im-

8. initi magistratus: see 1. 5 n. — Latinas: sc. ferias. — monte: sc. Albano.

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 console, 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 maior: 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 Flaminius, 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 frigorisibus 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 premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis viderent, verterunt 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 preposition give great emphasis to the phrase.

2. Galli, etc.: explaining the preceding statement.—pro eo ut, instead of; the expression occurs only here.—videre: the subjunctive 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 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 hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus Martis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspiciun esse? Magistratus id a 6 domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feris actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncparture. — 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 insidiarum; cf. is favor, XXI. 46. 7 n. — idibus Martibus: at this time the beginning of the political year, though by the confusion in the calendar 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 ratio, namely de religione, is mentioned. Probably here both questions 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. — auspiciun: the immediate communication with the gods expressed in the auspices, which passed from one representative of the populus Romanus to another, but only, as in all Roman affairs, through the regular ceremonies 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 magistrates duly inducted. — id: sc. auspiciun: the main thing without which there could be no iustum imperium, in the religious sense. — a domo: inasmuch as all the proceedings mentioned must be performed 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 household, the state, had divinities of the same sort. — privatis: certain ceremonies were performed by the consul in his own house before proceeding in his robes of state to enter upon his office. — Latinis feris: see XXI. 63. 5 n. — votis: the first rite of the consul was to proceed from his

concipere: a technical expression including all the preliminary proceedings of augural consecration and the like.

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). —

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 invisi- dia 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
ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisternium-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.

2 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, propriem 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-

ligious 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-
tisternium: 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. — convivi-
num: i.e. a general feast like a bar-
becue, in which all the people joined.

20. Saturnalia: not now estab-
lished for the first time, but probably
enlarged and made more binding. —
 clamata: the whole people, slaves
and all, ran about crying, Io SATUR-
NALIA; cf. Macrobius, I. 10. 18 quo
solo die (i.e. Dec. 19) apud aedem
Saturni convivio dissoluto Satur-
nalia clamitabantur.

HANNIBAL IN THE MARSHES OF
THE ARNO.

2. dilectu: dative; cf. exercitus,
II. 5. — profectus, etc.: the same
event as in 1, 1, but resumed after
the digression about the omens.—
Arretium: see XXI. 15. 6.

2. longius, etc.: some route far-
ther down the valley of the Po, as
by Mutina or Bononia. — propio-
rem, etc.: what route is uncertain.
There are several gaps in the Apen-
nines by which Hannibal might
have gone, but he seems to have
come out of the marshes at Faes-
sulae. The movement was appar-
etly 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 vic-
tory.— 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 taeedo laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia
gens, dilaborentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, 5
qua modo praerent duces, per praealtas fluvi ac pro-
fundas voragines hausti paene limo immergentesque 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 tae dio
animis proculuisissent, 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 sternent
corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insu-
per incumbebant aut iumentorum itinere toto prostra-
torum passim acervi tantum quod extaret 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.— tala: re-
fering to the implied difficulties
of the march.— dilaborentur: i.e.
slip away and desert.— subsis-
terent: i.e. refuse in a body to go
on. — cohibentem: a conative
present equivalent to a future, and
hence naturally having the protasis
si dilaborentur, etc.; cf. orantes,
XXI. 6. 2 n.

5. primi: i.e. the veterans.—
qua modo, etc.: i.e. anywhere,
provided only their leaders would
go ahead, hence the subjunctive
praerent.— 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. — proculuisissent: iterative
subjunctive; see XXI. 4. 4 n.—
conficiebant, exhausted them; cf.
‘done up.’

9. sarcinis, individual luggage;
i.e. the arms, tools, clothing, food,
cooking utensils, etc., which were
made up into bundles, attached to
poles (‘muli Marianti’), and car-
rried on the shoulders. The collec-
tive baggage (impedimenta), tents,
engines of war, etc., was carried on
pack-animals and in wagons. — tan-
quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium
cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, aeger oculis ex verna
primum intertemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto,
qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, 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 praemisses exploratores
habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse.

2 Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum
itineraque et copias ad commenatus expediendos et cetera,
quae cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura in-
quirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae
fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque
iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum
tum quod exstaret 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 adficitur oculorum ut postea
numquam dextra aequo bene usus
sit; Juv. 10. 157 o qualis facies et
quali digna tabella, cum Caetula
ducem portaret belua luscum. —
capitur: cf. capici auribus et oculis,
XXI. 58. 5; captus omnibus mem-
bris, II. 36. 8.

THE POSITION OF THE TWO
ARMIES.

8. 2. consilia . . . exsequebau-
tur: an admirable illustration of
Hannibals 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 legis aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem 5 ferox omnia ac praepropere acturum; quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus parat, et laeva relictio hoste Faesulas petens, medio 6 Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse 7 quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italian vagari Poenum atque obstante 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 Flaminius Road and Circus.—bellicis: his victory over the Insubrians in 223 B.C.—rebus: ablative of respect.

5. satis apparebat, it was pretty clear.—agitare, bait; 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 Flaminius; Polybius (III. 82) says τινὸς ὀλιγῶν. 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-
9 citibus communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum, iratus se ex consilio pro-ripuit signumque simul itineris pugnaeque cum pro-
10 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 ocius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque 
12 lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa erant velut foedo omine inciipiendae rei insuper nuntiatur signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire.
13 Conversus ad nuntium 'Num litteras quoque' inquit 'ab senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere vetent? abi, nuntia,
effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerint.' Incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, super quam quod dissenserat ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, 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 belli pervastat, quo magisiram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat. Etiam pervenerat ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennis subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicito spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Balares 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 Trasimenum.

4. Trasumenum 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 coepit, id tantum hostium quod ex adverso erat conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput haud detectae insidiae. 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 improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus 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 coepit est quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediti 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 coepit would be coeptum est, in accordance with Livy’s usage; cf. senatus consulti coepit, II. 29. 6 n. — ex adverso: i.e. the camp of Hannibal (in aperito, 3).

— haud detectae: Stroth’s conjecture for the impossible deceptae 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 perculsis, 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 dissonos clamores instruct, ut tempus locusque patitur, et, quacumque adire audireque 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 tumultu 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 circumferebant 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 (automatically, without any definite purpose), explaining turbatos.

2. nec enim: the best translation must take in English the direct discourse. The peculiar force of nec enim (for you see, etc.) is connected with an expression like state, misiles, etc., with its implied 'and you must if you expect to escape,' etc.—vi ac virtute: cf. vis virtusque, XXI. 41. 17.

3. consilium: referring to adhortatur (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 necessary condition for the restoration of order (instruit, 1). The first word refers to the maniple, the second to the century, the third to particular posts therein.—ut vix, etc.: i.e. they had hardly presence of mind enough to make an individual resistance.—onerati: because they had not spirit to use them.—et erat: i.e. and no wonder, for they had to act as individuals 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 assailants, shouting.—paventium: the attacked, as they uttered cries of terror.—ora oculosque: an alliteration found in very many writers.

5. alii, etc.: i.e. the soldiers were forced to act contrary to their disposition in both directions, some to fight who tried to fly, some to fly who wished to fight.
6 redeuntes in pugnam avertebat 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 dextra 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 aut cohorte aut manipulo esset: fors conglobabat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardo animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italieae 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 opem; insigneque 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. — cohor: another military anachronism, as the cohor 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 23rd 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, insigneque is used to make a new start instead of the expected
et tuebantur cives, donec Insuer eques—Ducario nomen erat—facie quoque noscitans consulem ‘En’ inquit ‘hic est’ popularibus suis, ‘qui legiones nostras cecidit agroque 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 cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstant: per omnia arta praeeruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et viri super aliqui alii praecipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus umerisque extare possunt, sese immergunt. Fuere quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit, quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauri-ebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus 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.
pigrе factа, ignari omnium quae post sе agerentur, ex
saltu evasere, et cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, cla-
morem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna
pugnae esset neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine
poterant. Inclinata denique re cum incalescente sole
dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce
montes campique perditas res stratumque 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 tradissent, 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 Trasumennum 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

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
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 nomini 5 essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non inventit.

Romae ad primum nuntium cladis 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 percutantur. Et cum frequentis contionis 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 participle; cf. acceptus, contemptus, invictus.

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. — Fabiun: see Intr. 16. — 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. contionis 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 caesium, 9 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 cerneres, 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 examimatam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent 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.

II. 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. cerneres: 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
propractore missa ad collegam ab Servilio console, in
Vmbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumenum auditam
avertent iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei
fama varie homines adfectit: pars occupatis maiore aegri-
tudine animis levem ex comparatione priorum ducere
recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id quod acciderat
per se aestimare, sed, ut in adefecto corpore quamvis levis
causa magis quam in valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum
aegaeae et adfectae civitati quodcumque adversi incideret,
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 situ-
tation, 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 Han-
nibal'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 immedi-
ately affected by the great calamity
who thought little of this small one,
and that of those who, being more
philosophical, saw farther and esti-
mated 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. Fa-
bius had been dictator to conduct
the elections in 221 B.C.—dictato-
rem dicendum: in apposition with
remedium; cf. parendum XXI. 4.
3 n., and see Gr. 301. K.—quia, etc.: the peculiar rigidity of the Roman
polity, as well as the ways of correct-
ing 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 ap-
pointment 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 magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; iisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et praesidia disponentem, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse quando Italiam tueri nequisserat.

9 Hannibal recto itinere per Vmbriam usque ad Spoletium venit. Inde cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae haud prospere temptatae viribus quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem sed refertum praeda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo

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 consule 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 iubерentur. Qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius

tory of Trasimenus 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 doct 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.
faciendum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri
Erycinae ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicationem
lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sacram vovendum,
si bellatum prospere esset resque publica in eodem, quo
ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. Senatus, quo-
niam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Aemilium
praetorem, ex collegi pontificum sententia omnia ea ut
mature fiunt curare iubet.

10 His senatus consultis perfectis L. Cornelius Lentulus
pontifex maximus consulente collegium praetore omnium
primum populum populum consendum de vere sacro censet :
iniussu 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 quaeque
duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpis sunt, tum donum

62. 10, but no doubt made at that
time.
10. ludos magnos: games prom-
ised (votivi) in connection with
some extraordinary event, but often
identified with the ludi maximi, or
Romani, which were observed an-
ually 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 hu-
man 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.
11. 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 servas-
sit would be expected, and the
omission of the subject (sc. Iuppiter
from Iovi in 3) is extremely awk-
ward. — quod duellum, etc.: as
all such vows were regarded as con-
tracts with the divinity, the utmost
duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex suillo ovillo caprino bovillo grege quaque profana erunt, Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque iussisset. Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo faxit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oportet bit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die 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 populus solutus liber esto.' Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus trecentis triginta tribus triente, praeterea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostis. Votis rite 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 consecrated. The plural is on account of the plural idea implied in the different kinds of animals mentioned. — 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 colloquial 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, injure: 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: dativus incommodi.

6. atro die: i.e. on an inauspicious day, when sacrifices were forbidden. There were many such in the Roman calendar, as the days after the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, and the anniversaries of great national disasters. — faxitum 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
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. Otacilium praetor vovit.

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 prae- terea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adjecturum 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 demi- grarent omnes regionis eius qua iturus Hannibal esset,

cutre 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 signifi- cance of which here is not obvious, except that Mars would stand for success in war; Apollini ac Dianae: standing for health; Vul- cano 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 con- secrated in B.C. 215 (XXIII. 31).

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.
11. 2. scriberet, enroll; conscri- bere (8) is more usual. — e re publi- ca, 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 5
copia esset, ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli
exercituque, cum ad Tiberim circa Ocricum prospexis-
set agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredi-
entem, viatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine
lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paru-
6
isset congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturnae
apud cives sociosque, vetustate iam prope oblitos eius
imperii, fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt, naves
onerarias commetatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exer-
citum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum
captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci 7
iussus navibusque, quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae
essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis persequi
hostium classem ac litora Italicae tutari. Magna vis 8
hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus
liberi essent et actas militaris, in verba iuraverant. Ex 9
hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quinque et triginta annis
erant in navis impositi, alii ut urbi praesiderent relict[i.

Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco 12
legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveni-

XXI. 49. 7 n. and Cic. Att. III. 5 te
oro ut, quoniam me ipsum semper amasti, ut eodem amore sis.
5. exercitu: dative; cf. dilectu, 2.1.
6. vetustate, etc.: see 8. 5 n.—
Cosanum: of Cosa, on the coast
of Etruria.
7. navalibus sociis: see XXI.
49. 7 n.
8. liberi essent: because these
at least were ingenui and so gave
a reflex respectability to their fath-
ers. — actas militaris: usually
from the 17th to the 46th year. —
in verba iuraverant, had en-
listed. At the completion of a
levy and at the beginning of a new
campaign, or change of command,
the consul or a military tribune dic-
tated the oath of allegiance. A
single soldier was chosen to repeat
the words of the oath, the others
individually saying, idem in me;
see 38. 1-5 and cf. 53. 12.
9. urbano, etc.: this was evident-
ly a separate voluntary enlistment
apart from the two legions raised for
Fabius' army. — alii: often used by
Livy in the sense of ceteri.

FABIUS DEvelops A DEFensive POLICY.

12. legato: he was left in com-
mand by the consul when departing
for Ostia.
endum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Praeneste
ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus,
unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis ad hos-
tem 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 reedit;
ceterum tacita cura animum incessit quod cum duce
haudquaquam Flamini Sempronique simili futura 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 populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit;
et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo
repente in aliquo flexu viae, si exciperere degressum in
aequum posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca
alta agmen ducebat modico ab hoste intervallum, ut

2. exploratis: cf. inexplorato, 4. 4.—ducit: sc. exercitum; cf. educeret, 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 agris, in
curas Fabius nos excitat. — tum
demum, now at last.
6. prudentiam quidem: op-
posed to constantiam with a con-
cessive force, to be sure, etc. — novi: 
the MSS. have non vim. — con-
stantiam, the steadfast character,
which enabled him to restrain him-
self under provocation. Hence
Hannibal continued his old tact-
cics. — 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 9 levisque armaturae statio composita instructaque in subitos tumultus et suo militi tua omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat; neque universo 10 periculo summa rerum committebatur et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coceptorum 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 cautio timidum, adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat,
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 indignatibus cladibusque sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum injecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam 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 SAMNIUM AND CAMPANIA.

13. 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 unimportant 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: Casinum was on the Latin Way in Latium, commanding the entrance
ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupassest, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum pronuntiatione os, Casilinum pro Casino dux ut acciperet fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per Allianum Caia tinumque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. Vbi cum montibus flumi nibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percutatur ubi terrarum esset. Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquam ter remin crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharalem cum equibus in agrum Falernum praedatum dimisit. Vsque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. In gentem cladem, fugam tamen ter remque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

into Campania some forty miles northwest of Capua, while Casilinum lay in the plain of Campania, on the Volturinus, 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 Volturinus through Alliae to Venusium. It does not appear why Hannibal should wish to approach Capua by way of Casinum. 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 Stellatem: on the edge of the Campanian 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. Massicus.

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 Apennines.

11. videlicet, and naturally.
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 Minucius '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, scendantem 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 de-scending 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 nostra quam deorum invocantium opem: nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus deviasque callis exercitum ducimus conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Romanum 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 multis annos cum ad Furculas Caecinas 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 Veii, 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 Caecinas: 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 lcessendo victorem hostem depulsum
ab Romanis cervicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit?
13 Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam
dedit, quod postero die quam hostem vidit, classem
gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instru-
imento atque adparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo
aut votis debellari credere posse: arma capias oportet et
descendas in aequum et vir cum viro congregiaris; au-
dendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus
consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant. Haec velut contio-
nantl Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque
Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta
ferocia evovebantur; ac si militaris suffragii re's esset,
haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio ducem praelaturos.
15 Fabius pariter in suis haud minus quam in hostis in-
tentus prius ab illis invictum animam praestat. Quam-
quam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed iam etiam
Romea inamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus
tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum ex-

13. modo: i.e. in the former
Punic War. — classem: at the
Aegates; see Intr. 4.
14. votis: cf. 5. 2 and see chap.
10. capias: with an indefinite
subject, one must.
15. contionanti: cf. contiona-
 bundus, XXI. 53. 6 n. — si ... 
esset: the construction is a kind
of cross between a less vivid future
in direct discourse (something like
‘if we could decide we would pre-
fer’) and the contrary-to-fact con-
struction (‘if it were a matter, etc.,
they showed that they would have
preferred’). The want of fuisse
with praelaturos prevents our tak-
ing the second scheme, and the
sense is against the first. But if we
should take the first, the expression
would be like the archaic and collo-
quial 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 conjunc-
tion, apparently to increase the
emphasis of in suos. — animum: here equivalent to purpose, although
it is used also in reference to the en-
emy 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 necessariis fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias quibus intraverat 3 Falernum agrum rediturum, Caliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis praesiidiis, quae urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse iugis isdem exercitum reducit misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui ex turba iuvenum audientium saepe 5 ferocter contionantem magistrum equitum progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas prospexit ac per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus 6 certamine est animus excideruntque praecepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese iussaret quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidae alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad 7 castra prope ipsa eum cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthal, penes quem summa 8 equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus cum prius quam ad coniectum teli veniret avertisset hostis,

2. spe: with certaminis.—circumpectaret: the imperfect where we should expect the perfect (in a result clause) gives the idea ‘began to look round for,’ or the like.—praesentis, etc.: i.e. of supplies for immediate wants, but not for the future (the whole campaign).—arbusta, etc.: in predicate apposition with regio; the country was all orchards, etc.—amoenis, agreeable, as wine, fruit, and olives instead of grain.

3. Caliculam, etc.: the two passes thus occupied must have been the one by the Volturnus and one by way of Teanum.

5. prospexit ac: an addition to the text of the MSS.

6. occupatus: almost like English possessed, taken up to the exclusion of true views.

7. ad castra: with pertraxere.

8. Carthal: see 49. 13; 58. 7.—avertisset: sc. in fugam, cf. 19. 11.
quīnque ferme milia continentī milia cursum secutus est fugien-
tis. Mancinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi
nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proe-
lium redit omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et
delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso
[urus] cursum Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus
ad dictatores perfugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus
ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracínam
in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa
Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum pos-
set. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum
cæstra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat.

Duo inde milia hostes aberant. Postero die Poeni, quod
viae inter bina castra erat, agmine complevere. Cum
Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo haud dubie aequior
loco, successit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equitibusque
ad laessendum hostem. Carptim Poeni et procursando
receptiique se nse pugnavere; restitit suo loco Romana
acies. Lenta pugna et ex dictoris magis quam Han-
nibalis voluntate fuit. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti
hostium cecidere.

Inclusus inde videri Hannibal via ad Casilinum ob-
sessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divi-
tum sociorum Romanis commenatus subveheret, Poenus
inter Formiana saxa ac Literni harenas stagnaque et

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

Stratagem of Hannibal.

16. 2. carptim, in successive
charges.—restitit: opposed to the
ideas in procursando and recipi-
endo sese; they were neither driv-
en back nor did they pursue.
3. lenta: i.e. not fought with
any great spirit.—ex...volun-
tate: i.e. such as Fabius wished in
accordance with his design not to
fight at all, unless under very favor-
able 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 Calli-
culae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum val-
libus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium oculorum spècie 6
terrible ad frustrandum hostem commentus principio
noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis 7
consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces undique ex agris
collectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti prae-
ligantur 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 viasque an-
gustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur ut accensis
cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montis. Et
metus ipse relucentis flammae a capite calorque iam ad
vivum ad imaque 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 with-
out much regard to Hannibal's exact
position, but the picture makes a
good pendant to that of the Ro-
mans with all Latium open behind
them.

5. suis artibus: see XXI. 34.
1 n. — per Casilinum: i.e. up the
Volturnus. — 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.

8. accensis cornibus: cf. Sam-
son's treatment of foxes, Judges,
xv. 4.

SUCCESS OF THE STRATAGEM.

17. 3. repente: like an adja-
tive qualifying discursu; cf. dein-
ceps. XXI. 8. 5 n. — circa: see
XXI. 7. 5 n.
ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam
4 hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui
ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in
summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexer-
re, circumventos se esse rati praesidio excessere; qua
minime densae micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter
petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves
5 palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo cum procul
cernerent, veluti flammas spirantium miraculo attoniti
6 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
7 ad lucem tenuit. Interea tota agmine Hannibal trans-
ducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium
opressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.

18 Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias
esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine
2 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. *flammæ spirantium, fire-
breathing monsters*; the participle
is intentionally vague; cf. *hominum
specie visos*, XXI. 62. 5. This part
may well be true, after they came
in sight.

6. *levi armaturæ*: 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, nemo, etc.*) here results almost
in obscurity.

**Fabius follows Hannibal. Hannibal 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, campestrum 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 redivit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat nec absistens nec congrediens. Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa ruinis 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.—*campestrum*: *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 contest.—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 Voltturnus 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 Aturnus, which flows eastward into the Adriatic.—*populabundus*: for Livy’s fondness for adjectives in *-bundus* see XXI. 36. 1 n.—*rediit*: loosely used in reference to 9. 5.

7. *flexit*: descending on the eastern side of the mountains.—*Gereonium*: 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. 6. 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 coeptum 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-
low 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 setting the functions of the
patient’s body in activity by ene-
getic treatment.—agendo: refer-
ing to the physician himself, while
quieta 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; pro-
perly, ‘and so (equipped).’—Car-
thagine: sc. nova; see XXI. 5.
profectus navis prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus confingere 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 improvisos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis postas turris Hispam 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 promuntruiis, 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; utracumque would be more exact.

4. Scipio: we should expect the dative (which is found in some inferior MSS.) or that et be added to idem . . . fuit; cf. XXI. 18. 3. — ingentem: a not unnatural transfer of the adjective from auxiliorum 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
 aliquis 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 e 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 impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus non adpropinquabat modo, sed dererexerat 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 anchor, and in some cases they slipped the cables also. — agendo: an ablative of manner (Gr. 301 foot-note) applying to the whole action. — apparatu: the means of impedi- untur. The two parties mutually hinder each other. — trepidatione, hurry, bustle; their running hither and thither in their haste to get under way.

1. 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 armamatque 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 navibus in terram facta. Cum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque inuincta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam praeda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna spatii erat ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit sublato ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, 8
biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata ubi in spem inritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi direptis aliquot incensisque vicis maiore quam ex continentis praedia parta cum in naves se recepissent, ex Balaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui Hiberum accolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrentur. Sed qui vere dicionis imperique Romani facti obsidibus datis populi, amplius fuere centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac proprius Oceanum concessit. Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum aestatis tempus, fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorurn inquieta 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 communities that actually (vere) submitted with those that merely sent envoys. — facti sint: the subjunctive 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 implied 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 omnis Hispaniae principes, 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 Mandonius 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 4 versus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultuarium manum, fudere, mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis magna parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem 5 ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos 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 invadunt. Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdru-8 bale duobus proeliis 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, irregular: i.e. not a regular organized army, but only a suddenly gathered throng; cf. tumultuatum, 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 Ilergavonenses lived on the coast beyond the Ebro. It must mean 'back to the Ebro on that side.'


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: inserted 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).
tum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna laetitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit.

Ibi milite exposito prefectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum.

Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in arce custodiri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur.

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.

Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei priditione venie- tem ad hostis nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat ut quam maximum emolu- mentum novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus 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 different from the discord of the consuls.

6. sollerti, etc., more clever than honest; a euphemistic expression, such as one naturally uses for rascals that benefit his own side.

7. ceterum: opposed to the idea implied in the preceding that Abelux wanted to desert to the Romans. — corpus, person, as opposed to material advantage or gain of some kind.

8. eius poterat: we should expect suae and the subjunctive, but Livy adds the clause as a kind of definition, 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 9 satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bosta-
rem ipsum arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso 10 litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum velut igno-
rantem monet, quo statu sit res: metum continuisse 11 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 devinciendos esse. Miranti Bostari percutantique, quodnam id subitum 12 tantae rei donum posset esse, ‘Obsides’ inquit ‘in civi-
tates remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum maxi-
num nomen in civitatibus est sui, et publice populus
gratum erit. Volt sibi quisque credi, et habita fides 14 ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituen-
dorum domos obsidum mihimet deosco ipse, ut opera
quoque impensa consilium adiuvem meum et rei suapte
natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam possim adiciam.’
Hominis non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, 15

10. velut: i.e. acting as if Bostar was not informed, to give an appearance of honesty to his sugges-
tion.
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,
etc.: such hostages were the chil-
dren of the most prominent men.
14. volt sibi, etc.: a general
truth, a well-known principle of
human nature. ‘Every man likes to
be trusted, and confidence wins
(confidence or) good faith.’ Fides
is used in a somewhat different
sense (as we should think) in the
two parts, but to the Romans it
expressed a wider range of ideas
than with us, so that the expression
is not unnatural. — dormos: accusa-
tive, on account of the idea of mo-
tion implied in restituentorum. —
opera, etc.: i.e. make a special ef-
fort to win over the Spaniards in ad-
tion 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 constitueto 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 Carthaginiensem nomine sic ageretur. Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura Carthaginiensem 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 forsent 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 sommo.
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. perpopulato, 9. 2; emensam, XXI. 30. 5; inauspicato, 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. i 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 mediocri 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 absente eo téméritate magistri equitum laeto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duae res ad augendam invidiae dictoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictoris esset, omnibus circa solo acquatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostium abstineri iussit, ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces videri posset, altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non expectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambiguo in maximam laudem verso. In permutandis captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Poenum-

**Unpopularity of Fabius.**

23. 2. 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 anything. — 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 connection with ratione.

3. contempta, scorned; for the participle in its adjective use, see Gr. 291. 6. — armatos . . . toga- tosque, citizens and soldiers. — utique, etc.: Livy anticipates what is narrated in the next chapter. — laeto (eventu), encouraging success.

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**Prospero eventu, real advantage.** — 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 expression for 'occasioned by the trick- ery,' etc. — circa: see XXI. 7. 5 n. — hostium: 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 reciperet 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 consuluisset 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 pausa 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 Minucius magister
equitum prefecto, 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 calidiora, ut impetus aut
in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relictacum levi

--- quae = utra. — pondo : see
XXI. 62. 8 n.
7. non consuluisset : 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 denarii,
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. prefecto, in the absence of,
to render the emphasis. — ante:
see 18. 8.
2. posita: cf. contempta, 23. 3 n.
— calidiora, more hot headed. — ut
impetus fieret, of attacking; defin-
ing consilia calidiora.
praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce 3 mutatam esse belli rationem et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem, quod minime quis 4 crederet, cum hostis proprius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum duabus in castris retentis dimisit, dein 5 castra ipsa proprius 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 ceperunt. Quos tenen- 7 tis locum contempta paucitate Romani postero die cum deieissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum utique 8 exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies. Simul et per averse castra [e castris Hannibalis] equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal 9 ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat. Iamque artibus Fabii [pars exercitus 10 aberat iam fame], sedendo et cunctando, bellum gerebat

3. ferocius quam consultius, with more rashness than prudence.
4. quod minime, etc.: Livy apparently thought it strange that Hannibal, if he wished to avoid an engagement, sent out any troops at all, or that, in view of the nearness of the headstrong Minucius, he did not seek to fight by marching out with his army. Polybius, with more clearness, says (III. 100) that Hannibal was eager to collect as much corn as possible for his intended winter-quarters at Gereonium.
6. iretur: a future condition thrown into past time; see Gr. 307. f.
7. deieissent, had dislodged; a technical expression.
8. utique: i.e., though the camps had been near before, yet now they certainly were extremely so. — averse castra, the rear of the camp; i.e. by the porta decumana. — e... Hannibalis: if these words belong here, something like ne conspicetur must have been lost from the text.
10. pars ... fame: these words have no meaning here, and no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. — sedendo: appositive of artibus; cf. parendum, XXI. 4.
receptoratque suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni
moenibus erant. Iusta quoque acie et collatis signis
dimicatum quidam auctores sunt: primo concursu Poe-
um usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione facta re-
pente versum 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 recepisse suos, Romanum insecutum adiuvante
Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. 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, 11. 3 n.— rece-
perat: Livy carelessly changes the
point of time to that of Hannibal
already in his camp.

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

12. unde = ex quo oppido; cf.
Cic. Clu. 5. 11 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 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-disse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sar-dinia occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore provincia praetore egeat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, 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-tem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione libe-ratos extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostis. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, 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 condendamque urbem, Praef. 6 n.—ducendo, prolonging.

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

6. praetores: sc. T. Ocatilius (10. 10) and A. Cornelius Mammula (XXIII. 21. 4).

7. quo: ablative of separation after concessum sit. The construction is common with cedo, but very rare with this compound.—tam-quam, etc.: an allusion to the treaty with Hasdrubal (XXI. 2. 7).—trans Hiberum agro: see pug-na, 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 laturum 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 bienniique 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 abii. Luce orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque

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.


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 deerat. Vnus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui 18 priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem laniumuisse ferunt, ipsum 19 institorem merces, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum. Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere 26 quaestus pecunia a patre relictà 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 aedilitatiabus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura perfunctus iam ad consultatus spem cum attolleret animos, haud 4 parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia petiti scitque plebis unus gratiam tulit.

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in 5
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 contumacious 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, begun 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. — tulit, 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 saeuentis 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 reedit.

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 enuituisse. Ergo secuturum se for-
tunam 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.—acceptum, look;
amost like the English expression.
6. gravitate animi, dignity, but
with reference to the unruffled feel-
ings with which as a gravis vir, one
not easily moved (cf. levis), Fabius
accepted the situation.—cri-
imantes, 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.: cf. 15. 1.

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-
quatum: 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 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 aut,
si maiora intervalla placent, partitis temporibus
alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par hosti 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 liceret, quae posset servaturum. Ita obtinuit ut legiones,
sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividenter.
Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evene-
runt. Item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia divisurerunt. 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 favor 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 partis 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 iniuriorem erat hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem procursurum 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 tegendis insidiis eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes, ut quaedam earum decenios armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius 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 hae-sisset, 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. — constrahere: 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 contenderat, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostis ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat et vanis minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam dimittit, deinque conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia crescente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, praeoccupatum inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter perculsos impavida sola erat videbaturque, si iusta ac recta pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura: tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumulum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut nec animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuique superesset.

Tum Fabius primo clamore paventium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie 'Ita est,' inquit; 'non celebrius quam timui deprehendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio

9. pellendos . . . hostis: i.e. the task of driving, etc., like the gerund with dare, locare, etc. : see Gr. 294. d. — ad arma: see XXI. 49. 10 n.
11. iustam, regular; i.e. a complete line of battle as opposed to a skirmishing party. — expleverat, finally filled out; the pluperfect being 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 effective chiasmus; see XXI. 6. 1 n.

FABIIUS 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 suscensendique 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 consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci 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 conglobati 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 ingeniique 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. volentes orbem, forming a circle; differing from conglobati, 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 obtemeret. 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, 11 milites, eos quorum vos modo arma ac dexterae texerunt patronos salutabis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorem certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit." Signo 80 dato con glamatur inde ut colligantur vasa. Praefecti et agmine incedentes ad dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant converterunt. Vt constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante 2 alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset circumfusosque militum eius totum agmen patronos consalutasset, 'Parentibus' inquit 'meis, dictator, quibus 3 te modo nomine, quod fando possum, aequavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi cum meam salutem tum omnium horum. Itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus magis 4 quam honoratus sum, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihiqve exercitibusque his tuus, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciisque tuum redeo et signa haec legionesque restituo. Tu, quaeso, 5 placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suas

11. salutabis: equivalent to an imperative.

SUBMISSION OF MINUCIUS.

80. con glamatur: 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, lactusque dies ex admodum 7 tristi paulo ante ac prope exsecrabili factus. Romae, ut est perleta fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam volgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus 8 ad caelum ferre. Pari gloria apud Hannibalem hostis- que Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis 9 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 accepisset; Hannibalemque ex acie redeun- tem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella ibrem dedisse.

31 Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram et obsidibus utrimque accipi- tis in Africam transmisit et, priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque

6. dextrae, etc.: from very early times a sign of concord. — invi- tati, entertained; the regular word. — exsecrabili: i.e. a dies ater, or unlucky day, on which all business was avoided, of which there were several in the Roman calendar.
8. sentire: the subject is implied in Hannibalem, etc.
9. biennio: a good illustration of the Romans’ inclusive method of counting; the Romans had first been defeated at the Ticinus in the fall of 218 B.C., and it was now the fall of 217. — a patribus: 24 years had passed since the close of the First Punic War.

AFFAIRS ON THE SEA.

31. dum, etc.: the narrative is resumed from 11. 7. — centum vi- gini: the number is supplied from Polybius. — Sardiniae: Polybius (III. 96) says the Carthaginian fleet retreated from Sardinia to Car- thage on the approach of Servilius. — utrimque: i.e. from both islands. 2. Menige: Meninx was an island on the coast of Africa, south- east of the Lesser Syrtis, famed as the home of the Lotophagi. — in- colentibus: see XXI. 29. 2 n. — ipsorum: one would expect suis, but it is displaced by the intensive
AGER, DECUM TALENTIS ARGENTI ACCEPTIS AD LITORA AFRICAЕ
ACCESSIT COPIASQUE EXPOSUIT. INDE AD POPULANDUM AGRUM 3
DUCTI MILITES NAVALESQUE SOCIΙ IUXTA EFFUSI AC SI IN INSULIS
CULTORUM EGENTIBUS PRAEDEARENTUR. ITAQUE IN INSIDIAS 4
TEMERE INLATI CUM A FREQUENTIBUS PALANTES, AB LOCORUM
GNARIS IGNARI CIRCUUMVENIRENTUR, CUM MALTA CAEDE AC
FOEDA FUGA RETRO AD NAVES COMPULSI SUNT. AD MILE 5
HOMINUM CUM TI. SEMPRONIO BLAESO QUAESTORE AMISSUM.
CLASSIS AB LITORIBUS HOSTIUM PLENIS TREPIDE SOLUTA IN
SICILIAM CURSUM TENUIT, TRADITAQUE LILYBAEÆ T. OTACILIO 6
praetori, UT AB LEGATO EIS P. CINCIIO ROMAM REDUCERETUR.
IPSE PER SICILIAM PEDIBUS PROFECTUS FRETO IN ITALIAM 7
TRAIECIT, LITTERIS Q. FABII ACCITUS ET IPSE ET COLLEGA EIS
M. ATILIUS, UT EXERCITUS AB SE EXACTO IAM PROPE SEMESTRI
IMPERIO ACCIPERENT.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus 8
HANNIBALEM REM GESSISSE TRADUNT; COELIUS ETIAM EUM
PRIMUM A POPULO CREATUM DICTATOREM SCRIBIT. SED ET 9
COELIUS 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. pedibus, by land, not necessarily on foot; cf. peto. — freto: sc. Siculo. — collega: the syntax is
careless, as this word belongs only to accitus (not to traiecit).
8. 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 preced-
ent.

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 there-
fore could not have been taken.
procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisset dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia exspectare territa iam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo creatur qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore creatus erat, fuisset dictator credetur, facile obtinuisse.

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 *terrata.* — 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 dictor bis, instead of pro dictatore, dictator.— titulum: the actual inscription under the wax mask (*imagio*), 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.— *obtinuisse,* 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. *carplim,* 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 relictæ spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si inequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediente constitisset 4 bellum, Neapolitanus legati Romam venere. Ab iis quadraginta 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 iuvare populum Romanum; si quam opem in sese 7 crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblatus. 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. 1 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 apodo- sis relinquatur (in Hannibal’s mind) is loosely expressed in re- licta.

Poffer of Aid from Naples.
4. iam: in reference to the gradual approach of winter. — ut dice- 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 ordinam socii, Praef. 12; itaque ergo, I. 25. 2; praecelatus 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 versus in his- toria neglectemque. With this passage cf. orationem ita finivit ut diceret, XXXVI. 28; atque ita locu- tus est ut diceret, Cic. Phil. IX. 4. 9.
5. iuxta... ac, just as much... as. — capite... Italiae: cf. XXI. 35. 9.—geratur: sc. bellum.
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
Neapolitanorum suas duxissest, dignosque 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.

33 Per eodem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per
biennum fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque mani-
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 depescendum Demetrium
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
in Bois atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quo-

on them.—duxissest, iudicaver-
rint (8): an irregular sequence of
tenses, both representing the future
perfect indicative, but the first is
adjusted to the narrative form, while
the second retains its time, probably
on account of a feeling of a slight
difference in the nature of the two
ideas.

8. animo, etc.: ablatives of re-
spect.—acciperent: for the sub-
jective after dignos ab quibus,
see Gr. 320. f.

9. cura: i.e. their anxious inter-
est.—patera: only one as a sym-
bol, as it were.

AFFAIRS IN THE CITY.

33, speculator: Hannibal ap-
pears to have had many spies: see
28. 1.—dimissus: not killed but
let go, as a kind of living epistle;
cf. the treatment of the slaves.

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
deprecated coinage. Its value was
considered the same as that of the
sesterce, or nearly five cents.

3. Philippum: Philip V., con-
quered by Flaminius 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. h.—Pineum: Pinceus,
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, possendum aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cer-6 vici bus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquaque quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam 7 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 8 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 9 consules missae, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret; se in eam diem quam iussisset comitia edicturum. Ad haec a consuli-10 bus rescriptum sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius quam consul alter a bello avocaretur. Patri-11 bus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici comi-

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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 car-
ried on the back and shoulders.
The figure is a very common one;
cf. Justinus, XXIX. 3 nec Romani,
tametsi Perti et Hannibal in cer-
vicius erant, soluti metu Macedo-
donico videbantur. — longinquaque:
the adjective is not unnaturally
transferred from rei to cura.

7. in religionem venit, a scruple
arote. — 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-con-
struction because the letter contains
a command; but as it also contains
a statement of fact, the next clause
is accusative with infinitive.

11. dictatorem: probably be-
cause a dictator could be in office
riorum 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 reedit. Consulibus prorogatum
in annum imperium. Interreges prodiit a patri-bus C. Claudius Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius
Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certa-
mine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui
generis hominem, plebi insextatione principum populari-
busque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et
dictatorio imperio concesso aliena invidia splendentem,
vogus extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa
ope obstandant, ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent
homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, co-
gnatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed
etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia
perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo con-
ciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus per multos annos bellum
quaerentibus Hannibalem in Italian adductum; 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.

34. consulibus: i.e. they were
retained as proconsuls, in the same
manner that later became regular.
— proditi, 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 raise (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. conciliabat: 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 patrunusque appellarentur qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci. Con- sules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobilis icum, nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem vere ple- beium, 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 inter- 9 regnum iniretur ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quasisses; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitorum causa, expugnatum esse, cum vitiosus dictator per augu- res fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulum 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 nobilis: *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. — *initiatos, etc.: doubtless a metaphor from the induction into the mysteries of any secret society. — *patribus*: the old nobility, original patricians. The syntax is ‘dative 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, untrammelled; i.e. without the coercion of the nobility. — diu imperare: a thrust at Fabius (25. 4).*
Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis 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 parum fuisse virium in competitoribus eius L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat, ex damnatione collegae, ex qua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitiali die concedentibus omnibus qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde praetorum comitia habita: creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus. Philo Romae 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 cuiquam 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 fuerat: in B.C. 219. The law forbidding re-election to the consulate within ten years (VII. 42) was this year suspended, quod bellum in Italia esset (XXVII. 6).—damnatione: 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 dative 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.—Marcellus: 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 cuiquam, etc.: i.e. no untried
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 copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores ut vix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem milia novorum militiae alli scripta in supplementum, alli novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiecitis, ut quina milia peditum, trecenti equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent, [septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis fuisse, cum pugnatum ad Cannas est], quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator praebuerat.

Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones 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.**

36. 2. alii: a verb may be supplied from variant (1), or from auctores sunt (4).
3. milibus: used like a distributive; mille was apparently not yet in use.—trecenti: there is some confusion here, as, according to XXI. 17. 3, there was already a cavalry contingent of 300 in a legion.—peditis: sc. numerum.
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 acie, 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 propter territos volgo hominés novis prodigiis. Nam et
Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem
tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in
Sabinis sudasse, et Caeretés 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
aurae Romam attulerunt. Iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiae
actae, aurum non acceptum.

87 Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno
2 commanet accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nun-
tiarunt caedem C. Flamini 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 abnuat, magno
5 opere se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum
ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac
viginti adferre sese: acciperent eam tenerentque et
6 haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam tre-

the field.—decemviri libros, etc.: see 1. 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. 11. 7.
2. adlatam, the news of.—pou-
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 possunt,
etc. (Gr. 308, c.), in such situations.
5. sese: in this section, as in the
next, the envos speak of themselves,
but in 7 ff. they again personate the
king.—propriam, etc.: implying
centa milia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commena-
tus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo
iussissent subvecturos. Milite atque equi 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 Biliares ac Mauros pug-
nacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium
quoque addebat, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia e-
vissent, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in
terra sua bellum haberent minusque laxamenti daretur
iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu ita
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 munificie adiuvisse. Id
perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum
et a civitatibus quibusdam allatum gratia rei accepta
non accepisse populum Romanum. Victoriam omenque
accipere sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium,
templum Iovis optimi maximi; in ea arce urbis Roma-
nae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabi
fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittariique et fru-
mentum traditum consulibus. Quinquerem ad . . .
navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additaec, permissumque est ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africanam traiceret.

Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morti dies, dum ab sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod numquam ante factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum conventuros neque iniussu abituros, et ubi ad decuriam aut centuriam convenisset, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriali equites, centuriati pedites conjurabant 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 fœdere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.

Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multae ac fereoces fuere, denuntiantis bellum arcessitum in Italian ab nobilibus mansurumque in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfectum. Collegae eius Pauli una, pridie quam ab urbe proficierceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil incle-

maximi, below, and vellent iube-rente, XXI. 17. 4.
13. navium: the number has fallen out, but may perhaps be supplied 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 enlistment (sacramentum).

3. decuriam, etc.: i.e. the forming into military divisions of the horse and foot, respectively; the organisation.—convenissent: iterative subjunctive; see XXI. 4.
4 n.—sua: as opposed to the compulsion of the other oath by the tribunes.
5. voluntario: opposed to legiti- tam, 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 honinis quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non praeacceptum; optare ut, quae caute ac consulite gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, prae ter quam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum profiscerent ad locutus furtur:

'Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules etiam me indicente omnia e re publica fideque vestra faceretis, et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperes. Nunc et collegam tuum et te 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 pa ludamentum 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 mihi res, non me rebus subjungere 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.

39. 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 postestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te, et cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus, et adversus Hannibalem, legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis 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 armatam 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: se. 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. co hors, XXI. 14. 2; turmis manipulisque, 54. 3. — Varro dux tuus, etc.: e.g. as Municcius 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 Hannibal est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet — stultorum iste magister est,— sed eadem ratio, quae fuit, futura, donec res eaedem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis viris equis commeatibus iuvant iuvabantque: 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 Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpsti, 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 ἰδίοις δὲ τῷ ὑπόθεσι τῷ γνώμ. — 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 Hanni-
bal 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 num-
quam: vanam gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit.
Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, im-
bellem pro perito belli vocent: malo te sapiens hostis
metuat quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem con-
temnet 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 impro-
vida 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:

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 ex-
act opposition with numquam,
but gives a pathetic turn to the
thought.
20. timidum pro, etc.: cf. 12.
22. clara certaque: an allitera-
tion 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),
secle solo (11), fame ferro (14),
audentem agentem (20).

REPLY OF PAULUS.

40. haud sane laeta, not very
hopeful. — fatentis: cf. denuntian-
tis, 38. 6.
2. intolerabilem: cf. 27. 1.
quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium 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. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu 5
ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent
proprius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne
robur virium esset, eonsulum anni prioris M. Attilium 6
aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt, Geminum Ser-
vilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium
peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeferunt. Han-
7
nibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias
cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non 8
solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus supera-
babat, 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,
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 insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die — nam alternis imperitabant — imperium erat, Varrone indignantem ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus debella-rique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum 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 prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite 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.

— materiam, fuel. — ac: cf. atque, 6. 11 n. — ex praeparato, by any plan; Livy often joins prepositions to perfect participles used as abstract nouns; cf. in aperto, 4. 3; ad destinatum, XXI. 54. 6. — orto: qualifying proelio and explained by the intervening words.

2. plus: with no effect on the construction; see Gr. 247. c.

3. alternis: sc. diebus, from eo die; cf. diebus alternis, 27. 6.

4. inescatam, fired on; properly of animals enticed by bait; velut is a kind of apology for the figure.

6. omnis fortunae, all their wealth.
transque proximos montis laeva pedites instructos con- 7
dit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem median traducit, ut diriendiis 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 voluisset.

Vbi influxit, 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 iuberen 3
ducerentque ad perseverandos hostis ac protinus castra
dirienda. 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 monimenta 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
fact that the pickets had been with-
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 concur-
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 relica; 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, haudquaquam dux defuit:  
8 nam extemplo Varro signum dedit profoisciendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cuntanti 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 distulere 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 nt 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

6. cara, valubles; cf. caris rebus, XXI. 60. 9.  
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. 9.  
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 inconsulta Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra redit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conluvione omnium gentium sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annum primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites maxime Hispani generis de transitione cepsisse 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 maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul quod, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingenii essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis 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 redit, 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 ingenii, 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 priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem
Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque
montis exploratis cum relatum esset visum procul hos-
tium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari
8 coepta. Cum utriusque consulis eadem quae ante sem-
per fuisse sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo
nemo praeter Servilium prioris anni consulem adsen-
tiretur, maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade
Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope
eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturno
vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit.
11 Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare
praecipue futurum erat, cum aciem derigerent, ipsi
aversi, terga tantum adstante vento, in occaecatum pul-
vere effuso hostem pugnaturi.

44 Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum,
ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habe-
bant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo
2 quo ad Geroneium, sicut ante copiis divisis. Aufidus

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 senten-
tia; see Gr. 253. n. — Cannas: a
village of Apulia, on the Aufidus
(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. —
Volturno, the Sirocco; a hot wind
blowing powerfully from the south-
est, 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 examina-
tion of the terrain itself, see Dodge's
Hannibal, chap. XXVII. — cam-
pis: cf. via, 1. 12 n.

THE BATTLE OF CANNAE.

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 opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum 3 erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem 4 nantus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, derigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum pursuacione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia 5 consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Semproniiique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro Paulo speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se 6 culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu cepisset Italianam: se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, 7 si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpa 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 tegendis insidias, 28. 6.—invictus: cf. memora ta, 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 promp tum, II. 45. 15.
Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in casta ceteras recipere copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum 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 colloqua signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adiuvare 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 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 obliquus (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 auxiliis prima acies factura. Consules cornua 8 tenuere, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

Hannibal luce prima Balaribus 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 equitibus 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, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim 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. utraeque (Ariovisti uxor et) 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.—praelongi, etc.: broad swords, not intended for thrusting, but only for

47. Clamore sublató procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levisbus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laeum cornu cum dextra Romano concurrít, minime equestrís more pugnæ: frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad evagandum relictó spatio hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudébant. In derectum utrimque nitentes stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis vir virum amplexus detræhebat equo. Pedestre magná 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 . . . pugnæ: the usual method of fighting with cavalry was by rapid manoeuvres, charging 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 derectum, straight ahead.—stantibus: i.e. stopping, unable to advance.—turbæ: ablative of manner.—vir: in apposition with nitentes.— detræhebat: attracted into agreement with the distributive vir.—pedestre: i.e. by the men dismounting.—tamen: 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 et 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 pcr praeceps pavore fugientium agmen
in medium 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,
irrudentibusque 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.

— diutius: comparative, according to the regular idiom; see Gr.
192.
4. dum, but only so long as; hence the tense of constabant;
see Gr. 276. e. note.
5. obliqua fronte: i.e. in a
kind of wedge, probably like the
formation en échelon. — densa:
i.e. as they aimed at a particu-
lar 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 bulg-
ing first line to the second, which
was apparently straight. — ad sub-
sidia: 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 sta-
tioned 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 mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni parte conscritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scitis, quae passim inter aceros caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriantur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem in-gentem ac maiores 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 fugientis mittit, Hispanos 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 mediam aciem, into the lines, but not necessarily at the center. — conscritur: 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 Hannibalem ferunt ‘Quam mallem vincitos 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 superantis et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum 6 cum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo crureoppletum consulem vidisset, ‘L. Aemili,’ inquit ‘quem 7 unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicer debent, 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, nuntia 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. denuntiandi, 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.: ironi-cal for ‘that is as good as if;’ etc.
4. quale: sc. fēt, or the like.—victoria: ablative.—pellere, force to flee.
5. pepulerunt tamen, yet they did finally, etc.—superantis, 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 praeceptorum 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 existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam. Haec 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 equitibus nullo munimento tegente vicum circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini cum quinquaginta fere equitibus 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. Furio Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetorioque et aedilicii — inter eos Cn. Servilium 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. 14. insertus, entangled. —Venusiam: about thirty miles southwest of Cannae, distinguished later as the birthplace of Horace. 15. et tantadem: Madvig's emendation of the MS. etanta. 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 voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia 18 peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate 50 par, ceterum uti eis quae post pugnam accidere levior, 2 quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem pro- 3 didit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem con- sulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus 4 esset, nuntium qui in maioribus erant mittunt, dum proe- lio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canus- sium abituros esse. Eam sententiam aliis totam asper- 5 nari: cur enim illos, qui se accessant, ipsos non venire, cum aequae coniungi possent? Quia videlicet plena hos- tium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua cor- pora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis non tam 6 sententia displicere quam animus deesse. Tum P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum ‘Capi ergo ma- vults’ 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. aliis: opposed to aliis in 6. — aequae, just as well (in that way).


15. — Romanus, etc.: the honor of having a Roman for a slave would be greater.
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 incompositi 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-

Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur 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. cives voster, XXI. 13. 1.
8. opprimit: see Gr. 327. a.
9. quamvis: join with confer-
tos. — disicias: with an indefinite subject.
10. haec . . . cuneoque: the hexamer may possibly be from some early poet, but more probably slipped from Livy unawares (Cic. Or. 56. 189 versus saepe in oratione per imprudentiam 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 (Facturusne operae pretium sim), and the first sentence in the Annals of Tacitus is a complete one (Vrhem Romam a principio reges habuere).
11. protinus, continuing on.
12. impetu animorum, courageous impulse. — cuiusquam: 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 insequens 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.

Postero die, ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foe-
damque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt.

than pugna, as if with this victory
the war was ended; cf. 55. 2.—
noctis quietem: ci. dierum quie-
tem, XXI. 11. 3.
2. Maharbal, etc.: it appears
from Gellius (X. 24) that Livy’s
authority for this scene is Coelius,
who himself borrowed from the
version in Cat’s Origines (dic-
talorem Carthaginensium magis-
ter equitum monuit, ‘Mitt
mecum Romanam equitatem; die
quinti in Capitolio tibi cena coci
erit’): see Intro. 10.—venisse,
venturum: sc. te; see moturum,
XXI. 12. 4 n.
3. capere animo, realis:—tem-
poris: a very rare construction; cf.
lectionis opus est, Quint. XII. 3. 8,
and see Gr. 243. f. R.
4. mora, etc.: cf. Florus, I. 22.
19 dubium non erit quin ultimum
illum diem habitura fuerit Roma
quintumque intra diem epulari
Hannibal in Capitolio potuerit, si,
... guem ad modum secret vincere,
sic uti victoria scisset. Sed tum
quidem illum, ut dict volgo solet,
aut fatum urbis imperaturae aut
ipsis mens sola et aversi a Car-
thagine di in diversum abstulerunt;
Plutarch (Fab. 17) ascribes Hanni-
bal’s delay to some divine influence;
Juvenal (7. 161) says the Roman
school-boys discussed Hannibal’s
duty in the premises. At first
thought it seems as if Hannibal
might have annihilated Rome, and
thus have given a Carthaginian char-
acter to European civilization. But
we may well believe that the great
commander judged wisely; his main
reliance was upon his cavalry, and
this would have availed him little
in a siege of the strongly fortified
capital; he had not succeeded in
seriously weakening the allegiance of
Rome’s allies and colonies,
and he fully appreciated the de-
termined spirit and military gen-
ius of his foes. — salutis, the salva-
tion.
5. ad spolia legenda: a con-
struction otherwise unknown, in-
stead of the usual dative or infinitive,
with insisto.
6 Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, 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 capitis, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentisque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus naso auribusque laceratis, cum ille manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus in rabiem ira versa laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

52 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda et omnium primum brachio obiecto flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore vigiliis vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius specie 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 iuvenes, II. 5. 5.—ut quem cuique, etc.: i.e. not in their regular lines, but as individuals had happened to be fighting or flying. —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. —brachio, a piece of wall. —flumine: the Aulius; 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 a piece for their ransom. —nummis quadrigatis: silver denarii, stamped
ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostis accep- perunt, traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociaque. 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 tum tutum erat, Canusium per fugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti. Praeda in gens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti — quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat, nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, uetabantur — omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit. Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

Eos qui Canusium per fugerant 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. 58 Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore

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with a representation of Jupiter and a four-in-hand (quadriga); for the ablative, see XXI. 61. 11 n. — singulis, etc.: i.e. merely in their tunics; cf. 6. 11.

4. hominum = pedium; cf. XXI. 27. 1. equites virique. — agmine, in a body.
5. quod plurimum, most of which. — in phaleris equorum: cf. Juvenal, II. 102 magnorum artificem frangebat pocula miles, ut phaleris gauderet equus. — ad vescendum 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 afforded them protection and shelter.

HEROISM OF YOUNG SCIPIO.

58. de, of: the language is gradually 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. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequiquam eos perditam 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 transfugiant. 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: irent 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 conditionibus iiis, 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. complorantam, 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. Syntax², 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 torpidi 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, familia remque meas pessimo letto adficiat. In haec verba, 12 M. Caecili, iures postulo ceterique qui adestis; qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat.' Haud 13 secus pavidì quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

Eo tempore quo haec Canusii agebantur Venusiam 54 ad consulem ad quattuor millia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos 2 curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos et pediti denos et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt, ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vincereetur. Sed graviorus onus Busae multitudo faciebat, et iam 4

_a regular formula of oath. — ut: we should expect an icta with nond 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 scient 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 adjective; see Gr. 291. b. r.

2. eos omnes, this whole body; hence the emphasis. — in singulos equites: to bring out the distributive idea. In regard to the foot such emphasis is unnecessary, having 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 winter quarters and in camp. — quadrigatos: see 52. 3 n.

3. muliure: 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 graviorius.
ad decem milia hominum erant; Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incoluere esse alterum consularem accepert, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum pedium 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.

Romae ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus consulis exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat. Numquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque adgrediari narrare quae edissertando minora vero faciam. Consule exercituque ad Trasumenum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulisibus 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. παραργεθαι, 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. maius vero, XXI. 32. 7.

9. 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 Italiam 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. Furiius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt ut de urbis custodia consulenter; neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Cum in malis sicuti ingentibus ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstrepe-retque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et nondum palam facto vivi mortuque per omnes paene domos promiscue complorarentur, 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. Adriano.

2. venturum: Livy uses differently 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: viz. 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 per punctando — alios quos profecto ex fuga passim dissipationes fore — referant quae fortuna consulum atque exercitum sit et, si quid dii immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nominis secerint, 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 tumulum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant: matronas publico arceant continenterique intra suum quamque limen cogant, compioratus familiarum coercent, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos current — suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem exspectant — custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare; ubi conticuerit [recte] tumulus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

56 Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, summotaque foro per magistratus turba patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae a the officials, to lessen the tumult. — Appia et Latina via: both roads led in the direction of the seat of war. — alios ... fore: a parenthetical indirect discourse, depending on the general idea of saying.
6. illud: explained by ut ... tollant, etc. — publico, the streets, a common meaning of the word; cf. luces ac publico, 61. 9.
7. familiarum: i.e. of slaves and children, who could not be kept in doors. — nuntios, etc.: i.e. all information, public or private, should be brought at once to

was to get information to lessen the tumult. — Appia et Latina via: both roads led in the direction of the seat of war. — alios ... fore: a parenthetical indirect discourse, depending on the general idea of saying.
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7. familiarum: i.e. of slaves and children, who could not be kept in doors. — nuntios, etc.: i.e. all information, public or private, should be brought at once to

the officials, to avoid idle rumors. — fortunae: 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 copyist'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 2 exercitumque caesum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantaee cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem; ad decem milia militum ferme esse incompositorum inordinorumque; Poenum sedere ad Cannas; in captivorum pretii praee 3 daque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nudinantem. Tum privatae quoque per domos clades 4 vulgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus ut sacram anniversarium Ceresis intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem 5 causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desereferentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum sedato urbis tumultu revocati in curiam 6 patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio praefectore: regnum Hieronis classe 7 Punica vastari; cui cum opem imploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse aliam classem ad Aegatis insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuen- 8 dam Syracusanam oram Poni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam adgreederentur. Itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

Litteris consulis praetorisque recitatis censuerunt 57

2. decem milia: not consistent with 54. i and 4.
3. nundinantes, dickering; used in a disparaging sense.
4. privatae, etc.: i.e. authentic information as to individuals. — sacrum Ceresis: this cannot have been the regular Cerealia, which came in April, for the battle of Cannae 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, praefectore. —
praetorem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praesisset, 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 prodigis, 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 quanam 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 consaep tum, iam ante hostiis 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. 4 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

that human sacrifices were made in early Italy; see Pliny, N.H. XXVIII. 2. 12.
7. scriptos habebat: not the same as scriperat; cf. clausum habuit hostem, 4. 5, and see Gr. 292. c.
— urbi praesidio: cf. 11. 9.
8. tertia: on what principle of numbering is uncertain, as the third is also mentioned in 53. 2; perhaps this is teritia classica.— 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 septem- decim: 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 vili-ores, 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 sociis, 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 fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquantum adiciebatur equibus ad id pretium quo pepigerant dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcumque condicionem paciscendi accipierunt. 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 obitus, 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. equibus, 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 viliores fuisset captivos quam nostrae; ceterum, nisi 2 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 cumulus caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem 4 fessi labore ac vulneribus vallum sumus tuti; postero 5 die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur nec ulla iam per confertos hostis erumpendi spes esset nec esse nefas duceremus quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus 6 pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil iam auxili erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores quoque 7 acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos
tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misse. Atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romorum 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 relictii, cum castra tradentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicioni invideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim: ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitiatis pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusi constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatiqve 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. — Tarentum: Pyrrhus established himself here after his victory at Heraclea, 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, I, and note on de, 53. 1. — fuerunt: Madvig's reading for the indefensible refugerunt of the MSS.

10. equidem, etc.: concessive; 'though I do not, etc., yet I am forced to say.' — premendo extulisse: 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. fadem 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 crudelier sit, vix existimiari potest? Si videatis catenas squalorem deformitatem 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, crudelier: 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, 1. 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 libertasce 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 quis-
que animum habet, patres conscripti. Scio in disco-
mine 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 cognos-
tos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in
foro turbae vironum immiscerat. Senatus summotis
arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur,
et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice im-

17. *si, etc.: 'but even under the
most favorable circumstances, the
stigma of your scorn would be worse
than death.'— *ut: Livy uses *ut
after *dignus at XXIII. 42. 13 (but
apparently for the sake of clearness);
the infinitive at IV. 49. 11 and VIII.
26. 6; elsewhere the regular relative
clause with the subjunctive; see Gr.
320. f.

18. *sed, etc.: but their self-re-
spect was preserved by the conduct of
the senate in sending ambassadors
to bring them back.— *redeam: the
pathos is enhanced by making it a
personal matter with the speaker.
The subjunctive question implies the
impossibility of consenting to such
a course.

19. *suum quisque, etc.: 'I know
not how others may feel, but as
for me, etc.'— *scio . . . *magis:
the emphasis supplies the place of
contrasting (adversative) words: 'I
know my bodily peril, but I am far
more concerned about my reputa-
tion.'— *neque enim, etc.: 'people
will think that we are scorned by
you as unworthy, for of course no-
body will think you are influenced
by the expense.'

REPLY OF TORQUATUS.

60. in comitio: see 59. 16 n.
— *liberos: substantive.

2. consuli, *to consuli; the pas-
sive is used because the custom was
pensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi, si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praediiis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque videatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus furtur: 'Si tantum modo postulassent legati pro iis qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectione eorum brevi sententiam peregisset; quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, cum prope gloriat sint quod se hostibus dediderint, 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 ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed cum, fessis pugnando hostibus, for the presiding magistrate to ask the senators in order to state their views (dicere sententiam).

3. nec: adverative, 'and at the same time . . . not.'

4. dandam mutuam, should be lent. — praedibus, personal sureties, 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 gloriat sint, below.

7. quid aliud, etc.: a not un-common 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 ille, VI. 41. 7. — nunc: opposed to the contrary-to-fact supposition. — gloriat sint: instead of excusing themselves and asking a favor.
tum victoria laetis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuisset et septem milia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere 10 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 sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire 11 in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si, ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostis, dixit: ‘Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex ob- 12 sidione circumventas legiones,’ si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem, si nemo tantae virtutis exstisisset comes. Viam non ad gloriem magis quam ad salum ferentem demonstrat;

9. et ipsis: i.e. as well as the Romans. — alium: Tuditanus; see next section, and cf. 50. 6.  
10. Tuditanus: the full name is given in the formal recital of his deeds; cf. 8 and 16. — sequerentur, posse: command and statement respectively in indirect discourse.  
11. memoria, in the time of, so that they could remember it; the customary expression. — Decius, etc.: this was in 343 B.C. Three years later he devoted himself to destruction for the success of the Romans. — Calpurnius: he sacrificed himself in a similar manner at Camarina in Sicily in 258 B.C., and by drawing the attack of the enemy upon himself saved the consul Atilius Calatinus.  
12. diceret, etc.: the construction here cannot well be distinguished from the contrary-to-fact one, but, by a natural transfer of the point of view to the time of the capture, the orator represents the appeal of Sempronius as now being made in order to show that the failure to respond to it marks the captives as worthless cowards; see Gr. 307. f. and 308. footn. The confusion of time continues through estis, in 15. If the orator were speaking at that time, he would say si dicat, . . . duocam si . . . extiterit, though he might also use diceret and ducerem. — equidem . . . ducerem: Koch’s improvement on the MSS. quidem . . . duceret.  
13. viam, etc.: the contrary-to-fact idea, as well as the transfer of time, comes out here in the use of the present tense; ‘but he does not
reduces in patriam ad parentis, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. Vt servemini, deest vobis animus: quid, si mori- 14 endum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil umquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; imo desi- 15 derate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis: sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde 16 ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. Quamquam quid ego ignaviam istorum 17 accuso, cum scelus possim accusare? Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere 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 18 patria desideret? Quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt

say let us die, he says save yourselves, and you lack the courage to do it.'

14. servemini: with the force of the middle voice. — esse, factetis: the same kind of construction as in 12. — vilem, etc.: i.e. 'make you willing to sacrifice your lives.'

15. desiderate: continuing the confusion of time, but alluding to the desiderium expressed by the mouthpiece of the captives. — desideratis: returning again to the present moment. — deminuti capite: a technical expression for the loss of the condition of citizenship (caput); cf. capitis minor, of Regulus, Hor. C. III. 5. 42.

16. pretio: the position adds to the scornful character of the question; 'is it at the cost of a ransom that you are to recover the rights of Roman citizens which you have forfeited, 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 retinuis- 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-
civem haberet. Ex milibus septem armatorum sescenti exstiterunt qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his sescentis hostes obstiteret: quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis Hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusii fortia fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quem ad modum hi boni fidelesque — nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint — cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest adfuisse erumpentibus, qui ne erumpent obtistere conati sunt, aut non invidere eos cum incolumenti 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 affectisque 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.: ironi- cal expansion of the supposed objection.

24. orto sole, etc.: i.e. on the contrary, they made haste to surrender.
ipsos. Haec vobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. 25 Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, in castra refugerunt; 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 27 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 cognitione attingebant, praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa 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 flexibus 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 Vnus ex iis domum abiti, quod fallaci reditu in castra iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

5 Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primo venisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset admonerentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse ne tamen iis senatus daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios tris insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpur-7 nium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec 8 censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tris ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvissent; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos censuerint; 9 ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis igno-

4. unus, etc.: Cicero (de Off. III. 32. 115), on the authority of Aciarius (Introd. 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). — reditu: 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 dicerent, 32. 4. — tris insuper legatos: cf. tres deiniceps 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 censuisse: idiomatic, instead of et censuisse non; cf. the use of nego.

8. per causam, under the pre-text. — religione: cf. iure iurando, 4. — victos, 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 consultibus. — notis ignominisique: 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 verisit discernere queas.

Quanto autem maius 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. Defecere 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, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum nec postquam is reddit renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis; quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuis ipse causa maxima fuisse, redeunti 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. defecere, 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. Evagrius, III. 10 in quibus malis nemo tamen 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. — cuis ipse causa, etc.:
frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae quod de re publica non desperasset; qui si Carthaginisensium 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 cupiditate sed reipublicae amore se superfuisse reliquo actatis suae tempore adprobavit: nam et barbarum capillumque submisit et postea numquam recubans cibum cepit; honoriibus quoque, cum ei deferrentur a populo, renuntiavit dicens felicio-

ribus magistratibus reipublicae opus esse. — frequenter, in large numbers; the temporal meaning is seldom found till after Livy.

15. nihil, etc.: crucifixion was a penalty for unfortunate generalship among the Carthaginians (XXXVIII. 48). — foret: not the indicative, fuerat or erat, because the necessity itself is here conditioned; 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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