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COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

EDITED BY

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

LIVY. BOOKS I. AND II.

GREENOUGH
COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

Livy

Books I. and II.

Edited, with Introduction and Notes,

by

J. B. Greenough

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PREFACE.

The editor holds, as he has often said elsewhere, that the essential object of studying Latin is to learn to read Latin with readiness and accuracy; that the proper method of learning to read is to try to read, in the form and the order in which the author presents his ideas and conceptions, and with as little translation into the vernacular as possible. This is especially true of Livy, who is a professional raconteur, always aiming to produce a graphic effect on the mind of his reader. This book is accordingly edited with a view to that object and that method. Discussions of historical and grammatical points have been made subordinate to the presentation of Livy's exact ideas as they lay in his mind, and the precise order in which in their parts and their totality he intended to present them. The teacher as well as the pupil will perhaps miss some historical and grammatical lore and many translations which they have become accustomed to associate with classical studies, but which the editor has purposely omitted. Yet in compensation it is hoped that both will be led to a better knowledge of the author and of the Latin language than they would get by following the customary method of exhaustive comment on irrelevant topics.
The text, with a few exceptions, is that of Weissenborn's second edition, and to the judicious commentary of the same scholar the editor is more indebted than to any other. The grammatical references (Gr.) are to the revised edition of Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar (1888).

December 19, 1890.
INTRODUCTION.

Livy.

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

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

**His Qualifications for Writing History.**

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

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

EARLY HISTORY OF ROME.

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

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

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

**Livy's Authorities.**

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

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

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

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

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

_C. Licinius Macer_, tribune 73 B.C., who wrote as a partisan of the _plebs_ in their conflict with the aristocracy.

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

For the later books _M. Porcius Cato_, the censor, _L. Caelius Antipater_, a contemporary of the Gracchi, _Q. Claudius Quadrirarius_, _L. Cornelius Sisenna_, praetor 78 B.C., _Polybius_, the Greek, and many others, contributed materials for our author's use.

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

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

The change in his sources sometimes leads Livy into inconsistencies. A case of this kind is found in this volume. At Bk. II. chap. 21 he seems to abandon his authorities, and begin chap. 22 from a new source. In doing this he displaces the chronology, giving a new date to the battle of Lake Regillus, and repeating some of the events he has already narrated (cf. 17. 6 and 22. 2).

His Qualities as a Narrator.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

x. It is more in arrangement than anything else that Livy differs from other prose writers. His narrative is not so much to inform the intellect as to excite the imagination. Hence he does not affect the finely balanced periods of Cicero, though periodic structure is almost inseparable from Latin; but with a skilful use of all the means of co-ordination and subordination, he presents a picture, stroke after stroke, with the proper emphasis to give its proper prominence to each detail, often leaving the grammar to take care of itself. In the skill with which he uses the position of the single words in a clause to produce these effects, he is unequalled (see I. 17. 4; II. 25. 3).

It is impossible for us to get the effect he intends to produce without noticing the position of every word. Indeed, he sometimes for effect gives artificial and forced emphasis, which produces the effect, to be sure, but at the sacrifice of simplicity (see I. 11. 6).

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

AB VRBE CONDITA

PRAEFATIO.

Facturusne opera postium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscrupserim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vol- gatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid adlaturos se aut scribendi arte.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CERTAIN SATISFACTION IN THE WORK.

3. utcumque erit: i.e. whether I succeed or not.—iuvabit (sc. me), I shall be glad: notice the emphatic position.—pro virilli parte...consuluisse, to have done my part also, etc. The expression seems to come from military or official usage (cf. virilitim), referring to the proportion that belongs to a single man out of a body. — ipsum: the me has already been implied with iuvabit.

in obscuro: this use of the neuter adjective instead of a simple predicate or an abstract noun is characteristic of the later writers.

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

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE WORK: its ENORMOUS LABOR; it is UNAPPRECIATED.

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

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

repetatur, is (to be) treated from, etc.; always with the idea of going back to get something. For mood, see Gr. 320. e. 9. I.

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

et legentium: loosely opposed to operis; difficult for the writers, and unsatisfactory to the readers. Livy has in his mind chiefly the earlier history, though not that alone. Cf. a primordio, 1; supra sept. annum, and primae, 4; priscia illa, 5.

The participle, though rare in the singular, is in the best writers not uncommon in the plural, as a noun of agency, and is used still more freely by Livy and later writers.

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

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

tory of them are confounded; to the account of these new deeds in which, etc.

praevalentis: cf. magnitudine laboret, above.

ipsae: see Gr. 195. l.

THE INWARD COMPENSATION.

5. quoque: i.e. besides any success in the undertaking.
malorum: i.e. the civil war.
omnis: cf. sine omni, without any. But here the idiom is like our own.
curae: i.e. the fear of giving offence in the treatment of recent occurrences. Cf. Hor. Od. II. 1, 6, plenum opus aleae.—scribentis: cf. note on legentium, 4. — flectere: i.e. so as to warp his account through fear or favor: 'It could not make the historian untrue, but might worry him.'—posset: contrary to fact; i.e. 'if I were not expers curae.' Livy is speaking now only of the earlier history, and in this he is expers curae.

His Attitude Towards the Early History.

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

7. datur, we grant (emphatic). It is an indulgence not denied to early times to invent such myths, and so they are justifiable, whether we believe them or not. — ut...faciat: see Gr. 317. a.
divinis: the neuter in the cases which are alike in all genders is rare in Cicero, but becomes common later. Here it is more natural on account of humana preceding.

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

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

add sanctity to. — referre: sc. origines. — ea, etc.: i.e. they have such fame as a warlike people, that the nations of the earth, having been conquered by them, may well allow their claim. — suum: the position continues an implied emphasis on the Roman people, and at the same time opposes suum to conditoris. — potissimum, rather than any other; precisely the god of war. — ferat, claims. — et hoc: i.e. this claim as well as their actual sovereignty. — patiuntur: the repetition of the verb implies 'as we see they are willing to do.'

8. animadversa, etc., criticised or appreciated. — haud: modifying in magno. — in magno discrimine ponam, attach any great weight to. Cf. aequa in laude ponendum est, Cic. Top. 18. 71; in honore ponunt, Cluent. 20. 57; and nullo discrimine habeo, Aen. X. 108. No doubt the expression is derived from book-keeping (cf. lucro appone), and discriminem is used in the sense of controversy. — equidem, I'm sure.

INSTRUCTION TO BE GOT FROM LATER HISTORY.

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

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

— labente disciplina, as their principles were sapped.

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

10. hoc illud est, this is the
in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in instri posita monumento intueri, inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu quod vites.

Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscipient fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditor fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimonyae honos fuerit; adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes volupitates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem perundique omnia in-

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

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

Richness of Matter for Examples.

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

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

civitatem, etc.: Cicero would probably say nec ulla civitas in quam. The change is irregular, but natural in a careless writer. — serae: a somewhat poetical use of adjective for adverb; Gr. 191.

immigraverint, gained an entrance; as if they were of foreign origin. For mood, see Gr. 320. a.

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

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

Unfavorable Comparison of Latest Times.

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

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

sed: he corrects himself after
the preceding utterance. — futurae:
see Gr. 293. b.
necessariae: i.e. when we come
to treat of those times. — erunt:
here forsitan is equivalent to for-
tasse, and has no effect on the mood
of the verb, a usage which became
more and more common in the later
writers. — ordiendae: pleonastic,
as is common with words of begin-
nning.
13. bonis: complaints would be
of bad omen. — poetis: as Homer
and Virgil.
nobis: prose writers. — liben-
tius, etc., be more disposed to, etc.
orsis: a poetic word. — succes-
sus: the plural where we use in
English the singular; Gr. 75. c. — da-
rent: thrown into the imperfect by
the tense of the preceding (contrary
to fact) condition; see Gr. 287. g.
TITI LIVI

AB VRBE CONDITA

LIBER I.

Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in 1 ceteros saevitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Aeneae Antenoriique, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse; casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerabant, venisse in intimum Hadriatici maris sinum, Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolabant, pulsis

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

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

hospitii: Ulysses and Menelaus were entertained by Antenor when they came to demand Helen. This, of course, implies some relation of the kind mentioned.
auctores: for Antenor, cf. II. III. 148–264, VII. 345 seq.; for Aeneas, II. XX. 298, XIII. 460; where, however, it is not definitely asserted. —iux, etc.: i.e. they let them go free. —Achivos: a poetic word. —abstinuisse, gave up; refrained from exercising.

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

Enetum: shorter form for Enotorum. There seems to have been a tribe of this name in Asia. II. II. 852.
seditione, revolution; such as was common in Athens and many Greek cities. Such disturbances usually produced many exiles.
rege, etc.: explaining ducem... quaerabant: cf. II. V. 576.—venisse: the emphasis may be represented by ‘finally landed’ or ‘immigrated,’ as opposed to his wanderings on the way.

3. Euganeis: a tribe once settled about the Italian lakes. They may have been of Italian stock. See
Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primo egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pavoque Troiano inde nomen est; gens universa Veneti appellati.  
4 Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves super-

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

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

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

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


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

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


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

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

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

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

Duplex inde fama est: alii proelio victum Latinum 6 pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt; alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa 7 canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percunctatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, post- 8 quam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria favorite one with Livy; properly, 'as persons to whom,' etc., 'as men would naturally do,' etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Union of the Two Races.


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

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

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

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

War with Turnus and Death of Aeneas.

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

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

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

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

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

Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat, tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolum.

difference of name there was a lack of common national feeling which was now secured.

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

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

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

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

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

THE ALBAN DYNASTY.

8. maturus: the emphasis means something like 'His natural successor wasn't old enough yet to take his place, but the place was kept safe for him till he was,' or 'the youth of Æneas' son prevented his

Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam deductam coloniam:

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

florentem: and so not needing a hero to foster it. — iam, getting to be. — seu: often used, especially by later writers, as an abbreviation for two appositives with sive ... sive; i.e. Laviniae seu matri seu novercae; whether one or the other.

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

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

ment: i.e. notwithstanding the
' shortness of the time.

fusis Etruscis: this gives a chief
reason for the rise in power.

morte: i.e. when there was no
king.

inter: often thus used of time
combined with circumstance or situ-
ation.
muliebrem: i.e. when there was
only a woman at the head of affairs.
rudimentum: *not merely begin-
ning, but inexperienced attempts.—
movere arma, make any hostile
demonstration.

Etrusciqve: cf. Turnus Rutu-
lique, 2. 3 n.
ausi sint: for tense see Gr.
287. 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Plus tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia aetatis. Pulso fratre Amulius regnat. Addit 11 sceleri scelus: stirpem fratri virilem interimit, fratris filiae Reae Silvae per speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate sperm partus adimit.

Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis 4

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

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

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

11. perspeciem, under pretence; adverbal phrases with per are very common, especially in later writers, without any particular definiteness in the meaning of the preposition.

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

Birth and Exposure of Romulus and Remus.

4. sed: i.e. every attempt was made to cut off the succession, but, etc. — debebatur: i.e. was predestined by; properly, owed to the fates, and so bound to be accomplished, in spite of human endeavor. — ut opinor, I imagine; i.e. it would seem so as we look at the circumstances detailed in the myth. — tantae: i.e. the city became so great that we are justified in thinking the occurrence was not a mere chance, but
maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. 2 Vi compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, 3 Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant: sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam mitti iubet.

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

had a divine purpose which couldn't be thwarted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tenet, is preserved; not given up or exploded. — fluitantem: i.e. floating and not sinking as they expected it would. — lupam: such stories are found in the myths of many nations. — puerilem, of the babes. — flexisse: i.e. was attracted by and turned to, etc. — eam, and that she. This use of a pronoun in accordance with the English idiom is not usual in Latin, but here makes the statement more significant by separating it from the rest. — summissas, crouching over, thereby accomplishing the action of praebuisse by lowering the dugs. — mitem: where we should expect an adverb; cf. serae, Pref. 11. — magister: i.e. the king’s shepherd. — regii: the emphatic position is explained by the fondness of the Latin for emphasizing persons; cf. regis imperio, 5.

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

7. Faustulo: cf. Troiano, 1. 3. The word is a diminutive of Faustus, and is drawn from the early mythology of the Romans. Cf. Faunus from the same root in favo. — ad stabula: because datos implies that they were taken there. The shepherds’ hut is referred to, where the sheep were folded at night. — Larentiae: another name from the mythology. She is represented with the name Acca (mother ?), as mother of the Lares Præstites, and called also Luperca or Lupa. Her festival was the Larentalia. — sunt qui, etc.: the Euhemerising, or realistic interpretation of the old myths, came very early in Rome, and was especially practised by Ennius; cf. Gellius, VII. (VI.) 7, and Macrob. I. 10, 16. — fabulae ac miraculo, to the marvellous story. The Romans were fond of taking an idea apart and presenting its component parts separately. This is hardly a rhetori-
8 Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit ætas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragrare saltus. Hinc robre corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere pastoribusque rapta dividere et cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos celebrare.

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

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

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

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

latrones: i.e. gradually working up to the generous pursuits of war. — dividere: the royal genius of the youths comes out still more in the leadership which is here implied. — crescente: the increase of their numbers is correlative with the more organized character of their expedi-
tions (seria) and their sports. — celebrare, practise in company; properly, perform in numbers, or often; cf. creber.

Discovery of the Twins’ Parentage; Amulius killed.

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

Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiosob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amullo tradidisse ulterior accusantes. Criminimaxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetum fieri, inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic ad supplicium Numitori Remus deditur.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupidus cepit in iis locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albani- rum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent, parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium praecea urbe quae conderetur fore. Inter venit dieinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni
cupido, atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis ver-recundia discrimen facere posset, ut dixi, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriiis legerent qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templae capiunt.

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

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

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

qui: relative; the one to give.

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

Killing of Remus.

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

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

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

2. altercatione, a war of words.

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

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euan
dro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone 4
interempto boves mira specie abegisse memorant ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua praee se armentum agens

muros: see 44. 3, and note. The act was a kind of sacrilege.— verbis: with increpitans.— quoque: i.e. as well as a blow.— sic: sc. pereat; or cf. 26. 4.— interfectum: other accounts are given or implied in Ov. Fast. V. 469; Virg. Aen. I. 292.

FOUNDING OF ROME; CULT OF HERCULES.

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

ritu: the ritual of Greek worship and of Italian seems to have been distinctly different.

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

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

4. Herculem: this divinity, who came to the Greeks from the Phoe
nicians, had as his tenth labor to steal the cattle of Geryon, the three
headed monster of the island of Erytheia. To accomplish this feat, he passed westward along North Africa, and, crossing at the Pillars of Hercules into Spain, on the coast of which the island was supposed to be, returned with the cattle by way of Europe. It was on this return that he was supposed to have come to Italy.
nando traiercerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse.

5 Ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatam sopor oppressisset, pastor accola eius loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant, versos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit.

6 Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrasset oculos et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro armentum occipit. Inde cum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum

loco herbido: the low land between the Capitoline and Palatine and the river. — laeto, luxuriant; as in poetry. — reficeret: the purpose of procubuisse; i.e. he stopped, and being tired himself from his journey (as well as the cattle, implied in quiete) lay down.

5. ferox viribus, arrogant on account of his strength; what we express in other connections by ‘a bully.’ — avertere: a technical term for carrying off cattle and other booty. Cf. Virg. Aen. X. 78.

agendo: opposed to aversos traxit below. — compulisset: a kind of indirect discourse, representing the thought in Cacus’ mind. This construction easily passes into the contrary-to-fact form, of which it is, no doubt, the origin; see Gr. 307. f., and compare 308. d. — aversos: opposed to agendo. — eximium: here equivalent to a superlative; see Gr. 93. c. — quemque: limiting partitive apposition with boves. — caudis: evidently an imitation of Hermes’ trick; see Hymn to Apollo, 413.

6. pergit: a continuance of the action implied in perlustrasset; i.e. having looked over all that were directly in sight, he proceeds farther, thinking they might have strayed. — si . . . ferrent: i.e. to see whether, etc. Properly a construction of omitted apodosis; cf. Eng. in case, and Goodwin’s Moods and Tenses, 494. — foras, out; i.e. from the cave. — incertus animi, puzzled; for constr., see Gr. 218. c. r. — porro, away, farther on. — occipit: rare with the complementary infinitive, but here used like other words of its class.

7. actae, as they were driven away. — ad, from; properly, ‘in accordance with’; cf. ad famam bellii, VI. 27. 9. — ut fit, as usual; i.e. cattle usually miss their absent
mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem cum ad speluncam vadentem Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans morte occubuit.

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

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

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

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

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

**tiorem:** properly, with *habitum*, though attracted to *formam*; *humana*: belonging to both, but agreeing in gender with *formam*. — *qui*: cf. *qui mortales*, 1. 7, and see Gr. 104. a.

10. *patremque*: notice the division into groups, the first two words in one, and the last one in the other.

**Iove**, etc.: in accordance with the answer given to his question. — *aucturum*: the standard expression for being added to anything; cf. *Aen.* V. 565. — *cecinit*: cf. *Carmen VII*, 8 sn. This prophecy accounts for the dedication of the altar before the apothecosis of the hero.

— *maximam*: the altar so called stood in the low ground by the Tiber, near the gate of the Circus Maximus. It was no doubt erected under Greek influence, and seems to have been connected from very early times with the foreign trade of the city. Upon it bargains were solemnized, and the deity, by the name *Dius Fidius*, was identified with Semo Sancus, the Sabine god of faith; see Mommsen, Book I. chap. xii. — *ritu*: every cult had its own peculiar ritual, either borrowed from abroad or developed from very early times; cf. *Græco Herculi*, 3.

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

11. *accipere*: a regular word upon the announcement of omens. It would seem to have been necessary for the favored mortal to accept the favorable omen to make it valid. Cf. *accipio omen, mea filia, Cic.* de *Div.* I. 46. 103; and Serv. to *Aen.* V. 539. *nostri arbitrii esse visa omina vel improbare vel recipere.* — *impleturum*: i.e. so far as he was concerned, by erecting and dedicating the altar; cf. IX. 34. 18; *Aen.* VIII. 271; Prop. V. 9. 67.

12. *primum*: the first offering to inaugurate the cult. — *ministerium*: i.e. as assistants to Hercules, who probably is conceived as having acted as chief priest. — Potitiis ac Pinariis: the names seem manufactured; but they may well be relics of descriptive names in some still older rites; cf. IX. 29. 9; Virg. *Aen.* VIII. 269 seg. — *familiae*: logically appositive to the names, but, according to Latin usage, absorbed into the relative clause; cf. Gr. 201. d.
clitae ea loca incoelebant, factum. Forte ita evenit, ut 13 Potitii ad tempus praesto essent hisque exta apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii ab Euandro edocti 14 antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt, donec tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus 15 una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

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

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

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

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

The Constitution of the New State.

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

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

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

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

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

Growth of the State.

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

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

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

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

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

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

ab honore, as a distinction, as a council of the elders; cf. senatus, earl, alderman, and similar words. This would agree with the first sup-
position tolerably well, but not at all with the second, unless we suppose the name to have become accidentally attached to them, as fathers par excellence. — patricii: this part is no doubt true, as the word is an adjective, like other words in -iectus; cf. Cic. de Rep. II. 12. 23. Romuli senatus, qui constabat ex optimatibus, quibus ipse rex tan-
tum tribuisset ut eos patres vellet no-

minari patriciosque eorum liberos.
Iam res Romana adeo erat valida ut cuilibet finitimarium civitatum bello par esset, sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit qui societatem conubiumque novo populo peterent: urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein, quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnum-que nomen facere; satis scire origini Romanae et deos adfuisset et non defuturam virtutem: proinde ne grava-rentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere.

Nusquam benigne legatio audita est, adeo simul sper-nebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent: id

EFFORTS TO SECURE WIVES.

9. iam, by this time.—hominis aetatem, only one generation.—quibus: referring to the persons implied in res Romana.—domi: because there were so few Roman women.—conubia, right of inter-marriage, a relation which seems to have been carefully guarded among the ancients; cf. the struggle later between plebeians and patri-cians.

2. ex consilio: Livy conceives the proceeding as it would be under a consul later. —circa, around among; a very common use of the word in Livy.—societatem: not necessarily for any other purpose than the conubium, for even that would require a treaty of alliance.

3. urbes, etc.: the learner must not forget the ease with which the Latin drops into indirect discourse whenever anything is to be quoted. The apologetic tone here is on account of the youth of the state (novo populo). It was young, to be sure, but had a great future before it.

4. deos, etc.: referring chiastically to virtus and dii.—proinde: the regular illative particle before any exhortation, summing up the reasons for the request or command.—hominem, etc.: an additional reason, through an intimation of equality.

5. adeo, to such a degree (as is indicated by the preceding); a very common trick of language in Livy, giving the reason in the form of an antecedent to a result clause, as if it were, 'to such a degree did they, etc., that they nowhere received them.' —spernebant, etc.: i.e. they scorned them, and at the same time didn't wish to perpetuate them.—ecquod, etc.: a question implying a recommendation, as one might say, 'have you tried this means?'
enim demum compar conubium fore. Aegre id Romana 6 pubes passa et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit.

Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industria parat Neptuno Equestri sollemnis; Consualia vocat. Indici 7 deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet, quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant concelebrant, ut rem claram exspectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, 8 studio etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates; iam 9 Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos cum situm mœniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Vbi spectaculi tempus venit deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis signoque dato iuventus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrir. Magna pars forte in 11 quem quaeque inciderat raptae. Quasdam forma excell-

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

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

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

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

RAPE OF THE SABINES.

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

9. iam, then again. — situm: the situation of Rome has always been famous; cf. V. 54. 4; Cic. Rep. II. 3. 5.

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

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

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

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

13. turbato, broken up in con-
fusion.

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

14. melior: i.e. than their par-
ents had for them.

RECONCILIATION OF THE WOMEN.

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

15. melioribus viris: a predicate
ablative, a common Latin idiom
with utoor.—adnisurus pro se,
will do his utmost.—vicem: adver-
bial accusative; Gr. 240. b.—offi-
cio: i.e. simply as a husband
(suam).—explet, etc.: i.e. by
greater kindness to supply the
want of other objects of affec-
tion.
rium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum, factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

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

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

WAR WITH THE CAENINENSES.

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

2. lente agere, not to act with sufficient vigor.

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

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

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

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

THE SPOLIA OPIMA.

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

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

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

Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae 7 sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum nec inritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine compotum eius doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella opima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.

Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus 11 per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit; raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palantes in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes, oppidum captum, duplicique victoria ovantem Romulam Hersilia coniunx, precibus raptarum fatigata, orat ut parentibus earum det veniam

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

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

WAR WITH THE ANTEMNATES AND CRUSTUMINI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MAID TARPEIA.

aquam: for such purposes water was always taken from a living spring, and often from some particular one. The Vestals brought water daily from the spring of the Camenae, outside the Porta Capena (Serv. Aen. VII. 150; Plut. Numa, 13). Probably Livy had this custom in mind; but that spring was quite on the other side of the city. The order of the words is very artificial, emphasizing first the purpose of the maiden’s going outside the walls; then bringing in the introductory words, forte, ea (on account of the parenthesis), and tum (at the time the enemy arrived); then emphasizing the fact of her being outside the walls.—sacris: Gr. 233. b.

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

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

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

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

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

The Sabines in the Capitol.

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

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

Metius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decuerrerat et effusos egerat Romanos toto quantum foro

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

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

TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR.

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

4. avibus: see 7. i.

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

6. templum: the substructions are now visible on the excavated Palatine.—Stator: emphatic, with direct reference to siste.—praesenti, direct, of a divinity coming in person, as opposed to indirect means.—servatam esse: cf. ne quid, etc., 11. 7 n. Here the lesson taught is one of fact. The whole matter looks like an attempt to explain Stator, which is more likely to mean 'the one who sets upright'; cf. Στάτως, 'Order.' This view seems to shimmer through servatam. Not much reliance is to be placed on these etymological myths, as it is their very nature to be false; at least, no one about which the truth was known was ever found to be sound.

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

8. princeps, in the front.—effusos, in confusion (a kind of predicate).—quantum: the antecedent tantum would be accusative of extent of space.—foro: without in on account of toto; Gr.
spatium est; nec procul iam a porta Palatii erat, clamitans 'Vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes; iam sciunt longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris.' In eum haec gloriamente cum globo ferocissimorum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius pugnabat, eo pelli facilius fuit; pulsum Romani persecuuntur et alia 'Romana acies audacia regis accensa fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem se sese strepitu sequentium trepidante equo coniecit, averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem adnuentibus ac vocantibus suis favore multorum addito animo evadit; Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium, sed res Romana erat superior.

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

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

THE BATTLE STAYED BY THE SABINE WOMEN.

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

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

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

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

2. suos: i.e. those of the suppli-
ants, who would bear the stain of
blood, if either their fathers the Ro-
mans, or their grandfathers the Sa-
bines, should kill the other. — nepo-
tum: genitive of 'material'; Gr. 214 e.

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

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

UNION OF THE TWO PEOPLES.

5. tamen, still; inasmuch as the
nationality of the Sabines was thus
merged, that some compensation
might be given them. — Quirites:
according to Livy both peoples were
called so. It is more probable that
the two words were independent
and had nothing to do with Curens,
though the name of that town might
also be derived from quiris, lance.
— monumentum, as a memorial;
for case see Gr. 240 g. — Curti-
tium lacum: cf. VII. 6.
Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque, cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus maius hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an dignitatibus suis vironumve an sorte lectae sint quae nomina curiis darent.

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

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

6. *ex bello*, following a war, as often with *ex* — *repente*: modifying the verbal idea implied in *ex*.

— *curias*: this word, of which the etymology is doubtful, is undoubtedly used of a territorial division of the patricians, with separate sacrifices for each division. Seven of the names have come down to us, some of which, as *Faucia, Titia*, might seem to Livy to be derived from names of women.

7. *hoc*: *i.e.* the thirty.

8. *centuriae*: a hundred men from each tribe; ten (a *decuria*) from each *curia*. — *Lucerum*: the whole origin of this branch is involved in mystery. They were, doubtless, a third stock incorporated with the Romans, but from what quarter is not known. They were probably the last of the three, and were not, like the others, represented in the sacred rites.

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**DEATH OF TATTII, AND WAR WITH FIDENAE.**

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

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

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

Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum

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

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

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

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

5. laevam . . . dextra: from the
point of view of the army as it
marched somewhat southward de-
vastating the country along the
Tiber. They would thus find the
Tiber on their right hand, and they
turned easterly up the Anio towards
their left. — cum magna trepida-
tione, with a great panic. The
word indicates not necessarily fear,
but a hurry-scurry, whether from;
magna trepidatione agrestium populantur, tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem inlatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus 6 Romulus, neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bel-
lum poterat, exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille
passuum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto egressus 7
omnibus copiis partem militum locis circa densa inter
virgulta obscuris subsidiere in insidiis iussit; cum parte
maiori atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaere-
bat, tumultuosum et minaci genere pugnae adequitando
ipsis prope portis hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae
simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minus
mirabilem dedit. Et cum velut inter pugnae fugaeque 8
consilium trepidante equitatu pedes quoque referret

alarm or any other cause. — agres-
tium: i.e. outside the towns. — tu-
multus, disorderly flight. — pro
nuntio: i.e. brought the first news,
as there had been no declaration
of war.

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

7. egressus: from the camp,
which was always strongly fortified.
— omnibus copiis: as opposed to
a mere detachment. Cf. the em-
phatic modico, which indicates that
only a small guard was left behind.
— locis, etc.: the reading given
here (Weissenborn's) is doubtful,
but perhaps the best conjecture
that can be made. The Mss. have
densa obsita virgulta. — circa: to
be taken as an adverb. Cf. Gr.
188, e. — id quod, etc.: i.e. he suc-
ceded in doing what he aimed at,
namely, excivit. Cf. excitus, 6. —

tumultuosum: i.e. the irregular ac-
tion of skirmishing. — fugae: geni-
tive. — simulanda, etc.: i.e. was
necessary to draw the enemy into
the ambuscade. — mirabilem: the
flight would have seemed suspicious,
but that sudden dashes and retreats
were the regular cavalry tactics.

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

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

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

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

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

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

War with Veii.

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

Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei diviniae originis divinitatissi-que post mortem creditaec fuit, non animus in regno avito recipiendo, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam
8 pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum, sed etiam in pace habuit.

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

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

DEATH OF ROMULUS; HIS CHARACTER.

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

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

3. salvere: i.e. they cried salve, deus deo nate, etc. — universi, they
scunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisses credo tum quoque aliquos qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent: manavit enim haec quoque, sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit.

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

all with one accord. — iubent: the regular word for such salutations, like our bid. — uti, etc.: the clause is an explanatory apposition to pacem.
— volens propitius: strict religious expressions in prayers.
— suam: the emphasis represents an emphatic tuam in the prayer, continuing the emphasis of tu, which is regularly emphatic in such cases. Notice the alliteration which is characteristic of religious and other formulas.

4. fuisse, etc., I have no doubt there were some even then. — manavit: indicating a slender stream of tradition. — enim: explaining his mention of the suspicion. — perobscura, very little known. — illam: see Gr. 102. b. — pavor: the alarming nature of the phenomenon. — nobilitavit: opposed to perobscura.
5. consilio, by the set purpose; i.e. by an intentional device, as opposed to the causes just mentioned. — addita...fides, additional credit was gained. — sollicita: cf. orbitalis metus, 2. — infensa: from the suspicion above referred to. — gravis, weighty; i.e. his authority carries weight. — quamvis magnae: i.e. however serious the matter he had to tell might be.

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

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

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

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

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

INTERREGNUM; CHOICE OF DECEMVIRI AS CHIEF MAGISTRATES.

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

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

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

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

Ita rem inter se centum patres, decem decurii factis 5
singulisque in singulas decurias creatis qui summae
rerum praecessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant,
unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat, quinque 6
dierum spatio finiebatur imperium ac per omnes in orbem
ibat, annuúmque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod
nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum appellatum.

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

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

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

8  Tum interrex contione advocata 'Quod bonum faustum felixque sit,' inquit 'Quirites, regem create: ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum qui secundus ab regular means of passing on the imperium if a consular election for any reason failed, even to the end of the republic.

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

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

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

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

Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae Pom-pili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabant, consultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris. Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia non existat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante Romae centum amplius post annos in ultima Italiae ora circa Metapontum Hera- cleamque et Crotonam iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem 3

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

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

ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF NUMA.

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

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

3. ex quibus, etc.: the four points are: 1. That he lived more than a hundred years after; 2. That
aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguæ commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset, quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone 4 moribusque pervenisset? Suopte igitur ingenio temperaturn animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina taetricala ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit.

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

dedum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publi-

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

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

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

6. sicut, just as.—augurato: see Gr. 255 c.—urbe condenda, at the building of the city; a loose use of the ablative of manner. See Gr. 301 and examples.—cui de-
cum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur 7 ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellantur. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septemtrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime 8 conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum, lituio in laevam manum translato, dextra in caput Numae imposita, precatus ita est: 'Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc 9 Numam Pompilium, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines quos feci.' Tum peregit verbis auspicia quae mitti vellet; quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

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

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

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

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

Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commendo miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea without buildings consecrated by the augural proceedings.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF NUMA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quam-
quam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quae nunc
ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate
bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similis reges
putabat fore iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae
vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem
creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella ador-
navit. Huic duos flamines adiecit, Marti unum, alterum
Quirino; virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacer-
donium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduae
templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit,
virginitate aliisque caerimoniiis venerabiles ac sanctas
fecit.

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

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

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

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

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

Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex 5 patribus legit eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae tempa sacra fieren atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erga-retur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra 6 pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo turbaretur, nec caelestes 7 modo caerimonias, sed iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciparentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

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

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

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

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

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

Other Religious Institutions.

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

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

3. lucus: the grove was just outside the Porta Capena. — quia... infe rebat: the reason assigned by Livy, — to ensure privacy. — deae:
sacravit, quod earum ibi concilia cum coniuge sua Egeria essent. Et soli Fidei sollemne instituit. Ad id sacra-
rium flamines bigis curru arcuato ve hi iussit manuque
ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, signifi-
cantes fidem tutandum sedemque eius etiam in dextra
sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris facien-
dis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnia
tamen maximum eius operum fuit tutela per omne regni
tempus haud minor pacis quam regni.

Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic 6
pace, civitatem auxerunt; Romulus sepetm et triginta
regnnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida
tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum 22
Hostilium, nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima arce clara
pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus iussit;

Egeria. — quod . . . essent: the
ground of Numa's action assigned
by himself, and given in a slightly
different tone; cf. velut in the pre-
ceding line.
4. soli: i.e. apparently the only
one of that sort of divinities, ab-
stract qualities, such as became
very common in Rome later; cf. 27.
7. — sacrarium: the shrine, which
was in the Capitol. — flamines:
those mentioned in 20. 2; see note.
— bigis, etc.: i.e. a two-horse cov-
ered carriage. — tutandum: this
reason is no doubt the attempted
explanation of an old custom.—
etiam: i.e. not only in shrine and
altar, but also on the person, where-
by, when a promise was made by
clapping hands, as was usual, it
would be as sacred as if made in
a temple or the like.
5. faciendis: see Gr. 299, b; 
an old construction mostly anti-
quated. — quae: contrary to the
usual rule, hoc opus, hic labor est; 
see Gr. 195, d. — Argeos: these
were six chapels for local worship
in each of the four regions of the
city. There is good reason to be-
lieve that Greeks had been buried
alive under them. In later times
after their origin was forgotten their
place seems to have been taken by
the shrines of the Lares Comitales.
Local arrangements for public wor-
ship somewhat like parish churches
were regular with the Romans. —
pontifices, etc.: as these matters
had long gone out of use, they were a
matter of antiquity known only to the
pontifices. — tutela, maintenance.
6. temperata, well organised;
properly, regulated by a suitable
mixture; cf. 18. 4.

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


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

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

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

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

5. *comi fronte*: with *celebrant*.

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

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

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

Interim Tullus ferox praecipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen, ab ipso capite orsum, in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum poenas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit.
Mettium. Ducit quam proxime ad hostem potest. Inde legatum praemissum nuntiare Tullo iubet, priusquam dimicent, opus esse colloquio; si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum quae nihilo minus ad rem Romanam quam ad Albanam pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana adferri rebatur, in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani.

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

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

6. vana adferri: i.e. that the proposition to be made was a useless one. — in aciem educit: this is not inconsistent with the preceding, because the presence of the two armies would be a natural accompaniment of such a meeting. Cf. 1. 7. — stabant: the imperfect with postquam, referring to the beginning of a state of things, is common in Livy; see Gr. 324. a.

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

8. recte an perperam: i.e. recte stimulat an, etc. — fuerit: i.e. that it is his concern, etc. See Gr. 266 and N. 1. — eius: i.e. King Cluilius. — me, etc.: i.e. I have only been chosen to carry on a war already in progress. — Illud: cognate accusative; see Gr. 238. b. — monitum: for the construction see Gr. 288. d. and N. — maxime: empha-
tum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent. Memor esto, iam cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos consectosque simul victorem ac victum adgrediantur. Itaque si nos di amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitiique alem imus, inteamus aliquid viam qua utri utris imperat, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit.' Haud displicet res Tullo, quamquam cum indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuat materiam.

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

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

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

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

10. fortuna: cf. forte below.

The Horatii and Curiatii.

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

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

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

Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit: 'Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus ferire?' Iubente rege, 'Sagmina' inquit 'te, rex, posco.' Rex ait 'Puram tollito.' Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit, postea regem ita rogavit: 'Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, vasa comitesque meas?' Rex respondit: 'Quod sine fraude

cunque must be considered colloquial, like its use in Plautus, etc. — cives: i.e. the three champions. — cum bona pace, without demur; i.e. on the part of the subject nation. — alia aliiis: i.e. whatever the conditions of the compact, the manner of making it is the same.

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

5. graminis herbam, a growing plant of the sacred herb. — regium, etc.: as much as of the king of the Roman people, indicating with ritual verbosity the official character of the proceeding. — vasa (co-ordinate with me), utensils; a word derived from common use, like 'traps' or 'baggage,' referring here to the silex, verbenas, etc. — comites: there seem to have been three in all, the pater patratus, the verbenerarius, and the original fetialis. — fraude, etc., harm to, etc.; an earlier meaning of the word. — quod . . . fiat, so far as may be; a
mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio.' Fetialis 6 erat M. Valerius. Is patrem patratum Spurium Fusium fecit, verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est sanciendum fit foedus, multisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non opera est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis, 'Audi,' 7 inquit 'Iuppiter, audi, pater patrate populi Albani, audi tu, populus Albanus: ut illa palam prima postrema e illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico 8 consilio dolo malo, tum tu, ille Diespiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque.' Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item 9 carmina Albani suumque ius iurandum per suum dictatoriorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

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

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

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

8. defexit: old form in antique documents; cf. adclarassis, 18. 9. — publico: to exclude the case of unauthorized individual action which in lawless times often took place. — Diespiter: another name for Jove; cf. Zeus ἔρρη, and Dyauspita; so dies is from the same root. — porcum: the regular antique sacrifice both for expiatory and oath sacrifices.

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

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

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

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

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

3. infestis armis, in hostile array. The words had originally a definite literal meaning which was merged in the more general one.—velut acies: i.e. their attitude and bearing was like that of two trained hosts in battle array, in which the tactics are uniform, as, for instance, in a line of bayonets at charge or of levelled lances.—terni: i.e. three on each side.—animos: expressing their courageous spirit as the preceding expresses their outward appearance.—publicum, of their nation; opposed to suum, and by the antithesis supplying the want of a connective.—obversatur, etc.: it was such moral effects as this that especially interested Livy in his history, and, indeed, the Romans of all times.—futura, etc., and the thought that such would be, etc. This compression of an idea into a noun with a participle is characteristic of the Latin; see Gr. 292. a, and p. 314, footnote. The fondness for such expressions increases much in imperial times.—fecissent: subjunctive of indirect discourse standing for future perfect. See Gr. 341. c.
statim concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit, et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde 5 manibus, cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus 6 exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, examines vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos ut quemque vulnere adfectum corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco ubi pugna- 8 tum est aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu reedit, et dum Albanus exercitus

4. increpuere: Livy probably fancies them as first hurling their javelins, which rang on the shields (increpuere), and then drawing their swords for a hand-to-hand (consertis manibus) individual conflict. — neutro, etc.: i.e. the suspense on account of the evenly matched contest was such that they were breathless, and neither party could cheer.

5. anceps: i.e. on each side. — telorum: the swords in attack; armorum: the shields in parrying. — vulnera, etc.: i.e. they could see the strokes take effect. — duo Romani, etc.: the real main clause is given in 6; but Livy stops in his account of the situation to tell the event of the duels, and resumes the account with a cum clause (ad quorum casum), and gives the climax in examines, etc.

6. spes ... cura: i.e. they no longer had any hope of the result, but still had an anxious interest in the fate of their surviving champion. — vice unius: i.e. in imagination they took his place, and had the feelings which he might have. — circumsteterant: cf. consererant, 2, above.

7. universis, all at once. — ut ... sic: in the very common meaning, although (while) ... yet. — ferox, confident of victory. — ita, with such speed; explained by the following ut. — corpus, strength. — sine- ret: the subjunctive, on account of the indirect discourse.

8. videt: the indicative with cum inversum; see Gr. 325. b. — intervallis: i.e. each from the others. — sequentes ... abesse: a com-
inclamat Curatiis uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius, caeso hoste victor, secundam pugnam petebat.

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

mon and natural change of construction.

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

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

11. singuli, one on each side. — alterum: accusative, as is seen by the emphasis of position, opposed to alter below. — intactum ferro corpus: this phrase (cf. futura ea, etc., 3) is seen to express one idea by the fact that it must be the subject of the sentence, inasmuch as alterum is necessarily the object. Attention to such little indications will always give a ready clue to Livy's meaning, and save the beginner from being confused by the picturesque order of Livy's words. — dabat, made. The imperfect is used to describe the situation as it appeared to the eyes of the spectators, and agrees with the literal meaning of the word, 'was presenting.' — cursu, running, in pursuit of the flying Roman. — victus, demoralised, already conquered in anticipation; opposed to victori. — obicitur, is pitted against.

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

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

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

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

THE KILLING OF HORATIA, AND THE TRIAL OF HORATIUS.

26. ita, thereupon, with that command.

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

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

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

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

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

4. sic eat, etc.: cf. 7. 2.

5. patribus plebique: i.e. all of every rank and station; a standing expression in later times. — obstabat, palliatus: stood in the way of its having its full effect. — tamen: i.e. notwithstanding the palliation. — ad regem: naturally, as the supreme judge. — ne ipse, etc.: i.e. to avoid the unpopular action which would be necessary. — auctor, responsible for. — concilio: to announce his decision. — duumviro, a council of two; the regular way of expressing all boards and commissions in Latin. — Horatio (dativus commodi): as appears by the formula with tibi in 7, the officers were to establish formally the obvious guilt of the accused. — perduellionem, treason against the state, apparently because it was a usurpation of judicial powers to take the law into one's own hands. — secundum legem: i.e. the law which follows (duumviri, etc.). The officers seem not to have been in the nature of a jury before whom the case might be pleaded, but rather of an inquisition to inquire into the case as manifestum, and put in action the avenging machinery of the law.

6. carminis, purport; cf. carmine, 24. 7 n. — iudicent: cf. last two notes. — provocabit: it is assumed that he is guilty, and not until the appeal to the people is there properly any trial in our sense; in fact, even on the appeal, the officers are the parties opposed to him (cf. vincent).

— obnubito: i.e. the magistrate through the lictor. Such changes of subject are characteristic of old laws, etc.— infelici: as sacred to the gods below.— arbori: an old locative form, as in names of towns. — suspendito: not 'hang' in our sense, but attach to the cross, after which the scourging took place.— vel intra, etc.: i.e. not on the pomerium, which was sacred ground.
non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex his 'Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico' inquit. 'Lictor, conliga manus.' Accesserat lictor iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, 'Provoco' inquit. Ita de provocacione certatum ad populum est.

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

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

Non tuit populus nec patris lacrinas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum, absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis quam iure causae. Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo, capite adoperto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet; Sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corrureraticta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

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

12. non tuit, could not bear. — nec... nec: for this use of two negatives subordinate to a preceding general negation, see Gr. 209. a. 2. — parem: i.e. the same in this peril from his own citizens as it had been in the fight. — animum: i.e. the spirit he displayed in his bearing, etc. — iure, the justice; in Latin less abstract, — the rights or claims which his cause possessed. — tamen, still; i.e. notwithstanding the failure of just vengeance in his case. — lueretur: there was a stain of guilt upon the state which had not been cleansed by any punishment of the murder. This was to be removed by an expiatory sacrifice, performed by the father, but at the public expense.

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

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

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

**War with Alba and Fidenae.**

27. nec, yet...not, as often.—invidia vulgi, the odium among, etc., changing the point of view, as is often necessary in translating.—publica, of the whole state, opposed to tribus militibus.—fuerit: see Gr. 291. b. r.—vanum, ambitious; properly, foolish and fickle, having no solid principles.—corruptit, perverted; i.e. having no principles, he was swerved from the right by the odium which was occasioned by his action.—recta: rather naively viewed from a Roman standpoint, as his patriotic attempts to retrieve himself are spoken of as prava.—popularium, of his countrymen; those belonging to the same populus; but the idea of vulgus also seems to be present to Livy's mind.

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

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

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

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

Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deditus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur, contra Tullus Mettium beneigne adloquitur; quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet, sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Vbi inluxit, paratis omnibus, ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum iubet. Praeones, ab extremo orsi, primos excivere Albanos. Ii novitate etiam rei moti, ut transit: i.e. the alarm at first created by the defection passed over to the enemy. — audiverant: cf. exaudirent in 8. — additi: i.e. they had been made a Roman colony, and so, of course, had Romans established among them. — sciebant: see Gr. 205. c. 1.

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

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

The Punishment of Mettius.

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

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

Tum ita Tullus inquit: 'Romani, si umquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit quod primum dis immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam, quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior est, cum proditio ac perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, iniussu meo Albani subiere ad montes, nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit, ut nec vobis ignorantibus deseri vos avertetur a certamine animus, et hostibus circumveniri se ab tergo ratis terror ac fuga iniceretur. Nec ea culpa, quam arguo, omnium Albanorum est: ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego inde agmen declinare voluisset, fecissetis. Mettius ille est dux et itineris huius, Mettius idem huius machinator bellii, Mettius foederis

3. centurionibus, etc.: explanatory of the suddenness of the proceeding.

4. fuit quod, you had reason to; literally, there was anything for which; quod was originally a cognate accusative; cf. est quod gaudias, and Gr. 238. b. — ipsorum: see Gr. 197 e. — id proelium fuit, it was in that battle; literally, it (referring to quod above) was that battle. — dimicatio: the full construction would be, dimicatum est dimicatione, etc., quae dimicatio, etc.; cf. Gr. 201. d.

5. ne ... teneat: depending on the idea of saying not expressed; see Gr. 317. c. — consilium, etc.: i.e. a pretence purposely made.

6. nec, and yet ... not, as often. — ea culpa quam, etc.: i.e. the fault in the charge which I make. — et, too, as often. — inde: i.e. from the place where you were. — agmen declinare, to turn your line of march.

— ille: i.e. the one indefinitely referred to in ducem. — ruptor: do not mistake the position of this word as emphatic. The thought is, they have not acted without a leader; that leader is Mettius, the same Mettius who was this war's
Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam documentum mortalibus dedero.'

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

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

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

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

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


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

violable. — ancipitem, divided. — passim, in different directions; corresponding to ancipitem.

10. quadrigis, four-horse teams, including chariot and horses.

11. foeditate: the Latin likes to concentrate the quality, which might be expressed by an adjective, into an abstract, thus making it the main thing, as here. — exempli, of a kind, or character. — parum memoris, regardless. — humanarum, of humanity; here as opposed to ferus or immannis (savage or brutal). — in aliis, in other cases. — nulli, etc.: as regards their own citizens, this was undoubtedly true, though at bottom their humanity was not superior to their neighbors'.

THE DEPORTATION OF THE ALBANS.

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

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

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

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

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

tion as indirect; see Gr. 334. b. — difficile, etc., at a loss what to do; their own sense failed them, and so they wildly inquired of each other. — ultimum illud, this the last time (take this last look). This construction illustrates the origin of the adverbial accusative, as a kind of cognate object of the verb of the clause. Cf. Gr. 238. a, b; 240. a-g.

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

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

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

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

WAR WITH THE SABINES.

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


habitaretur: see Gr. 317. b. — eam: see Gr. 195. d. He went there to make it a fashionable region.

2. Tullios, etc.: i.e. these are families that were supposed later to be of Alban descent and of patrician rank. — templum: properly, a spot consecrated by augury. Here equivalent to an adjective, a consecrated.

— ordini: i.e. the senate. — Hostilia: the Curia Hostilia was burned in 52 B.C., and again rebuilt, destroyed again by Caesar, and restored by Augustus under the name Curia Julia.

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

4. hac fiducia: i.e. with the confidence produced by this (addition); a common use of pronouns. — virium: Gr. 217.

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. pugna...constare, the
battle-line be maintained.—fuga
(nom.) explicari, be opened out in
flight (changing the construction
in English).
81 Devictis Sabinis, cum in magna gloria magnisque
opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntia-
tum regi patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus
pluvisse. Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visen-
dum prodigium in conspectu haud aliter quam cum gran-
dinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere
ciaelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex
summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani face-
rent, quae, velut diis quoque simul. cum patria relictis,
oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant
aut fortunae, ut init, obirati cultum reliquerant deum.

Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum
publice susceptum est, seu voce caelesti ex Albano
monte missa — nam id quoque traditur — seu haruspi-
cum monitu; mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque

ILL OMENS, AND SUCCEEDING
DEATH OF TULLUS.

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

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

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

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

Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Vnde 5
cum pigritia militandi oraretur, nulla tamen ab armis
quies dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente
militiae quam domi iuvenum corpora esse, donec ipse
quoque longinquo morbo est implicatus. Tunc adeo 6
fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroce, ut, qui
nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere
animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus
obnoxius degeret religionibusque etiam popu-

lum impleret. Vulgo iam homines, eum statum rerum 7
qui sub Numa rege fuerat requirentes, unam opem
aegris corporibus relictam si pax veniaque ab diis impe-
trata esset credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem 8
commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam occulta sollem-

reason was, the holiday was established and continued. — quando-
que: as in early Latin for quan-
documque.

5. laboratum est, they suffered; literally, 'there was trouble.' This
is the point to which the account thus far has been leading up, for this
was the calamity to which the prodigies pointed. — pigritia: the con-

dition of their health made them little disposed for the hardships of
war. — longinquo, lingering; here
of time.

6. tunc adeo, then at last; used like tum vero (29. 4 n.), as is seen
by the emphasis on fracti. — illi: nom. — feroce, proud, as despis-
ing, from overweening confidence in himself, the warnings of the
gods. — qui ratus esset, the man who,
etc.; characteristic subj. — obnox-
ius, subject to. — degeret: se vitam.
— religionibus: including the prac-
tical worship as well as the state of

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

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

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

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

from the gods the secrets of their worship, making them show what sacrifices would appease them; cf. 20. 7. — sacrifcia: the word may be retained, though doubted by some, as forming one idea with sollemnia. — operatum, engaged; a technical word for religious proceedings; see Gr. 291. b. — sacrvis: dative; cf. dare operam. — initum aut curatum: i.e. some error occurred at the beginning or in the progress of the rite, which consequently did not have the desired effect, and no vision was vouchsafed him. — speciem, etc.: this shows that the rite was a sort of incantation to force the gods (like ghosts) to appear, — a curious phase of religion. — ira, on account of the wrath; cf. fulmine, below. — sollicitati: referring to the endeavor to call out the apparition. — prava: i.e. the rite being wrongly performed only irritated the god, without having power to force him. — fulmine, by means of, etc. Notice the two ablatives in different relations with the same verb.

CHOICE OF ANCUS MARCIUS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo—lanae velamen est—'Audi, Iuppiter' inquit, 'audite, fines'—cuiuscumque gentis sunt, nominat—'audiat fas! Ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani, iuste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit.' Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Iovem testem facit: 'Si ego inustae impieque illos homines illasque

cuiuscumque, etc.: i.e. he adds Latini or Latinorum, for instance, to fill out the blank here left.—fas: divine justice personified.—iuste: in accordance with recognized precedent; pie: with due reverence to the gods. The whole expression indicates that all the proceedings are regular.—legatus: in its proper original sense.—fides: i.e. that he rightly represents his nation, who sent him, and is not an unauthorized person.

7 peragit, etc.: this has already been done in the rerum repetitio, but is now formally done again, as it were, to give a last chance to the enemy to comply, and formally to record the cause of war. The whole proceeding is called clarigatio, apparently the making plain the cause, so that there should be no room for question afterwards.—injuste impieque: apparently referring to his authority, as iuste pieque, above.—homines: the individuals charged with wrong-doing. According to ancient notions, if these were given up, the state was not responsible; otherwise the state made their action its own.—res: usually the cause of war was some predatory in-
res dedier mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me numquam siris esse.' Haec cum fines suprascandit, haec quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis peragit. Si non deduntur quos exposit, diebus tribus et triginta—tot enim sollemnes sunt—peractis bellum ita indicit: 'Audi, Iuppiter, et tu, Iuno, Quirine, diique omnes caelestes, vosque terrestres vosque inferni audite! Ego vos testor populum'—illum quicumque est nominat—'iniustum esse neque ius persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria maiores natu consulemus quo pacto ius nostrum adipiscamur.' Cum iis nuntius Romam ad consulum redit. Confestim rex his ferme verbis patres consulebat: 'Quarum rerum litium causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Lati-

cursion. Later, any form of satisfaction was expressed by res. — dedier: archaic use of the infinitive after verbs of asking. — compotem: a false sweerer would be excommunicated, as it were, and cease to be a citizen. — siris: archaic shorter form for siveris. The perfect subj. is very common in such phrases, especially with negatives.

8. quicumque: sc. apud eum. — carminis: cf. 26. 6 n. — concipiendi: an antique use of the gerundive, apparently retaining something of its simple present passive participle sense, as in iurandi following. It refers to the set form of oath, as in conceptis verbis.

9. sollemnes, regular, i.e. prescribed by the ritual. — indicet: this is the religious declaration of war, in accordance with a previous vote of the people; the real one is made by the senate, as in 12.

10. ius persolvere: i.e. perform its just obligations in making reparation. — sed: but I will not decide, I will consult at home. — maiores natu: i.e. the senate; originally a counsel of elders. — pacto, manner, as regularly in colloquial language. — adipiscamur: see Gr. 334. b. — cum iis, with these words.

II. quarum: sc. de eis with censes. Cf. Gr. 300. — rerum, etc.: genitive after condixit, in an antiquated, uncertain construction, apparently analogous to the genitive of crime and penalty. — rerum: i.e. quae repetuntur; litium, matters in dispute; causarum: used, as in later times, of the subject of dispute more abstractly, just as we say 'the cause of the poor.' — condixit, conferred, but with the idea of a formal demand, as in the civil law the same word is used of the plaintiff. — pater patratus: cf.
norum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari solvi fieri oportuit, dic,' inquit ei quem primum sententiam rogabat 'quid censes?' Tum ille 'Puro pioque duello quae rendas censeo itaque consentio consciscoque.' Inde ordine alii rogabantur quandoque pars maior eorum qui aderant in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum, ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praestam ad fines eorum ferret et, non minus tribus puberibus praesentibus, dicet 'Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit esse senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit consensit conscivit ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populus Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indicco facioque.' Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines

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

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

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

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

Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini; ea causa diruendae urbis eius fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremo omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto varia victoria pugnatum est; nam et urbs tuta munitionibus praesidioque firmata valido erat et castris in aperto positis aliquotiens exercitus Latinus comminutus cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copiis consus Ancus acie primum vincit, inde ingenti praeda potens Romam redit, tum quoque multis milibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis, quibus, ut iungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciae datae sedes.

Conduct of the War.

38. demandata: cf. 20. 1. — Politorium, etc.: all these Latin towns disappeared very early.

2. circa: properly 'on both sides of,' but here as much as besides, because the Palatium is excluded by the description from the later enumeration.


5. acie vincit: opposed to urbes capit, implied in praeda, etc. — potens, enriched; a poetic term. — tum quoque: as well as in the last campaign. — iungeretur: i.e. that the valley between might be settled continuously. — Murciae:
6 Ianiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, coniungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fieren, carcer ad terrem increcentis audaciae media urbe imminens foro aedificatur.

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

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

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

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

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

8. discrimine, etc.: i.e. the distinction between right and wrong. — recte an perperam, etc.: a curious mixture of noun and verb, brought about by compression of a proleptic construction, discrimen facti, utrum recte an perperam factum esset. — carcer: the building, the Tullianum, still standing over the forum, originally apparently built over a spring, but afterwards used as a prison. — audaciae, lawlessness, reckless breaking of laws.

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

The Coming of the Tarquins.

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

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

3. Egerio: as if from ego.

4. iam: i.e. without the additional stimulus of a high-born wife. — animos, pride: a common meaning for the plural. — auxit, had this increased by, etc., changing the construction. — ductâ... Tanaquil: Intro. 9. e. — Tanaquil: apparently not a proper name in Etruscan, but a title like Lucumo; a fact which agrees with the legendary character of the whole story. — et quae: i.e. not only did the fact of the marriage act upon the mind of Lucumo, but the ambition of the woman herself was calculated to excite him. — sineret: characteristic subjunctive, not in its fully developed use, but nearer to the origin of the construction in apodosis; cf. Gr. 319, headnote. — quo, into which; see Gr. 201. f. — innupsisset: partaking of the character of sineret, and hence agreeing with it in mood (Gr. 342); cf. nata erat, which does not partake of this character.

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

7 Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam. Ad Ianiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leniter alis pilleum auffert, superque carpentum cum magno clangore voluntis rursus, velut ministerio divinitus missa, capiti apte reponit, adjective nature of the characteristic subjunctive clause. — materna: i.e. and therefore he had no special love for that city. — esset: attracted by the predicate patria; see Gr. 204. b.

8. Ianiculum: coming from the Etruscan side to cross by the pons sublicius (see 33. 6). — carpento: a covered travelling wagon. Probably this is mentioned in the story to give greater probability to the supposed divine interposition. The ablative without in, as in poetry. — suspensis, etc.: i.e. not by a sudden swoop, as of a predatory bird, but deliberately as a divine messenger. The order is artificial. — pilleum: the felt cap often worn by travellers. It is sometimes confounded with the pelasus, or felt hat, and may possibly be so here, as the latter was more commonly used by travellers. — clangore: probably of the noise of his wings, but possibly of screaming also. — ministerio: dative of purpose, belonging rather to the earlier language and poetry. Cf. Gr. 233. — sublimis: see Gr. 191.

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

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

7. cupido . . . cui esset: notice the parallelism of the phrase and the clause, a good illustration of the
inde sublimis abit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur 9 Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, caelestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare complexa virum iubet: eam alitem, ea regione caeli, et eius dei nuntiam venisse, circa summum culmen hominis auspicium fecisse, levasse humano superpositum capiti decus ut divinitus eidem redderet.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ELECTION AND REIGN OF TARQUIN.

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

2. tempus: set for the comitia. — petisse ambitiose: to have canvassed (electioneered), as candidates in later times. The whole story, as it lies in Livy’s mind, is derived from the later republic, when the commons were all-powerful. — orationem: in a contio, when candidates used to present their claims. — conciliandos: cf. Aen. VI. 816.

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

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

rum, a stranger to, etc.—peten-
tem: sc. regnum.—ultra acci-
tum, had been actually called in.
As Numa had not sought the throne,
it was more than could be expected
that he should have it.

4. ex quo: sc. tempore.—sui
potens, his own master, freed from
a guardian.

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

6. haec: with a change of the
form of the sentence, as if memo-
raret had already been used.—
populus: with a confusion of ideas
between the plebs (2) and the proper
populus Romanus, the official body
ofburghers.—iussit: the techni-
cal term for a vote (cf. 22. 1).—
ergo, accordingly, as he had been
elected by the lower orders.—
cetera: see Gr. 240. 6.—ambitio:
alluding to his popular measures in
favor of the lower orders.—nec
minus, etc.: i.e. he had two mo-
tives, one to strengthen his party,
and the other to strengthen the
government by adding to its great
council.—minorum, etc.: this dis-
tinction between senators remained,
but it was only a nominal one, with
no difference of privileges. The most
various accounts are given of the
precise change made by Tarquin,
and apparently all authentic infor-
mation on the early constitution
had been lost long before Livy’s
time.—factio, a party, in opposi-
tion to the older families in the
senate. — haud dubia, sure to
be.
quanta belli fama fuerat revecta ludos opulentius inst\duc\usque quam priores reges fecit. Tunc primum circo, qui nunc Maximus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent, fori appellati. Spectavere furcis duodenos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrium fuit equi pugilesque, ex Etruria maxime acciti. Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca, porticus tabernaeque factae. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, cum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita res fuit ut prius Anienem transirent hostes quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romae est. Et primo dubia victoria magna utrimque caede pugnatum est; reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum, Tarquiniius, equitem maxime suis

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

8. designatus: i.e. then first the valley beyond the Palatine was appointed for the games, which afterwards became the regular place. — spectacula: here seats, or grandstands, each order erecting its own. — facerent: see Gr. 205. c. 2. — fori: the name refers to the passages between, rather than the localities themselves. — appellati: see Gr. 204. b.

9. spectavere, the spectators sat. — furcis, etc., with props, etc. — ludicrium, the exhibition. — sollemnes, regular, stated.

10. et: i.e. as well as the arrangements of the Circus Maximus. — aedificanda: see Gr. 204. d. — porticus: these were arcades, in which the business and outdoor intercourse of the Romans regularly took place. They were always a favorite form of decoration for cities. — tabernae: simple booths or shops for retail wares, such as are still found in many cities of Europe. As the remains appear in Pompeii, they are little stalls not larger than a market-stall, with the front entirely open, having a counter flush with the street, accessible to persons on the sidewalks.

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


2. *quaes centurias*: see 13. 8. — *suus*: as the others had been named from Romulus and Tatius.

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

4. *eludens, scoffing at*, by means of the problem which he sets. — *artem*: *i.e.* of augury. — *divine, seeer*. The emphasis gives a force something like, ‘Come, you are such a great soothsayer, determine,’ etc. — *inaugura, determine by augury*. — *in, in the process of*, and so by means of. — *atqui, now*, with an adversative shade, inasmuch as Tarquin conceives the thing as impos-

sible. — *animi*: not different from *mente*, except that there is a slight idea of intention in *agitavi*, while the other expression only refers to the thing imagined, as a present idea. — *novacula*: the first barbers are said by Varro (Plin. *N. H.* VII. 59) to have come to Rome from Sicily in 300 B.C., and this is the only mention of razors prior to that time; but they have been found in graves, and were no doubt known, though not generally used. — *haec*: the razor and whetstone, which he hands him. — *aves tuae*: scornfully. — *haud cunctanter*: *i.e.* without making any question or excuse, indicating his faith in his art.

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

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

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

War with the Sabines.

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

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

tem: a predicate participle, ‘which they had first set on fire.’ — impacta: against the piles. — in ratis: i.e. in masses. — pontem: the bridge over the Anio, over which the Sabines must cross to get home again.
2. quoque: as well as the increased strength of the Romans. — effusis: opposed to in pugna. — eadem (sc. res): the same cause. — arma: so far as they were not of metal. — cognita, recognized. — insignem, etc.: gave sure signs of the victory.
3. suorum: the use of the reflexive gives the situation as it presented itself to the minds of the cavalry. — sisterent: in its causative sense, stayed; cf. 12. 5. — cedentibus, on the yielding Romans.
4. et, and in fact. — pauci, a few (though but few).
5. praeda: what was valuable; spoliis: arms and the like. — id: i.e. the burning of the spoils. — votum: perhaps on the occasion of burning the bridge.
6. gesturos: sc. se; for the emphatic position, see Gr. 344. d. 3. — quia consulendi, etc.: i.e. if they had had time, they might have determined to make peace without fighting farther. — tumultuario milite: with an unorganized militia, such as was called together upon a sudden

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

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

FORMULA OF SURRENDER; WAR AGAINST THE LATINS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

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

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

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

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

3. in secretum, in private; the regular word for a private interview. — viden: the regular colloquial form of videsne; cf. do not and don't in English. — inquit: this sudden change from indirect to direct discourse is common in all periods of the language, either with or without the verb of saying. — humili: in reference to his position as a slave. — scire licet, it is clear; cf. scilicet, which is often, though not regularly, used in the same sense. — lumen: in allusion to the phenomenon; cf. for the figure, lucem adferre rei publicae, Cic. Manil. 12. 33. — hunc (regularly hoc, Gr. 195. d): here equivalent to hunc puerum. — quondam, at some time; cf. Aen. VI. 876, and the common use of olim. — regiae, the royal house. — proinde: cf. 9. 4 n. — publice: see Gr. 207. d. This use becomes more and more frequent in later writers.

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

Hic quacumque de causa tantus illi honos habitus 5 
credere prohibet serva natum eum parvumque ipsum 
servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum qui, Corniculo 
capto, Servi Tulli, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gra-
vidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas 
cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana 
prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romae edidisse Prisci 
Tarquini domo. Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres 6 
familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo 
eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam ma-
tris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut 
serva natus crederetur fecisse.

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

or respect. — filiamque, and accord-
ingly, etc.

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

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

MURDER OF TARQUIN.

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

3. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et inuiiriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat, et, quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus, tum Servio occiso quemcumque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem facturus videbatur, ob haec ipsi regi
insidia parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferociissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt. Inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter alteri obstrepere. Coerciti ab lictore et iussi invicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt, unus rem ex composito orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in vulnerere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.

Tarquiniun moribundum cum qui circa erant exce-41 pissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi mirantium quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eiecit; simul quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset, sedulo comparat, simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur.

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

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

—appellarent: each one appealed to the king for justice.—vocati: the king heard them and called them in.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. trabea: a robe, worn by the early kings, and preserved in the garb of the augurs and Salii, and of the equites and consuls on special occasions. It was certainly variegated in color, probably by purple and white stripes (trabes). — lictoribus: cf. 8. 2. — sede regia: Livy has in his mind the sella curulis, which was certainly later one of the insignia of supreme power, but perhaps not in early times. — alia . . . alis: i.e. different questions that were brought before him. — simulat: thus keeping up the pretence that he was acting as a substitute for the king. — celata: accompanying (not preceding) the main action (firmavit); a use of the perfect participle that grows more and more common, but is on the whole rare except in some deponents (Gr. 290. b). — alienae: see Gr. 214. a. 2. — vicis: cf. regiae vicis, 20. 2. — suas: opposed to alienae. — tum demum: i.e. not till after he had secured his power, as set forth. — praesidio, body-guard. — iniussu, not elected; cf. 17. 10. — voluntate, the acquiescence, as opposed to their formal approval (autoritate).

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

WARS AND INSTITUTIONS OF SERVIUS.

42. publicis, etc.: i.e. his official acts; privatiss: i.e. his proceedings in his domestic affairs, mentioned in the following sentence. — Anci liberum: cf. 40. 2.
esset, duas filias iuvenibus regis Lucio atque Arrunti
Tarquiniis iungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem
humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domes-
ticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportune
ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus—
iam enim indutiae exierant—aliisque Etruscis sump-
tum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enuit Tulli,
fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu haud dubius rex, seu
patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit.

Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut,
 quemadmodum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisse, ita
Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordi-
numque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaerique
aliquid interlucet, posteri fama ferrent. Censum enim
instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo
belli pacisque munia non viritum ut ante, sed pro habitu

2. nec rupit, etc.: a short-hand
way of saying, ‘and yet he did not
succeed (for it is impossible to
change the course of destiny by
human counsels) in preventing,’
etc. — invidia regni, the envious
desire for the regal power. — domes-
ticos, his own family, but with the
same general reference that is seen
in the preceding sentence. — prae-
sentis: referring to the hint of
discord above, ‘though trouble was
brewing, yet for the moment,’ etc.
— indutiae: cf. 30. 7. — exierant:
the sacred character of ancient com-
pacts caused peoples to set a defi-
nite limit to treaties, in order to
provide for contingencies. In mod-
ern times nations are rarely so par-
ticular.

3. enuit, were conspicuous (see
Gr. 205. d). — haud dubius rex: i.e. haud dubie futurus rex; see
Gr. 203. b. 3, and 304. c. — pericli-
taretur, if he had made a trial
(by offering himself for election).

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

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

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

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

THE SERVIAN ARMY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. sex alias, etc.: these were, no doubt, the original equites, which Servius did not venture to disturb. They were always distinguished afterwards as the sex suffragia. — tribus, etc.: ablative absolute. — isdem: the names had a religious character and could not be disturbed. The centuries were called priores, posteriores, with the original designation; cf. 36.8. — nominibus: see 13. 8. — dena milia: the aes equestre, whence the knights were called equites equo publico. — ex publico: i.e. from the treasury. — quibus: loosely construed with bina milia. — viduae: unmarried women of fortune, who thus paid their share of the common burdens. — bina milia: the aes hor-
aeris in annos singulos pendent. Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera.

Deinde est honos additus: non enim, ut ab. Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim suffragium cadem vi eodemque iure promisce omnibus datum est, sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset.

Equites enim vocabantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae primum peditum vocabantur; ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut secundae classis vocarentur, nec fere umquam infra ita descenderent ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero centuriiis iuniorum seniorumque,

dearium. — haec omnia: all the arrangements of the constitution in regard to military service, which bore harder on the rich, from the expense of arms and horses, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Review and Lustration.

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

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

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

3. ad, in accordance with; a characteristic loose use of the preposition. —urbs quoque: as the population had been. —addit: sc. Servius. —duos colles, etc.: increasing the city towards the north, on the other side of the Forum. The two hills are two projecting ridges of the high plateau of the Esquiline.—Quirinalem: this can hardly be true, for on this hill are some of the very oldest monuments of the city, and it is said by other authorities to have been the abode of the Sabines from the time of Romulus.—inde, then, of time; deinceps, next, of succession. —auget Esquiliis: by increasing the population, as it was no doubt inhabited before. The derivation of the word (ex-colo) seems to imply that the hill was a suburb which Servius now adds to the city proper.—habitat: cf. 41.

4. —aggere, etc.: these fortifications have been traced for almost their entire length. The most prominent part of them is the great embankment, some portions of which still exist, on the east side, where the city is most exposed. It was a bank 21 feet high, faced with stone, originally surrounded by a ditch, as was probably the rest of the fortification. The wall of Tarquinius Priscus (36. 1, 38. 6) was either not finished or not large enough. —ita: in reference to the increase of the interior implied in circumdat urbem. —pomerium: originally a space left vacant inside (and so behind) the walls to facilitate defensive operations. After cities began to develop suburbs, the same usage would continue in regard to the outside, and this part of the space came, from religious considerations, to be the most important part. Hence the necessity of Livy's explanation. Cf. Gellius XIII. 14, pomerium est locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certis determinatus, qui faciit fnem urbani auspicii. In later times the limit of this space was held sacred, and only such
solam intuentes postmoerium interpretantur esse; est autem magis circamoerium, locus quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducti erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri ali- quid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellantur, et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

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

rulers as had increased the bounds of the empire could enlarge it.

vil

4. vim solam, merely the literal meaning. — postmoerium: i.e. post moeros, old form of muros. — locus quem: instead of the regular quem locum (Gr. 201. d), because locus expresses not a mere reference, but an explanatory ap- positive idea: ‘that is to say, a space,’ etc. — moenibus: dative; a poetic construction; cf. Gr. 220. c. — continuarentur, should be ex- tended to, border upon; coniun- gunt, attach to; a closer contact than the other, hence etiam. — puri: not merely free from, but uncontaminated by. — ab: an ar- chaic construction instead of the simple ablative.

Union of Rome and Latium.

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

2. communiter: such common sanctuaries were at once the mon- ument, the pledge, and the bond of ancient political unions, as in this case of the twelve Ionic cities of Asia Minor. The example Servius astutely turns to the aggrandize- ment of Rome. — consensum: the agreement and harmony of the cities. — deos consociatos: what we
Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria ianxerat. Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem ut Romae fanum Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certatu fuerat.

Id quamquam omissum iam ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infeliciiter temptatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familieae dicitur miranda magnitudine ac specie. Fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est, et cecinere vates, cuius civitatis eam

should express by 'religious union' or 'united worship.'—publice, etc.: in the absence of organized international relations in ancient times, their place was supplied by special treaties of hospitium, i.e. a relation under which citizens of a state (publice), or individuals with their families (privatim), were guaranteed friendly reception, protection, and comity generally within the territories or at the houses of foreigners. This relation differed from amicitia, in that it did not imply any personal friendship. The words may be translated by official and personal friendships. —Romae: opposed to Ephesus.

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

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

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

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

---cecinere: cf. 7. 10, and Virgil
passim. — cuius: its antecedent is
concealed in ibi. — immolasset:
for future perfect of the direct
discourse (school-boy lore, but very
hard to learn). — ibi: i.e. in ea
civitate); cf. 24. 2.

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

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

Hic L. Tarquinius—Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim—fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tarquiniun, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dicturn est, duae Tulliae, regis filiae, nupserant, et ipsae... uxore, etc., and having in his house his wife Tullia to stimulate, etc.

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

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

5. ante: see 42. i.—et ipsae, who were likewise.—ne... iungentur: the proper result clause after inciderat is changed into a
longe dispare moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungentur, fortuna credo populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset constituique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tul- lia nihil materiae in vire neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spenere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudio eos, ut fere fit malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuæfacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de vire ad fra'trem, de sorore ad virum, et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere quam cum impari iungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum quo digna esset dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adulescentem suae temeritatis implet. Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis...
funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio quam approbante.

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

47. tum vero: the important moment of the narrative, as usual. — ne gratuita: not merely her own purpose, but the thought she urges upon her husband.

2. dicetur: i.e. so called without really being such; she had had that before. — serviret: not to her husband, but to the ruling monarch.

3. istic, in you, whom I have now married.

4. quin accingeris: cf. quin perfunderis, 45. 6. — tibi: opposed to patri. — penates patrique: not different divinities, but the same in two relations as protecting the household and inherited from his ancestors. — imago: as one of the insignia of nobility; cf. 34. 6. — regia: he is thought of as still living in the house of his ancestors, who were once kings.

5. ad haec: i.e. the endeavor to regain the regal power. — frustraris: i.e. by remaining here you excite the hopes of those who wish to be freed from the rule of Servius, but these hopes you disappoint. — regum, princely. — facesse, take yourself off; a colloquial word, used like proficisci. — devolvere (a middle use; cf. perfunderis, 45. 6), sink back; strictly of rolling down a declivity. 
quam patris. His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the strange and marvellous occurrence.

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

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

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

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


— filium: in apposition with se, taking the place of a new statement in the indirect discourse. — per licentiam: cf. per spectem, 3. II n. — eludentem: properly, making sport of something (cf.
naturum qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate iam 3 etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus deiecit; inde ad cogendum senatum in curiam relict. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum; ipse prope exsanguis, cum semianimis regio comitatu domum se recuperet pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ab iis qui missi ab Tarquino fugientem consecutis erant interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum, evocavit virum e curia regemque prima appellavit. A quo fessere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum recuperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Vrbium clivum, ut in collem Esquiliarium eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum 7

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos

49. regnare: an extension of the complementary infinitive; cf. 7. 6 n. — Superbo (see Gr. 231. 8): the order gives a force like, 'who received the name, etc., a name given him on account of his acts.' The word indicates an arrogant disregard of others' rights. — quia, in that. — socerem gener: the Latin likes to bring out ideas sharply by such antitheses, where we should omit the appositive. — sepultura: see Gr. 243. a.

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

3. ad, in respect to; properly, in the direction of. — vim: i.e. the violent usurpation of power, which, though having no element of right, properly speaking, yet made him a king de facto, and so ostensibly entitled to rule. — ut qui: see Gr. 320. e. N. 1.

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

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

6. praecipue ita, by this means more than any other.
in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo
7 esset minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim
regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus
senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem pub-
licam administravit, bellum pacem foedera societates
per se ipse cum quibus voluit iniussu populi ac senatus
fecit diremitque.
8 Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut pere-
grinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset, neque hos-
pitia modo cum primoribus eorum, sed adfinitates quoque
iungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano—is longe prin-
ceps Latin nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Vlixe
deaque Circa oriundus—, ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat
perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque eius
conciliat.

50 Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum pro-
ceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae
convenient indicit; esse quae agere de rebus communi-
bus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce. Ipse
Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam
sol occideret venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis
iactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia

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

MURMURINGS AGAINST THE
TYRANNY.

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

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

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

Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinosusque homo iisque artibus opes domi nactus cum

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

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

— apparere: see Gr. 338.

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. *id, with that;* obj. of tulisse. — tulisse, etc., *he (i.e. Tarquin) got off without reproach;* a colloquial use of ferre, as in the comedy. — dixisse: *i.e. Turnus, with the Livian careless change of subject.* — cognitionem: cf. 49. 4. — quam inter, etc., *than that between,* etc., in accordance with the English idiom. — verbis: *i.e. the following, which would be the judgment.* — pareat: cf. audiant in 6. — habiturum infortunium: a pregnant expression like the English 'come to grief'; cf. malum habere. *The patria potestas was unlimited.*

RUIN AND DEATH OF TURNUS.

51. quam videbatur, *than he showed.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius con-
laudatisque qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto

parricidio merita poena adfecissent, īta verba fecit: posse
queādem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini
ab Alba oriundi sint, in eo foedere teneantur quo ab
Tullo res omnis Albana cum coloniis suis in Romanum
cesserit imperium; ceterum se utilitatis id magis om-
nium causa censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque
potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruan-
tur quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas

8. abditi: by the agents of Tar-

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

9. in medio positis: i.e. brought
into the assembly and displayed. —
indicta causa: i.e. without allow-
ing him to plead his cause, without
trial; see 52. 5 n. — novo: this was
not in use among the Romans, but
was not unknown to other nations; cf. Tac. Ger. 12.

Further Subjection of the

Latins.

52. revocatis: i.e. from the

summary punishment of Turnus.

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

2. posse quidem, etc.: notice
the emphasis, 'I might (said he) . . .
but. — agere: i.e. proceed as if
Rome had the imperium over all
the Latins. — oriundi: and hence
as colonies subject to the treaties
of the mother country Alba. — ab
Tullo, from the time of, etc.

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

Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo 4 foedere superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant et Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indictumque 5 iunioribus Latinorum ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad 6 edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

Nec, ut inustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; 58 quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum

4. quamquam, etc.: i.e. though they saw it would be an unequal alliance, yet the reasons given determined them. — adversatus esset: in a kind of indirect discourse (following the idea of warning in documentum) for a future perfect of the direct. For the apodosis, see Gr. 341. 2.

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

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

WAR WITH THE VOLSCI AND WITH GABIL.

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

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

292. a. The noun which would agree with the participle disappears,
because the verb is used impersonally in the passive: 'the fact that he was degenerate,' etc. The con-
struction is founded deep in the genius of the language, but does
not come to the surface generally till after Cicero. — aliis: cf. omni-
bus, 45. 1 n. — huic quoque, etc.: other fine points were not strictly
cast into the shade (officisset),

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

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

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

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

Cum, si nihil morarentur, insensus ira porro inde abi- rubble for the lowest base. — operibus: public buildings and the like. 6. iam: i.e. he had got to that point; a common use of the word. — vertisse: sc. his father. — liberorum quoque: as he had before of the senate, etc. — ut, ne, ne: depending on the general idea of killing implied in the preceding.

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. sibi: see Gr. 344. l.

PLOT OF Sextus AND Capture OF Gabii.

54. in consilia publica: used particularly of the senate, which is often called the publicum consilium.

—adhiberi: historical infinitive.

—aliis: other than the relations with Rome.

—adsentire: older form instead of adseriri.

—veteribus: as opposed to himself, a new-comer.

identidem: i.e. as occasion offered.

—esse: hist. inf. —nosset, sciret: notice the difference in meaning and use. —regiam, of the king.

2. rebellandum: in its proper sense of renewing the war. —praedatum: in consequence of its original nature as an accusative, the supine is constantly co-ordinated with a noun and preposition, as here. —vana, false and idle.

3. multitudine: the civilians, through whose influence his fame at home increased (certatim credere). —quid ageretur: i.e. what Sextus was about. —proelia, etc.: i.e. their success made the Gabini think Sextus a leader sent from heaven.
nium dono deum sibi missum ducem credere. Apud milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, prae
dam munifice largiendo, tanta caritate esse ut non pater Tar
quiniius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiiis esset.

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

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

5. videbat: for mood, see Gr.
324. a.— unum: hardly differing
here from quendam. — sciscita
tum, etc.: see Gr. 259. h.— ei: one
would expect sibi representing a
mihi in the words of Sextus. It
is probably put into this form to
avoid the apparent arrogance of
mihi. Too much boasting was an-
ciently supposed to draw down the
anger of the gods.

6. voce, in words.

7. ut re imperfecta: cf. ut re con
fecta, Cæs. B. C. II. 13. 2.

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

9. patuit: i.e. they were allowed
c; translate with fuga, voluntary
fuga aut in exsilium acti sunt; absentiumque bona iuxta \[10\] atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largitiones inde praedaeque et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum traditur.

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

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

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

**Improvements in the City.**

55. receptis: cf. refecisset, 53. 3 and note. — ut: depending on negotium (supplied with primum). Livy has in his mind the effort and plan(cf. animum convertit); hence an object clause is natural. — Iovis: there were chapels (as it were) also to Juno and Minerva, but only as associated with Jupiter. — Tarquinios, etc.: the facts of which the temple would be a memorial. — reges: put in, like a later Roman’s titles, as a distinction.

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

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

selves to work. Ordinarily their divine powers would lie dormant unless called forth by some special occasion, but here they made an extraordinary effort. — omnium: *i.e.* all the others. — **admitterent:** *i.e.* by the signs given in the auspices. — **Termini:** the god of boundaries, worshipped in the form of a stone.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

first sum would be 3200 pounds, as against 40,000. The discrepancy has been explained by supposing Fabius to have counted only the king's tenth (40) of the 400 talents, and that these talents were reckoned by Piso as 100 pounds each. This seems less likely than that it is a natural later exaggeration made at a time when the small sum had come to seem insignificant. — summam: in apposition with milia. — exsuperaturam: Gr. 293. 6.

FURTHER BUILDING. VISIT TO DELPHI.

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

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

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

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

5. Delphos: as a higher authority.

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

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

8. factus, forming himself. — se: referring to animo, as explained above. — sua: referring to fortuna. — Bruti, the Dullard. For the case, see Gr. 214. f.— ille . . .
populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua. 9 Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium veriusquam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages ef-figiem ingenii sui.

10 Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis patris mandatis, cupidio incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi ad quem eorum regnum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem reditam ferunt: 'Imperium summum Romae habebit qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri tulerit.'


57 Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione atque in ea aetate, divitiis praepollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum, tum praedae delenire popu-larium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbiam regno

**animus, that great soul.** _In_ Latin the soul is not identified with the man so much as in English, but nearly the same effect is produced.

9. _ludibrium, a butt._ — _per ambages:_ cf. 54. 8 and 55. 6._ effigiem, a symbol, or emblem, as we should call it; the Latin is more simple and direct.

10. _quem:_ instead of the more regular _utrum_; cf. 6. 4. Brutus is not really included in the question, though his presence may have occasioned the use of _quem_; but he is in the answer.

11. _Sextus:_ the other brother._ expers, without a chance;_ properly, without a share.

12. _alio . . . spectare, looked in another direction;_ i.e. meant something entirely different._ scilicet, doubtless, naturally._

**THE YOUNG PRINCES IN CAMP BEFORE ARDEA.**

57. _Ardeam:_ cf. Virg. _Aen._ VII. 409._ ut in, for_; cf. 13. 1 n.
LIVY.

in the office parte

infestos etiam quod se in fabrorum ministerio et servili
tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata
res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Vbi id pa-
rum processit, obsidione muntionibusque coepti premi
hostes. In stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello,
satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis
quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium
conviviis comissionibusque inter se terebant.

Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatius

cenabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidunt de
uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis.
Inde certamine accenso Collatius negat verbis opus
esse; paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris
praestet Lucretia sua. 'Quin, si vigor iuventae inest,
conscendimus equos inviusmusque praesentes nostrarum
ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod necopinato
viri adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluëtant vino. 'Age
sane!' omnes.

Citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se
intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Col-
латium, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus,

2. praeter, to say nothing of. —
habitos, etc.: this was also an act
of superbia.
3. si: see Gr. 334. f. — obisi-
dione: cf. 53. 4.
4. stativis: i.e. the encampment
made necessary by the siege. — ut
fit, as is usual. — commentus, fur-
loughs; properly, going to and fro.
5. regii: i.e. in their case disci-
pline was even so much relaxed, etc.;
an exaggerated example of the case
of the primores. — convivis: the
banquet proper; comissionibus: the
after-revels, in which the young
men roamed about from one place
to another, carousing.

6. potantibus: may be either
dative or ablative.
7. id quidem: with a force like
'why, that you can see for your-
selves.' — cuique: usually in the
relative clause, but here introduced
sooner for emphasis; cf. Gr. 202. e.
— spectatissimum, the surest proof;
properly, the thing proved.
8. incaluerant: and hence were
ready to adopt the wild suggestion.
— age sanc, well, come on. The
singular imperative is used collo-
quially as an interjection. The short
sentences vividly portray the swift
execution of the plan; cf. Ovid's
description, Fast. II. 733.
quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus vivērant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniiique excepti benigne, victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo in castra redeunt.

58 Paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinii inscio Collatino cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Vbi exceptus benigne ab ignaris consiliis cum post cenam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppreso, 'Tace, Lucretia' inquit; 'Sex. Tarquinii sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem.'

Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquiniius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Vbi obstinatam videbat et ne

9. convivio: i.e. they were still indulging themselves at dinner.—neste sera: indicating a greater diligence. —lanae: spinning and weaving; the regular occupations of the thrifty housewife. Cf. the epitaph of a Roman lady: domum servavit, lanam fecit. —lucubrantes: working by lamplight; a continuation of the same idea as in nocte sera.—in medio aedium: in the atrium, the great hall, not the splendid and luxurious dining-rooms like the others.

10. muliebris (Gr. 214. a. 2): one would expect certaminis to be first, but the present order is occasioned by the contrast with the men (cf. Gr. 344. f).—victor: the emphasis serves to explain comiter invitat.

11. tum quidem: as opposed to the later visit of Sextus.

THE RAPE OF Lucretia.

58. 2. circa: equivalent to a noun; Livy inelegantly uses 'around' for 'the things which are around,' a use for which the way is prepared by the use of adverbs for adjectives; cf. omnia circa, and see Gr. 188 e.

3. versare, etc., ply her with every appeal to the feminine mind;
mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur. Quo terrore cum vicissset obstinatam pudicitiam velut victrix libido, pro-perfectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore mul-ebri esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant; ita facto maturatoque opus esse, rem atrorem incidisse.


properly, turn her mind in all direc-tions to look at arguments from all sides.

4. sordido: as being committed with a man of low estate.

5. quo terrore: cf. hac fiducia, velut: because the vic-tory was not a real one. ferox, exulant: as often. — nuntium, mes-sage. facto: see Gr. 292. b.

6. nuntio, messenger.

7. satin: colloquial form for sa-tisne (Gr. 10. c and 11. b. 3). The word implies a slight doubt natural under the circumstances. — salve: sc. agis or res se habent. The omission of the verb is regular in this colloquial expression, equivalent to Does all go well? — testis: i.e. that I speak the truth. — impune: adverb, as in the phrases bene esse, male esse, and the like.

8. sibique: conditioned by the following clause.

10 'Vos' inquit 'videritis quid illi debeatur; ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero nec ulla deinde im-
pudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.' Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque.

59 Brutus illis luctu occupatis cultrum ex vulnere Lucre-
tiae extractum manantem cruore prae se tenens 'Per hunc' inquit 'castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro vosque, dixi, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro, igni, quamcumque dehinc vi possim, executu-
rum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae pas-
surum.' Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Vt praecipitum erat iurant, totique ab luctu versi in iram Brutum, iam inde ad ex-
pugnandum regnum vocantem, sequuntur ducem. Ela-
tum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt conscient-
que miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines.

Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet

10. vos videritis: her gentle answer to their consolation. She says it is for them to determine his guilt and its punishment; for her own case she decides herself, and refuses their excuses.

11. cultrum: the emphasis gives the force, 'she takes a knife which,' etc., 'and plunges it,' etc.

12. clamat, etc.: according to the regular custom; cf. 41. 6 and the death of Dido, Virg. Aen. IV. 665 seq.

THE AVENGING OF Lucretia.

59. executurum: not elsewhere used in this sense with a personal object.

2. tradit: thus calling upon them to take the same oath.—unde: the idea of questioning is implied in stupentibus; 'they could not make out.'—novum: as it contradicted his whole previous character; see note on animo, 56.

7. It was not so much a change of intellect as of spirit.—ingenium: sc. esset, but see Gr. 206.
c. 2, 3d example.—toti: see Gr. 191.
—iam inde, from that moment.

3. elatum: the technical word for the carrying out of the body.—miraculo: cf. 47. 9 and also 7. 8.
—indignitate, the shameful nature.
—pro se: not merely joining in the cry, but themselves moved, each independently.

4. movet (emph.): 'what affected
cum patris maestitia tum Brutus castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum auctorque, quod viros, quod Romanos deceret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest, sequitur et cetera iuventus. Inde parte praesidio relictà Collatiae ad portas custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati, duce Bruto, Romam profecti. Vbi eo ventum est, quacumque incidit armata multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum Celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutos erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingenii, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa mor-

them was not only,' etc.—patris, etc.: the two aspects of the case are contrasted,—the passive grief of the father, and the energy (now first apparent) of Brutus.—castigator: i.e. the fact that he was so; cf. Gr. 292. a.—quod: as if there were an eius, with capiendi in apposition with it. The omission of this makes quod refer loosely to the idea in capiendi; as we might say 'adviser of what, etc., taking up arms.' It is to be remembered that this order of clauses is the original and perhaps more common one.

5. adest: an almost technical word; stands ready, joins them.—custodibus datis: apparently only a detail of the general parte relictà.

6. rursus, but on the other hand.—haud temere, not without reason; not a mere chance occurrence without significance.—quidquid sit: i.e. though they do not understand it.

7. nec minorem, etc.: i.e. after the story is told.—tribunum Celerum: commander of the bodyguard (see 15.8). He could hardly be a magistrate in the strict sense, or have any right to call the people together, but he is made so in the story, doubtless in conformity with later prejudices.

8. pectoris: here referring to intellect, as ingenii to spirit.—orbitate, the bereavement.—Tricipitini: i.e. Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
tis indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita superbia ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloacisque exhauriendas demersae: Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Servi Tulli regis memorata caedes et infecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia, invocatique uliores parentum dii. His atrocioribusque credo aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis incensam multituidinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret exsulesque esse iuberet L. Tarquinium cum coniuge ac libera.

ipse iunioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit exsecrantibus quacumque incedebat invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis, cum re nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus,

9. fossas: the smaller drains.—exhauriendas: not merely digging dry earth, but clearing out mud and filth; hence also demersae, to intensify the picture.— omnium circa: cf. circa, 58. 2 n.—opifices, etc.: these artisans were of the lowest classes, and so it was a degradation to be placed among them as compared with soldiers.

10. dii: not any particular gods, but such as might take it on themselves; cf., however, 13, where there is a slightly different conception.

11. indignitas: in the same sense as in 59. 3; but the Latin, it must be remembered, does not distinguish between indignity and indignation; here the subjective phase predominates.

12. ipse: as opposed to the newly enrolled army which he leaves behind. —ultro: i.e. as volunteers; without waiting to be summoned. —praefecto: it is almost amusing to see the care which Livy takes in that age of formality to make the proceedings entirely regular. The praefectus urbi (urbs) was the chief magistrate of the city in the absence of all magistrates with the imperium.

13. furias: cf. 48. 7 n.

THE FALL OF TARQUIN AND INSTITUTION OF CONSULS.

60. pergeret Romam: the fortunate absence of the king from the
flexit viam Brutus — senserat enim adventum —, ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore diversis itineribus Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinius clausae portae exsiliumque indictum; liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere, exacte inde liberi regis; duo patrem securi sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt; Sextus Tarquinius Gabios, tamquam in suum regnum, profectus, ab ulterioribus veterum simultatium, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque concierat, est interfectus.


camp reads like a novel, as the whole doubtless is.

3. ab condita, etc.: cf. degeneratum, 53. i. This construction is more deeply rooted in Latin than at first appears; cf. castigator, 59. 4 n, and the gerundive construction.

4. a praefecto urbis, etc.: again an effort to give a show of regularity to the proceedings; the auspices and imperium are thus continued. — ex commentariis: i.e. according to forms of election prescribed by him in his constitution.
TITI LIVI

AB VRBE CONDITA

LIBER II.

1 Liber iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regna-runt ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, numerentur. Neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tribu-

BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. liber: the emphasis marks the division of the new era from the old.—iam hinc: with peragam in grammatical construction, but its position adds to the emphasis of liber, and connects the adverbial idea more closely with the new state of things.

2. nam: introducing the suggestion of the tyranny of the last king, who alone of all did nothing which could be counted as an addition to the city. The whole is intended to show that the republic came in just at the right time; hence neque, etc.

3. pessimo publico: here pessimo as substantive is modified by publico; cf. bono publico, 44. 3. — facturus fuerit: representing fuscisset in the direct statement without quin; see Gr. 308. d. n., and cf. 337. b.

4. futurum fuit: see Gr. 308. d. — regio: see Gr. 217. a. — tribuniciis: here Livy is thinking of the later republic, when the tri-
niciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignora coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescit, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent; quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre possent.

Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annuum imperium consulare factum est, quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres: omnia iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est, ne si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videtur. Brutus prior concedente collega fasces habuit, qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat quam deinde custos fuit. Omnim primum avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regis posset, iure iurando adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum numerorum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum summam explevit. Traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent:

bunes were the agents of all popular disturbance.

6. res: i.e. the power of the state. — moderatio, the restraint, put upon the strong democracy. — frugem: the figure all along is one of vegetable and animal growth.

7. libertatis: its emphasis refers back to liberi, at the beginning: 'but of this freedom, however,' etc. — quod deminutum sit: see Gr. 321. r. — numeres: see Gr. 311. a.

8. iura: the consuls had all the power of the king. — insignia: chiefly the fases, but also including

the robes and the sella curulis. — fases: only one at a time had these symbols of the power of life and death. — vindex: properly of the formal claimant of a slave in his suit for freedom; hence here champion.

9. avidum, while jealous; i.e. in their first enthusiasm.

10. etiam: i.e. by mere numbers as well as prominence in the state. — caedibus: cf. I. 54. 8. — trecentorum: cf. I. 35. 6.

11. ut: because traditum contains the idea of a custom or law.
conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

2 Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nominis honoris aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebusumiendo modum exesserint. Consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit: nimium Tarquinios regno adsuesse. Initium a Prisco factum; regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto obitum tanquam alieni regni Superbum Tarquini velut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso Superbo penes Collatinum imperium esse. Nescire Tarquinios privatos vivere. Non placere nomen, periculum libertati esse. Hinc primo sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat neminem

—profuit, etc.: this is again conceived in the spirit of Livy’s time. For the mood, see Gr. 334. c.

Organization of the New Government and Expulsion of the Tarquins.

2. necubi, that nowhere; literally, ‘lest somewhere.’

2. ac: in allusion to the last fear expressed; ‘and in fact in this direction,’ etc.

3. aliud: see Gr. 238. b. — nomen: L. Tarquinius Collatinus. — nimium, etc.: the characteristic indirect discourse of a thought added in a narrative. — intervallo: here of time, the reign of Tullius, which broke the continuity of the Tarquin dynasty. — tanquam alieni, as belonging not to him, but to the people.

4. temptantium: of the first cautious suggestions of the malcontents to try the temper of the people. — sollicitam: i.e. their minds were disturbed by the talk as it spread, so that it became necessary to do something.

5. forer: characteristic subjunctive. — id: i.e. the oath and the principle it contained. — dicturum fuisse: see Gr. 337. b. 2. — vinceret: overcome, and so force him.
regnare passuros nec esse Romae, unde periculum libertati foret. Id summa ope tuendum esse, neque ullum rem quae eo pertineat contemnendum. Invitum se dicere hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas rei publicae vinceret. Non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem recipieratam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen non solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id officere, id obstare libertati. 'Hunc tu' inquit 'tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, eiecisti reges; absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui auctore me, sed si quid deest, munifice augebunt. Amicus abi, exonerà civitatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum.' Consuli primo tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio includerat vocem; dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumstunt, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minus: postquam Spurius Lucretius, maior aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis suadendoque coepit, ut vinci se consensus civitatis pateretur, timens consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tuit, ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent. Collegam sibi comi-

7. absolve, complete. — cum gente, etc.: i.e. so and only so.
9. movebant minus, etc., did not affect him much, but, etc. — dignitate, position, in respect to services and exploits. — agere, to ply him.
10. privato: after the expiration of his office. — alia...ignominia: in being forced to go, for instance. — Lavinium: to a friendly foreign state, rather than to the hostile Etruscans, his own people.
11. ad populum: we may suppose the comitia centuriata in spite
tiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

8 Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab Tarquiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac proditionem prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana juventute adulescentes aliquot, nec hi tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adulescentium Tarquiniorum, adsuetti more regio vivere. Eam tum aequato iure omnium licentiam quaerentes libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquirebantur: regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius, ubi iniuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse, inter amicum atque inimicum discriminem nosse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti, nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum exesseris; per

of the separate mention of it in the next line. Such carelessness is not strange in our author.

**Plots of the Tarquins.**

8. cum, etc.: opposed to the clause id . . . fuit. — quidem: correlative with ceterum, opposing the delay of the war with the Tarquins to the earlier intestine troubles. — non timebant: opposed to haud . . . in dubio esset.

2. nec, and not . . . either. — in regno: i.e. under the rule of a king. — regio: i.e. without control.

3. eam: referring to regio, etc. — quaerentes, missing; a very common meaning of the word; cf. the exactly opposite course of desidero, 'find missing,' and so 'feel the want of'; see Harvard Studies, I. p. 96. — suam, for them, on account of the emphasis. — regem, etc.: i.e. a king was a human being, and so to be influenced by human motives for right or wrong. — opus sit: see Gr. 243. e. r. — gratiae, favor; properly, the agreeableness of the favored to the favorer; but in Latin such words are viewed from either direction; cf. note to iniuria, I. 13. I. — beneficio: i.e. doing a good turn; more concrete than the preceding, and expressing nearly the same thing viewed from the opposite end. — posse: i.e. re-

4. rem surdam: opposed to hominem. — inexorabilem: opposed to a quo impetres. — salubriorem, etc.: a parenthetical remark outside the antithesis. — nihil, etc.: opposed to gratiae, etc. — exesseris: see Gr. 309. a. — innocentia: a free use of the ablative of means. It is dangerous to try to live by this
culosum esse in tot humanis erroribus sola innocentia vivere. Ita iam sua sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt sine mentione redivus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit, ne non redita belli causa, reddita belli materia et adiumentum essent. Interim legati alia moliri, aperte bona repetentes clam recuperandi regni consilia struere; et tamquam ad id quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adulescentium animos pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniiis reddunt, et de accessiendiis clame nocte in urbem regibus conloquuntur.

Vitellii Aquilissque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, iamque ex eo matrimonio adulescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quoque in societatem consilii avunculi adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abii. Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulisibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absuntum, evincunt-

means alone; one needs some indulgence for frailties besides.

5. sua sponte: *i.e.* without the additional stimulus of the arrival of the envoys. — animis: ablative. — ne: *i.e.* 'on account of the fear that'; the purpose, properly, of the debate.

6. alia: opposed to the ostensible aim of their visit. — tamquam ad id, etc.: *i.e.* this was their excuse for visiting the young nobles, to gain their influence.

7. placide, *favorably;* properly, without objection or offence.

THE YOUNG NOBLES SIDE WITH THE TARQUINS.

4. adulescentes, *grown up.*

3. eam ipsum: cf. Gr. 195, d. — causam, *excuse;* hence the subjunctive sumpsissent, putting the words into the mouths of the envoys. — evincunt, *finally succeed in having.* — ut. . . darentur: object clause, as with words of persuading
que instando, ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinios darentur: nam aliter qui credituros eos non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis adferri? Datae litterae, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur cenatum forte apud Vitellios esset, coniuratique ibi remotis arbitris multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermone eorum ex servis unus excepti; qui iam antea id sensorat agi; sed eam occasionem, ut litterae legatis darentur, quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, expectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos coniuratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere, litterarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. Proditoriis extemplo in vincla coniectis de legatis paululum addubitatum est, et quamquam visi sunt commississe ut hostium loco essent, ius tamen gentium valuit.

and the like.—litterae: i.e. from the conspirators, in order to compromise, and so bind them.
4. qui, how.—credituros: see Gr. 338.
5. proficiscerentur: see Gr. 327. — arbitris, witnesses; the earlier meaning. — ut fit, as was natural; this idea is immediately connected with novo, as it was because their heads were full of the new plans that they talked about them. — qui, etc.: translate with a new sentence, 'he,' etc.
6. eam occasionem: i.e. the opportunity afforded by the giving of the letter; hence the dependent clause takes the form of a purpose clause: he was waiting for the letter to be delivered, to take advantage of that opportunity. — detulit: the technical word for laying definite information before the authorities.
7. profecti, etc.: as magistrates they had the power of proceeding immediately, without our machinery of warrants, etc.—sine tumultu: i.e. without creating any alarm or stir outside of their own official circle. — oppressee, crushed; the word properly means more than this. They anticipated the outbreak by putting their hand on it in its inception, caught it in the act and nipped it in the bud, as it were; or, they seized it by the throat; hence litterarum in primis, etc., in accordance with the rest of the figure.—ne interciderent: a common form of explanatory purpose clause, where an object has already been expressed; cf. 9. 5 and see Gr. 334. c. for a similar usage in the indirect question. — ut hostium, etc.: i.e. had forfeited the rights of ambassadors (cf. ius gentium).

Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptum.
que supplicium, conspectus eo quod poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi iuvenes. Sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberis omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines quam sceleris, quo poenam meriti essent: illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum orum ex domo Iunia, patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium. Nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater vultusque et os eius spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus.
Quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisset. Post illum observatum ut qui ita liberati essent in civitatem accepti viderentur.

His sicut acta erant nuntiatis incensus Tarquiniius non dolore solum tantae ad inritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obsaepam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriae urbes, orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniiensesque, ne se ortum, eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adulescentibus ante oculos suas perire sinisterent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos; se regem, augentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata coniuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse, bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repeitere et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, claimant of a person alleged to be free, but claimed by some one as a slave, asserted his (formal) right in the process for freedom.—Vindicio: this etymology is, of course, impossible, though the whole family of words is a puzzle to etymologists. The word vindicius comes from vindex, the name for a claimant in such a case, whence also comes vindico (-are), the word for the action; vindicta may be a noun of agency like nauta. The words all point to vim dicere; but as the first part is a case, and not a stem, the combination could not regularly yield vindex nor its derivative vindico. The only way of explaining the anomaly is to suppose a form vindex irregularly made in imitation of iuex, index; for as index is to ius dicere, so is vindex to vim dicere. —ita: i.e. by the process of vindi-

catio, as distinguished from other forms of manumission.

WAR WITH THE TARQUINS.

6. sicut, etc.: i.e. with all their details.—ad inritum (in-ratum), to naught.—dolo: dative.

2. se ortum: referring to Tarquiniienses (cf. I. 34.1); eiusdem sanguinis: apparently referring to Veientes, in the common chiastic order.—extorrem, an exile; for derivation, cf. concors, and see Gr. 168. d.—ex...regno: cf. ex bello tam tristi, I. 13. 6.—adulescentibus: i.e. not mere children, but young men of promise.—alios: used of Numa by a rhetorical exaggeration familiar even in colloquial language.—augentem: it heightens the picture that he was driven out just at that moment.

3. eos: sc. proximos.—expers: cf. extorrem above.—ferrent: see

Gr. 339. — suas: see Gr. 196. a. i. — caesas, etc.: in apposition with injurias; cf. Gr. 292. a., so often cited already.

4. haec: i.e. what is said about their injuriae. Notice the emphasis: 'It was this last that influenced the Veientes...; the people of Tarquini, on the other hand,' etc. — pro se quisque: this common expression makes a statement more vivid by referring the act to individuals; 'each one was moved to cry out.' — Romano saltem duce: i.e. the opportunity should not be lost, however they might keep quiet at other times, for fear of failure. — nomen, etc.: i.e. the people of Tarquini, on the other hand, were moved by sympathy with the royal family. — suas: see Gr. 196. c.

5. ita: i.e. from these two motives.

6. quadrato agmine: i.e. not in ordinary marching-order, but so as to have the troops in battle array on every side, something like a hollow square; see A. & G.'s Caesar, B. C., Notes, pp. 99, 100.

7. consulem: i.e. he recognized the office at a distance. — facie quoque: i.e. now he recognized the person. — ipse: the emphasis makes prominent the idea that Brutus' motives were personal, and not patriotic.


8. tum: as opposed to later times, when personal combat between leaders was unknown.
9. vulneraret: see Gr. 314. — protegendi, etc.: i.e. they used no defensive tactics, though of course each had a shield for defence. — contrario, of his adversary.
10. cetera: i.e. of the rest of the force. — ita multo post, so very long after. — varia, alternate; i.e. partial on each side; first one party conquering, and then the other, on the different wings. — aequo Marte: in reference to the general result, which was undecided, though not in the ordinary sense where both parties maintain the contest; hence velut.

II. novus: as opposed to adsueti. — ab sua parte: see Gr. 260. §.

MOURNING FOR BRUTUS,

7. ita: i.e. with this result. — inrita, unsuccessful; i.e. considering it such. — quisque: instead of the proper uestque.
2. adiciunt: i.e. common report. — Silvani: another name for Fannus, identified with Pan, the author of panic terrors. — vincere: i.e. victorem esse; apparently an imitation of the Greek, which is fond of this use.
3. ita: i.e. as the voice announced. — certe: i.e. however it may be with the miracle. — ut, pro: neither
conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit, trium-
phansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus quanto
tum potuit apparatu fecit; sed multo maius morti de-
cus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia
matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam
acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.

Consuli deinde qui superfuera, ut sunt mutabiles
vulgi animi, ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio
etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum affectare
fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum
Bruti et aedicabat in summa Velia: ibi alto atque
munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore. Haec dicta
vulgo creditaque cum indignate angerent consulis ani-
mum, vocato ad concilium populo summissis fascibus
in contionem ascendit. Gratum id multitudini specatuc-
lum fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia, confessio-
emque factam populi quam consulis maiestatem vinxque
maiorem esse. Ibi audire iussis consul laudare fortunam
collegae, quod liberata patria in summo honore pro re
publica dimicantis matura gloria necdum se vertente in
invidiam mortem occubuisset. Se superstitem gloriae
suae ad crimem atque invidiam superesse, ex liberatore
patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidisse. ‘Num-

of the expressions was strictly cor-
rect. — erat: see Gr. 324. a.
4. collegae: emphatic as op-
posed to Valerius, who returned.—
luxerunt: see 16. 7 n.
5. ex favore: cf. ex tanto, etc.,
6. 2.

Valerius yields to the Jeal-
ousy of the People.
6. aedicabat: used absolutely,
as often in English.—Velia: the
ridge across from the Palatine to
the Esquiline. — arcem: like a for-
tress in the Middle Ages, to hold
control over the city. — fore: see
note on nimium, 2. 3.

7. indignitate, the outrage; pro-
perly, the ‘undeservedness’ of the
accusation. — in contionem escen-
dit: a shorthand expression for as-
ceding to some place, not specified,
to address the citizens.
8. audire iussis: i.e. the herald
‘called them to order.’ — necdum,
and (yet) not yet, as had his own;
‘fully complete, but yet not yet
turned the other way.’ — Aquilios,
quamne ergo inquit 'ulla adeo vobis spectata virtus erit ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acer-
rimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen
subitum timerem? Ego, si in ipsa arce Capitolioque
habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis?
tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone
est fundata leviter fides ut ubi sim quam qui sim magis
referat? Non obstabunt Publ'i Valeri aedes libertati
vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in
planum modo aedes, sed colli etiam subiciam, ut vos
supra suspectum me civem habitetis. In Velia aedifi-
cent quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas.'
Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam, et, ubi
nunc Vicae Potae est, domus in insimo clivo aedificata.

Latae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione
consulem absolverent, sed quae adeo in contrarum ver-
terent ut popularem etiam facerent. Inde cognomen
factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocacione ad-

etc.: see 4. 1. — recidisse ad, fallen
to the level of, etc.

9. vobis: the MSS. have a vobis,
but spectatus is so regularly used
with the dative that the preposi-
tion is probably an interpolation.
— subitum: a rare (ungrammatical)
confusion of a verb of fearing
with verbs of saying, occasionally
found in late or careless writers;
nobody but the critic is always
grammatical. — timerem: see Gr.
268. r.

10. arce Capitolioque: the same
place under different aspects; feared
as the real citadel or commanding
stronghold, which the Velia was in
a very small degree indeed. — levi
momento pendet, have so little
weight. Momentum probably refers
originally to the movement of the
weight on the steelyard, and hence
comes to mean weight itself. — fun-
data levitur: the figure is of a thing
placed on a base not of sufficient
weight to keep it from tipping over
easily. — fides, your confidence in
me. — qui sim: cf. qui sis, non
unde natus sis, I. 41. 3. — referat:
from referi.

11. non in planum, etc.: i.e. 'not
only on a level, but even under a hill.'

12. Vicae Potae (sc. aedes): the
words look as though they were
irregularly manufactured from vinco
and potior, in imitation of regular
ones. — clivo: the broad road up
the Velia; cf. clivus Capitolinus.

LAWS OF VALERIUS.

8. latae: in his character of
consul. — absolverent (sc. eum): see Gr. 319. 2. — verterent: intran-
sitive, as often. — Publicolae: for
versus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratae in vulgus leges fuere. Quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia collegae subrogando habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu non sufficientibus iam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucreti locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem, Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoriam intercidine.

Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iovis aedes; Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit; Publicola ad Veientium bellum profectus. Aegrius quam dignum erat tulere Valerii necessarii dedicationem tam incliti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem iam tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem deum nuntium inciunt, mortuam eius filium esse, funestaque familia dedicare eum templum non posse.

Non crediderit factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit, *populi-cola* (cf. *agricola*, *caelica*, etc.), with the same meaning as *popularis*.

2. *omnes*: *sc. leges*. — provocatio: as the action of magistrates was summary, this amounted to securing a trial of the accused by his peers; cf. I. 26. 8 n. These laws made the appeal an inviolable right instead of a precarious privilege, as under the kings. — *sacrando*: this devotion to the gods deprived the person devoted of all rights whatsoever; he could be killed, and his property was confiscated irrevo-

3. *unius*: see Gr. 197. e. — *subrogando*: see Gr. 299. b.

4. *iam*, *any longer*; on account of his age.

6. *sortiti*: the regular method of decision between colleagues of equal privileges.

7. *postem*, etc.: a regular part of the ritual; cf. VII. 3. 8. — *incu-tiunt*: from the analogy of such expressions as *terrem incutere* and the like. — *funesta*: i.e. ceremonially impure. — *familia, his house*; the whole establishment in and among which the death had taken place.
nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a proposito aversus quam ut cada-
ver efferri iuberet, tenens postem precationem peragit
et dedicat templum. Haec post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno. Inde P. Valerius iterum
T. Lucretius consules facti.

Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque nunc
orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis
nominisque, egentes exsulare pateretur; nunc monebant
etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sinister.
Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis; nisi quanta
vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant,
aequari summa infinis, nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra
cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis,
rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Porsinna, cum
regem esse Romae tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum
Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non um-
quam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit: adeo va-
vida res tum Clusina erat magnumque Porsinnae nomen.
Nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne
Romana plebs metu perculsa receptis in urbem regibus

8. certum, for certain; cf. pro certo.— nihil aliud: see Gr. 238, b.
Cf. Val. Max. V. 10. 1. — efferri: the body was brought out for the
funeral. — precationem, the ritual, dictated by the priest and repeated
by the magistrate.
9. inde: i.e. for the next year, as
the consular election must be held
by a consul.

WAR WITH PORSENA.
9. Lartem: properly a title,
Lord. — Porsinnam: the name
varies between e and i and be-
tween one n and two; it seems
to be the same form as Spurinna,
Vibenna. — consilium precesque:
cf. the two motives in 6. 3.
2. morem, etc.: the democratic
example which might extend to
their peoples. — ipsam: i.e. with-
out an example to encourage it.
3. tanta: sc. vi. — aequari:
equivalent to a future; cf. fore
below.
4. regem esse: see Gr. 270. 3.
N. 1. — gentis: see Gr. 215.
5. alias: cf. I. 28. 4. — adeo: i.e.
to such a degree as is indicated by
the preceding.—ne ... acciperet:
cf. 36. 3.
vel cum servitate pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos alii Cumas. Salis quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni sumptu, ademptum privatis, portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educerent.

Itaque haec indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

 Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis. Alia muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset Horatius Cocles: id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit.

Qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentina impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque

6. blandimenta, favours; conciliatory measures.—annonae, etc.; i.e. to relieve the distress occasioned by the high price of grain.—salis, etc.: cf. I. 33. 9. The traffic was now taken from individuals and carried on by the state to relieve prices.—in publicum omni sumptu, the public assuming the whole expense.—portoriis: customs duties and the like.—tributo: assessments apportioned to the people for extraordinary needs.—ferendo: see Gr. 299. a.—pauperes, etc.: the explanation of the law-makers.—liberos: i.e. as material for soldiers.

8. unus: i.e. any single demagogue of later times.—malis artibus, demagogic arts, opposed to bene imperando.

Horatius at the Bridge.

10. pro se quisque, all with one accord; cf. 6. 4.—praesidiis: i.e. the different points of defence are strengthened by reinforcements.

2. dedit, ni fuisset: see Gr. 308. b.—id: the regular attraction into agreement with the predicate; see Gr. 195. d.—munimentum: as if the man were of the same kind as
relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens obtestansque deum et hominum fidem testabatur nequiquam deserto praesidio eos fugere; si transitum pontem a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitellione quam in Iuniculo fore. Itaque monere praedicere, ut pontem ferro igni, quacumque vi possint, interrupant; se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum. Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignis inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obversis conminus ad ineundum proeliium armis ipso miraculo audaciae obtupefectit hostis. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Larcium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper sustinuit. Deinde eos quoque ipsos exigua parte pontis relict, revocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum ceget. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes, servitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum venire. Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipient, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum hostem tela coniciunt. Quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu cona-

muris and Tiberi; a common figure in all languages.

3. in statione pontis: *i.e.* in command of the guard at the bridge. — reprehensans: trying by main force to hold them back; obsistens: blocking their path.

4. fidem, etc.: *i.e.* swearing per deum hominumque fidem, 'by everything in heaven and on earth.' — nequiquam, etc.: *i.e.* that it was useless for them, etc. — transitum: predicate appositive with pontem; 'the bridge as a passage.' — monere: for moneo of the direct.

5. conspecta cedentium, visibly retiring. — pugnae: a stronger expression than the usual ablative. — obversis: opposed to cedentium, etc.

10. gradu: referring to the firm position which he takes to resist the shock. — iam impetu: *i.e.* they

11 Porsinna primo conatu repulsus consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Ianiculo locato ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit, navibus undique accitis, et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque aliis locis traicerent; brevique adeo infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit ut non cetera solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere

had come to the point of trying to overwhelm him by mere force of numbers. — **pavore**: the shout and the crash alarmed them, and stopped their course for the moment.

**11. Tiberine pater**: all rivers were more or less divine, and represented in the form of old men. With this prayer cf. that of Aeneas, Virg. *Aen.* VIII. 72, and the probable source of both in Ennius' *Teoque, pater Tiberine, tuo cum flumine sancto.* — ita: i.e. thus having prayed. — sic, as he was. — **transavit**: the story is variously told; in some versions he is drowned; but one is as good as another. — **habituram**: see Gr. 293. 6. 1.

**13. privata, of individuals.**

**THE SIEGE OF ROME.**

**11. repulsus**, etc.: notice Livy's fondness for participial constructions. — **ipse**, etc.: to explain the supposed cutting-off of provisions. If Latium were open, there could be no scarcity of provisions.

2. **ad custodiam**: co-ordinated with the purpose clause, ut praeddatum, etc.

3. cetera: i.e. other property, which was *carried* in (to be supplied
auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis 4 quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul, in- tentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improviso adoriundi, in parvis rebus neglegens utror gravem se ad maiora vindicem servabant. Itaque, ut eliceret praedato- res, edicit suis, posteri die frequentes porta Esquilina, quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus, scitu- ros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia infida transfugereur. Et sciere per fugae indicio, multo- que plures, ut in spem universae praedae, flumen trai- ciunt. P. Valerius T. Herminium cum modicis copiis 7 ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considere iu- bet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita iuventute ad portam Col- linam stare, donec hostis praetereat; inde se obicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulum alter T. Lucretius porta 8 Naevia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus; ipse Va- lerius Caelio monte cohortes defectas educit. Hique 9 primi apparuere hosti. Herminius, ubi tumultum sensit, concurrît ex insidiis versisque in Valerium Etruscis terga caedit; dextra laevaque hinc a porta Collina illinc ab Naevia redux clamor; ita caesi in medio praedato- res, neque ad pugnam viribus pares et ad fugam saeptis

from compelleretur). — propell- 
4. consilio: in pursuance of the 
6. et sciere, and in fact they 
6. universae: i.e. of 
7. Valerius: he was evidently in 
8. porta Naevia: on the south 
9. hique primi: i.e. Valerius first 
10. caesi, etc., being hemmed in 

end of the city. — Caelio monte: 
also looking towards the east. 
made the attack. — Herminius, 
etc.: the ambushed troops now at- 
tack the Etruscans in the rear, and 
the other two divisions attack them 
on the left and right. — Valerium: 
a necessary correction of the MSS. 
Lucretium. 

portam Collinam: at 
the northeast corner of the city; 
the enemy were evidently crossing 
above.
 omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effuse evagandi Etruscis fuit.

12 Obsidio erat nihilu minus et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius, adulescens nobilis, cui indiguum videbatur populum Romanum servientem, cum sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab isdem Etruscis obsideri quorum saepe exercitus fuderit, — itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit; dein metuens ne, si consulum iniussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum urbis crimen adfirmante, senatum adit. 'Transire Tiberim' inquit, 'patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor: maius, si di iuvant, in animo est facinus.' Adprobant patres.

— finis, etc.: i.e. they learned a lesson, and were afterward on their guard.

THE SIEGE CONTINUED.

12. obsidio: the siege was not raised at all by this success, though the activity of the Etruscans was crippled. — sedendo: i.e. without active operations, by starving them out.

2. cum: this word should go with constituit (Gr. 325, b.); but the connection of the clauses is forgotten, and a new sentence begins with itaque. — servientem: i.e. under a monarchy, opposed to liberum; cf. liber, i. i. — obsessum esse, etc.: it is the fashion of the Latin to co-ordinate such clauses as these directly with the main clause; in English we subordinate them by means of a while, or the like.

3. itaque: going back to the main statement (C. Mucius, etc.). — sua sponte: i.e. without the consent of his superiors; as we say in slang, 'on his own hook.'

4. fortuna, etc., a charge to which, etc., would give color; an attendant circumstance of retraheretur, etc.

5. transire, etc.: the abruptness of his statement is particularly dramatic, and well put in keeping with his supposed character. — praedo: i.e. to get booty himself. — populationum, etc.: i.e. to make reprisals for the enemy's depredations.

— iuvant: the constant use of present for future.
Abdito intra vestem ferro proficiscitur. Vbi eo venit, in confluentia turba prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ágeret, eum milites vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari uter Porsinna esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiaret quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obturcat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento murcione sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum concursu ad clamorem facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus tum quoque inter tantas fortunae minas metuendus magis quam metuens, 'Romanus sum' inquit 'civis, C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad caedem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si

7. stipendium: Livy has in his mind the payment of Roman troops by the quaestor; hence pari ornatu, as the quaestor was also a magistrate as well as the consul. — sciscitari: an extension of the principle stated, Gr. 271 (example 3). — semet...quis esset: see Gr. 334. c. — temere: i.e. he struck at a venture, one being as likely to be the king as the other.

8. qua per trepidam, etc.: i.e. by the natural shrinking of the crowd from an apparently desperate man who had just committed a murder. — concursu, etc.: i.e. the rush of outsiders in greater numbers who had not been paralyzed by the occurrence. — destitutus, set down, but with an idea of being left alone without any prospect of help. — tum quoque: i.e. even under these circumstances. —

inter tantas, etc.: an explanation of tum. — metuendus, an object of fear.

9. Romanus: by his very name declaring himself an enemy without any prevarication. — fortia: to be taken in two different senses with the two verbs, but the subjective and objective distinction was very dim to the Romans.

10. nec unus, etc., and I am not the only one, etc.; an effect produced by the emphasis. — animos: not merely 'purpose' or 'design,' but with an idea of boldness or daring; cf. I. 56. 7. — proinde: the regular illative particle when its clause is hortatory. — in hoc discrimen: not merely 'prepare for this struggle,' but 'this is the struggle you must prepare for,' as is indicated by the emphasis as well as by the explanatory ut clause; cf. also
iuvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi iuventus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris; uni tibi et cum singulis res erit.’

Cum rex simul ira insensus periculoque conterritus circumdari ignes minitabundus iuberet, nisi expromeret propere quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages iaceret,

‘En tibi’ inquit, ‘ut sentias quam vile corpus sit is qui magnam gloriam vident,’ dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo inicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab sede sua prosiluisset amoverique ab altaribus iuvenem iussisset, ‘Tu vero abì’ inquit, ‘in te magis quam in me hostilia ausus. Iuberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret; nunc iure belli liberum te intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto.’ Tunc Mucius quasi remunerans meritum ‘Quando quidem’ inquit ‘est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficiu tuleris a me quod minis nequisti, trecenti coniuravimus principes iuentutis Roma-


11. nullam: notice that the emphasis is on the negative, ‘you are not to,’ etc. — timueris: see Gr. 269. a. 1, and 3. N. — uni: opposed to the idea of numbers implied in aciem, etc.

12. circumdari ignes, him to be thrown into the flames. — expromeret: for expromet (or -eet) of the command, see Gr. 307. f. — sibi: see Gr. 227. d. — iaceret: used like our throw out.

13. tibi: see Gr. 235. e. — que, and at the same time. — alienato, etc., unconscious; properly, ‘disconnected,’ etc. — sensu: his bodily sensations; animo: his perceiving mind. — altaribus: the same as foculo above.

14. tu vero: the colloquial emphasized pronoun; see Gr. 194. a, and 344. f. — iuberem: the word is used with any kind of expression which would have an imperative in the direct form, as macte virtute esto. — macte: here (as probably always) an adverb; cf. impune, I. 58. 7, and bene, male esse. — nunc, as it is. — iure: ablative of separation.

15. ut... tuleris: see Gr. 317. e; the perfect is allowed because the beneficium has already been bestowed and had its effect, though what Porsena gains by it is still to be made known, almost like ‘that you may know that you have,’ etc.,
nae ut in te hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit; ceteri, utcumque ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt.'

Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae a clade dextrae manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsinna Romam securi sunt: adeo moverat eum et princi periculi casus, quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio totiens quot conscripti superessent, ut pacis condiciones ultra ferret Romanis. Iactatum in condicionibus nequiquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituen-
dis, magis quia id negare ipse neqiverat Tarquiniis quam quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Ianiculo praesidium deduci vellent. His condicionibus composita pace exercitum ab Ianiculo deduxit Porsinna et agro Romano exces-
sit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere, quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata.

Ergo ita honorata virtute feminae quoque ad publica

'I will say,' etc. — trecenti, etc., there are three hundred of us, etc. — grassaremur: the word gives the idea of secret assassination; cf. grassator, cut-throat.

16. utcumque, etc., however the first may fare; i.e. whether I am killed or not.'

OFFERS OF PEACE. FEAT AND HONORS OF CLOELIA.

18. Scaevolae: diminutive from scaea (sc. manus). — legati: here, though used as a noun, this word has the construction of a participle, hence a Porsinna; cf. Gr. 291. a.

2. moverat eum, was he affected, to preserve the emphasis; for tense, see Gr. 279. e. — casus, the result; i.e. the narrow chance by which he had escaped. — subeunda: cf. ab condita, I. 60. 3 n, and castigator, I. 59. 4 n. — superessent: for super-
sunt in his thought.

3. nequiquam, without effect. — ignoraret: see Gr. 321. r.

4. de agro, etc.: this subject has not been mentioned before, but the reference is doubtless to the lands described in I. 15. 5 and 33. 9. — impetratum: opposed to ne-
quiquam above. — Romanis: after expressa, all ambiguity being re-
moved by the context. — vellent: representing a vultis of direct dis-
course, the protasis of obsides dandi sunt in the words of Porsena. —
his condicionibus, etc.: a much more serious subjection of Rome to
the king is here glossed over; cf.
decora excitatae. Et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit, sospitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem deponendum; alias haud magni facere:

deinde in admirationem versus supra Coclitest Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre, quem ad modum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam intactam inviolatamque ad suos remissurum.

Vtrique constitit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non sola solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginiem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa quos vellet legeret. Productis omnibus elegisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsum probabile erat eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab hoste, quae maxime opportuna injuriae esset. Pace redintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo

Tac. Hist. III. 72, Dion. V. 35 and 65, Plin. N. H. XXXIV. 139.
6. Romam ad propinquos: see Gr. 259. 6, and 225. 6.
7. facere: see Gr. 336. 1. N. 2.
8. supra Coclitest: cf. 'hair fairer than the Graces,' a form of speech common in all languages. — dicere: historical infinitive. — dedatur: for dedetur (or deditur used as equivalent to it) of the direct. — habiturum: see Gr. 336. c. N. 1. — deditam: a short-hand way of expressing the opposite condition; cf. Gr. 292.
9. constitit, was kept.
10. decorum: it would be less modest in her to select young men. — consensu, etc.: the forced antithesis is noticeable; on the one hand, the girl herself, implied in virginitati, and on the other her companions in misfortune, each of whom would like to be chosen. The antithesis is made formal by opposing the feelings of the girl to the approval of the others. — probable, approved; as the passive participle is often equivalent to the verbal in -bils, so also sometimes the verbal is not unlike the participle in meaning, but with the suggestion of the action being natural or expected.
11. in (femina), in the case of, as often with in.—summa, etc.: near veterem portam Palatii (I. 12. 3). — fuit posita: this form
genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere: in summa Sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci ab horrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet, bona Porsinnae regis vendendi. Cuius originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore crevisse principio quam hic praef se ferat titulus bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum vero est ex iis quae traduntur, Porsinnam discedentem ab Ianiculo castra opulenta convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commeatu Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinquâ obsidione; ea deinde, ne populó immisso diripentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsinnae appellata, gratiam munerus magis significante titulo quam auctio-nem fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestatem quidem populi Romani esset.

Omissō Romano bello Porsinna, ne frustra in ea loca ought to mean ‘was there once,’ but not in Livy’s time; Seneca, however, speaks of it (ad Marc. 16. 2) as still existing.

14. profectioni: the dative with abhorreo is peculiar to this place, and the ablative without a preposition is not common. It may be a kind of construction according to the sense. — cetera sollemnia: i.e. those used at public sales of booty. — bona, etc.: a part of the booty was apparently so described at the sale.

2. omissam: attracted to agreement with originem, though it, as well as crevisse, belongs with moris. — titulus: the notice of sale in which the property to be sold was enumerated. — hostiliter: i.e. as the property of an enemy, opposed to the peaceable character of the settlement of affairs as described; cf. the same word in 4. Of course the whole story has been entirely made over, and the custom may have originated in a grim joke like ‘catching a Tartar.’ But in Livy’s time they doubtless believed in the varnished account of the Etruscan wars.

4. ea: i.e. the castra, meaning the property left therein. — fortunae: curiously like our own use of ‘fortune’ for large possessions. — in potestatem: a construction with esse peculiar to this phrase; see Gell. I. 7. 16. — esset: indirect discourse after signicante; see Gr. 341. c.

5. ne frustra, etc., the power of Etruria, no doubt, spread over the whole of Latium after the conquest of Rome, and this occupation is

hinted at in the metamorphosed narrative. Aricia (cf. I. 50. 3), with the help of the Greek colony of Cumae, seems to have stayed their advance. 6. perculerat: cf. consulentaverat, I. 7. 1 n, and intulerant, below. — arcessita, etc.: the emphasis gives the force, 'but having received upon application assistance from their neighbors, they ventured,' etc. — funderent, etc.: notice the chiastic antithesis. This is the more necessary because to us at first sight Aricinos seems the emphatic word. But a careful examination shows that funderent is the main word, of which the antithetic idea is postponed in chiastic fashion to the end. 7. declinavere: i.e. withdrew to one side, and let the enemy go by them in their onward rush (praelatos). — conversis signis: i.e. after the enemy had gone by, they wheeled and attacked them.

8. fortuna et specie (loose ablatives of manner): i.e. their condition and their attitude were those of suppliants. — delati sunt: the regular word for reaching a haven, and probably used here with a consciousness of that meaning; not merely 'came to,' but 'brought up at' Rome, as the end of their flight; for number of the verb, see Gr. 205. c. i. — divisi, etc.: i.e. distributed round to be entertained as guests. 9. alii: opposed to multis below. — hospitalium: i.e. referring to their entertainment just spoken of. — caritas, affection for; but in Latin the idea is looked at (as often) from the other end as the 'dearness' to them of the objects of affection; cf. Gr. 213 and note. — Tuscam vicum: a narrow street just under the Palatine, between that and the Capitoline, leading from the Forum down towards the river. It was the place of busi-
Spurius Larcius inde et P. Valerius Publicola con-

sules facti. Eo anno postremum legati a Porsinna de-

ducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus cum

responsum esset missurum ad regem senatum legatos,

missi confestim honoratissimus quisque e patribus: non

quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, non recipi reges,

ideo potius delectos patrum ad eum missos quam legatis

eius Romae daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum

mentio eius rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis

in vicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille pateret quod con-

tra libertatem populi Romani esset, Romani, nisi in per-

niciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent cui nihil

ness for those who dealt in materi-

als for luxury and dissipation. The

reason for the name here given is

probably not the true one. It was

more likely the place of Tuscan

merchandise.

THIRD YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC.

Peace with Porsena.

15. Sp. Larcius, etc.: the text

is here so confused in the manu-

scripts that the names of the con-

suls cannot be made out with cer-

tainty. That Publicola was one of

them is inferred from 16. 2.—ho-

noratissimus quisque: indicating

a large and imposing embassy, not

two or three envoys.

2. breviter: i.e. without sending

the embassy to say what they had

already determined on.—potuerit:

representing a potuit (independent

of the quin construction); see Gr.

308. c; it is not necessary to sup-

pose a protasis in all these cases,

but the construction is the same as

if there were one. For connection

tenses, see Gr. 287. c. N.; the

proper posset would not represent

the perfect, which is required in

this construction. For the quin

construction, see Gr. 321, Rem. —

recipi: the tense represents in ef-

cfect a present indicative (non reci-

pimus), a regular colloquial form

of refusal; cf. non emo, I’m not

buying = I won’t buy, and see Gr.

276. c.—ideo: referring back to

quin, and best omitted in transla-

tion.—missos: an indirect quota-

tion from the supposed argument in

favor of the course pursued. It

sounds like a far away echo of the

senatorial or diplomatic debate on

the subject.—daretur: the regular

construction after such compar-

isons as this is a result clause with

ut, but the ut is omitted in all peri-

ods, particularly in early Latin; see

Gr. 332. b.—ut, etc.: the purpose

of their action opposed to the rea-

son just negatived.—in vicem:

belonging with sollicitarentur, op-

posed to mutuis, and anticipating

the cum clauses ille pateret, Ro-

mani negarent.—vellent: if this

part of the answer were indepen-

dent both of the purpose and of the

cum construction, it would be ‘Ro-

mani nisi...velint’ (potential subj.),

negant cui nihil...velint,'—ne-

gatum: see Gr. 292. d. N.
negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate esse; ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius portas quam regibus patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit; proinde, si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse orare. Rex verecundia victus 'Quando id certum atque obstinatum est' inquit, 'neque ego obtundam saepius eadem nequiquam agendo, nec Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu quiete, exsilio quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat.' Dictis facta amiciora adiecit. Obsidum quod reliquum erat reddidit, agrum Veientem foedere ad Ianiculum icto ademp tum restituit. Tarquinii spe omni reditus incisa exsulatum ad generum Mamiliim Octavium Tusculum abiiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsinna fuit.

3. non in regno, etc.: a part of what the embassy was to say. — potius . . . quam . . . patefacere: here only the two nouns are compared, while the predicate remains the same, hence there is no need of a subjunctive. — erit: see Gr. 336. b.

4. proinde: the clause following is really an imperative one, though orare, representing a parenthetical oramus, governs the construction; hence the use of this particle.

5. verecundia: i.e. respect for the noble sentiments of the Romans. — neque ego, etc.: the real opposition is between the Romans and the Tarquins, but this is disturbed by the earlier one between the Romans and Porsena, which would be brought out if Livy had stopped at agendo. The result is a careless confusion of antithesis. The same confusion appears in obtundam . . . frustrabor. — quod nullum: as Livy would say nullum auxilium; he also says quod nullum, though we use a partitive construction; cf. Gr. 216. a. — exsilio: see Gr. 226. b. — meam: opposed to the Tarquins.

6. agrum, etc.: cf. 13. 4. — ad Ianiculum: not necessarily inconsistent with 13. 2, because the negotiations themselves may have taken place there, though the initiative may have been taken by Porsena; but the whole is probably garbled.

7. Mamiliim: see I. 49. 9. — Romanis pax fida: these words, as opposed to the action in reference to the Tarquins, by their emphasis crowd ita out of its place.

War with the Sabines. Attius Clausus.

16. triumpharunt, were honored with a triumph.

2. et: connecting the idea of fight-
Consules M. Valerius P. Postumius. Eo anno bene pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules triumpharunt. Maiore inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, unde, etsi non apertum, suspicium tamen bellum erat, repentina periculi oriretur, P. Valerius quartum T. Lucretius iterum consules facti. Seditio inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum inde virium transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attius Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur nec par factioni esset, ab Inregillo magna clientium comitatus manu Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque trans Anienem; vetus Claudia tribus, additis postea novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro appellata. Appius inter patres lectus haud ita multo post in principum dignationem pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum prefecti cum ita vastatione, dein proelio

5. vetus Claudia tribus: opposed to the new members who were added to the tribe, not to a new tribe.—qui: the antecedent of this relative is the subject of appellata (est); see Gr. 199.—eo: the land assigned to these Sabines.—venirent: the subjunctive is occasioned by the idea of indirect discourse in appellata.—lectus: by the senate itself.—dignationem: differing from dignitas as a verbal abstract; ‘the being held in esteem’ from an abstract quality, ‘the worthiness’ of the man himself. The Latin does not often make such distinctions, and these two words afterwards were much confused in meaning.

6. vastatione: sapping their resources by predatory excursions; proelio: destroying their fighting power by killing, wounding, or cap-
adfixissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam redierunt.

7 P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset: de publico est datus.

8 Luxere matronae ut Brutum. Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initium; fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingrediendum fines consulibus ferciter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsum est. Nec magis post proelium quam in proelio caedibus temperatura est: et caesi aliquanto plures erant quam capti et captos passim trucidaverunt; ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romae triumphantum.

17 Secuti consules Opiter Verginius Sp. Cassius Pometiam primo vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus oppugnaturae, their soldiers in actual combat. Both of these are included in opes, which embraces all their means of making war. — inde, from that quarter. — triumphantes: cf. 16. 1.

Death of Valerius. War with the Aurunci.

7. Agrippa, etc.: a mere date, for which purpose the names of consuls were used, so that the words are in a kind of apposition with anno. — Menenio: Livy constantly varies the old established order of names, the praenomen first, then the gentile name, and finally the family name, and in time the order was generally neglected. — gloria: the construction wavers between an ablative of quality and one of manner, a confusion which suggests a possible origin for the ablative of quality. — de publico: i.e. from the treasury. It may be that Livy is trying to explain a public funeral (funus censorium), which was really a mark of honor. — luxere: see 16. 7 n.

8. Auruncos: a derivation of Aurones (Auron + cus; cf. homo, homun-ca-lus), perhaps originally a diminutive like Sabelli; a people of lower Italy just outside the bounds of Latium. — Pometiam: cf. I. 53. 2. — compulsum: there was no army outside the walls, and only the town held out in which the allied Aurunci had taken refuge.


Capture of Pometia.

17. secuti consules: equiva-
runt. In quos Aurunci magis iam inexpiabili odio quam spe aliquia aut occasione coorti cum plures igni quam ferro armati excucurrissent, caede incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulum quoque alterum—ceterum nomen auctores non adiciunt—gravi vulnere ex equo deiectum prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male gesta re redi-tum. Inter multos saucios consul spe incerta vitae relatus. Interiecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset, cum ira maiore bellum tum viribus etiam auctis Pome-tiae arma inlata. Et cum vineis refectis aliisque mole belli iam in eo esset ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihil minus foeda dedita urbe quam si capta foret Aurunci passi: principes securi percussi, sub corona venierunt coloni alii; oppidum

to viribus, the actual means of fighting.

5. in eo esset, etc., the soldiers were on the point, etc.; an impersonal construction with the result clause, which may be looked upon as its subject, though ut has eo for its antecedent. — evaderet: i.e. from the agger, or the towers, raised as high as the top of the walls.

6. foeda, a horrible fate.— de-dita, etc., though they had surren-dered, etc. — Aurunci: this must refer chiefly to the people of Po-metia and Cora. — principes, etc.: this may be merely a repetition of the story in 16. 9, but Livy evidently takes it as a different one. — sub corona: cf. Aul. Gell. VI, 4, antiquitus mancipia iure belli capta coronis indutae veniebant et idcirco dicebantur ‘sub corona’ veni-re. — coloni alii: Livy apparently treats all the inhabitants as if they were colonists.
7 dirutum, ager veniit. Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumphantur.

18 Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Larcium consules habuit. Eo anno Romae cum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit, parva- que ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur supra belli Latini metum. Id quoque accesserat, quod triginta iam coniurasse populos concitante Octavio Ma-

7. consules magis, etc.: i.e. the war was not really important enough for a triumph, but the joy over the avenging of the former defeat caused a triumph to be allowed.

The First Dictator.

18. 2. per ludos... per lasci-viam: the loosely used per expresses in the first case the occasion, in the second the manner of the outbreak. — cf. per luxum, Pref. 12, and per occasiones, 11. 2. — raperentur: cf. the Rape of the Sabines, I. 9. 10. — supra, more serious than; the phrase is an attribute of rebellionem; cf. Gr. 217 c. — metum: i.e. the alarm caused by the Latin war.

3. id quoque, etc.: cf. ab Tusculo, etc., 16. 2. — triginta, etc.: i.e. not merely Tusculum, but the whole Latin league was aroused. — Mamilio: cf. I. 49. 9.

4. sed nec, etc.: i.e. the occasion is clear, but the year is not recorded. — quibus consulibus: although different in case, this expression would ordinarily be equivalent to quo anno, but here the personal character of the consul, as insufficient to cope with the difficulties of the situation, or not trustworthy on account of their political tendencies, makes it necessary to use both expressions; and the narrative is made lively by putting the words in the dative. — constat: i.e. various persons are named by different authorities; see the argument below.

5. veterrimos: these are Fabius Pictor and Piso. — Sp. Cassium: cf. 17. 1. — consulares: object. — legere: the subject seems to be in
ita lex iubebat de dictatore creando lata. Eo magis adducor ut credam Larcium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M’. Valerium M. filium Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consilibus appositorum: quin, si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem vellent, patrem multo potius M. Valerium spectatae virtutis et consularem virum legissent.

Createo dictatore primum Romae postquam praeferrisset secures viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ulla usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator eo magis, quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt. Quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque ut veniam errores hominibus adulescentibus darent, responsum ignosci adulescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent. Actum tamén est de pace; impetrataque foret, si quod impensae factum in bellum erat, prae-stare Sabini — id enim postulatum erat — in animum.

Livy's mind the senate.—ita: i.e. that only ex-consuls should be chosen. — creando: used commonly of a popular election; the regular word for the dictator is dicere, said of the consul.

6. moderatorem, etc.: by giving the description instead of the mere name, the improbability of a young man’s being chosen is brought out.

7. si maxime: like our ‘if ever so much;’ i.e. if, as the historian (probably Valerius Antias; see Intr. 6) says, they must have one of that family, the one named cannot be the one. — vellent: for its subject, cf. legere, 5; for mood and tense, see Gr. 308, a; voluisset would not make the time so exactly concomitant with legissent.

8. praeferrisset: a dignity which the consuls did not enjoy in the city, by one of the laws referred to in 8. 2. — essent: characteristic subjunctive, explaining why one had a veto over the other.

9. crediderant, had come to believe; cf. Gr. 279, e.

10. sererent: from sero, join; cf. serere (certamina), 1, 4, from sero, sow.

11. actum est: i.e. they did not refuse to discuss terms, and in fact would have made peace, if, etc.—
induxissent. Bellum indictum; tacitae indutiae quietum annum tenuere.

19 Consules Servius Sulpicius Manius Tullius; nihil dignum memoria actum; T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta, Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit. Nec ultra bellum Latinum gliscens iam per aliquot annos dilatum. Aulus Postumius dictator Titus Aebutius magister equitum magnis copiis peditum equitumque prefecti ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt; et quia Tarquinios esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit quin extemplo con glerentur. Ergo etiam proelium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem adfuere, sed suismet ipsi corporibus dimicantes miscere certamina. Nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa ex acie sine vulnere praeter dictatorem Romanum excessit.

6 In Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruens temque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam iam aetate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admissit, ictusque

bellum: emphatic as opposed to
de pace just considered. — tacitae: i.e. without any agreement on the subject, both parties refrained from beginning the war that year.

THE LATIN WAR. BATTLE OF LAKE REGILLUS.

19. nihil, etc.: as the work takes the form of annals, like all ancient history, every year must be accounted for. — Vetusius: by the change of s between two vowels to r, this name became afterwards Veturius; see Gr. 11 a. 1.

2. gliscens: cf. 18. 3. — dilatum: i.e. the Romans saw that the Latins, whose discontent had been brewing ever since the weakening of the Romans after the expulsion of the Tarquins, must be met and conquered.

3. lacum Regillum: this locality, famous in song and story, must have been near Tusculum, perhaps a dozen miles from Rome, but can no longer be recognized, the lake having in course of time dried up.

4. Tarquinios esse: cf. 21. 5.

5. etiam: i.e. not only were they impatient to engage, but the battle itself was fiercer. — non enim, etc.: the famous battle had been worked over by poets and historians, till it
ab latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu Aebutius magister equum in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat, nec fefellit veniens Tusculanum ducem, contra quem et ille concitat equum: tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit ut bracchium Aebutio traiectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere; Aebutius cum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugna excessit. Latinus dux nihil deterritus vulnere proelium ciet et, quia suos percussos videbat, arcessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui Luci Tarquini filius praeerat. Ea, quo maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnum parumper restituit.

Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis M. Valerius, Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem iuvenem Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exsulum acie, domesticum etiam gloria accensus, ut, cuius familiae decus eieti reges erant, eiusdem interfeci forent, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium temere invectum in exsulum aciem ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit; nec quicumque equitis vulnerae equo retardato moribundus Romanus labentibus super corpus armis ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter citato agmine invehii, suos percussos cedere animadver-

became a Homeric battle-piece with its heroic incidents.

7. et, no less.— fefellit, escaped the notice of, like the Greek λαφέλλω.

10. quo: properly correlative with eo and another comparative, but here the omission of the second part gives it the meaning of inas-

much as, an expression which has the same sort of origin.

20. ab, on, as so often. — M. Valerius: cf. 30. 5 n. — Publicolae: i.e. Publius; see 8. 1. — domestica: i.e. of his own family.

2. eieti, interfeci: the familiar ab urbe condita construction. — erant: see Gr. 336. b.
tit, cohorti suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum ut quem suorum fugientem viderint pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi a fuga Romani in hostem et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum proelium inuit. Integris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exsules caedunt. Ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto vi maiore quam paulo ante magister equitum cum hostium duce proelium inuit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, cum victor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat obtestans, ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto paruere; desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum, et pro antesignanis partemas obiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies postquam iuventutis proceres aequato genere pugnae secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum

5. cohorti suae: a body-guard, perhaps borrowed in the description from later times. — ancipiti: i.e. of the enemy in front, and their own troops behind.
7. alia: cf. 19. 6 and 7, and 20. 1. — imperator: Octavius Mamilius already pectus percussus; cf. 19. 8. — subsidiariis: the third line, according to later usage, and perhaps earlier also. It is impossible to tell what is true and what anachronistic.
8. legatus: here an officer with a special command; perhaps this also is anachronistic. — magister: cf. 19. 7.
9. inter spoliandum: see Gr. 300.
10. pro antesignanis: see note to subsidiariis, 7. At any rate, the dismounted cavalry now formed the first line.
11. iuventutis: they were young men, sons of the first families (proceres). — tum demum: i.e. then
impulsi Latini, percusqaque inclinavit acies. Equiti ad-
moti equi ut persequi hostem posset; secuta et pedes-
tris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dic-
tator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur, ac
pronuntiasse militi praemia, qui primus, qui secundus
castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardur fuit ut eodem
impetu quo fuderant hostem Romani castra caperent.
Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dict-
tator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem red-
riere.

Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. Con-
sules Quintus Cloelius et T. Larcius, inde A. Sempro-
nius et M. Minucius. His consulibus aedis Saturno
dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies. Aulus de-
inde Postumius et T. Verginius consules facti. Hoc
demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quos-
dam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiae fidei
fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse; dictatorem inde factum.
Tanti errores implicant temporum, aliter apud alios ordi-
natis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules secundum quos

it was (and not till then) that . . .
first, etc.; cf. 21. 3 n.
12. admoti: i.e. their horses
were brought to them by the
attendants.
13. eodem impetu: i.e. no new
formation and attack was necessary.

DEATH OF TARQUIN. OPPRESSION
OF THE PLEBS.

21. 2. Saturnalia: in apposition
with dies.— festus dies: the num-
ber of days was increased to three
under Augustus, and later to five,
beginning December 17. The fes-
tival was probably much older than
this, but at this time some new rites
may have been added.
3. hoc demum anno, not until
this year, the regular meaning of
demum with a demonstrative word;
 cf. tum demum, 20, 11 n. — dubiae
fidei: cf. consulibus parum credi-
tum sit, 18. 4. — se consulatu ab-
dicasse: this seems not to have
been necessary (cf. 18. 5), but it
might have happened in special
cases, or the act may have been
independent of the subsequent ap-
pointment.
4. errores: see Introduction, 7.
— implicat: sc. the historian. —
aliter, etc.: the succession of con-
suls was, no doubt, originally kept
with the greatest care, but had been
exposed to many causes of disturb-
ance in the preserved accounts. —
qui consules, etc., which followed
nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum, digerere possis.

Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractio opes Latinorum ad Aristode-


22 Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax neque bellum fuerat; nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Ro-

which. — auctor: ordinarily the antiquity of the authorities would be an assurance of correctness, but there had been so many causes of disturbance that Livy takes the view of the date of the battle given in chapter 19.

5. Claudius: cf. 16.4. — Servi-

lius: cf. I. 30. 2. — hic annus: B.C. 496. — post fractas, etc.: it is not necessary to suppose that the war was waged to restore the Tarquins, though this is stated by some of the ancient authorities. They might have fought on that side in the hope of being restored, and afterwards naturally fled to the next uninjured neighbor.

6. luxuriosa, excessive, properly, of a free and luxuriant growth. — inservitum: doubtless to secure their continued devotion to the republic, which was after all only an oligarchy. Of the three estates, king, lords, and commons, the com-

mons usually hold the balance of power, and are regularly used by one of the first two to crush the other.

7. Signia: cf. I. 56. 3. We must suppose the remnant of the colony driven out and again sent back with completed numbers. — una et vi-

ginti: i.e. four in the city (cf. I. 43. 13), sixteen outside (rusticae), and the tribus Crustumina besides. — aedes Mercuri: cf. 27. 5, where the same thing seems to be repeated.

War with the Volsci. Union with Latium.

22. bello: an ablative of time, the regular construction with such words. — fuerat: the author takes a new standpoint at the end of the Latin war, beginning with B.C. 495. — comparaverant: the reason why there was not peace. — maturatum esset: the apodosis is suffi-

ently suggested in mitterent,
mano esset, et maturavit Romanus, ne proelia uno cum Latino Volscosque contenderet. Hac ira consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxer. Volscos consilii poenam non metuentes necopinata res perculit. Armorum immemores obsides dant trecentos principum a Cora atque Pometia liberos: ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. Nec ita multo post Volscis levatis metu suum reidiit ingenium: rursus occultum parant bellum Hernicos in societatem armorum adsumptis; legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimit- tunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos ira odioque eius, quicumque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit. Comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere. Ibi traditi consulibus, indicatumque est Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Roma-

"they had got together forces to send (and would have sent), had not," etc. — maturavit, etc.: the reason why there was not war, — the Romans were too quick for them.

2. hac ira: cf. I. 30. 4 n. Livy's account (cf. 21. 1) makes a four years' interval from the battle of Lake Regillus to these events. But he is evidently now following the other account to which he alludes (21. 3), and so connects the events immediately with the Latin war. — consili, of their course; namely, in aiding the Latins. — necopinata res: i.e. as they had no fear of punishment, the sudden appearance of the Romans overwhelmed them. — armorum immemores, without thinking of resistance. — Pometia: this had been already destroyed, according to Livy's account (17. 6), but now reappears as a city of the Volsci; cf. 25. 6. — a Cora: cf. ab Aricia, I. 50. 3 n.

3. nec, and yet not. — levatis: as fear casts down, so freedom from it lifts up; cf. perculit, 2. — suum ... ingenium: i.e. their native warlike and hostile disposition, which had been held in check for the moment by their fear. — occultum: emphatic, as opposed to their open warfare before. — Hernicos: a mountain people counted as belonging to Latium, but not politically included with them.

4. legatos: emphatic, as opposed to their actual arrangement with the Hernici. — quoque: belonging to the whole sentence, but, as usual, placed after the emphatic word: 'they took in the Hernici, and sent also to Latium, but without success.' — recens, etc.: a somewhat confused way of saying that the Latins, from anger, etc., caused by the memory of the late disaster, did not refrain, etc.; the disaster itself being put for the Latins who were thinking of it.

23 Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat et civitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabit odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. Freme-

5. relata: the technical term for the act of the consuls consulting the senate as to the proper course of action; here deferre might be used, but it would mean only report, and not consult. — fuit: sc. the act of the Latins. — captivorum: the taking of these captives has not been mentioned, but whatever account Livy is following, the events occurred just after the Latin war, when the Romans might be supposed to have had prisoners. — de foedere: this has not been mentioned, and Livy is evidently following another, but not necessarily inconsistent account, as is seen by servierant, 7. — fuerat: see Gr. 291. b. R.; the auxiliary is here used with the classical force. — reicerent: at first sight not a concession, but it was something to allow the possibility of action on that point.

6. enimvero, really, you may be sure, or the like, the usual force of the word, introducing an important change in the situation. — pacis: indicating that there was another party which favored war. — qui: the antecedent is in apposition with multitudo.

7. servierant: they had already been sold as slaves, which would agree with Livy's story; perhaps this is a part of his attempt to join the two accounts, a function that he often has to perform. — habiti, etc.: these words contain, in the form of a predicate participle, the cause of their gratitude. — hospitia: the peculiar ancient relation of semi-official friendship; cf. I. 45. 2 n.

DISCONTENT OF THE PLEBS.

23. sed: in opposition to the good fortune of the Latin alliance. — bellum: not as opposed to the Latin peace, which would be Volscum bellum, but as opposed to the domestic disturbances. — flagrabit, was ablaze, keeping the forcible figure. — nexos: the cause was really the state of things under which the oppression took place, but it is po-
bant se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi
a civibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello
quam in pace, et inter hostis quam inter cives liberta-
tem plebis esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscen-
tem insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magna nat 3
quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in
forum proiecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedor 4
corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti. Ad hoc
promissa barba et capilli effraverant speciem oris.
Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines
duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiae decora vulgo mise-
rantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot
locis pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat.
Sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum 5
circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino
bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri
non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta
omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore im-
etically put as the cases of oppres-
sion which moved the people. The
obligation was in which the
debtor mortgaged his own person
for the payment of a debt. The
bound of flesh of Shylock and the
practice of imprisonment for debt
are distant echoes of the process.

2. dimicantes: it was while the
people were absent in military ser-
vice that the debts had opportunity
to run up beyond their ability to
pay. While they were away their
lands were not cultivated, and did
not yield the profits that were relied
on to pay the debt; cf. 5, below.
— invidiam: the general odium
against the creditor class.

3. magni, etc.: the description
of the manner in which the special
calamitas referred to became known.
—insignibus: referring to the ap-
pearance of the man as given in
the next line.

4. noscitabatur: i.e. though thus
disfigured, he was generally recog-
nized. — in, amid, i.e. in spite of.—
ordines, etc.: i.e. he had held the
post of centurion, the highest ‘non-
commissioned’ officer. — alia dec-
cora: i.e. military distinctions be-
sides the promotion, which was a
reward of prowess. — ipse: i.e.
others told his history, and he him-
self showed scars of honorable
wounds.

5. habitus, condition. — defor-
mitas, hideous appearance. — in
contionis modum: i.e. like a pub-
lc meeting called together by au-
thority. — Sabino: cf. ch. 16. —
tributum: i.e. the war tax. — suo:
the emphasis is only the favorite one
upon pronouns; cf. the use of ego in
peratum, aes alienum fecisset. Id cumulatum usuris primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis, postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus: ductum se ab creditore non in servitium sed in ergastum et carnificinam esse. Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi vincti solutique se undique in publicum proripiant, implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes. Multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magna cum periculo suo qui forte patrum in foro erant in eam turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. Haec se meritos dicere exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi colloquial language where we should not consider it emphatic.

6. *tabem*: *i.e.* like a spreading disease, as we should say 'a cancer.'
   — *pervenisse*: literally, the debt.
   — *ad corpus*: *i.e.* he had been obliged to borrow money on the *nexus* obligation, as above described.
   — *ductum*, etc.: *i.e.* upon non-payment the creditor had taken him, according to the contract, as a slave.

7. *verberum*: inflicted on him as a slave. — *foro*: where it began.

8. *vincit solutique*: both those who had already been taken and those who were only under the obligation. — *Quiritium fidem*: the usual cry of a Roman citizen to his countrymen for help, like 'Citizens to the rescue.' *Cf.* *di vos cram fidem.*
   — *voluntarius*: *i.e.* volunteers to join the uprising, implying those who had no similar cause of complaint.

10. *nec*, *nor*, which in English is often used like the Latin word for *and in fact... not.* 'Any senator who happened there was in peril of his life, and they would have suffered, had not,' etc. — *manibus, acts of violence* (ablative), — *at in eos*, etc.: *i.e.* in spite of the reverence for authority which kept the mob from violence towards them, the rioters addressed them with reproaches and threats rather than supplications. — *aliam*: *i.e.* such as the emaciation and pallor, marks of blows, and the like.

11. *haec se meritos, that this was their reward, for their services in such and such a battle (alius alibi).* — *dicere*: historical infinitive. — *exprobrantes, telling, with*
militiam; postulare tanto minaciter magis quam suppliciter ut senatum vocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus; ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat. Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multi-
tudo putare, et patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari, nec dubie ludibrio esse miserias suas. Iam prope erat ut ne consulum quidem maestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo inter patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediiis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabant cum tutius tum facili esse.

**angry reproach, of.** The word is used like our colloquial ‘fling in one's face.’ — **multo, etc.:** notice how the emphasis is distributed by the artificial interlocking of the words; cf. Gr. 344. e. — **curiam, etc.:** *i.e.* ready for the meeting, in order to influence the deliberations.

12. **pauci, only a few,** with the regular negative meaning of the word. — **quos casus, etc.:** *i.e.* only those who were caught, as it were, by the authorities, could be got together. — **infrequentiam, the want of a quorum;** a later usage transferred by Livy to these early times.

13. **tum vero:** in its regular force to denote a decisive point in the narrative. — **eludi:** the proper meaning of the word to dodge, in fencing, is here felt through the figurative one of to mock. — **extrahi, put off. — tergiversari, were playing a double part,** turning the back first one way and then another.

14. **iam:** compare the progressive force of this word with that of the instantaneous **tum. — coerceret, could restrain,** a force given by the imperfect; see Gr. 277. g. — **incerti:** *sc.* the absent senators. — **non modo, etc.:** see Gr. 149. e. — **satis conveniebat, was there any harmony.**

15. **vehementis:** opposed to **lenibus. — imperio:** *i.e.* by the energetic exercise of authority.
24. Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso ad volant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita — adeo duae ex una civitate discordia fecerat — longe aliter patres ac plebe adfecerant. Exsultare gaudio plebes, uliores superbiae patrum adesse dicere deos. Alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent; cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros; patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli penes quos prae-mia essent. At vero curia maesta ac trepida ancipit metu et ab cive et ab hoste Serviliun consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare ut tantis circum- ventam terroribus expediret rem publicam. Tum con-sul misso senatu in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi; ceterum delibe-rationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte civita-tis, metum pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeverti sese quicquam; nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta, arma pro patria non cepisse, neque patribus sati decorum

ALARMS OF A VOLSCIAN WAR.

24. alius, from another quarter. — adeo: with its customary refer-ence to the context. — longe aliter, with far different feelings. 2. uliores: cf. di regum uliores, 6. 7. — confirmare, exhorted; pro-properly, confirmed each other in their purpose. — perituros: an indica-tive clause in the direct, ‘they would.’ — militarent: a hortatory clause, ‘they should.’ 4. in contionem: to address the people. — curae esse: i.e. that they had it on their minds, and were engaged in finding measures of relief. — maxima quidem illa: the usual order illa quidem is re-versed because the real emphasis is on maxima. — parte: only a part.

5. posse: emphatic, ‘it was im-possible.’ — praeverte: active de-ponent, ‘take up ... before.’ — si sit, etc.: i.e. in case they should first find measures of relief, it would not be honorable for the plebs to refuse to take arms without first re-receiving the relief as a bounty. — cepisse: looking forward to the completion of the transaction, and thinking how it would seem then. — neque: really a double nega-tive, but Livy has forgotten the aut.
per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate afflictis
civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni deinde 6
edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit ne quis civem Roma-
um vinctum aut clausum teneret quo minus ei nomi-
nis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis,
donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut venderet,
liberos nepotesve eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto 7
et qui aderant nexit profiteri extemplo nomina, et undi-
que ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum reti-
nendi ius creditoris non esset, concursus in forum, ut
sacramento dicerent, fieri. Magna ea manus fuit, neque 8
aliorum magis in Volscio bello virtus atque opera eni-
tuit. Consul copias contra hostem educit, parvo diri-
mente intervallo castra ponit.

Proxima inde nocte Volsci discordia Romana freti, 25
si qua nocturna transitio proditiove fieri posset, temp-
tant castra. Sensere vigiles, excitatus exercitus, signo
dato concursum est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum 2
Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrimque quieti datum.

and proceeds as if the word were
opposed to nec. — voluntate: op-
opposed to per metum, but standing
in a slightly different relation.
6. contioni: here his address, as
often. — edicto: really a stay of
proceedings in cases of debt while
the men were in service. — nomi-
nis edendi: another form of the
technical phrase for enlistment; cf.
nomina darent, 2. — possideret:
the technical phrase for taking pos-
session under process of law. — li-
beros nepotesve: these also were
the property of the paterfamilias,
and followed his property and per-
son.
7. qui aderant: those who had
escaped. — profiteri: cf. dare and
edere above, in the same sense. —
undique: others who now followed
the example of the first. — sacra-
mento: the oath of enlistment,
which was dictated (rogare), and
according to which the soldier spoke
his obligatory promise.
8. in Volaco bello: cf. Latino
bello, 22. 1, where the idea of time
predominate, while here the cir-
cumstances are the main thing.

ENGAGEMENT WITH THE VOLSCI.

25. transitio: i.e. desertion of
some part of the disaffected forces.
— posset: see Gr. 334. f. — sen-
sere: sc. the attempt. — concur-
sum est: i.e. on the part of the
Romans.
2. ita: i.e. as the whole army
was aroused, there was no oppor-
Postero die prima luce Volsci fossis repletis vallum inva-
dunt. Iamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur, 
cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique ut signum daret 
clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper 
moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato 
tandem ad erumpendum signo militem avidum certa-
eminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugi-
entibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa; eques 
usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra legioni-
bus circumdatis, cum Volsci indes aetam pavor expulis-
set, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pome-
tiam, quo confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra 
paucos dies oppidum capitur, captum praedae datum.
Inde paulum recreatus egens miles. Consul cum maxima 
gloria sua victorem exercitum Romam redudit. Deced-
dentem Romam Ectetranorum Volsciurum legati, rebus 
suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex 
seratus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

The expected treachery of 
a part.

3. munimenta: i.e. the palis-
sades of which the Roman camp 
was regularly made. — velleban-
tur: see Gr. 277. c. — cum ... 
emittit: see Gr. 325. b. This 
sentence is a good example of the so-
called artificial period, in which, 
however, the emphasis of position 
is so preserved that the artificiality 
is only one of grammar and not of 
tea. It may be analyzed thus: 'The 
Volsci were in the act of gaining 
the wall, then (at which time) the 
consul (began) — to be sure every-
body, and especially the supposed 
disaffected, were clamorous — but 
he wanted to see how they felt, and 
so for awhile he stopped — but then 
it became clear that their spirit was 
intense — and then he gave the sig-
nal, and the soldiers, eager for the 
contest, were let loose.' — appare-
bat: see Gr. 324. a. The continu-
ance of the action which occasions 
the imperfect lies in the gradual 
perception of the state of things on 
the part of the consul; it can be 
rendered in English by began to or 
the like.

4. pedes ... eques: the order 
of antithesis is chiastic. — pavidos, 
in their panic. — etiam: empha-
sizing inde.

5. ad Suessam: see Gr. 258. b. 
N. 2. — Pometiam: cf. 16. 8 and 
22. 2 n. — inde recreatus: i.e. the 
booty relieved the poverty of the 
soldiers.

6. decedentem: later the tech-
nical expression for a magistrate 
leaving his province. — Ectetran-
rorum: a branch of the Volsci; their
Confestim et Sabini Romanos territavere, — tumultus enim fuit verius quam bellum. Nocte in urbem nuntiatum est exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem amnem pervenisset; ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat; secutus consul Servilius cum delecta peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit; nec advenientes peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio: fessi cum itinere tum populatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere.

Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero die in magna iam spe undique partae pacis legati Aurunci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat. Cuius fama haud procul iam ab Aricia visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec consuli ordine patres, nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent: Ariciam

place of abode is uncertain. — ex senatus consulto: the senate was the body that decided questions of ‘foreign affairs.’

SABINE AND AURUNCAN WARS.

26. enim: introducing the reason for saying territavere. — tumultus: an almost technical word for a sudden alarm of war without regular preparation therefor, whether it becomes serious later or not. — in urbem: see Gr. 225. 6. 1.

2. Postumius: apparently as a legatus; one consul may have remained in the city on account of the threatening aspect of domestic affairs. — dictator: see 21. 3.

3. palantes: in their predatory excursions. — legio: opposed chiro-astically to plerosque, the main body to the outlying parties. — magna pars: limiting apposition with fessi; repleti, though really referring only to pars, resumes the original number and gender.

4. partae pacis: the often cited participial construction, Gr. 292. a; i.e. they hoped ‘that peace had been secured.’ — ni decedatur: see Gr. 341. c; ‘they said there would be war unless,’ etc.

5. Aricia: only a few miles from Rome, on the Appian Way, and thus well within the bounds of Latium. — consuli ordine, etc.: i.e. to have a regular meeting of the senate in reference to the embassy. — pacatum responsum: i.e. if the senate had been consulted, could they,
infesto agmine itur, nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa conlata proelioque uno debellatum est.

27 Fuis Auruncis victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus exspectabat, cum Appius, et insita superbia animo et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat ius de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nexi fuerant creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabant. Concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant ut aut referret ad senatum aut ut auxiliq esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec; sed tergiversari res cogebat: adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps erat, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita medium se gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud patres gratiam inuìt: patres

under the circumstances, treat of peace?

6. debellatum est, the war was finished.

RENEWED UNKASINESS OF THE PLEBS.

27. Romanus: i.e. the plebs. — exspectabat, were waiting the fulfilment of. — cum . . . dicere: cf. 25. 3. The historical infinitive with cum is justified by the nature of the clause, which, though grammatically dependent, is really the main clause (cum inversum): but we have here the first step towards the somewhat freer (but never common) use of the historical infinitive in dependent clauses, found in later writers, especially Tacitus. — et . . . et: giving the two causes, — one his native arrogance, the other jealousy of his colleague. — ius . . . dicere: i.e. in his decisions of cases brought before him, which served as precedents for others (deinceps). — tradebantur: i.e. those who had enjoyed temporary freedom by the suspension of legal process. — nectebantur: i.e. those who had not been proceeded against before.

2. appellabat: according to the Roman polity, each colleague had a veto on the acts of the others. This is the first mention of the appeal to this right, though it is alluded to in 18. 8. — concursus: i.e. of the partisans of the arrested men. — illius: representing the emphasis upon in used in their appeal. — exprobrabant: cf. 23. 11. — belli: i.e. the last war. — referret ad senatum: i.e. for general relief. — auxilio, etc.: i.e. at least interfere in these special cases.

3. tergiversari: cf. 23. 13 n. — adeo: i.e. that he was compelled, etc. — medium: see Gr. 191. —
mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem; brevique apparuit adaequasse eum Appii odium. Certamen consulis inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercuri aedem. Senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit: utri eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum praeesse annae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollemnia pro pontifice iussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat. M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni; quod facile appareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum quam ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter patresque, sed plebi creverat animi, et longe alia quam primo institerant via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem vidisset, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, cum decesset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque

nec plebis, etc.: notice the combination of chiastic and parallel order.

4. mollem, weak, what we call 'lacking backbone.' — ambitiosum: i.e. seeking to curry favor with the plebs, the prevalent meaning of the word; cf. ambitissae, L. 35. 2.—adaequasse, etc.: cf. navium iuventus adaequarunt, Ces. B. G. V. 8. 4.

5. Mercuri, etc.: see 21. 7, where the temple has already been mentioned.—senatus a se, etc.: probably not wishing to decide between two such powerful claimants. —praeesse, etc.: i.e. to perform the functions later performed by the aediles or by a praefectus annonae (cf. IV. 12. 8), —by the latter regularly from the time of Augustus.—mercatorum, etc.: the first mention of the great religious guilds. To this one, probably consisting chiefly of grain merchants, was assigned the charge of the cult of Mercury.—pro pontifice: this ought to mean on behalf of, etc., but in accordance with the ritual (see 8. 7), the magistrate could hardly be said to act in that capacity; the meaning is doubtful.

6. appareret: for mood, see Gr. 311. a. —curatio, a function, a matter to take care of.

7. utique: i.e. whatever their state of mind had been before.—sed, etc.: i.e. but it was of no use; the plebs had become emboldened and were not to be put down, but openly resorted to violence.

8. vidissent: the subjunctive of repeated action; see Gr. 309. b; so also decesset. —exaudiri: implying that he tried to make himself heard.

9. metus, etc.: i.e. the danger was to the creditors (of being seized
omnis et periculum libertatis, cum in conspectu consuli singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debito-ribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectuque decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiceret, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet; non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam, neque proiectum consulare imperium: se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, provocavit. Nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore: adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertis sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque conloquiis. Tandem invis plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

and maltreated) rather than the debtors. — in conspectu: i.e. it showed the danger when the highest magistrate had no power to restrain the mob, and the single patrician creditor was attacked by many at once. — verterant: intransitive; cf. 8. 1 n.

10. super haec, on the top of all this. — nomen dedit: cf. 24. 2, 6. — populari: the same as ambitiosus; cf. 4, above. — silentio, inactivity, in that he refused to judge debtors, or join with his colleague in ordering the levy. — dixisset: informal indirect discourse; see Gr. 341. d.

11. non esse: emphatic, it was not (as they supposed).

12. cotidiana, the usual, those who came every day. — licentia, lawlessness. — seditionum: the plural, because each case of refusal was a mutiny. — provocavit: i.e. from the consul to his peers, the people; cf. 8. 2 n. — nec, and yet... not, though the appeal was a sacred right. — populi: i.e. the plebs would have a majority in the assembly. — auctoritate, influence. — adeo: i.e. to such a degree as to disregard the sacred right. — ad sustinendam: i.e. he was not abashed by the popular odium.

13. secessione: i.e. secret conclave; cf. 28. 1, below. — Servilius neutris: cf. 3, above.
A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. 28
Tum vero plebs, incerta quales habitura consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis pars in Aventino, facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis et omnia temere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam ad patres deferunt, sed delatam consulere ordine non licuit: adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exsequendum esset, invidiam eius consules ad senatum reicerent. Profecto, si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romae nisi publicum concilium: nunc in milie curias continent, cum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Aventino iam concilia, dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. Vnum hercule virum — id enim plus esse quam consulem —, qualis Appius Claudius fuerit, momento tempo-

Increased Activity of the Plebs.

28. *Vetusius*: cf. 19. i. n. — *tum vero*: cf. 23. 13 n. — *quales*: *i.e.* in their political tendencies. — *coetus*: cf. *secessione*, 27. 13. — *Esquiliis*: construed like the name of a town, doubtless because it is a plural and represents a quarter (see 1. 44. 3 n.). Livy’s practice, however, is not consistent; cf. *in Esquiliis* in 4, below. — *ne in foro*, etc.: *i.e.* they organize and consult upon a plan of action, so as not to be taken unawares, just as in modern times measures are discussed in caucus.

2. *deferunt*: here hardly different from *referre*; cf. *relata*, 22. 5 n. — *ordine*: *i.e.* in the regular manner, whereby the senators were asked their opinion on a definite proposition; cf. 26. 5. — *tumultuose*: *i.e.* when the facts were announced there was a general outcry, and the body did not wait to follow its regular course of proceedings. — *indignatione*, *expressions of indignation*. — *si*, etc.: depending on an *indignum esse* implied in *indignatione*: cf. 1. 47. 6, and Gr. 341. c. — *imperio*: cf. 23. 15. — *esset*: representing *erat* of the direct discourse; cf. Gr. 311. c. — *invidiam*: to suppress the unauthorized assemblies would be an unpopular measure, the odium of which (they said) ought to have been borne by the consuls. — *reicere*: cf. 27. 5.

3. *essent*: condition contrary to fact; see Gr. 308. a. For the order, see Gr. 344. d (2). — *futurum fuisse*: see Gr. 337. 6. N. 1. — *publicum*: *i.e.* the recognized official assemblies.

4. *nunc*, but now (as it was). — *rem publicam*: *i.e.* the government of the state. — *id*: referring loosely to virum, to be a *real* man.
ris discussurum illos, coetus fuisse. Correpti consules, cum, quid ergo se facere vellent, nihil enim segnius molliusve quam patribus placeat acturos, percunctaretur, decernunt ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant; otio lascivire pleblem. Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; citant nominatim iuniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in conceptionis modum negare ultra decipi pleblem posse; numquam unum militem habituros, ni praestaretur fides publica; libertatem unicamente prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro dominis pugnet. Consules quid mandatum esset a senatu videbant, sed eorum qui intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur neminem adesse invidiae suae participem; et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. Prius itaque quam ultima experientur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum prope

5. correpti: *i.e.* feeling rebuked. — vellent... placeat: see Gr. 336. B. a. N. 1. — decernunt: *sc.* the senate. — acerrimum: a word often applied to a levy without the allowance of excuses, and rigidly enforced.

6. tribunal: a raised platform in the Forum, where magistrates exercised their functions. — citant: as opposed to the general order, to which ordinarily the people would respond by giving in their names (*nomina dare*). Here they are individually summoned. — contionis: *i.e.* the crowd was like a general meeting of the people summoned by a magistrate. — negare: this word, in its emphatic position, represents an emphatic negative; cf. *non, 23. 7*, and *numquam* below.


8. quid, etc.: a good example of the variable order (and emphasis) of the Latin. If *videbant* had come first, as it well might, the sense would be ‘they were well aware, but did not act in accordance with the knowledge.’ Here it is, ‘they knew the *orders* of the senate as a body, but they also saw that no one of the senators themselves came *personally* to bear the brunt of the fight.’ — *suae: i.e.* of the consuls. Politics were much the same in ancient as in modern times, and our newspapers are as good a comment on Livy’s account as could be desired. — et apparebat: the connection of thought is, ‘and there was good reason why they did not show themselves, for in fact it *was evident* that there would be a violent contest with the lower orders.’

9. itaque: in Livy often in the second place. — ultima, extreme
convolavere minimus quisque natu patrum abdicare consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

Vtraque re satis experta tum demum consules: 'Ne praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus ut ii qui maxime ignaviam inrepat adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus.' Redeunt in tribunal, citari nominatim unum ex his qui in spectu erant dedita opera iubent. Cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes qui patrum consilium aderant devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam

measures, which were likely to lead to armed collision. — sellas: i.e. in the senate. — prope: i.e. there was not quite a turbulent mob round the chairs of the consuls, but it was not far from that. Some editions have propere, which certainly makes good sense. — convolavere: cf. 27. 8. — minimus: i.e. the younger, and so at the same time less cautious and more arrogant.

CONTINUED RESISTANCE OF THE PLEBS.

29. utraque: i.e. both to hold a levy by force, and to appeal to the senate. — tum demum: it was only then, after having tried both courses, that the consul stood upon their own defence and demanded the help of the 'sidewalk committee.'— ne . . . negetis: see Gr. 317. c. — adsint: with its usual meaning of being present to assist; cf. the English 'stand by.' — cuiusque: i.e. we will take as active measures as the most violent de-
sires, since that is your pleasure, if you will stand by us.

2. citari, etc.: i.e. they purposely (dedita opera) take some one at hand, in order to make a test case. — tacitus: cf. nemo responderet, 28. 6. — lictorem: the regular instrument of the magistrate, like a constable, sheriff, or marshal.

3. quo repulso: this was an overt act of rebellion. — qui, etc.: i.e. those who had responded to the call of the consuls to stand by them.

4. lictore, etc.: i.e. the officer of the law received no violence, being only prevented from arresting his man, but towards the assisting party the people were not so moderate, and proceeded to attack them. This encounter was stopped by the consuls, though after all (tamen) the moderation of the people showed itself by the fact that no real violence was used, not a stone, nor a deadly weapon, only angry abuse and fisticuffs, which Livy implies in
prendere prohibito, cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam iniuriae fuerat. Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consultur, quaestionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiiis magis quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius rem non vulgabat: de iis tantum, qui fidem secuti Publi Servili consulis Vulsco, Aurunco, Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. Titus Larcius non id tempus esse ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse ni omnibus consulatur;
quin, si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discor-
efferatus hinc plebis odio illinc patrum laudibus, non
miseriis ait sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et
lascivire magis plebem quam saevire. Id adeo malum 10
ex provocatione natum: quippe minas esse consulum,
non imperium, ubi ad eos qui una peccaverint, provo-
care liceat. 'Agedum' inquit 'dictatorem, a quo pro-
 vocatio non est, creemus! Iam hic, quo nunc omnia
ardet, conticescet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem, 12
qui sciet ius de tergo vitate sua penes unum illum
esse cuius maiestatem violarit.'

Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appi sen-
tentia; rursus Vergini Larciique exemplo haud salubres,
utique Larcii putabant sententiam, quae totam fidem
tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque con-
silium Vergini habebatur; sed factione respectuque 2
rerum privatarum, quae semper offccere officientque
publicis consiliis, Appius victi, ac prope fuit ut dicta-

vices, but a deep-seated evil was to be removed.—
'demersam', swamped, 'over head and ears in.' — sisti:
<i.e.</i> there could be no solid ground to
stand on, no stable equilibrium.—
quin, <i>in fact.</i> — alia, etc.: the dis-
tinction made would only breed dis-
content.

9. <i>efferatus</i>, maddened; used of
the momentary state of his mind as
opposed to his native disposition.
— <i>plebis</i>: subjective genitive.—
<lascivire</lascivire>: the effect of licentia;
<saevire</saevire>: the effect of miserii.

10. id <i>adeo</i>, etc.: <i>i.e.</i> that was
just the effect of the appeal allowed,
just what was to be expected. — mi-

<minas</minas>, etc.: <i>i.e.</i> it was only an empty
threat if it did not take immediate
effect without appeal, inasmuch as
the people would clear the offender.

12. <i>pulset</i>: <i>i.e.</i> if he dares, a
sarcastic exhortation. — de <i>tergo</i>
vitate: <i>i.e.</i> to dispose of by flog-
ging and beheading.

A.PPOINTMENT OF A DICTATOR.
OUTBREAK OF WAR.

80. ut <i>erat</i>: cf. 28: 2. — rursus,
<i>on the other hand.</i> — <i>exempl</i>
(ablative of specification): <i>i.e.</i> it
would encourage such uprisings in
future. — utique: <i>i.e.</i> however it
might be with the other one. —
quaes, one which. — <i>fidem</i>, etc.: <i>i.e.</i>
destroyed credit by removing the
security for loans. — utroque, in both
respects, as a precedent and as a
conciliatory measure.

2. <i>factione</i>: <i>i.e.</i> the influence of his
partisans; cf. 27. 3. — <i>rerum</i>: <i>i.e.</i>
those of the creditors.—ac, and even.
tor ille idem crearetur, quae res utique alienasset plen-bem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aequeque et
Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit
consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperium suo vehem-
mens, mansueto permetteretur ingenio. M. Valerium
dictatorem, Vollesi filium, creant. Plebes etsi adversus
se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, cum provocatio-
nem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec
superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore pro-
positum confirmavit animos Servili fere consulis edicto
conveniens. Sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi
omisso certamine nomina dedere. Quantus numquam
ante exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternaae inde
datae consulibus, quattuor dictator usus.

Nec iam poterat bellum differri. Aeque Latinum
agrum inaserrant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu pe-
tebant ut aut mitterent subsidium aut se ipsos tuen-
dorum finium causa capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum
est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma.
Vetusius consul missus est. Is finis populationibus fuit.
Cessere Aequi campis, locoque magis quam armis fredi
summis se iugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in

3. utique: i.e. and that the elec-
tion of Appius, at any rate, etc., how-
ever the other course might turn out. — periculosissimo: the posi-
tion and connection give the force, ‘and it would have been a most dan-
gerous time too.’

4. sed: referring back to prope
fuit, etc. — ut, etc.: i.e. that the
office naturally tending to forcible
measures should be entrusted to a
man of the opposite character.

5. M. Valerium: see chapters 16
and 20. There is an inconsistency
in the account, because this man
was said to be killed at the battle of
Lake Regillus. — fratris: P. Vale-
rius Publicola. — triste, harsh.

6. deinde: first they were re-
assured by the character of the
man’s family, and then by his pro-
clamation. — melius: than to con-
tend with violence.

7. quantus: its antecedent, tan-
tus exercitus, would be in apposi-
tion with legiones. — inde: see
Gr. 207. a.

8. capere arma: the Latins are
here represented as denied the
power of making war.

9. is: the regular agreement (at-
traction) with the predicate; it re-

Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi 31...
longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque, exuit castris. Equitatu immisso medium turbaverat hostium aciem, qua, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apto introrsum ordinibus aciem firmaverant; turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra capta debellatumque est. Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in circio ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus, sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volsciis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus, Velitras coloni ab urbe misi et colonia deducta. Cum Aequis post aliquanto pugnatum est invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites extrahi rem criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret inritaque, sicut ante consulis, promissà eius caderent, perpulere ut forte temere in adversos montis agmen erigeret. Id male commissum ignavia hostium in bonum vertit, qui, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audacia

War with the Volsci. Renewal of Civil Strife.

1. fuerat: in reference to the time of fundit.
2. turbaverat: in reference to invasit; cf. preceding note. — pandunt: see Gr. 276. e. — parum, etc.: the centre had a thinner formation, because the rear lines of troops had been used to extend the wings. — turbatos, being thus in disorder. — eodem impetu: cf. 30. 14. — debellatum: cf. 26. 6.
3. urbem: see Gr. 237. d. — invehitur: i.e. in the triumphal chariot; a detail thrown in to give liveliness. — solitos: these were the recording of his name in the Annales, and the right to the toga picta and tunica palmata.— locus: a permanent seat secured at the games, according to Greek custom. No other example of this is mentioned in Roman history.
4. et colonia deducta: these words, perhaps a gloss, would be in themselves sufficient, but the preceding clause no doubt has reference to the relief afforded to the colonists by being sent, and also to the fact that they were cives Romani, who had special privileges. — Aequis: cf. 30. 9. — quidem: corresponding to sed.
5. promissà, etc.: see 24. 6 and 30. 6. — forte temere: a double expression for the same thing, the inconsiderate attack.
6. male commissum, unwise measure; cf. bene factum and the
Romanorum relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenuerant locis, in aversas valles desiluere; ubi satis praedae et victoria incruenta fuit.

Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta de domesticarum rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura decesserat: tanta cum gratia tum arte praeparaverant faenernatores quae non modo plebem sed ipsum etiam dictorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius post Vetusi consulis reditum omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, retulitque, quid de nexis fieri placeret. Quae cum reiecta relatio esset, 'Non placeo' inquit 'concordiae auctor. Optabitis, me dius fidius, propediem ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos, neque ipse frustra dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum externum fecere ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica; pax foris parta est, domi impeditur: privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero.' Ita curia egressus dictatura se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi,
suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse; itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset quin praestaretur, decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

Timor inde patres incessit ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fienter. Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamēn, quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacramento teneri milītem rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis bellī educi ex urbe legiones iussere. Quo facto matūrata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse. Trans Anienem annem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum.

Ea frequentior fama est quam cuius Piso auctor est, in Aventinum secessionem factam esse. Ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessarium ad victum sumendo, per aliquot

dative. — suam vicem, on their behalf. — persoluta fide, having performed his promise. — per eum, etc., it had not been his fault. — praestaretur: he was held free from the obligation of his promise, though that promise had not been performed, the failure being no fault of his.

Secessio of the Plebs.

32. dimissus, disbanded. In those times the army did not continue in service, but was called out for a campaign and then disbanded. — quamquam, etc.: this appears to be put in by Livy, as so many other details, to explain and connect the meagre accounts of the annals. Other authorities represent only the army of the consuls as retained in service, in which case this explanation is unnecessary. — in consulum verba: because it was they who had held the levy ordered by the dictator. — per causam, on the pretext; cf. I. 49. 5. — matūrata: brought to a head.

2. de consulum caede: as if, by their death, the oath of obedience to them would be annulled. — religionem, religious duty.

3. frequentius, more commonly reported, by more authorities. — cuius, the one of which. — Piso: see Intr. 6.

4. rem nullam, etc.: i.e. without any lawless violence, indicating the peaceable character of the movement.
dies neque lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe metuque mutuo suspensa erant 5 omnia. Timere relictà ab suis plebes violentiam patrum, timere patres residen in urbe plebem, incerti manere eam an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam quae secesserit multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum exsistat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam 7 ducere; eam per aequa per iniqua reconciliandam civitati esse. Sic placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti, 8 Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.

Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse furtur: tempore quo 9 in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; consperrasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quae conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem.

5. mutuo: between the two parties in the city.
6. fore: see Gr. 338.
7. ducere: historical infinitive. — per aequa, etc.: i.e. by whatever measures, whether they were just to themselves or not, hence at any cost.
8. inde: i.e. ex plebe. — nihil aliud: sc. fecisse, a common ellipsis. — narrasse: this apology is a commonplace in literature; cf. Xen. Mem. II. 3. 18; Cic. de Off. III. 5. 22; St. Paul, Corinth. I. 12. 21.
10. hac ira: cf. I. 30. 4 n. — una, as well; properly, ‘along with.’
Comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

Agi deinde de concordia coeptum, concessumque in condiciones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Ti tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his Sicinium fuisset seditionis auctorem; de duobus qui fuerint minus convenit.

Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant, ibique sacratam legem latam.


Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni in vita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato patrum ad pleblem, reductori plebis utpote: as they naturally would, seeing that, etc.; cf. the use of utpote with relative clauses (Gr. 320.c.n. 1).

9. columna: mentioned by Cicero, Balb. 53. — cessisset: we should expect cessurum fuerit (cf. facturus fuerit, 1. 3), but we may suppose Livy had carelessly forgotten the dependence upon ut.

11. interpreti, agent, the one who acted as go-between. — arbitro: as settling the terms on which they
Romanae in urbem sumptus funeri defuit. Extulit eum plebs sextantibus conlatis in capita.

84 Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti. Eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravior malum civitatem invasit, caritas primum annoneae ex incultis per secessi-
onem plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis solet; ventumque ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent dimissis passim ad fru-
mentum coemendum non in Etruriam modo, dextris ab Ostia litoribus, laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum in Siciliam quoque: adeo finiti-
mororum odia longinquiss coegerant indigere auxiliis. Fru-
mentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat, retentae sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis fru-
mentatoribus fuit. Ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit: eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos iam moventes arma pestilentia ingens invasisset. Ea clade conterri-
tis hostium animis, ut etiam ubi ea remisisset terre

agreed. — extulit: cf. efferri, 8. 8. The first place is given to the word by a rhetorical emphasis: 'This great benefactor hadn't money for his funeral; he was buried by,' etc. — sextantibus: a little copper coin worth one-sixth of the as, but used here to express what must have been at the time referred to a piece (or amount) of copper merely. — in capita: the use of the preposition in this formula comes from the idea of assessment, wherein the amount is 'imposed upon' the contributors.

SCARCITY OF FOOD. VIOLENT SPEECH OF CORIOLANUS.

84. 2. clausis, a city besieged, whose communications are cut off. 3. Volscos: these extended to the sea; cf. Volsci Antiates, 33. 9. — quaesitum: supine. 4. pro bonis, in payment for, etc. — Aristodemo: cf. 21. 5. — Pomptino: sc. agro. — Tiberi: i.e. they were not obliged, as in other cases, to go by sea. 6. Velitris: cf. 31. 4. — Nor-
bam: in the Volscian mountains,
rum Romani, et Norbam in montis novam coloniam, quae arx in Pompitino esset, miserunt.


Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est et plebem 85

above the Pomptine marshes, not far beyond Cora and Velitrae.

9. ego: the common emphatic use of the first personal pronoun in colloquial language. — sub iugum missus: in allusion to the ignominious surrender of the nobles.

10. Tarquinium . . . Sicinium: contrasting their respective positions, the one a great king, the other a low plebeian.

11. quam ut: cf. 15. 2 n.

12. faciendum, etc.: i.e. whether it would have been a good thing to do, as that it could have been done. — ut: the regular construction after facere. — imposita . . . demerent: these rights of the people are regarded as burdens on the nobles.

WRATH OF THE PLEBS. BANISHMENT OF CORIOLANUS.

85. et plebem: not that any of them were present in the senate, as
ira prope armavit: fame se iam sicut hostes peti, cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi Gnaeo Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat. Eum sibi carnificem novum exortum, qui aut mori aut servire iubeat. In exeuntem e curia impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent. Ibi ira est suppressa: se iudicem quisque, se dominum vitae necisque inimici factum videbat. Contemptim primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilii non poenae ius datum illi potestati, plebisque non patrum tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs ut unius poena defungendum esset patribus. Restiterunt tamen adversa invidia, usique sunt qua suis quisque, qua totius ordinis viribus. Ac primo temptata res est, si dispositis clientibus absterrendo singulos a coitionibus conciliisque disicere rem

the tribunes were later, but they would hear of the speech; cf. III. 41. 4. — fame: i.e. they were to be starved out like a besieged city. The figure is like hunger used as a weapon (cf. spicula petit, 20. 2), but is not felt very strongly.

2. diem dixissent: this is the first instance of a capital trial instituted by the tribunes. The assemblies of the people had jurisdiction of such cases, and in order to give a fair trial, the accusing magistrate announced that on a certain day (diem dicere) he should bring in a bill against the offender. The charge against Coriolanus is not given by Livy, and varies in other writers, but it is implied his conduct in the senate.

3. auxilii, etc.: i.e. he claimed that the power of the tribunes was only remedial, and that their present action was, as we should say, unconstitutional. — sed, etc.: i.e. the patricians were obliged to abandon the view held by the accused and consent to the trial. — defungendum: the word has the idea of getting over something, having done with it; here it means get rid of the animosity of the plebs by sacrificing one of their number.

4. tamen, etc.: i.e. though they saw the necessity, yet they resisted by political means, and made every effort to acquit their champion on the trial. — adversa invidia: in spite of the odium of their course; literally, ‘facing it.’ — suis: i.e. the personal influence of themselves and their dependents in political working; totius ordinis: the authority of the senate as a body. — temptata res est, si: cf. I. 57. 3. — dispositis, etc.: i.e. by the use of bullies and strikers to prevent the political meetings of their op-
possent. Universi deinde processere — quidquid erat patrum reos diceres — precibus plebem exposcentes, unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro nocente donarent. Ipse cum die dicta non adesse, perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus absens in Volscos exsulatum abiit, mimitans patriae hostilesque iam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci benigne excepere benigniusque in dies coebant, quo maior ira in suos eminebat crebraeque nunc querellae nunc minae percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Atti Tulli. Longe is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. Ita cum alterum vetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud facile credebat plebem suam impelli posse ut totiens infeliciter temptata arma cape-

ponents, precisely as is done in modern times, so that there should be no concerted action. This measure apparently failed. — clientibus: there was evidently up to this time an order distinct from the plebs, and under the control of the aristocracy, but what the difference was is uncertain. As each house had its own, the institution may have had its origin in the old clan constitution, while the plebeians were newcomers independent of the clan system. The freedmen afterwards took the place of the clients, and the position of the two classes may have been similar.

5. universi, in a body, as opposed to the individuals working through their clients. — quidquid: cf. quidquid deorum, 5. 7 n. — reos: it was customary for persons accused to put on mean apparel as a sign of mourning, in order to excite sympathy, and in this garb to supplicate the people. And in this guise the senate now appeared. —

diceres, you would have said; see Gr. 311. a. — pro nocente, etc.: i.e. pardon him for their sake, as an act of grace.

6. ipse: notice the force of the emphasis, 'But after all these entreaties of his colleagues C. himself did not appear, and taking this as proof that he was not humbled, they refused to be mollified.' — iam tum, even then, before he joined the Volscian arms. — quo, as, in proportion as. — crebraeque, etc.: i.e. the more he complained and threatened.

7. hospitio, etc.: the force of the emphasis is, 'the person with whom he stayed was,' etc., explaining the manner in which the plan of war was set on foot. Livy might have said, 'A. T. was the person,' etc., but that would have laid stress on the individual instead of on the circumstance of his intimacy with Coriolanus, which gave an occasion for their plans.

8. haud facile, etc.: 'they didn't
rent. Multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa iuventute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto iam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

86 Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat: ludis mane servum quidam pater familiae nondum comisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circo. Coepit inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. Visus Juppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen maiesta-

A Great Spectacle at Rome, and a Curious Reason for It.

86. ludi magni: apparently vowed by Postumius in the Latin war. It was not yet a regular festival, as it afterwards became, with the name ludi Romani. — instauratione: in any sacred observance, if anything faulty occurred, the whole had to be gone over again, for which the regular term was instaurare, a word of doubtful etymology. — ludis: cf. bello Latino, 26. 2. — commisso: a natural word, since the games consisted of races. — caesum: not to be distinguished here from a present passive participle, which the Latin lacks; cf. Gr. 290. b. Cicero uses cum caederetur (de Div. I. 55). — ad religionem, with the sacred games; properly, with the religious character of the proceedings; i.e. with the desecration of them. The word appears to have originally meant the noticing and taking care of any portentous appearance, but came to have a wide range, sometimes meaning, as here, a religious difficulty, sometimes the feeling or perception of it, as in 3, sometimes (in a bad sense) superstition, sometimes (in a good sense) religion.

2. praesultatorem, the head dancer. Evidently the Romans had in their native cults a ritual of dancing (like our savages), which was an important part of their religion. These rites were performed by a chorus (cf. the Salian priests), led by a chief dancer (praesul, praesul'tor, praesultator), whose movements were followed by the others (originally consules, from which the name might come to mean colleagues, and afterwards be used to designate the two sharers of the supreme power in place of the king). In Jupiter's divine riddle this leader is identified with the whipped slave. 2. de plebe: cf. I. 50. 3 n.

3. liber, etc.: i.e. he was not un-
tis magistratum timorem vicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit: filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cuius repentinae cladis ne causa dubia esset, aegro animi eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, satim magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem; maiorem instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet consilibus. Iam praesentior res erat. Cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. Tunc enimvero deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque consilio propinquorum adhibito cum visa atque audita et obversatum totiens somno Iovem, minas irasque caelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubie omnium qui aderant in forum ad consules lectica defertur. Inde in curiam iussu consulum delatus eadem illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

affected by a religious anxiety, he thought the dream significant; yet his fear of the consuls was stronger than his religious feeling. — ne in ora, etc.: an explanation of verecundia. His fear is that, being repulsed by the consuls, a humble citizen venturing to appear before such grand and lofty personages, he should become a common jest in the mouths of men.

4. magno, etc.: Gr. 252. — animi: see Gr. 218. c. r. — satim: cf. I. 58. 7 n. — mercedem: in a bad sense, but suited to the sarcastic character of the question. — ni eat: for mi is in the direct.

5. praesentior: i.e. came nearer home. — tamen: i.e. though it became more threatening, yet he delayed, etc. — debilitate: the manifestation of his sickness. — tunc enimvero: cf. enimvero tum, 22. 6 n., and the often used tum vero (23. 13 n.). — admonuit: i.e. had the desired effect of bringing him to his senses.

6. instantibus: i.e. his own threatened death. — repraesentatas, instantly fulfilled, the figure derived from immediate payment, the literal meaning of the word. — casibus: the means of fulfilment.

8. captus: more commonly of permanent disability, which, however, was the case here, to all appearance. — functum, etc.: i.e. having told the story.
Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio vis magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit; dicit esse quae secreto agere de re publica velit. Arbitris remotis 'Invitus' inquit 'quod sequius sit de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quicquam ab iis criminatum venio, sed cautum ne admittant. Nimio plus quam velim nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito sed vestra patientia incolumes simus. Magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum iuventute in hac urbe commissum sit. Horret animus ne quid inconsulite ac temere fiat. Haec nostra vestraque causa prius dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, exempli hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cuius facti diciente contagione praesens violer.' Haec locutus abiit.

Consules cum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad praecaven dum vel ex supervacuo movit; factoque senatus consulto ut urbem excederent Volsci, praecones dimittun-

MACHINATIONS OF ATTII TULLIUS.

87. 2. committerentur: see Gr. 327. — de re publica, on a matter of state, as opposed to private business.

3. admissum, etc.: i.e. not to charge that they have done anything, but, etc.

4. velim: see Gr. 311. b.

5. cladibus: ensuing upon the hasty action of the people in making wars in which they were defeated.

6. Sabinorum, etc.: see 18. 2.

7. quod ad me attinet: cf. 31. 10 n. — contagione: i.e. by being implicated in any act. The figure is of course drawn from a disease, but the application is different from L. 15. 1. — praesens: i.e. as I should if I should remain.

8. dubiam, etc.: the two things are contrasted, a doubtful matter, but on too good authority to be disregarded. — vel ex supervacuo: i.e. even in case it should be superfluous.
tur qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem iubent. Ingens pavor primo discurrentis ad suas res tollendas in hospitia percult; proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se ut consceleratos contaminatosque ab ludis festis diebus coetu quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

Cum prope continuato agmine irent, praegressus Tullius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque veniret, primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipsos, sedulo audientes secunda irae verba, et per eos multitudo aliam in subiectum viae campum deduxit. Ibi in contionis modum orationem exorsus ‘Veteres populi Romani iniurias cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut omnia’ inquit ‘obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos commisere? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? Vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? Vestras coniuges, vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos qui audivere vocem praeconis, quid qui nos videre abeuntes, quid eos qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto

9. discurrentis: the present indicates the time of the action of percult as opposed to that of oborta; while they were getting ready to go fear predominated, when they were actually starting (proficiscentibus) that emotion gave way to indignation. — deorumque: inasmuch as it was a religious festival.

The Success of Tullius’ Scheme.

38. cum ... irent: i.e. they came almost in a body, so that Tullius could address them to advantage. — caput Ferentinum: cf. I. 50. 1, 51. 9. The site was, however, occupied by the Latins, and this detail is imaginary, as is perhaps the whole story. — veniret: see Gr. 309. b. — indignando, with expressions of indignation; cf. 28. 2 n. — secunda: i.e. agreeing with.

2. contionis: i.e. like a regular set political speech. — ut ... obliviscamini: see Gr. 313. a.

3. an, etc.: with the usual force, ‘am I not right, or,’ etc. — triumphatum: observe the technical meaning underlying the figure, giving the idea of a public display of their humiliation. — traductos: as prisoners in a triumph.
nefas esse,—quod, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque merituri, ideo nos ab sede pi-orum coetu concilioque abigi? Quid deinde? Illud non succurrit, vivere nos quod maturarimus proficisci? — si hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est, magno eorum malo qui indixere, si viri estis.’ Ita et sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde digressi sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

89 Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sententia lecti Attius Tullius et Cn. Marcius, exsul Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei repositum. Quam spernnequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret ducibus validiorum quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circeios pro-jectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit, liberam-que eam urbem Volscis tradidit. Inde in Latinam viam transversis tramitibus transgressus Satricum Longulam

4. quod: referring directly to nefas, and so a neuter accusative, which, but explaining ideo, and so a conjunction, because. But they are really the same thing; cf. Gr. 240. a.

5. quid deinde, what follows? The answer is illud, etc.—hoc: more emphatic than haec, the usual form (Gr. 195. d), as dwelling more on the act independent of its name. — fuit: see Gr. 308. c.—malo: ablative of manner. For the thought, cf. pestiferum, I. 58. 8.

6. suos quisque: they were primores (see 1) of different cities of the stock. — deficeret: Livy is probably thinking of the later Roman supremacy, for the Volscians had never been conquered, and so could not 'revolt.'

THE VOLSCI TAKE THE FIELD.
THE ROMANS ARE FAIR TO NEGOTIATE.

89. plus: i.e. than in their own countryman.

2. nequaquam, etc.: i.e. their hope was fulfilled in the success of their arms, which, in contrast with their former defeats, showed that it was in their leaders, not their armies, that the strength of the Romans lay.

— Circeios: cf. I. 56. 3.

3. in Latinam viam: there is an error in the geography here, but whose is uncertain; Satricum, etc., as well as Circeii, lay west of the Appian Way.—tramitibus: the cross-roads that ran between the two great routes, the Appian and the Latin Ways.
Poluscam Coriolos Mugillam, haec Romanis oppida ade- 
mit. Inde Lavinium recepit, tum deinceps Corbionem 4 
Vitelliam Trebium Labicos Pedum cepit. Postremum 5 
ad urbem a Pedo ducit, et ad fossas Cluilias quinque ab 
urbe milia passuum castrum positum populatur inde agrum 
Romanum custodibus inter populares missis, qui patri-
ciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi, sive 
ut discordia inde inter patres plebemque oreretur. Quae 7 
profecto orta esset—adeo tribuni iam ferocem per se 
plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant—,
sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, 
quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se iungebat ani-
mos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatus consu-
lesque nusquam alibi sper quam in armis ponebant, 
plebes omnia quam bellum malebat.

Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius consules erant. Eos 9 
recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque in 
quibus stationes vigiliasque esse placuerat loca distri-
buentis multitudi ingens pacem poscentium primum 
seditioso clamore conterruit, deinde vocare senatum, 
referre de legatis ad Cn. Marcium mittendis coegit. 
Acceperunt relationem patres, postquam apparuit labare 10.

5. a Pedo: the plan of the cam-
paign is not very clear, and proba-
bly was not to Livy himself.—fos-
sas Cluilias: cf. I. 23. 3.
6. agros intactos: cf. Hanni-
bal's similar device, XXII. 23.
7. per se: i.e. without such in-
stigation. — criminando: used ab-
solutely. — sed: taking the place of 
a protasis. — quamvis, etc.: a kind 
of cross between a general state-
ment, 'united dispositions, however hostile,' and a particular one, 'united 
these, though they were,' etc. — iungebat, tended to unite; a use 
of the conative imperfect.

8. id modo, etc.: in this only they 
did not agree.
9. iam: i.e. time had elapsed for 
an election to come round; cf. 23. 
14 n. — recensentes: the next step 
after the conscription, which the 
ples did not, as in other cases, re-
sist; distribuentis: a still later 
step. — stationes, pickets; vigi-
lias, sentinels, for night-watches. — 
primum, etc.: i.e. first they were 
met by an indefinite, riotous mob, 
and then were definitely forced to 
take measures.
9. — labare: i.e. in reference to
plebis animos, missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace; si praeda belli per otium frui velint, memorem se et civium iniuriae et hospitum beneficii adnissurum ut appareat exsilio sibi irritatos, non fractos animos esse. Iterum deinde idem missi non recipiuntur in castra. Sacerdotes quoque, suis insignibus velatos, isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihil magis quam legatos flexisse animum.

40 Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorern frequentes coeunt. Id publicum consilium an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio; per-vicere certe, ut et Veturia magno natu mulier et Volumnia duo parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in castra hostium irent, et quoniam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque de-fenderent. Vbi ad castra ventum est, nuntiatumque Coriolano est adesse ingens mulierum agmen, primo, ut qui nec publica maiestate in legatis nec in sacerdoti-bus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus es-set, multo obstinatior adversus lacrimas muliebres erat.

continuing the war. — missi, etc.: the common Latin way of forcing two statements into one sentence, 'the embassy was sent, and being sent, brought back,' etc.
11. ager: see 25. 6.— si... red-deretur, posse: see Gr. 307. d.— si Volscis, etc.: i.e. if they chose the other alternative of refusing to surrender the land. — per otium: i.e. without taking any action to make peace. — velint: representing vultis of the direct; the difference of tense in the direct allows the difference here.
12. velatos: the fillet was the special ornament of priests as well as of suppliants.

THE MOTHER AND WIFE OF CORIO-LANUS ENTREAT HIM.
40. id: strictly the act of the women, but used for the cause of the act; cf. consilium (the action of the senate) and timor (the spontaneous expression of alarm in the women).
2. certe, in any case, whether it was one or the other. — duo parvos: the emphasis is explained by the meaning, 'the mother, the wife, and two little ones, sons of Marcus, carried by their mother as infants.' — ex Marcio: a participle is omitted, making the words an adjective phrase, a somewhat rare Latin construction. — secum: of
Dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem maestitia inter 4 ceteras cognoverat Veturiam inter nurum nepotesque stantem, 'Nisi me frustrantur' inquit 'oculi, mater tibi coniunxque et liberi adsunt.' Coriolanus prope ut amens 5 consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviae complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa 'Sine, priusquam complexum accipio, sciam' inquit 'ad hostem an ad filium venerim, captiva materne in castris tuis sim. In hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut exsulem 6 te, deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrir 'Intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, coniunx liberique'? Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma 8 non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera course the women generally. — possess: the thought of the women. 7. non: the emphatic position of the negative gives the force, 'it seems incredible that it did not.' — quamvis: this word, in classical Latin, from its meaning always takes the subjunctive, but beginning with the omission of the verb, which would be in that mood if expressed, the construction comes to allow the indicative, as if et si the like had been used; here quamvis infesto animo, with another conditional particle would be regular, and Livy forgets, as it were, that no such particle or any verb has been expressed, and goes on as if he had said, et si quamvis infesto animo perveneras. — 8. ergo: introducing, as often, a conclusion from all the circumstances not immediately connected with the preceding. It is to be remembered that Livy is, first of all, a rhetorician, and these occasions are his opportunities for showing his skill in speech-making.

Rediere deinde Volsci adiunctis Aequis in agrum Romanum, sed Aequi Attium Tullium haud ultra tulerere

sed, etc.: for the moment she has brought herself into prominence, and this she now corrects. ego is opposed to his below.—nihil...nec: loose writing for nec...quidquam, correlative with nec...sum below, and followed by non turpius. The case differs from the ordinary nec...nec after a negative, in that the two are not strictly correlative. Veturia herself has reached the height of wretchedness, and her son’s further acts cannot increase her misery, but only his disgrace; but with the wife and children both may be increased.

9. videris: cf. videritis, I. 58. 10. suos: his family, taking the gender from the two sons. — alio: one was by suicide. — antiquissimum: cf. veterrimos, 18. 5.

11. refert, etc.: this implies that he continued to live in exile. — certe: cf. 2 n.—laude: the regular earlier Latin construction would be laudi mulierum, but this construction becomes after Livy common, and is probably an imitation of the Greek (cf. φωνεῖν τινί τινος), though a natural enough use of language. — sua: allowed, instead of earum, on account of the idea of peculiar or special contained in it.

12. quoque: i.e. as well as glory. — templum: four miles out on the Latin Way, where the meeting was supposed to have taken place. — rediere: Livy resumes, perhaps from other sources, his dry narrative after the picturesque incident, joining it on as well as he can. — Aequi, etc.: cf. 39. 1.
ducem. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Aequine impera-
torem coniuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox
proelium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hos-
tium exercitus haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci
certamine confecit.

Consules Titus Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Vol-
sci, Aquilio Hernici — nam ii quoque in armis erant —
provincia evenit. Eo anno Hernici devicti, cum Volscis
aequo Marte discessum est.

Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules 41
facti. Cum Hernicus foedus ictum, agri partes duae
adempta. Inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi di-
visurus consul Cassius erat. Adiciebat huic muneri 2
agri aliquantum, quem publicum possideri a privatis
criminabatur. Id multos quidem patrum, ipsos posses-
sores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. Sed et publica
patribus sollicitudo inerat, largitione consulem pericu-
losas libertati opes struere. Tum primum lex agraria 3
promulgata est, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memo-
riam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter 4

13. darent: depending on the idea of question in certamine; see Gr. 334. b.
14. provincia: in predicate apposition with the names of the two nations. For the origin and use of the word, see Harvard Studies, I. p. 101.

The Punishment of Sp. Cassius.

41. foedus ictum, etc.: rather favorable terms for a people devicti, but exact history is not to be looked for here.

2. publicum: i.e. belonging to the state, and so available for distribution, were it not for the action of the patricians. — possideri: not merely held in the regular manner, as criminabatur shows, but ap-
propriated, in that by long continuance of an occupation originally natural and legal, the plebs were kept out of a right which they had to want and become able to use. — quidem: opposing the selfish motives of many to the political alarm (publica, etc.) of the rest.

3. lex agraria: all such laws proposed a distribution of the public lands to the poorer classes to be held as private property, as the public lands in modern times are distributed. — maximis motibus: as in the case of the Gracchi and others. — agitata: equivalent to a relative clause, whereby an inaccuracy of the time of the particular results; cf. caesum, 36. 1.
largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe adversante, quae primo coeperat fastidire munus vulgarum; a civibus isse in socios; saepe deinde et Verginiunm consulem in contionibus velut vaticinantem audiebat pestilens collegae munus esse, agros illos servitutem iis qui acceperint latusos, regno viam fieri. Quid ita enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid attinuisse Herniciis, paulo ante hostibus, capi agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut eae gentes pro Coriolano duce Cassium habeant? Popularis iam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariae coeperat. Vterque deinde consul certatim plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passuum se adsignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi Romano adsignetur; Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque civibus vilior erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, iubere pro Siculo fru-
mento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. Id vero 9 haud secus quam praesentem mercedem regni aspernata plebes: adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut abundarent omnia, munera eius in animis hominum respueabantur. Quem, ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum esse et inscriptum 'Ex Cassia familia datum.' Invenio apud quosdam, idque propius fidem est, a quaeotoribus Caesone Fabio et L. Valerio diem dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi iudicio, di-rutas publice aedem. Ea est area ante Telluris aedem.

— vilior, less esteemed, but with the literal force that we express by 'cheapening one's self.' — Siculo: cf. 34. 3. and 7. — pecuniam . . retribui: the grain would thus become a gratuitous distribution, such as was afterwards practiced.

9. id vero: cf. tum vero, often commented on. — prae- sentem, downright; literally, paid on the spot, and so a direct price paid by Cassius for the regal power. The ignorant prejudices of the people were fully roused by the crafty nobles. — insitam, deep-seated; i.e. the natural hatred of the people to regal power. — abundarent: see Gr. 312.

10. ubi, etc.: a magistrate as such could not be attacked while in office, but upon its expiration he became like any other private citizen. — sunt qui, etc.: these read like later comment and explanation of the meagre facts as stated in the annals. — cognita, etc.: i.e. he acted as judge, and formally tried the son, over whom the patria potestas, suspended during the magistracy, was again restored at its expiration; cf. I. 26. 9. — peculium: the son was the property of the father, and could own nothing, but was allowed, like a slave, to enjoy some property as if it were his own. — Cereri: cf. sacrando cum bonis, etc., 8. 2; he was apparently put to death by the law of Valerius Publicola there mentioned. — signum: cf. Plin. N. H. XXXIV. 15, Romae simulacrum ex aere factum Cereri primum reperio ex peculo Sp. Cassi. — familia: here used in its regular sense of res familiaris.

11. fidem: see Gr. 261. a. — quaeotoribus: not in the later sense of officers of the treasury, but of commissioners who acted partly as judges in the first instance, and partly as prosecutors before the people; cf. the appeal of Horatius, I. 26. 8. — diem dictam: cf. 35. 2 n. — perduellionis: very likely a later attempt to bring the case under some general class of offences; cf. Cic. de Rep. II. 35. 60, Sp. Cassium de occupando regno molientem quaeotor accusavit, etc. — populi: in the comitia centuriata, doubtless. — Telluris aedem: in the Carinae, near
Ceterum, sive illud domesticum sive publicum fuit iudicium, damnatur Servio Cornelio Q. Fabio consulis.


the sororium tigillum (I. 26. 13n); it was said to have been consecrated B.C. 486.

WARS ABROAD AND DISSENSIONS AT HOME.

42. agrariae legis: though no actual law had been brought to a vote, yet the measure had been proposed, and may well be so called here. — dempto: i.e. though the proposer was gone. — malignitate, meanness; i.e. the ungenerous action of the senate, who, by the hands of Fabius, one of their party, turned the booty into the common store. The general in command had the disposal of the booty.

2. novissimum: see 41. 12. — tenuere, etc.: i.e. they succeeded in securing one of the consuls in spite of the opposition; such half-successes were very common; cf. the famous case of Cæsar and Bibulus. — Caeso: see 41. 11.

3. excivit, brought about; literally roused, by encouraging the enemies of Rome to take advantage of her internal dissensions.

4. tamen: opposing the greater loss in flight to the implied loss in prospera . . . vicere.

5. Castoris: this is the great temple of Castor and Pollux (called Castoris for short), which is so often mentioned in later Roman history, and is still partly standing; it was near the end of the Forum, under the Palatine. — Latino: see 20. 12. — filius: the father was probably

by this time dead, and in such cases it was usual to appoint a kinsman as one of the commission of two to build and dedicate the temple.

6. dulcedine, etc.: cf. 1. — plebi: a rare form of the genitive found in certain phrases; cf. plebiscitum. — popularem, etc.: i.e. being elected to an office devoted to the people, they felt bound to ‘magnify’ it by proposing a law for the benefit of the people. — celebrabant: for the tense, cf. instigabant, 39. 7. — gratuiti, without a premium; i.e. without a definite incitement to partisan agitation. — largitiones, etc.: a descriptive reference, in quite the modern style, to the measure in question, the agrarian law; cf., however, 41. 2.

7. ea pars: i.e. the senate, identical in Livy’s mind with the patricians. — nec in praesens: sc. vicit. — accusatione: see 41. 11. — de-

dit: i.e. by its success in the elections.

8. vana . . . facti, was brought to nought; vani, baffled; but with the underlying idea in each case that the agitation ended in nothing. — iactando: a loose ablative of manner; see Gr. 301. footn. — inritum, unaccomplished, but containing the same idea as vana, etc., above. — tenore, character, but with the idea of the pursuance of the same policy throughout. — expertos: not merely that they met with the opposition, but that they forced it. — bene locatus, well invested, with the same figure.

9. sed: contradicting the inference that foreign war would occupy the state so as to prevent civil dissensions. — abutebantur: with its proper etymological idea of misuse, or diversion from an end or purpose.
iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accesserere ad aegras iam omnium mentes prodigia caelestia, prope cotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas; motique ita numinis causam nullam aliam vates canebant publice privatimque, nunc extis nunc per aves consulti, quam haud rite sacra fieri. Qui terrores tamen eo evasere, ut Oppia virgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit.  


Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant; Veientes, pleni iam populationum, Romam ipsam se oppugnaturos minabantur. Qui terrores cum compescere deberent, auxere insuper animos plebis; redibatque non sua sponte plebi mos detrectandi militiam, sed Spurius Licinius tribunus plebis venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae patribus iniungendae, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis versa in auctorem est; nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius  

10. aegras iam: i.e. on account of the civil discord. — prodigia: i.e. such as the rain of stones, comets, mock-suns, and the like. — moti: cf. I. 55. 3 n. — consulti: with numinis.  
11. tamen: i.e. notwithstanding the great alarm, it only ended in this one case of atonement. — poenas, etc.: she was buried alive.  

WAR WITH VEII AND THE AEOQUI.  
48. quoque: i.e. not only took up arms, but made an inroad. — consules: apparently the next year, but the two years are thus connected to avoid the stiffness of annals.  
2. pleni: i.e. they were now tired of ordinary pillaging, and sought higher game.  
3. non sua, etc.: cf. 23. 2; 27. 7; 29. 2; opposed to sed, etc. — iniungendae, forcing. — impediendam: by using his tribunian power to protect the recusants.  
4. tota invidia, etc.: i.e. the whole odium capable of being raised by the power was thrown upon Licinius, by the fact that his colleagues turned against him. —
collegae coorti sunt, auxilioque eorum dictum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur: ducendus Fabio in Veientes, in Aequos Furio datur. Et in Aequis quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est; Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus quam cum hostibus fuit. Vnus ille vir, ipse consul, rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. Nam cum consul praeter ceteras imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem ut solo equitatu emisso exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. Nec illos, etsi non adhortatio invisi ducis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare, aut, si aliud nihil, stare instructos. In iussu signa referunt, maestique — crederes victos — exsecrantes nunc imperatorem nunc navatam ab equite operam redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilentii exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt: adeo auxilio, etc.: although the tribunes had no power to set anything on foot, and so could not strictly assist a levy, yet they could aid by defending the consuls in their compulsory measures, against the interference of their colleague.

5. ducendus: a curious use of the combined force of the participial and adjective, ‘the one to be, etc., is given to Fabius, the one to be, etc., to Furius.’

6. ipse consul: i.e. the very man whom they had so hated. — in se: the use of the reflexive, though irregular, is justified by a kind of indirect discourse, ‘we will ruin the state so far as in us lies,’ implied in the action of prodebat.

8. nec illus, etc.: the narrative here, perhaps worked over from the traditions of the Fabian family, assumes the rhetorical form of a speech addressed to the soldiers by their consul. The peculiar constructions, as well as the words employed, become natural if we change the whole into direct discourse, ‘nonne vos . . . vestrum . . . redierit . . . potent,’ etc. Rhetorical style with the ancients was always more or less connected with speeches.

9. crederes: cf. 35. 5 n. — navatam: Gr. 292. a.

10. pestilentii: as being mutiny, and destructive to military discipline. — quaesitam, found; cf. quaesitam, 44. 3. — adeo, etc.: a natural remark of Livy’s after so many years of civil government had made
excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars qua civem regant quam qua hostem superent. Consul Romam rediit non tam belli gloria aucta quam inritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio. Obtinuere tamen patres ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret: M. Fabium consulem creant, Fabio collega Gnæus Manlius datur.

44 Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae habuit: Ti. Pontificius fuit. Is eandem viam, velut processisset Sp. Licinio, ingressus dilectum paulisper impediti. Perturbatis iterum patribus Appius Claudius victam tribuniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in praesentia re, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inventum sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim umquam defuturum qui et ex collega victoriam sibi et gratiam melioris partis bono publico velit quaesitam; et plures,

the Romans even more famous as statesmen and politicians than as generals and warriors; but one could hardly expect the civil virtues to flourish as early as the military. — defuerit: see Gr. 311. 6.

11. gloria aucta, etc.: these ablatives absolute have all the force of ablatives of quality. In fact, the Romans were not so particular about classifying the uses of cases as it is convenient for us to be. — obtinuere: cf. tenue, 42. 2. — collega . . . datur: in these cases (cf. 42. 2 and 43. 1) the patricians succeeded in forcing one of their partisans on the elective body, but were obliged to allow one consul to the supporters of the plebeians; hence the word datur.

THE PATRICIANS AGAIN DIVIDE THE TRIBUNES. HOPES OF THE ETRESCANS.

44, eandem: i.e. as Licinius, explained in the next clause. — processisset: impersonal, as often with succeedere, and occasionally with this word. For mood, see Gr. 312.

2. victam, etc.: the emphasis gives the force, 'the method proposed succeeded the last time, why not try it again?' Cf. in praesentia re and its chiastic antithesis, 'not only effectually for the moment, but so as to suggest it again in any similar circumstances' — dicere: not very different from dixit, but giving more the idea of 'proceeded to suggest,' or 'it occurred to Appius to suggest,' as a part of the situation; cf. the further description of the situation and the final action (obtinuere, etc.) in 5.

3. ex collega: corresponding chiastically with melioris partis. — melioris: the emphasis is caused by the fact that the tribune himself belonged, in the view of the speaker, to the worse part. — bono: used as a substantive, like pessimo in 1. 3. — quaesitam: cf. quaesita, 43. 10.
si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum para-
tos fore, et unum vel adversus omnes satis esse. Da-
rent modo et consules et primores patrum operam ut,
si minus omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicae
ac senatui conciliarent. Praeceptis Appii moniti patres
et universi comiter ac benigne tribunos appellare, et
consulares, ut cuique eorum privatim aliquid iuris ad-
versus singulos erat, partim gratia partim auctoritate
obtinuere ut tribuniciae potestatis vires salubres vel-
 lent rei publicae esse; novemque tribunorum adver-
sus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum
consules habent. Inde ad Veiens bellum prefecti, quo
undique ex Etruria auxilia convenerant, non tam Veien-
tium gratia concitata quam quod in spem ventum erat
discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Prin-
cipesque in omnium Etruriae populorum conciliis fre-
mebant aeternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semet
ipsi seditionibus saeviant. Id unum venenum, eam

5. universi: as a body, without
regard to private relations. — con-
sulares: i.e. particularly these, as
persons of importance, who would
be likely to have relatives and in-
fuence. — aliquid iuris, any claims
upon, business, social, or other. —
gratia ... auctoritate: a good ex-
ample of the difference between
these words, the first referring to
personal influence and popularity,
the second to that arising from
prominence in the community, and
somewhat political in its nature. —
obtinuere: belonging in sense also
with universi (patres), as appel-
lare also belongs with consulares,
but the Latin so loves an antithes-
sis that it makes one even where,
as here, the precise form of the
thought is disturbed by it; at the
same time, by the present arrange-
ment, the main word is more closely
connected with consulares, to which
it most belongs. — salubres: in the
view of the aristocracy, to which
body any agitation on behalf of the
commons always seemed pernicious.
— vellent: sc. the tribunes implied
in ut cuique, etc.

6. novem: cf. 33. 2, where five
in all are mentioned, but Livy (or
his authority) is writing from a later
point of view; or, as some think,
his wrote quattuor here, and novem
is due to a later hand. — morato-
rem: cf. 43. 3.

7. quo: i.e. ad Veios, implied
in Veiens.

8. populorum: i.e. the different
cities, each independent, but under
one league. — saeviant: the apod-
osis is aeternas ... esse, which
contains in it a future idea; cf.
labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna imperia
mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum partim
patrum consiliis partim patientia plebis iam ad extrema
venisse. Duas civitates ex una factas, suos cuique parti
magistratus, suas leges esse; primum in dilectibus sae-
vire solitos, eosdem in bello tamen paruisse ducibus.
Qualicumque urbis statu manente disciplina militari sisti
potuisse; iam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra
quoque Romanum militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsa
acie, in ipso certamine consensu exercitus traditam ultro
victoriam victis Aequis, signa deserta, imperatorem in
acie relictum, iniussu in castra reditum. Profecto, si
instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud
opus esse quam indici ostendique bellum, cetera sua
sponte fata et deos gesturos. Hae spes Etruscos arma-
verant multis in vicem casibus victos victoresque.
Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud quam
suas vires, sua arma horribant. Memoria pessimi pro-

Gr. 307. d. — magna: the emphasis represents the greatness as the cause
or condition of the destruction. —
ut ... essent: taking the form of
a result clause on account of re-
pertam.
9. sustentatum: the emphasis
gives the force, 'it had long been
endured, but had now come to an
outbreak.'
10. eosdem: i.e. though they
had been turbulent in the conscrip-
tion, yet these same persons who
had been so had calmed their fury
in war. — qualicumque: i.e. no
matter how bad the civil condition
was. — manente: of course with
disciplina, but put first as contain-
ing the main idea. — sisti potu-
isse, they had been able to maintain
themselves; cf. 29. 8. — iam: as
often, of the gradual progress of a
thing; opposed to primum above.
— quoque: i.e. as well as in the
city at the time of the levy.
II. proximo, etc.: the final cli-
max. — acie: this would refer to
the time when the armies were only
in array ready to fight, and so is
less strong than certamine, which
would mean only the moment of
conflict. — ultro: i.e. the soldiers
gave the victory, as it were, for
nothing, voluntarily to their ene-
 mies who were already beaten (vic-
tis).
12. si instetur, if they pressed
matters, i.e. as he goes on to show,
and made war energetically in ap-
pearance. — hae spes, etc., it was
these hopes that had, etc.

VEII and the ETRUSCANS.
45. consules Romani: though
ximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent eo ubi duae simul acies timendae essent. Itaque castris se tenebant tam ancipiti periculo aversi: diem tempusque forsitan ipsum leniturum iras sanatatemque animis adlaturum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere agere, lacessere ad pugnam primo obequitando castris provocandoque, postremo, ut nihil movebant, qua consules ipsos qua exercitum increpando: simulationem intestinae discordiae remedium timoris inventum, et consules magis non confidere quam non credere suis militibus. Novum seditionis genus silentium otiumque inter armatos. Ad haec in novitatem generis originisque qua falsa qua vera iacere. Haec cum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud aegre consules pati; at imperitae multitudini nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare et ab intestinis avertere malis: nolle inultos hostes, nolle

the two nations are here contrasted, yet as it was the generals that were at variance with the soldiers, and whose state of mind is discussed; they take the prominent place. — quoque: i.e. they had the same feelings about the dissensions that the Etruscans had. — ne... committerent: cf. 9. 5. — eo: i.e. in eum locum; cf. rem in casum ancipitis eventus committunt, IV. 27. 6.

2. ancipiti: although modified by tam in its general sense of dangerous, yet it is used partly in its etymological sense of double in reference to the two perils. — aversi, deterred, i.e. from fighting. — diem tempusque: the first refers only to lapse of time, the second contains also a reference to circumstance. — ipsum, alone, without any action on their part. — iras: see Gr. 75. c.

3. eo magis: i.e. on account of the inactivity of the Romans. — nihil movebant, had no effect, in arousing the Romans. — qua... qua: used three times in this chapter; see 4 and 16.

4. simulationem, etc.: i.e. that their civil dissensions were only a pretence to cover the real cowardice which prevented them from fighting. — confidere: in reference to their courage; credere: in reference to their fidelity and patriotism. — novum: emphatic, because the state described is just the opposite of mutiny. — novitatem: i.e. taunting the Romans as a young nation of upstarts, and sprung from criminals and bastards.

5. haud aegre, etc.: a skilful chiastic arrangement, 'It was not at all unwelcome to the consuls, but filled the soldiers with indignation.' — intestinis, domestic; i.e. the wrongs that had driven them to rebel. — nolle: still historical infinitive. — inultos: see Gr. 292. d. N.
successum non patribus non consulibus; externa et do-
mestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant ex-
terna: adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat.
Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt, poscunt pugnam,
postulant ut signum detur. Consules velut deliberabundi
capita conferunt, diu conloquuntur; pugnare cupiebant,
se scrutin revoca et abdenda cupiditas erat; ut adver-
sando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent im-
petum. Redditur responsum immaturum rem agi, non-
dum tempus pugnae esse: castris se tenerent. Edicunt
inde ut abstineant pugna; si quis iniussu pugnaverit,
ut in hostem animadversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus
consules velle credunt, crescit ardo pugnandi. Accen-
dunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisce non
pugnare consules cognitum est: quippe impune se ins-
ultaturos, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum sedi-
tionis erupturn, finemque venisse Romano imperio.

10. his: i.e. the ideas expressed in the preceding discourse.

11. enimvero: equivalent to tum vero, but with a kind of colloquial force, ‘really, now, they couldn’t, don’t you see?’ as it were. — sensim, tentatively, feeling their way; cf. 2. 4. — matura, etc.: cf. 8 n.; tergiversantur: in reference to the farce enacted in the next section.

12. ad, amid, but almost with the force of the English at, containing a suggestion of cause. — iam: of course with concedente, but joined with metu, as the cause which at last forces Manlius to yield. — ego: only emphasized, according to Roman custom, as an antithesis to istos. — velle: opposed to posse, and implying, as usual in antitheses, the rest of the clause, istos vincere. — ne: see Gr. 319. a. n.

13. non dare ... iurant: both containing an idea of futurity; see Gr. 307. a. n., and cf. 276. c. — fefellit: as much as ‘broken his oath to,’ an almost technical meaning of fallo; cf. 14.

14. si fallat: sc. deos; the oath is expressed in a kind of indirect discourse, for si fallo, etc.; cf. I. 24. 8, and see Gr. 341. c. — iratos, etc.: a shorthand expression for ‘the anger of’ the gods. — idem: i.e. each man repeats the full oath.

15. nunc: belonging to iacere, being quoted from the soldiers’ words. — armati: one would at

46 Instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detrectant. Prope certa spes erat non magis secum pugnaturum quam pugnari cum Aequis; maius quoque aliquod in tam inritatis animis et occasione ancipiti haud desperandum esse facinus. Res alter longe evenit. Nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus—adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant—proelium inuit. Vix explicandi ordines spatium Etruscis fuit, cum pilis inter primam trepidationem abiectis temere magis quam emissis pugna iam in manus, iam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemplo civibus erat. Ex his Quintum Fabium—tertio hic anno first expect armatis, and indeed the reading is not certain; this clause also is a kind of quotation.

16. qua...qua: cf. 3 and 4.—nomen...gens: the same idea from two different points of view.

THE DECISIVE BATTLE.

46. acies: i.e. of the Romans. —detrectant: sc. pugnam, implied in the preceding.—pugnari: for tense, see Gr. 336. B. a. —Aequis: cf. 44. 11.—quoque: here approaching its later sense of even, though not losing its sense of also; 'they would do what they had done before, and also (even) something more.' —ancipiti, critical; the opportunity offered by the dangerous crisis is meant.

3. pilis, etc.: the regular tactics were to throw the javelins at the first onset, and then to press for-ward with the sword to close quarters; but here the advance of the Romans was so fierce (infestior, 2) that steady aim was impossible, on account of the haste (trepidationem), and the javelins were merely thrown away, not shot at the enemy.—temere, at random.—venerat: the construction is that of Gr. 325. b (cum inversum), 'they had hardly had time to deploy, when they were already at close quarters.' In such cases either event can often be made the subordinate one, according to the momentary feeling of the narrative.

4. inter primores, in the foremost rank, following the old heroic method of fighting. The emphasis makes the statement a double one, 'they were in the front and were an example there'; cf. principem below.—ferox: cf. I. 7. 5.—praec-
ante consul fuerat — principem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox viribus et armorum arte Tusces, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo extracto praeceps Fabius in vulneribus abiit. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebat que inde Romanus, cum M. Fabius consul transiluit iacentis corpus, obiectaque parma 'Hoc iurastis' inquit, 'milites, fugientes vos in castra redituros? Adeo ignave 6 vissimos hostis magis timetis quam Iovem Martemque, per quos iurastis? At ego iniuratus aut victor revertar, aut prope te hic, Quinte Fabi, dimicans cadam.' Consuli tum Caeso Fabius prioris anni consul: 'Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnet te impetraturum credis? Dii 7 impetrabunt, per quos iuravere. Et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potius quam adhortando accendamus militum animos.' Sic in primum infestis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.

Proelio ex parte una restituto nihilo segnius in cornu 47 altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat; ubi prope similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu 2 Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium iam velut fusos agentem hostis et impigre milites secuti sunt, et, ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfecstum

**ceps, etc.**: *i.e.* he fell forward on his wounded breast; a common representation, doubtless drawn from life.

5. **sensit, etc.**: *i.e.* the loss was felt by both entire armies, though that of only a single man. — **inde**, (from) *their position*; more definite than the common *loco*; cf. 47.

3. **transiluit**: cf. *venerat*, 3 n. — **obiecta**: *i.e.* in defence of the body and of himself. — **hoc, is this what?** — **fugientes** opposed to *victores* in 45. 13.

6. **adeo**: the word here appears in the transition from its proper meaning of 'to that degree' to 'therefore' or 'then.' — **iniuratus**: and so not bound, as they were, to conquer or die. — **consuli**: a vivid substitute for a pronoun, almost in the modern rhetorical style.

7. **impetrabunt**: *i.e.* will force them to fight; we may leave it to the gods without exhortation to *them.* — **moverunt, carried**.
rati gradum rettulere; cessissentque loco, ni consul alter
cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo
ad vectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso
alteor cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinuisset. Man-
lius quoque ad restituentam aciem se ipse coram offert.
Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum ani-
mos. Simul et vanior iam erat hostium acies, dum
abundante multitudine freti substraeta subsidia mittunt
ad castra oppugnanda. In quae haud magno certamine
impetu facto, dum praedae magis quam pugnae memoria
terent tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam inruptio-
nem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nun-
tiis quo loco res essent, conglobati ad praetorium rede-
unt, et sua sponte ipsi proelium renovant. Et Manlius
consul revectus in castra ad omnes portas milite opposito
hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem
magis quam audaciam accendit. Nam cum incursan-
tes quacumque exitum ostenderet spes vano aliquotiens
impetu issent, globus iuvenum unus in ipsum consulem,
insignem armis, invadit. Prima excepta a circumstan-
tibus tela, sustineri deinde vis nequit. Consul morti-
fero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis 
crescit audacia, Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos 
agit; et ad extrema ventum foret, ni lègati rapto consu-
lis corpore patefecissent una porta hostibus viam. Ea 
erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem 
alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum caesi fusique 
passim.

Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam 
claris funeribus. Itaque consul decernente senatu tri-
umphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare pos-
sit, pro eximia eo bello opera facile passurum respondit:
se familia funesta Quinti Fabi fratris morte, re publica 
ex parte orba consule altero amisso, publico privatoque 
deformem luctu lauream non accepturum. Omni acto 
triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit: adeo spreta 
in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior reedit. Funera 
deinde duodeinceps collegae fratrisque ducit, idem in 

erent from quidam, but admissible 
as opposing the frenzy of one body 
to the action of the rest; cf. una 
porta in 8.

9. consternato: a rhetorical ex-
aggeration, though, as the men were 
fleeing, although desperate, it is a 
natural one. — iterum: the first 
time is implied in desperatio in 6. 
— caesi fusique: not the same 
persons, of course, but the two are 
connected by -que, according to 
the Latin fashion. — victoria: one 
might at first think of supplying 
erat, but probably no such verb was 
in the author's mind, but the word 
is in a kind of apposition, to speak 
grammatically, with the previous 
description.

10. decernente: conative pres-
ent, so called; the senate was en-
gaged in making the decree, but it 
could not take effect without being 
accepted. — si exercitus, etc.: i.e. 
so far as the army was concerned 
he had no objection, but he would 
not lead the triumph, and so it was 
impossible. — funesta: cf. 8. 7. — 
orba: as deprived of one of its 
parents, as it were. — lauream: the 
laurel wreath worn in the triumph, 
put as a symbol of the whole.

11. omni, any. — acto: the tech-
nical term for the celebration of a 
triumph, because the general and 
his army entered the city in pro-
cession. — depositus: as it was of-
fered him, he could be said to lay it 
aside. — in tempore: like our on 
ocasion. — funera: opposed to the
utroque laudator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipse
maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor eius quod
initio consulatus imbibert, reconciliandi animos
plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit patribus. Fabii
plurimi dati, nec alibi maiore cura habiti. Inde popula-
lares iam esse Fabii, nec hoc ualla re nisi salubri rei
publicae arte.

48. Igitur non patrum magis quam plebis studiis K. Fa-
bius cum Tito Verginio consul factus neque bella neque
dilectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere, quam
ut iam aliqua ex parte incohata concordiae spe primo
quoque tempore cum patribus coalescerent animi plebis.

2. Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agra-
riae legis auctor tribunus existeret, occuparent patres
ipsi suum munus facere, captivum agrum plebi quam
maxime aequaliter darent: verum esse habere eos, quo-
rum sanguine ac sudore partus sit. Aspernati patres
sunt, questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et

Measures for the Relief of the Plebs.

48. studiis, votes; literally, the interest shown in his election.—
K: that is, Caeso; see Gr. 6. N.
—Fabius: cf. 43. I and 46. 6.
—Verginio: the senate, on this
case of each, as often with
in.—laudator: the technical word
for the eulogist who pronounced
the funeral oration.—cum: equiv-
talent to wherein; used like a par-
ticiple construction.
12. eius, of the policy. — recon-
ciliandi: in apposition with eius;
cf. foros faciendos, I. 56. 2 n., and
see Gr. 301. R.

2. censuit: i.e. in his first ad-
dress to the senate. — tribunus:
not emphatic; the idea is,’before
any champion should arise, among
the tribunes (of course).’ — ex-
sisteret, should arise; see Gr. 327.
a. — occuparent, should anticipate
them; a device not unknown to mod-
ern politics. — munus: i.e. the ser-
vice to the plebs. — verum, fair, as
often. One wonders why this had
not occurred to the patricians be-
fore.

3. aspernati: naturally, such
abuses are not reformed by the
will of the wrongdoers. — luxu-
riare: the figure is derived from
the loss of vigor from overgrowth.
— nullae: emphatic, ‘but there
were no party contests (as you

At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius consulis actumque de exercitu foret, ni Caeso Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veintibus fuit; res proxime formam latrocinii venerat: legionibus Romanis cede-bant in urbem; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quieta, quietem bello in vicem elu-dentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. Et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Vol-scisque, non diutius quam recens dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus; aut mox moturos esse appare-bat Sabinos semper infestos Etruriamque omnem. Sed Veiens hostis, adsiduo magis quam gravis, contumeliis saepius quam periculo animos agitabat, quod nullo tem-pore neglegi poterat aut averti alio sinebat. Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente loquitur: 'Ad-

49 Manat tota urbe rumor. Fabios ad caelum laudibus ferunt: familiam unam subisse civitatis onus, Veiens bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma versum; si sint duae roboris eiusdem in urbe gentes, de possant haec Volscos sibi, illa Aequos; populo Romano tranquillum pacem agente omnes finitimos subigi populos posse. Fabii postera die arma capiunt, quo iussi erant conveniunt. Consul paludatus egrediens in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt; acceptus in medium signa ferri iubet. Numquam exercitus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et admiratione hominum per urbem incessit: sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem

sumus, we will guarantee; no doubt one of the earliest meanings of auctor.—ibi: i.e. apud Fabios.
9. nostrum, etc.: here we have a favorite Latin emphasis on pronouns, which gives the force, ‘this our own domestic war, we purpose to carry on as such.’— illicit: i.e. in eo bello.

MARCH OF THE FABII.
49. 2. si sint: see Gr. 308. e. — poster a: the reading approved in this passage, contrary to the general practice of Livy.

3. paludatus: the regular general’s robe, as in a formal war, marks the solemnity of the occasion; cf. I. 26. 2, where, however, the word is used of a subordinate’s dress.— in vestibulo: unquestionably in ancient times a large forecourt or ‘dooryard’ in front of the house, but in all the Roman houses we know, so dwarfed as to become only a little recess at the front
sperneres, egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiae viribus Veienti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba, propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo, alia publica sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens. Ire fortes, ire felices iubent, inceptis eventus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare. Praetereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templ, quidquid deorum oculis, quidquid animo occurrit, precantur ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant. In cassum missae preces. Infelici via, dextro Iano portae Carmentalis profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio.

door; cf. 48. 10, where it is evidently incorporated in the building like a pronaos.
4. sperneres: see Gr. 311. a.
5. turba: i.e. of those who accompanied the warriors to the gates. — propria: opposed in thought, though not in form, to publica (the general crowd, whose interest was not personal). — nihil medium: i.e. of no moderate fortune; it was either supreme glory or utter ruin. — immensa, boundless possibilities. — favore, enthusiasm.
6. ire, etc.: i.e. they hailed them with cries of ite fortes, ite felices, go in your prowess, go with good fortune. — ab se: i.e. as the citizens who would vote these honors.
7. praetereuntibus: sc. eis (dative); the Latin has a fondness for omitting pronouns when there is any word which would indicate the case omitted. — Capitolium: they passed by under the hill, of which the towering buildings would be plainly visible. — quidquid deorum: a colloquial form of expression which gradually after Cicero's time became common in literature. — animo: more for rhetorical effect than precision, but still some gods might be suggested to their minds by association, whose temples did not meet their eyes. — precantur: sc. the crowd.
8. infelici: so called afterwards, on account of this disastrous expedition. — Iano: as all entrance-ways were sacred to this god, his name came to stand for arches through which a road passed; cf. I. 19. 2. — Carmentalis: the gate next to the Capitol, between that and the river. It led out through the Campus, and was afterwards called Scelerata (Aur. Victor, 12).
— Cremeram: a little river flowing by Veii and emptying into the Tiber, some six miles from Rome. The
L. Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. Et
donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad
praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota
regione, qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta
omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrumque finem
fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationi-
bus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu
praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones
ab L. Aemilio consule adductae comminus cum Etruscis
dimicant acie. Quamquam vix dirigendi aciem spatium
Veientibus fuit: adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum
post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, infecta
subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo
incipiendae sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retro
ad Saxa Rubra — ibi castra habeant — pacem supplices
petunt; cuius impetratae ab insita animis levitate ante
deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenituit.

50. Rursus cum Fabii erat Veienti populo sine ullo maio-
ris belli apparatu certamen, nec erant incursiones modo
in agros aut subiti impetus in incursantes, sed aliquo-
tiens aequo campo conlatisque signis certatum, gensque
una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res
erant, Etrusca civitate victoriam tulit. Id primo acer-
garrison was thus lower down the
stream, on the road from Veii into
the Roman territory.
10. quamquam: correcting the
use of the word acte.
11. trepidationem: cf. 46. 3.
post signa, etc.: in the line of
battle the standards were placed
in the front rank. — ala: in its
later sense of squadron.
12. Saxa Rubra: a place still
distinguishable near where the Fla-
minian Way crosses the Cremera
(Valchetta). — cuius impetratae:
according to Latin idiom for ‘which
they obtained, but before,’ etc. —
ab: cf. I. 31. 4 n. — ante, etc.: i.e.
before it was withdrawn, as it was
to have been, in accordance with
the terms of the treaty. — paeni-
tuit: implying that they began hos-
tilities again, so that the Fabii re-
mained.

DESTRUCTION OF THE FABII.
50. rursus: in allusion to the
projected return of the Fabii; see
deductum, 49. 12.
bum indignumque Veientibus est visum; inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi. Gaudere etiam multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquotiens, velut casu incidisset, obviam acta, et agrestium fuga vasti relictii agri, et subsidia armatorum ad arcendas populationes missa saepius simulato quam vero pavore refugerunt. Iamque Fabii adeo contemperant hostem, ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Haec spes provexit, ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora, quamquam rara hostium apparebant arma, decurrerent. Et cum improvidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superassent, palatique passim vaga, ut fit pavore inieicto, raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur, et adversi et undique hostes erant. Primo clamor circumlatus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant; coeuntibusque Etruscis iam continenti agmine armatorum saepti, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogebantur breviore spatio et ipsi orbem colligere; quae res et paucitatem eorum insignem et multitudinem Etruscorum multiplicatis in arto ordinibus faciebat. Tum omissa

3. ex re natum: i.e. suggested by the circumstances. — insidiis: emphatic; since they had failed in open fight, they resolved to try a stratagem, for which the situation was favorable. — ferocem: cf. I. 7. 5. — gaudere: as opposed to the first bitter feeling (acerbum, etc.). 4. velut: cf. 44. 1. — vasti, deserted, to invite pillage. 5. sua: emphatic, as opposed to hostem, from the habit of emphasizing persons. — invicta, invincible, as often with the perfect passive participle. — provexit: the object eos is omitted because it is the same as the following subject. This economy of pronouns is characteristic of Latin. — rara: although this is emphatic, yet the main thought is that the armed forces did appear; an example of the familiar crowding of two statements into one. 6. adversi, in front, as usual. 7. circumlatus: i.e. it began in one spot, and was echoed from one band to another. — accidebant, began to meet them. — continenti: i.e. the scattered bands of the enemy closed up and united in a continuous circle. — quo magis: cf. 19. 10 n.
pugna, quam in omnes partis parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. Eo nisi corporibus armisque rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem. Inde primo restitere; mox, ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; vincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni iugo circummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. Trecentos sex perisse satis convenit, unum prope puberem aetate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiae dubiisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellicque vel maximum futurum auxilium.

51 Cum haec accepta clades est iam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos victoria elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupavere; obses-saque urbs foret super bellum annona premente — transi-

9. parem, alike; adjective for adverb, as often. — eo nisi, forcing their way there (to that). — viam: see Gr. 238 c.

10. inde: as their resistance was directed forward from their standpoint, Livy can say from there where we should say there. — vincebat... evasisset: see Gr. 308. b. — paucitas, the few; a bold expression, but used in the same manner as multitudo and similar words in a concrete sense.

11. praesidium: the fortified camp they had erected; cf. 49. 8. — puberem: he was consul ten years later (B.C. 467), so that he must have been a tolerably large boy at the time. — aetate: it is difficult to say whether Livy means to connect this with puberem (cf. maior natu) or with relictum. Historians vary in their statements as to whether he was left at home or left from the slaughter, but Livy's words seem to indicate the latter, in which case the word goes better with puberem. — auxilium: e.g. Q. Fabius Maximus and Fabius Cunctator. Cf. Ov. F. II. 239 seq.

ROME besieged.

51. est: see Gr. 325. N. — C. Horatius: son of Marcus; see 8. 5. — Menenius: son of Menenius Agrippa; see 32. 8. — victoria elatos: and so impliedly making a demonstration at Rome after the defeat of the Fabii. It is to be remembered that these hostile cities were only two or three hours' ride apart.

2. quoque: as well as in the case of the Fabii. — Etrusi: cf.
erant enim Etrusci Tiberim —, ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus; adeoque id bellum ipsis insti-
tit moenibus, ut primo pugnatum ad Spei sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. Ibi quamquam 3
parvo momento superior Romana res fuit, meliorem
tamen militem recepto pristino animo in futura proelia
id certamen fecit.

A. Verginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post 4
acceptam proximam pugnae cladem Veientes abstinuere
acie. Populationes erant, et velut ab arce Ianiculi pas-
sim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant. Non usquam
pecora tuta, non agrestes erant. Capti deinde eadem 5
arte sunt qua ceperant Fabios. Secuti dedita opera
passim ad inlecebras propulsa pecora praecepitavere in
insidias. Quo plures erant, maior caedes fuit. Ex hac 6
clade atrox ira maioris cladis causa atque initium fuit.
Traiecto enim nocte Tiberi castra Servili consulis adorti
sunt oppugnare. Inde fusi magna caede in Ianiculum
se aegre recepere. Confestim consul et ipse transit 7
Tiberim, castra sub Ianiculo committit. Postero die

49. 10, where they are represented as assisting their kinsmen. — ex Volscis: Livy forgets to mention his being sent there; the full ac-
count would be like 40. 14, but dryness and repetition must be
avoided, at all hazards. Livy has dropped the Volsci since 42. 9, to
take up the more picturesque and sensational Veian war. — ad Spei:
sc. aedem; an omission frequent in Livy after prepositions; see Gr. 214.b.
The temple was only a mile from the Esquiline gate. The Etruscans doubt-
less crossed below, and cut off the communications of the city by the
Tiber and by Latium.

3. momento, degree, the figurative use of the word originally com-
ing from weight on the steelyards. — meliorem: notice the empha-
sis; the advantage was slight, but there was an improvement in the
morale of the soldiers.

4. proximam: the one men-
tioned in 2. — velut ab arce, etc.: two statements are again crowded
into one; i.e. ab Ianiculo velut ab arce. — Ianiculi: see Gr. 214. f.

5. secuti, etc.: a shorthand way
of telling the story of 50. 4 seq. —
dedita opera: with propulsa.—
plures: i.e. than the Fabii.

6. ex hac clade: as ira has in it a slight verbal idea, it allows a
prepositional phrase as an attribute
even more naturally than in other cases; but see Intr. 9. h.
luce orta nonnihil et hesterna felicitate pugnae ferox, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamvis in praecipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere adverso Ianiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediusque inde pulsus quam pridie pepulerat, interventu collegae ipse exercitusque est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, cum in vicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.

52 Vrbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediiit et advecto ex Campania frumento et, postquam timor sibi cuique futurae inopiae abiiit, eo quod abditum fuerat prolato. Ex copia deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi et pristina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quaerere. Tribuni plebeem agitare suo veneno, agraria lege, in resistentis incitare patres, nec in universos modo sed in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrarie legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, cum haud procul inde stativa consul habuisset. Ea oppressit, cum et patres haud minus quam pro Coriolano adnisi essent, et patris

7. et: the correlative is displaced by magis tamen. — tamen: i.e. though somewhat from confidence, yet more from the pressure of famine. — quamvis, etc.: i.e. in consilia quamvis praecipitia dum, etc. — essent: see Gr. 314.

TRIAL OF MENENIUS AND SERVILIUS.

52. urbi: as opposed to Veiens bellum. — laxior: with the same figure that we use in 'a tight money-market.' — advecto: the Tiber being now re-opened. — sibi cuique, etc.: a compressed form, representing quam sibi quisque timuerat or futuram putaverat. — futurae: cf. Gr. 293. ὅ. — abditum: i.e. it had been hoarded from fear of future want, but is now brought into the market.

2. animi: i.e. plebis. — suo, their regular. — veneno: the figure taken from sorcery, in which drugs were used to bewitch.

3. diem dicunt: i.e. as tribunes bring in a bill against them before the comitia tributa. — invidiae erat: i.e. made him unpopular. — stativa: not mentioned before, but Livy has probably here changed his source, and is following some other authority.

4. oppressit: sc. eum. — Coriolano: cf. 35. 4. — Agrippae: cf. 32. 8. — hauddum: found only in Livy and Silius Italicus.
Agrippae favor haudum exolevisset. In multa temperarunt tribuni: cum capitis anquisissent, duo milia aeris damnato multam edixerunt. Ea in caput vertit. Ngevant tulisse ignominiam aegritudinemque; inde morbo absuntum esse.

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

Certamina domi finita. Veiens bellum exortum, qui bus Sabini arma coniunxerant. P. Valerius consul accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis cum exercitu

5. in multa: i.e. they contented themselves with a fine, without asking for exile. — capitis, etc.: i.e. they had brought a charge involving the loss of life, either bodily or civil. — ea in caput, etc.: i.e. the fine, not intended to be a ‘capital’ punishment, as affecting the accused’s existence (see above), became such by its after-effects. — esse: with dictum implied in negant (dictum non).

7. periculo: cf. 51. 8. — refutando, by upbraiding; properly, by showing their claims to be unfounded and the action base. — exprobrando, by reproaching them with. — saeviret . . . haberet: see Gr. 341. c. — discussit, averted; properly ‘shattered,’ as of something overhanging and threatening to fall.

8. participando: i.e. by sharing his own glory with the accused.

WAR WITH VENUS AND THE

SABINES.

58. accitis, etc.: cf. 33. 4 and
Veios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus sociorum locata erant, confestim adgreditur, tantamque trepidationem iniecit ut, dum dispersi alii alia manipulatim excurrunt ad arcandum hostium vim, ea porta cui signa primum intulerat caperetur. Intra vallum deinde caedes magis quam proelium esse. Tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat; tamquam Veis captis ita pavidī Veientes ad arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars Romanos toto impetu intentos in castra adoriantur. Paulisper aversi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utroque versis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule immissus Tuscos fundit fugatque; eademque hora duo exercitus, duae potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes superatae sunt.


54 L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Veientes provincia evenit. Non tamen bellatum; indutiae

41. 1. — sociorum: i.e. the Veientes. — alii aliae: i.e. they run different ways, not referring necessarily to gates, though that is included in the general idea.
3. aversi: i.e. the Romans.— utroque: i.e. towards the now reinforced Sabines, and towards the second mentioned part of the enemy.

5. tamen: i.e. notwithstanding that the war was ended without Roman help. — gerere: contrary to the usual ut construction with mos, but no doubt suggested by the simple infinitive after that word, which is not so uncommon.
6. calamitatis: i.e. by ravages and inroads. — contumeliae: cf. 48. 7.
exsilium Cn. Marci, Meneni damnationem et mortem sibi proponat ante oculos. His accensi vocibus patres consilia inde non publica sed in privato seductaque a plurium conscientia habuere. Vbi cum id modo constaret, iure an iniuria eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quaeque maxime placebat sententia, nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat. Igitur iudicii die cum plebs in foro erecta expectatione staret, mirari primo quod non descendaret tribunus; dein, cum iam mora suspensor fieret, deterritum a primoribus credere, et desertam ac prodior tam causam publicam queri; tandem qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant nuntiant domi mortuum esse inventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. Praecipius pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil auxilii sacratae leges haberen, morte collegae monitos.

Nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam, adeoque neminem noxieae paenitebat ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.

Sub hac pessimi exempli victoria dilectus edicitur; paventibusque tribunis sine intercessione ulla consules rem peragunt. Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse

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7. accensi, etc.: the harangue had the intended effect. — non publica: i.e. it was a secret conspiracy. — an: the word of question on which this should depend is only implied in modo constaret, which indicates a debate of which the result was eripiendos, etc., but the other question, iure an iniuria, remained undecided; cf. for a less striking case of the same, I. 33. 8. — auctor, agent; properly, ‘responsible party.’

8. igitur, etc.: a masterly touch of description. The necessary plot and means are described, and Livy skips with an ‘accordingly’ to the dramatic scene of the discovery of the death.

10. malo domandam: cf. 34. 11.

Publilius Volero, the Author of the Pubilian Law.

55. sub, after, though the Latin says a little more than this.

2. silentio: cf. 45. 4 and 57. 4.
de libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reditum, cum Genu-cio uno mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. Aliud agendum ac cogitandum, quo modo resistatur patribus: id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa 3 plebs, quando aliud nihil auxilii haveat, defendat. Quattuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus, et eos ipsos plebis homines. Nihil contemtius neque infirmius, si sint qui contemnunt; sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere. His vocibus alii alios cum incitassent, ad 4 Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia, quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere, lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. 5 Cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et virgas expediri iubent. 'Provoco' inquit 'ad populum' Volero, 'quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in conspectu suo virgis caedi malunt quam ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari.' Quo ferocius clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare lictor. Tum Volero 6 et praetorius ipse et adiuvantibus advocatis repulso lictore, ubi indignantiam pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eo se in turbam conferre simam recipit, clamitans 'Provoco' 7 et fidem plebis imploro: adeste cives, adeste commilito-

— ad antiqua: i.e. before the institution of tribunes.— aliud agendum, they must take some other course; a general idea explained by cogitandum. — resistatur: a deliberative question, made indirect; see Gr. 334 b.

3. quattuor et viginti: cf. 1. 8. — apparere: cf. appariori, 54. 5. — plebis homines: cf. de plebe hominem. 4. — contemtius, contemptible, as often with the perfect passive participle.

4. ordines, etc.: i.e. he had been a centurion; cf. 23. 4.

5. spoliari, to be stripped. — ipsi: attracted into agreement with the subject, for which this word has a particular fondness. — circumscindere: i.e. his clothes, as he resisted.

6. advocatis: persons accompanying a party, properly in court, as advisers, or to give him aid and moral support. — pro se: the use of the reflexive makes the clause the idea of the subject.

7. provoco: official, the continuation of the words in 5. — fidem, etc.: an informal request for help.
nes. Nihil est quod exspectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis vestro auxilio opus est.' Concitati homines veluti ad proelium se expedientium; apparebatque omne discrimen adesse, nihil cuquam sanctum non publici fore non privati iuris. Huic tantae tempestati cum se consules obtulissent, facile experti sunt parum tutam maiestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis e foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultu cum in senatum vocari iussissent, queruntur injurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferciter dictis sententiis vicere seniores, quibus ira patrum adversus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

56 Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi creat in eum annum qui Lucium Pinarium P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus permisserum tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus rogationem tulist ad populum ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fieren. Haud parva res sub titulo prima specie minime atroci feretur, sed quae patricii omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi

at the moment, as well as at the trial of the appeal; cf. 23. 8 n.—
quod: see Gr. 238. b.—exspectetis: see Gr. 320. a.
8. omne discrimen, a general struggle; not for some particular point, but one in which the whole state was at stake.
9. incerti, etc.: a euphemistic way of saying they were afraid of their lives.
10. vocari: the subject is so obvious that it is omitted.
11. vicere, prevailed.

Volero proposes his Law.

56. 2. permisserum, devote; lit. 'give over.' — post: with habito; elsewhere Livy uses the dative with posthabere. — ad populum: it is doubtful before what body Livy conceived the law to have been proposed; perhaps he had no clear idea, but most likely it was the comitia tributa; cf. 15.
3. clientium: according to Livy, these had the right to vote, but in what body is uncertain. — auferret: see Gr. 320. a.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebat. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius collega eius auctor cum recentior tum acrior erat. Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod aetatis eius haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, cum Volero nihil praeterquam de lege loqueretur, insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse in accusationem Appi familiaeque super-

4. actioni: the magistrate was said agere cum populo. — quae: referring to the ut clause, which, however, depends immediately on adduci. — resistendum: Livy carelessly uses this word in a slightly different sense from that of resisterent above, which only means attempt to resist. — aliquis: this should be properly the subject of posset, but the sentence is confused by the parenthetical relative clause. It ought to read neque quisquam ut intercederet adduci posset, quae una vis, etc., but the parenthesis carries with it the ut clause, and we have aliquis and no subject for posset. — tamen: again a slight confusion of thought. The real idea is, ‘This was a measure most agreeable to the plebs, but the senate resisted, and though they failed to secure the only effectual means, yet in spite of the zeal of the people and the fact that no tribune could be won over to stay proceedings, the importance of the matter delayed it for a whole year,’ i.e. beyond the term of office of Pubilius. — molimine gravis, difficult from its importance; lit. ‘heavy from its own weight.’

5. paternis: cf. 27. 1. — datur: cf. 43. 11 n., and see the conduct of Quinctius, ch. 15.

6. anni: naturally of the consul’s term. — ut . . . sic: almost equal to though . . . yet. The idea is, ‘But the struggle was with a different adversary, though (while) Volero was the inventor, yet (so also) Laetorius was a champion, a fresher and more energetic man, so that he now takes the lead.’

7. ferocem, audacious; confident and violent at the same time, as is explained in the following. — familiae, etc.: cf. Tac. Ann. I. 4.
bissimae ac crudelissimae in plebe Romam exorsus, cum a patribus non consulem sed carnificem ad vexandum et lacerandam plebem creatum esse contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua non suppeteret libertati animoque. Itaque deficiente oratione 'Quando quidem non facile loquor' inquit, 'Quirites, quam quod locutus sum praesto, crastino die adeste. Ego hic aut in conspectu vestro moriar, aut perferam legem.' Occupabant tribuni templum postero die; consules nobilitasque ad impediendum legem in contione consistunt. Sub moveri Laetorius iubet praeterquam qui suffragium ineant. Adulescentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes viatori. Tum ex his preundi quosdam Laetorius iubet. Consul Ap- pius negare ius esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in ple- beium: non enim populi sed plebis eum magistratum esse; nec illum ipsum submovere pro imperio posse

3. ve<eret atque insita Claudiae famiae superbia. — exorsus: as so often, two statements in one sentence. 'While Volero confined himself to the law, Laetorius proceeded to personalities, but having begun, he found his eloquence unequal to the subject, and so,' etc.

8. rudis in, etc.: i.e. as would be natural in a soldier. — libertati animoque, his independent spirit.

9. quam: correlative with a tam implied in non facile. — crastino: the day of the comitia. — perferam: of course this all looks towards expected violence from the patricians.

10. occupant: i.e. take possession in advance of their opponents. — templum: the tribunal, or raised platform. — in contione: apparently the first assembling of citizens at a comitia was contio, in which they were informed, by the presiding magistrates, of the 'object of the meeting' and the questions at issue. This was dismissed by the order discede ad suffragium, upon which the citizens took their respective places in order to vote. — submoveri: the regular word for clearing the way; here to be kept back as outsiders from hindering the proceedings. So far as Livy's words go, there is no indication that the patricians claimed the right to vote.

11. stabant: i.e. they refused to move. — viatori: the officer of the tribunes, or of any magistrate. — preundi: the usual practice of magistrates to enforce their orders. — negare, etc.: apparently a new claim resting on a quibble. Such new or forced interpretations of law are still common on occasions of political excitement. There is nothing like a party contest to produce 'implied powers' or 'strict constructions.'

12. illum ipsum: i.e. magistra-
more maiorum, quia ita dicatur 'Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites.' Facile et contemptim de iure disse-rendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur ira 13 tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine magistratu; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio 14 omnis atroxA coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset, et concursus hominum in forum ex tota urbe concitatae multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertinacia tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento 15 proelio foret, ni Quinctius consul alter, consularibus nego-tio dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenis-set, nunc orasset tribunos ut concilium dimitterent; darent irae spatium, non vim suam illis tempus ademp-turum, sed consilium viribus additurum; et patres in populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate.

Aegre sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo aegrius consul 57 alter a patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis sena-tum consules habent. Vbi cum timor atque ira in vicem sententias variassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab impetu ad consultandum advocabantur, eo plus abhorre-

13. ardens: the tribune, not being able to cope with his adversary in argument, loses his patience and proceeds to violence. — privatum: i.e. the tribune, so far as his present action was concerned; in fact, as he had no imperium, it might be claimed that he was privatus in general.

15. concilium: i.e. the contio.

THE LAW IS CARRIED.

57. 2. quo magis, etc.: i.e. the longer their anger had to cool, the less they were disposed to fight.
bant a certatione animi, adeo ut Quinctio gratias age-
rent quod eius opera mitigata discordia esset. Ab
Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem maiestatem esse
vellet, quanta esse in concordi civitate posset. Dum
consules tribuneque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil
relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque
rem publicam; magis quorum in manu sit quam ut in-
columbis sit quae. Appius contra testari deos atque
homines rem publicam prodi per metum ac deseri; non
consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse; graviore
acci leges quam in Sacro monte acceptae sint. Victus
tamen patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.

58. Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt.
Numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fue-
rint, Piso auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, Cn.
Siccium L. Numitorium M. Duellium Sp. Iciliu L.
Mecilium.

3. Volscum Aequicumque inter seditionem Romanam
est bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros, ut, si qua se-
cessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet; compositis
deinde rebus castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius in
Volscos missus, Quinctio Aequi provincia evenit. Ea-
dem in militia saevitia Appi quae domi esse, liberior,

3. tantam, only so great, as often; cf. I. 9. 1.
4. silentio: cf. 55. 2. — perfertur: of course at a new assembly.

WAR WITH THE VOLSCI AND AEOUI.

58. tum primum, etc.: it seems impossible that this should be true.
It is difficult to see what assembly, in Livy's view, chose them before.
The probability is that he knew really no more about it than we do,
but, as usual, is writing a pictur-
esque history, of which this state-
ment forms an important item, and
that he does not stop to make a
consistent theory of the whole mat-
ter. If he had, he perhaps would
never have given us his ' pictured
page' at all. — numero, etc.: cf.
33. 2; 44. 6. The whole matter is
involved in the greatest uncertainty.
3. vastaverant . . . ut, etc.: the
ut clause belongs really to the oc-
cupation of the territory implied in
vastaverant; cf. retro movere.
4. quae domi: sc. fuerat. —
quod sine tribuniciiis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus 5 quam paterno odio: quid? se victum ab ea, se unico consule electo adversus tribuniciam potestatem perlatam legem esse, quam minore conatu nequaquam tanta patrium spe priores impedierunt consules? Haec ira indignatioque fercem animum ad vexandum saevo imperio exercitum stimulabat. Nec ulla vi domari poterat: tantum certamen animis imbibertam. Segniter otiosae, 7 neglegenter contumaciter omnia agere. Nec pudor nec metus coercebat. Si citius agit velit agmen, tardius seduló incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes sua sponte motam remittere industria; praesenti vultus 8 demittere, tacite praetereuntem exsecrari, ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur. Omnia nequiquam acerbitate prompta nihil iam cum militibus agere, a centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere, tribunos plebei cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare.

Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant instabantque eo magis, 59 sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium consulem habuisset. Ceterum multo Appio quam Fabio 2 violentior fuit: non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabi-
anvs exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra, nec ante restitit quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque extrimi agminis caedem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor iam a vallo submoveretur hostis, satis tamen appareret capi tantum castra militem Romanum noluisse, alibi gaudere sua clade atque ignominia. Qui-bus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus cum insuper saevire vellet contionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique monentes, ne utique experiri vellet imperium, cuius vis omnis in consensu oboedientium esset.

Negare vulgo milites se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri voces postulantium ut castra ex Volsco agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo fuisse, ingentisque mali non suspicionem modo sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Victus tandem, quando quidem nihil praeter tempus noxae lucrarentur, remissa contione iter in incessu diem pronuntiari cum iussisset, prima luce classico signum profectionis dedit. Cum maxime agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci ut eodem signo excitati novissimos adoriantur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit ut neque imperia

merely on violentior, but on the whole expression.

3. expressa: lit. ‘wrung from them’; i.e. their energy was roused.
— vis, energy. — alibi: i.e. except in the camp itself.

4. saevire, vent his rage, as often.
— imperium, an exercise of authority; such abstract nouns are often used in concrete senses; cf. their use in the plural.

5. negare, etc.: the words of the remonstrants. — apertam speciem, unmistakable appearance, such that it not only dimly occurred to the mind as a suspicion, but came before the eyes as a visible reality.

6. quando quidem, etc.: a thought put into the mind of Appius. — tempus noxae, postponement of their punishment. — lucrarentur, they got; properly as the price of the bargain. He meant to carry out his purpose later. — remissa: i.e. giving up the proposed assembly.

7. cum maxime, just when.
exaudiri neque instrui acies posset. Nemo ullius nisi fugae memori. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque evasere ut prius hostis desisteret sequi quam Romanus fugere. Tandem collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus consul, cum revocando nequiquam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; advocataque contione inventus haud falso in proditorem exercitum militaris disciplinae, desertorem signorum, ubi signa, ubi arma essent, singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signiferos, ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque qui reliquerant ordines, virgis caesos securi percussit; cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad supplicium lecti.

Contra ea in Aequis inter consulem ac milites comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et natura Quinctius erat lenior et saevitia infelix collegae quo is magis gauderet ingenio suo effecerat. Huic tantae concordiae a

8. *ullius*: a substantive use of this word unknown elsewhere; cf. *eius*, 47. 12.
9. *revocando*: ablative of manner; cf. *sumendo*, 32. 4. — *advocata*: notice the emphasis, *calling* the assembly, as he had originally proposed. — *inventus*: *sc. est.*
10. *inermes milites*, etc.: coordinated (or in apposition) with *singulos*, and so following *rogitans*, but containing the substance of his reproaches repeated chiastically.
11. *ad hoc*: *i.e.* in addition to his invective. — *centuriones duplicariosque*: as more trusted, and so more responsible for the treachery. The latter were not exactly officers, but soldiers who had received a reward (double rations) for previous valor, and so were in a position of trust similar to that of the centurions. — *multitudo* ... *decimus* ... *lecti*: a curious construction according to sense, explained by the partitive apposition of *quisque*. — *ad supplicium, for execution.*

**THE CAMPAIGN OF QUINCTIUS.**

60. *et... et*: the two branches are the natural disposition of the consul, and his profiting by the experience of his colleague. — *quo... gauderet*: a rare construction of a result clause with *quo*; cf. the common *quominus* in such clauses.

2. *concordiae*, etc.: put by a common Latin usage for *duci*, etc., *tam concordibus*. Though the language is less fond of abstract nouns, yet it sometimes prefers them as summing up the quality referred to in a single word, which is then by its use made concrete again; cf. 1.

4. Varia fortunabelliatrocidiscordia domiforissque annum exactuminsignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt, res maiortivictoriasuscepticertaminis quamusu:

5. plus epim dignitatis comitiiisipsis detractum est patribusex concilio submovendis, quam virium aut plebii additum est autdemptumpatribus.

61. Turbulentiorinde annumexceptitL. ValerioT. Aemilioconsulibus, cum propter certaminaordinum de lege agraria, tum propter iudiciumAppiClaudii,cuiacerrimo adversariolegiscausamque possessorumpublici agri

41. 4. offerre se, to face. — hostem: not merely arepetition of ducis, etc., as an English pronoun would be, but givingan additional idea that they were so much impressed that they stood by and looked on while anenemy was layingwaste their lands. — ea: sc. praedia. — data est: cf. 42. 1 n.


4. varia, etc.: i.e. though the year was remarkable for the fortunes of war and the disissions athome, yet more than these the Publilian law makes it famous. — victoria, etc.: i.e. as a triumph in the contest more than for any permanent advantage.

5. dignitatis, etc.: i.e. the newcomitia lost dignity because the most distinguished of the voters were now excluded, and consequently the body was only a humble assembly of the poorer classes. Yet there is nothing in Livy's words that distinctlysays that the patricians were excluded from voting, but only that they were excluded frombeing present to hinder. See note to 56. 10.

PROSECUTION OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

61. exceptit, followed, properly with an object, here civitatem, understood; cf. I. 53. 4. — Valerio: cf. 42. 7. — ordinum: at this time only the two parties, the patricians

and the plebeians. Perhaps they are only so called in accordance with later usage, derived from the ‘equestrian order.’

2. tertio, etc.: *i.e.* he was so active and took such a leading part, that he seemed like another consul.
— diem dixere: probably before the *comitia centuriata*, as in 35. 2. The use of plebi and populi in the next line seems to confirm this.

3. plenus, etc.: a harsh use of *plenus* as well as of the possessive pronoun for the objective genitive. But the phrase can hardly mean anything except ‘overwhelmed by wrath against himself and his father,’ and we may perhaps justify *plenus* by I. 25. 1, a case not precisely parallel, and *suarum* by 58. 8, taking *irarum* as equivalent to *odiorum.*

4. non temere, *not often*: properly, ‘not without special cause,’ so that it doesn’t occur by chance. — propugnatorem, etc.: expressing the feeling rather than the thought of the senate, and so approaching the exclamatory constructions; see Gr. 274. — suae: on account of the indirect discourse. — modum dumtaxat: *i.e.* he had only gone a little too far in what was, after all, the right direction.

5. vestem mutaret: cf. 54. 3 n.
— prensaret: the technical expression used like our ‘button-hole.’ — aliquid: here hardly differing from *quidquam*, but giving a slightly different tone, ‘a little, as one would have thought he would.’ — leniret, soften. — submitteret, humble, from his lofty tone of arrogance.

6. habitus oris . . . vultu: the first, of movement of features; the second, of expression, as of the eyes or the like.
quam consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu; adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupeficit et plebem, ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent, trahi deinde rem sinnerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit; ante tamen quam prodicata dies veniret morbo moritur. Cuius cum laudationem tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebs fraudari sollemni honore supremae diem tanti viri noluit, et laudationem tam aequis auribus mortui audivit quam vivi accusationem audierat, et exsequias frequentis celebravit.

62 Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos profectus cum hostem ad proelium elicer non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit foeda tempestas cum grandine ac tonitribus caelo deiecta. Admirationem deinde auxit signo receptui dato adeo tranquilla serenitas reddita, ut velut numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit. Omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modo sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habitabatur, Sabinī excīti cum praedatoribus occurissent, anticipi proelio digressi postero die rettulere castra in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum cur pro victo relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

7. semel, only once, as opposed to the second trial referred to in the following. — accusatorio: i.e. with the tone of a prosecutor rather than a defendant.— diem ipsi, etc.: whether, as was the practice later, the accused had a right to two more hearings of the case before the vote was taken, is uncertain. Livy assumes that he had not, but the prosecutors, of their own accord, allowed the case to drag.

9. laudationem: cf. 47. 11.

War with the Sabines.

62. 4. villarum: single farm-houses; vicorum: clusters of houses, villages.

5. integro, still unfinished; properly, ‘with nothing done about it.’

Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper alias, sollicitae pacis certamine patrum et plebis. Irata plebs

WAR ABROAD AND DISCORD AT HOME.

63. 2. cum cognitum est : cum inversum, Gr. 325. b.
3. coacti : sc. educere, implied in educata, etc.
4. quidem : opposing the enemy to the consuls; 'the enemy did nothing, to be sure, but the consuls continued the war.' — aliud : originally a cognate accusative with the verb (cf. 29. 4), but retained even when that construction ceases to be possible; cf. Gr. 240. a and g.
6. melius . . . imperatum est, the general did better. — ut tum, etc.: so I. 3. 3; II. 50. 2; cf. I. 18. 1 n.

ANOTHER YEAR OF WAR AND DISCORD.

64. sollicitae, disturbed.
a interesse consularibus comitiis noluit: per patres clientesque patrum consules creati T. Quinctius Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori consules habent, seditionosa initia, bello deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini, Crustumino campos citato agmine transgressi, cum caedes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina moenibusque pulsi ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequis locis non potuit; populationem adeo effuse fecit ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret multiplicique capta praeda rediret. Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta cum ducis tum militum opera. Primum aequo campo signis conlatis pugnatum ingenti caede utrimque, plu- rimo sanguine. Et Romani, quia paucitas damnos sentiendo proprius erat, gradum retulissent, ni salubri mendacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans, concitasset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant vincere, vicere. Consul metuens ne nimis instando renovaret certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessere pauci dies velut tacitis indutiis utrimque quiete sumpta; per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Aequisque populis in castra venit, haud dubitans, si senserint, Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertia fere vigilia ad castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quinctius, sedato tumultu quem terror subitus exciverat, cum manere in tentoriis quietum militem iussisset, Hurnicorum cohortem in sta-

2. tranquilla: loosely connected with initia, but really referring to the rest of the year.
3. prope: a colloquial freedom of speech, as we say 'from the gate almost.'
4. multiplici, many times as much (as the enemy had taken).
5. caede: i.e. loss in killed; sanguine: loss in wounded.
6. paucitas: cf. concordiae, 60.
2. — damno, etc., more likely to feel the loss; literally, 'nearer,' and so more exposed. — putant: see Gr. 328. a. Cf. Virg. Aen. V. 231.
9. itaque, etc.: i.e. fearing the es-
tionem eduit, cornices tubicinesque in equos imposi-
tos canere ante vallum iubet sollicitumque hostem ad
lucem tenere. Reliquum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia
in castris fuere ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset.
Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse
et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum,
qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante
sonitus saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium
tenuit.

Vbi inluxit, Romanus integer satiatusque somno pro-
ductum in aciem fessum standing et vigiliis Volscum primo
impetu percult: quamquam cessere magis quam pulsi
hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi, in quos post prin-
cipia integris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. Consul, ubi
ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem. Miles aegre
teneri, clamare et poscere ut perculsis instare liceat.
Ferocius agunt equites, circumfusi duci vociferantur se
ante signa ituros. Dum cunctatur consul, virtute milit-
tum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant se ituros;
clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quo
leviores ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus effus-
sis ad primum impetum missilibus telis saxa obiacentia
pedibus ingerit in subeuntes turbatosque icribus

cape of the Romans, they made the
attack before they should find out
their arrival, and in the night.
10. stationem: i.e. an outpost
beyond the camp, the usual mean-
ing of the word.
11. plures: i.e. than they were.
— Romanos: not Hernici, and so
better soldiers.— insueto, etc.: two
reasons for the uneasiness of the
horses.

VICTORY OVER THE VOLSCI.

65. 2. pulsi: this would imply
broken ranks, while the Volsci retired
in good order.— principia: the first
line under the old tactics, contain-
ing the best citizens, who protected
the other lines when hard pressed.
Either really or according to Livy’s
conception, the other lines must
have advanced to the front, and on
occasion retired behind the prin-
cipes.— iniquum locum: i.e. the
clivi mentioned above.
4. turbatos, etc.: i.e. first throws
them into confusion, and then be-
gins to press on them from above.
urget ex superiore loco. Sic prope oneratum est sinister Romanis cornu, ni referentibus iam gradum con-
sul increpando simul temeritatem simul ignaviam pudore
metum excussisset. Resistere primo obstinatis animis;
deinde, ut obtinentes locum vires refecerant, audent
ultra gradum inferre, et clamore renovato commovent
aciem. Tum rursus impetu capto enituntur atque exsu-
perant iniquitatem loci. Iam prope erat ut in summum
clivi iugum evaderent, cum terga hostes dedere effuso-
que cursu paene agmine uno fugientes sequentesque
castris incidere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur. Qui
Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt; Antium
et Romanus exercitus ductus. Paucos circumsessum
dies deditur nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod iam
inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant
animi.

— oneratum: i.e. overborne by mere weight. For construction, see Gr. 308. b.
5. obtinentes, etc.: i.e. holding their ground for a moment allowed them to recover. — ulter: i.e. not merely to hold their own, but even to advance.
7. paucos: see 23. 12 n. — nulla, etc.: cf. oppugnare non ausus, 63. 6.