Livy
BOOK II.

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PREFACE.

THIS Edition of Book II. differs little in its general plan from other volumes of the Pitt Press Series. An effort has been made to meet the needs of more than one class of students. On the one hand it seemed well, especially in the earlier chapters, to deal with every point of language which would cause difficulty to students familiar only with a book or two of Caesar or Vergil, and for such readers I have prefaced to the Notes a few "Hints on the Chief Difficulties of Livy's Style." On the other hand I have had the needs of University students in view in writing the notes on points of Constitutional History\(^1\) and, especially, in giving the origin as well as the use of many of the idioms discussed. My experience leads me to think that a judicious use of explanations drawn from the historical side of Grammar, far from complicating the teaching of conventional Syntax, does much to render it both simpler,—because truer,—and more interesting—because more suggestive\(^2\).

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

2 For one well-known difficulty, the variation between Primary and Secondary Subjunctive Tenses in the same passage of Oratio Obliqua, I have offered in the Appendix an explanation of which I have been convinced by examining a large number of passages. I hope, ere long, to deal with the matter at length elsewhere, but meanwhile, any teacher who has felt the difficulty may be glad to see the limits within which it is really confined.
In printing the text I have retained the genuine Latin symbol 𝑢 for the consonant which had approximately the sound of English 𝑤, instead of the mediaeval and misleading 𝑣. In the parallel case of 𝑖 and 𝑗 experience has shown that the "practical difficulties" involved in the use of the correct symbol were purely imaginary, and I cannot help thinking that the same will be the case with 𝑢. No doubt those persons who still desire to pronounce ciues with every sound wrong (as if it were an English word spelt siveez) will find the true spelling a little disquieting; and if it should disturb them enough to incline them to consider the advantages of a rational pronunciation, then a very trivial change will have pointed the way to a substantial reform.

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

My chief debt is of course to the Commentary of Weissenborn and H. J. Müller; the latter's Critical Appendix is particularly valuable. Madvig’s Emendationes are still indispensable even though not everywhere convincing. Moritz Müller's notes contain a great wealth of information on points of Livian usage, and though I have added his name to remarks which appeared to be the outcome of his own research, such references by no means exhaust my debt to his acute scholarship. Occasionally but only rarely
I have found his general statements rather too dogmatic in their wording. On the historical side my notes owe most to Schwegler’s *Römische Geschichte* and Willem’s *Droit Public Romain* (Ed. 5). I have not consulted any English Edition of Book II.

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

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

R. S. C.

Cardiff,

*February, 1901.*
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INTRODUCTION.

i. The Value of the Traditions of this Period.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 c. 7. 2.
2 According to other writers, but not Livy; see the n. on c. 20. 12.
3 See the note on c. 12. 1.
4 Book vi. init.
5 See n. on inuiolati templi, c. 1. 4. "The most important of these writers was the Sicilian Timaeus (350—256 B.C.)" (Pelham).
6 See esp. 1. 4. 2.
consent of Coriolanus to betray his allies and face their anger rather than refuse his mother’s petition (c. 40). These stories we may hesitate to read as literal history; but it would be hard to find any truer embodiment of the virtues which made Rome great.

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

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

2 Thus in the Coriolanus story, according to Plutarch, the mother and the wife of Coriolanus are Volumnia and Vergilia respectively, according to Livy, Veturia and Volumnia; and there are many other even more serious divergences.
with the brief and suggestive narrative of the same events in this Book. This substantial agreement between two writers who were trained in such different schools vouches for the truth of their account; and there can be no doubt that the elder of the two has attained what in his Preface (§ 9) he tells us was to him the paramount object of his work: namely to portray the characters of the men who made Rome great.

ii. The History of the Period.

§ 4. But many parts of this Book are based upon authentic, though meagre records. Such are the accounts of the two constitutional changes that mark the first period of the Republic, the creation of the Tribunes and of the Comitia Tributa. In the expulsion of the Tarquins, with which Livy's First Book concludes, it is clear that the great Nobles were the prime movers; and it is probable that most of the independent population were led to support the Nobles chiefly through particular acts of tyranny committed by the last King. Their reward was the Lex Valeria de Prouocatione, which was passed, according to tradition, in the first year of the Republic.1 Henceforward no Roman citizen could be put to death until he had been sentenced by the Assembly of his fellows, the Comitia of the Centuries.2

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

1 See c. 8. 2 with the note.
2 See c. 18. 4 and 8, with the notes.
from all real share in the Government. To the true-born Patrician they were essentially aliens\(^1\), strangers to the soil, strange to its gods. No Plebeian could be trusted to find the will of heaven by the omens: therefore no Plebeian could command an army. Only Patricians inherited by birth the sacred knowledge of forms and times and seasons which was a great part of Ancient Law; therefore only Patricians could be judges. No Plebeian could lawfully take part in the household sacrifices to Patrician deities; therefore intermarriage between the orders was a thing to be abhorred. The compromise, ascribed to Servius Tullius, which had extended to the Comitia Centuriata, that is, to all the soldiers of the army, Patricians and Plebeians alike, a voice in electing their Warrior-King (and therefore his successors, the Consuls) in practice had conferred this right only on the wealthy, for it rarely happened that any but the First of the Five Classes in the Comitia were called upon to vote (see I. 43. 11). Thus only the richest Plebeians exercised even the slender privilege of voting for this or that Patrician candidate. On the other hand the grievances of the poorer were such as could be felt. Every power of State, high or low, was in the hands of the Patricians: for instance, it was Patrician Consuls who administered the harsh law of debt\(^2\). A poor farmer whose stock had been carried off in one of the continual forays of Aequians, Volscians, or Sabines could only replace it by borrowing. If he suffered again in the same way, he fell into the hands of his creditor; and since the Patricians were far the wealthier of the two classes, their interests and sympathies were generally with the creditor. Hence the discontent aroused by the oppressive working of the law took a

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

\(^2\) c. 23. 1 with the notes.
political colour, and came to be felt against the Patricians as a class. The unequal distribution of the spoils of war, particularly the land taken from the conquered peoples, which was kept mainly in Patrician hands, was another standing grievance.

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

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

\[1\] c. 32.
sound political instinct of the best men of both parties at Rome; on the other in the unceasing pressure of enemies without the gates. As Livy pithily observes\textsuperscript{1}, \textit{externus timor maximum concordiae uinculum}; an epigram which sums up a great deal of the history of the first two centuries of the Republic. The cluster of hills on which Rome stands, rising out of the unhealthy plain of the Campagna, make a position easy to defend: but it was a position exposed to attack on no less than five converging lines. The same roads, which in peaceful times brought trade (as to-day they bring the railways) to Rome, in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. brought perpetual incursions from her more barbarous neighbours;—along the two coast roads, from the valleys of the Trerus, the Anio and the Tiber, an enemy might at any moment be marching upon Rome\textsuperscript{2}. The city lay open to these different assaults like iron between hammer and anvil. Again and again\textsuperscript{3} we read of the two Consuls despatched at once to fight two different foes on opposite sides,—Aequians on the East and Etruscans across the Tiber; Sabine from the North, Volscian or Latin from the South. In this hard school they learnt the lesson of unity against external foes. For two centuries the Romans had to fight for their existence; and they emerged from the struggle to enter upon the conquest of the world.

iii. \textit{The Value of Livy to us.}

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

\textsuperscript{1} c. 39. 7.

\textsuperscript{2} See further c. 41. 1 n. and the map.

\textsuperscript{3} For instance c. 43. 5, cc. 59 and 60.
that the story of Rome as Livy has told it will always fill a place of its own in the imagination of mankind. Even in the limits of this single Book some of the chief elements of his power can be felt. Perhaps the greatest is one which, in anything like the same degree, is shared by only a few of the great writers of antiquity. In the depth and truth of his human sympathies, his feeling for and with the men and women whose outer life he records, no Roman writer but Vergil can well be compared with him. *Sunt lacrimeae rerum et mentem mortaliam tangunt.* Artist in words as Livy was, there is no page in his history that leaves the reader with the feeling that more is said than was felt. The Consul Brutus watching the execution of his traitorous sons; the death of Arruns; Volero displaying his scars and appealing for rescue from slavery; the haughty Appius forced to yield to the mutineers—these, and many other dramatic scenes—appeal to us because they appealed to Livy; they move us because they moved him. The secret of Livy's wonderful descriptive power lies not in his sense of the picturesque, nor in his wealth of noble diction, but in the sympathetic imagination by which he penetrates to the heart of the story he has to tell. After nineteen centuries one still hears in his pages a living, human voice.

§ 9. The sobriety and honesty of Livy's narrative may seem too necessary a kind of merit in a historian to call for much admiration. But these qualities were anything but common in his predecessors and contemporaries, and indeed they are rare enough in all periods. It is true that they are so obvious in Livy that it may be superfluous to insist upon them. Often he censures the conduct of his own countrymen\(^1\) or of the Senatorial party in dealing with the Plebs, though his own political sympathy was with the Senate. In this Book notice the striking condemnation of the unfair protection given to the money-lenders through the influence of Senators who were among their number\(^2\). Notice too the feeling with which he portrays

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\(^1\) e.g. 2. 2. 2; Praefatio § 9; 3. 20. 5; 9. c. 1 and 2 init., c. 11. 12.
\(^2\) See c. 30. 2, with the note.
the inhuman arrogance of the Claudian house, or of Coriolanus before he was banished. The speeches which Livy is at the pains to compose are so natural, and are so wrapped up with our earliest conceptions of Roman history, that we are apt to forget that it is Livy who has drawn the picture. *Homo nempe ipse uidetur Non persona loqui.* By the regular convention of ancient historians, Livy uses these reconstructed speeches as the chief means of characterising the men of his story; and a most effective means it is. But just as to his ancient readers no falsehood was implied in the use of the convention, so on the other hand we must recognise that these eloquent harangues contain perhaps the most valuable part of Livy's whole work; at least, if we attach any value to the impression made upon a high-minded and enlightened Roman by the chief events of Roman history. Often enough this will differ from the judgment of writers who study the same events with the added experience of nineteen centuries. But such differences do not make it less worth our while to see what Livy's point of view was, and thereby to judge of his fairness and candour. In the same way, we shall find many matters of detail in which Livy's narrative falls short of the standard of critical precision to which modern research has accustomed us; in particular, thanks to much recent study of Roman Law, many things in the early history of the Constitution\(^1\) are somewhat less obscure to us than they were to a student under Augustus. But it would be a fatal mistake to regard such points as implying any want of truthfulness in Livy, or any feebleness of desire on his part to ascertain the truth in things which he counted important. He conceived on a magnificent scale, and by the devotion of half a lifetime he completed, the history of over seven hundred years\(^2\), full of great events; and the truth of the

\(^1\) See, *e.g.*, the notes on the constitution of the Senate, *c. i. II*, and the law of Volero, *c. 56. 2.*

\(^2\) The 142 Books of which some part or trace remains to us ended with the death of Drusus in 9 B.C.; but it seems probable that Livy had planned to continue the history down to the death of Augustus in A.D. 14.
great lines of his picture has never been questioned. Every separate scene, every successive act in this drama of the centuries he has studied and illumined with the imagination of a great artist, and the wisdom of a broad and lofty moral judgment. And if at times our narrower enquiries lead us to dwell on the imperfections of his vast achievement, we may remember the protest of a great critic of Livy's own age, a protest even more timely now than when it was first uttered:

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

1 Longinus' On the Sublime, c. 33. The date of the treatise is admirably discussed by Profs. Rhys Roberts in the Introduction to his recent Edition.
NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THIS EDITION.

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

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

P Codex Parisiensis, ibid. X Cent.
U Codex Upsaliensis, at Upsala, in the Univ. Library: X—XI Cent.
M Codex Mediceus, at Florence, in the Laurentian Library: XI Cent.
R Codex Romanus, at Rome, in the Vatican: XI Cent.
D Codex Dominicanorum, at Florence, in the Dominican Monastery of S. Mark: XII Cent.

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

Aldus, Venice, 1518.
Gruter, Frankfurt on the Main, 1528.
I. F. Gronov, Amsterdam, 1665.
Drakenborch, ibid., 1738.
Crevier, Paris, 1747.
Alscheski, Berlin, 1846.
Madvig, Emendationes Livianae (Ed. 2), The Hague, 1877.
Frigell, Collatio Codd. Livianorum, Lib. 1–3, Upsala, 1878.
LIST OF CORRECTIONS ADOPTED IN THE TEXT OF THIS EDITION.

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

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<td>3. 6 legati alia alia (alia alia P)</td>
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Early Rome, with the Servian Wall.
509 B.C. The uses of the Monarchy in consolidating the new community, and the nature of the change made in abolishing it. Enlargement of the Senate.

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

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

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

2. Rerum deinde diuinarum habita cura, et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, necubi 2 regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo
modum excesserint. consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud 3
offenderet, nomen inuisum ciuitati fuit: nimium Tarquinios
regno adsuessa. initium a Prisco factum; regnasse dein
Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum tamquam
alieni regni Superbum Tarquinium uelut hereditatem gentis
scelere ac ui repetisse; pulso Superbo penes Collatiniun
imperium esse. nescire Tarquinius priuatos uiuere. non
placere nomen, periculosum libertati esse. hinc primo 4
sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam ciuitatem est
datau, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem
uoac. ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat 5
neminem regnare passuros nec esse Romae, unde periculum
libertati foret. id summa ope tuendum esse, neque ullam
rem, quae eo pertineat, contemnendum. inuitum se dicere
hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas rei publicae
uinceret. non credere populum Romanum solidam liber-
tatem recuperatam esse. regium genus, regium nomen non
solum in ciuitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id officere,
id obstare libertati. "hunc tu" inquit "tua uoluntate, 7
L. Tarquini, remoue metum. meminimus, fatemur, eiecisti
reges; absolue beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen.
res tuas tibi non solum reddent ciues tui auctore me, sed
si quid deest, munifice augebunt. amicus abi, exonera
ciuitatem uano forsitan metu. ita persuasum est animis,
cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum." consuli 8
primo tam nouae rei ac subitae admiratio inclusarau uocem;
dicere deinde incipientem primores ciuitatis circumsistunt,
eadem multis precibus orant. et ceteri quidem muebant 9
minus: postquam Spurius Lucretius, maior aetate ac digni-
tate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere uarie rogando alternis
suadendoque coepit, ut uinci se consensu ciuitatis pateretur,
timens consul, ne postmodum priuato sibi eadem illa cum 10
bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia ac-
ciderent, abdicauit se consulatu, rebusque suis omnibus Lauinium translatis ciuitate cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exules essent. collegam sibi comitiiis centuriatis creauit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

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

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

4. Vitelliiis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, iamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. eos quoque in societatem consilii auunculi adsumunt. praetera aliquot nobiles adolescentes consci adsumpti, quorum uetustate memoria abiiit. interim cum in senatu uicisset sententia, quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad uehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absumunt, euincunctque instando, ut litterae sibi ad Tarquinios darentur: nam aliter qui credituros eos, non uana 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 nouo, ut fit, consilio egissent, sermonem eorum ex seruis unus exceptit, qui iam antea id senserat 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 uinclae coniectis, de legatis paululum addubitatum est, et quamquam uisi sunt commississe, ut hostium loco essent, ius tamen gentium ualuit.

5. De bonis regiis, quae reddi ante censuerant, res integra refertur ad patres. ei uicti ira uetuere reddi, uetuere in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut contacta 2
regia praeda speim in perpetuum cum eis pacis amitteret. ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, con-
secratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit. forte ibi tum
seges farris dicitur fuisse matura nisi. quem campi
fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum
stramento segetem magna uis hominum simul inmissa
corribus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis
caloribus solet. ita in uadis haesitantes frumenti aceruos
sedisse inlitos limo. insulum inde paulatim et aliis, quae
fert temere flumen, eodem inuictis factam. postea credo
additas moles manuque adiutum, ut tam eminens area
firmaque templis quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset.
5 Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptumque
suppllicium, conspectius eo, quod poenae capienda minis-
terium patri de liberis consulatus inposuit, et, qui spectator
erat amouendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii
dedit. stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi iuuenes. sed
a ceteris, uelut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium
in se auerterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis
hominis quam sceleris, quo poenam meriti essent: illos
eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem,
consulatum ortum ex domo Iunia, patres, plebem, quidquid
deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in an-
mum, ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exuli proderent.
8 consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad
sumendum supplicium. nudatos uirgis caedunt securique
feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater uoltusque 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 ciui-
tas data. ille primum dicitur uindicta liberatus. quidam
uindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio
ipsi nomen fuisse. post illum obseruatum, ut qui ita liberati essent, in ciuitatem accepti uiderentur.

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

6. His sicut acta erant nuntiatis, incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum tantae ad inritum cadentis spei sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo uiam obsaemptam uidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus, circumire supplex Etruriae urbes; orare maxume Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne se ortum indidem eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adulescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos: se regem, augentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis scelerata coniuratione pulsum. eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno uisus sit, partes regni rapuisse, bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis exprs sceleris esset. patriam se regnumque suum repetere et persequi ingratos ciues uelle. ferrent opem, adiuuarent; suas quoque ueteres iuriuas ultum irent, totiens caesas legiones, agrum ademptum. haec mouerunt Veientes, ac pro se quisque Romano saltem duce ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio mouet: pulchrum ui debit suos Romae regnare. ita duo duarum ciuitatum exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum uentum est, obuiam hosti consules eunt: Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit, Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. eodem modo primus eques hostium agminis fuit, praeerat Arruns Tarquinius, filius regis; rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur.
7 Arruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde iam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognouit, inflammatus ira "ille est uir" inquit "qui nos extorres expulit patria. ipse en ille nostris decoratus insignibus magnifice incedit. di regum uliores adeste." concitat calcaribus equum atque in ipsum infestus consulem derigit. sensit in se iri Brutus. decorum erat tum ipsis capessere

8 pugnam ducibus, auidet itaque se certamini offert; adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem ulneraret, sui protegendi corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. simul et cetera equestris pugna coepit, neque ita multo post et pedites superueniunt. ibi uaria uictoria et uelut aequo Marte pugnatum est: dextra

9 utrimque cornua uicere, laeua superata. Veientes, uinci ab Romano milite adsueta, fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis, nouus hostis, non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit.

10 Ita cum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit, ut omissa inrita re nocte ambo exercitus, Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae noctis ex silua Arsia ingentem editam uocem—Siluani uocem eam creditam—, haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; uincere bello Romanum. ita certe inde abiere Romani ut uictores, Etrusci pro uictis. nam postquam inluxit, nec quicquam hostium in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit, triumphansque inde Romanam redit. collegiae funus quanto tum potuit apparatu fecit; sed multo maius morti decus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis, quia matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor uiolatae pudicitiae fuisset.
Valerius disarms popular suspicion and enacts the Law of Appeal. His colleague dedicates the temple of Jove on the Capitol.

Consuli deinde, qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles uolgi animi, ex fauore non inuidia modo sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine orta. regnum eum affectare fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogauerat in locum Bruti, et aedificat in summa Velia: ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fieri. haec dicta uolgo creditaque cum indignitate angere consulis animum, uocato ad concilium populo summissis fascibus in contionem escendit. gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, summissa ibi esse imperii insignia, confessionemque factam populi quam consulis maiestatem uimque maiorem esse. ibi audire iussis consul laudare fortunam collegae, quod liberata patria in summo honore pro re publica dimicans, matura gloria necdum se uertente in inuidiam, mortem occubuisset. se superstitem gloriae suae ad crimen atque inuidiam superesse, ex liberatore patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidisse. "numquamne ergo" inquit "ulla adeo uobis spectata uirtus erit, ut suspicione uiolari nequeat? ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupiditatis regni crimen subitum timerem? ego, si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse a ciuibus meis, tam leui momento meam apud uos famam pendere? adeone est fundata leuiter fides, ut, ubi sim, quam qui sim, magis referat? non obstabunt Publi Valeri aedes libertati uestrae, Quirites, tuta erit ubis Velia. deferam non in planum modo aedes, sed colli etiam subiciam, ut uos supra suspectum me ciuem habitetis. in Velia aedificent, quibus melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas." delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam, et, ubi nunc Vicae Potae aedes est, domus in infimo cliuo aedificata.
8. Latae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione consulem absoluerent, sed quae adeo in contrarium uterent, ut popularem etiam facerent. inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. ante omnes de prouocatione aduersus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius, qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratae in uolgos leges fuere. quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum deinde comitia collegae subrogoando habuit. creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu non sufficientibus iam uiribus ad consularia munera obeunda intra paucos dies moritur. suffectus in Lucreti locum M. Horatius Puluillus. apud quosdam ueteres auctores non inuenio Lucretium consulem, Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt; credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoriad intercidisse.

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

9. Iam Tarquinii ad Larterm Porsinnam, Clusinum regem, persugerant. ibi miscendo consilium precesque nunc orabant, ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exulare pateretur; nunc monebant etiam, ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis. nisi quanta ui ciuitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defenderant, aequari summa infimis, nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat, in ciuitatibus fore; adesse finem regnis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Porsinna, cum regem esse Romam tum Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu uenit. non umquam alias ante tantus terror senatum inuasit; adeo ualida res tum Clusina erat, magnumque Porsinnae nomen. nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi ciues, ne Romana plebs, metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus uel cum seruitute pacem acciperet. multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. annonae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum conparandum missi alii in Volscos alii Cumas. salis quoque uendendi arbitrium, quia inpenso pretio uenibat, in publicum omne sumptum, ademptione privatis; portoriisque et tributo plebes liberata, ut diuites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educent. itaque haec indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem ciuitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum bene imperando uniuersus senatus fuit.
Siege of Rome by Porsinna: how Horatius kept the bridge (10); the strategy of Publicola (11); the stories of Mucius Scaevola and Cloelia (12).

1 10. Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praevidiis. alia muris, alia Tiberi obiecto uidebantur tuta. pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus uir fuisset, Horatius Cocles: id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit.

2 qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes uidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquire, 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 Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore. itaque monere, praedicere, ut pontem ferro, igni, quacumque ui possint, interrumpant: se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum. uadit inde in primum aditum pontis, insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugna terga obuersis comminus ad ineundum proelium armis, ipso miraculo audaciae obstupefecit 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 relictà, reuocantibus qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coegit. circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum nunc singulos prouocare, nunc increpare omnes, seruitia regum superborum, suae libertatis inmemores alienam oppugnatum uenire. cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipient, circumspectant. pudor deinde com mouit 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 conabantur detrudere uirum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis simul clamor Romanorum, alacritate perfecti operis sublatus, pauore subito impetum sustinuit. tum Cocles "Tiberine pater" inquit, "te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias!" ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit, multisque superincidentibus telis incolmis ad suos tranauit, rem aúsus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam fidei. grata erga tantam uirtutem ciuitas fuit: statua in comitio posita, agri quantum uno die circumarauit datum. priuata quoque inter publicos honores studia eminebant; nam in magna inopia pro domesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid fraudans se ipse uictu suo contulit.

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

12. Obsidio erat nihil minus et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius adulescens nobilis, cui indignum uidebatur populum Romanum seruientem [cum sub regibus esset] nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab isdém Etruscis obsideri, quorum saepe exercitus fuderit—; itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem uindicandam 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 uolo, non praedo nec populationum in uicem ultor: maius, si di iuuant, in animo est facinus.” adprobant patres. abdito intra uuestem ferro profisciscitur. ubi eo uenit, in confertissima turba prope regium tribunal consttit. ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret, eumque milites uolgo adirent, timens sciscitari, uter Porsinna
esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obtunctat. uadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento 8 mucrone sibi ipse fecerat uiam, cum concursu ad clamorem facto comprehensum regii satellites retraxisset, ante tribunal regis destitutus tum quoque inter tantas fortunae minas metuendum magis quam metuens, “Romanus sum” inquit “ciuis, C. Mucium uocant. hostis hostem occidere 9 uolui, nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad caedem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. nec unus in te ego 10 hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. proinde in hoc discrimen, si iuuat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in uestibulo habeas regiae. hoc tibi iuuentus Romana 11 indicimus bellum. nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris; 12 uni tibi et cum singulis res erit.” cum rex simul ira insensus periculoque conterritus circumdari ignes mimitabundus iuberet, nisi expromeret propere, quas insidiarum sibi minas per ambages iaceret, “en tibi” inquit, “ut sentias, quam 13 uile corpus sit eis, qui magnam gloriam uident”: dextremque accenso ad sacrificium foculo inicit. quam cum uelut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab sede sua prosiluisset, amouerique ab altaribus iuuenem iussisset, “tu uero abi” inquit, “in te magis quam 14 in me hostilia ausus. iuberem macte uirtute esse, si pro mea patria ista uirtus staret: nunc iure belli liberum te intactum inuiolatumque hinc dimitto.” tunc Mucius quasi 15 remunerans meritum “quando quidem” inquit “est apud te uirtutti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod minis nequisti: trecenti conjurauimus principes iuuentutis Romanae, ut in te hac uia grassaremur. mea prima sors fuit; ceteri, 16 ut ciusque ceciderit primi, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt.”
Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaeuolae a clade dextrae manus cognomen inditum, legati a Porsinna Romam secuti sunt; adeo mouerat eum et primi periculi casus, a quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio totiens, quot coniurati superessent, ut pacis condiciones ultro ferret Romanis. iactatum in condicionibus nequiquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiiuerat Tarquiniis, quam quod negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. de agro Veientibus restituendo impetrum, expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Ianiculo praesidium deduci uellent. his condicionibus conposita pace exercitum ab Ianiculo deduxit Porsinna et agro Romano excessit. patres C. Mucio uirtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere, quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata.

Ergo ita honorata uirtute feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae. et Cloelia uirgo, una ex obsidibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginitum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranauit, sospitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem depossendam: alias haud magni facere; deinde in admirationem uersus supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre, quem ad modum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam intentional inuiolatamque ad suos remissurum. utrimque constituit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginitem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa quos uellet legeret. productis omnibus elegisse inpubes dicitur, quod et uirginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probable erat eam aetatem
potissimum liberari ab hoste, quae maxime opportuna iniuriae esset. pace redintegrata Romani nouam in femina uirtutem nouo genere honoris, statua equestri, donauere: in summa Sacra uia fuit posita uirgo insidens equo.

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

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

Omisso Romano bello Porsinna, ne frustra in ea loca exercitus adductus uideretur, cum parte copiarum filium Arruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. primo Aricinos res necopinata perculerat. arcessita deinde auxilia et a Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere, ut acie decernere auderent. proelio inito adeo concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci, ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos. Cumanae cohortes, arte aduersus uim usae, declinauere paululum, effuseque praelatos hostes conuersis signis ab
tergo adortae sunt; ita in medio prope iam uictores caesi
8 Etrusci. pars perexigua duce amissos, quia nullum propius
perfugium erat, Romam inermes, et fortuna et specie
supplicum, delati sunt. ibi benignae excepti diuisique in
hospitia. curatis uolneribus alii profecti domos nuntii
hospitalium beneficiorum, multos Romae hospitum urbisque
caritas tenuit. his locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde
Tuscum uicum appellarunt.

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

War with the Sabines; the migration of the Claudii to Rome. War with the Aurunci and (two accounts of) their punishment.

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

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

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

18. Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Larcium consules habuit. eo anno Romae cum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuuentute per lasciuiam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit, paruaque
ex re ad rebellionem spectare res uidebatur [supra belli Latini metum]. id quoque accesserat, quod triginta iam coniurasse populos concitante Octauio Mamilio satis constabat. in hac tantarum expectatione rerum sollicita 4 ciuitate dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. sed nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniana essent—id quoque enim traditur—, parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit, satis constat. apud ueterrimos 5 tamen auctores T. Larcium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum creatos inuenio. consulares legere; ita lex iubebat de dictatore creando lata. eo magis adducor 6 ut credam Larcium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M'. Valerium M. filium Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum. quin, si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem uellent, 7 patrem multo potius M. Valerium spectatae uirtutis et consularem uirum legissent.

Creato dictatore primum Romae postquam praeserri 8 secures uiderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiones essent ad dicto parendum. neque enim ut in consulis, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque prouocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator eo magis, 9 quod propter se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. itaque legatos de pace mittunt. quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque, ut ueniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus darent, responsum, ignosci adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent. actum 11 tamen est de pace; impetrataque foret, si quod insensae factum in bellum erat, praestare Sabini—id enim postulatum erat—in animum induxisse. bellum indictum: tacitae indutiae quietum annum tenuere.
War with the Latins; the wonderful battle of Lake Regillus. 
Death of King Tarquin; Signia re-colonised; the 21 tribes (495 B.C.).

19. Consules Seruius Sulpicius Manius Tullius; nihil dignum memoria actum; T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius.

his consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta, Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descuiut. nec ultra bellum

3 Latinum, gliscens iam per aliquot annos, dilatum. Aulus Postumius dictator Titus Aebutius magister equitum magnis

copiis peditum equitumque profecti ad lacum Regillum

in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt; et quia

Tarquinios esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri

ira non potuit, quin extemplo conflagerent. ergo etiam

proelium aliquanto quam cetera grauius atque atrocius

fuit. non enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem

adfuere, sed suismit ipsi corporibus dimicantes miscuere

certamina. nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa

ex acie sine uolnere praeter dictatorem Romanum excessit.

in Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruente

temque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam iam aetate et

uiribus erat grauior, equum infestus admisit, ictusque ab

latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. et ad alterum

cornu Aebutius magister equitum in Octanum Mamilium

impetum dederat, nec fefellit ueniens Tusculanum ducem,

contraque et ille concitat equum; tantaque uis infestis

uenientium hastis fuit, ut brachium 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 deter-

ritus uolnere proelium ciet, et quia suos perculsos uidebat,

arcessit cohortem exulum Romanorum, cui Lucii Tarquinii

filius praerat. ea, quo maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona

patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.
Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis M. Valerius Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem iuuenem Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exulum acie, domestica etiam gloria accensus, ut, cuius familiae decus eieti reges erant, eiusdem interfeci forent, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquiniium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium, temere inuectum in exulum aciem, ex transuerso quidam adortus transfigit; nec quicquam equitis uolnere equo retardato moribundus Romanus labentibus super corpus armis ad terram defluxit. dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse talem uirum, exules ferociter citato agmine inuehi, suos percelsos cedere animaduertit, cohorti suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum, ut quem suorum fugientem uiderint, pro hoste habeant. ita metu ancipiti uersi a fuga Romani in hostem, et restituta acies. cohortis dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit. in integris corporibus animisque fessos adorti exules caedunt. ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exulum a dictatore Romano prope circumuentam uidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit. hos agmine uenientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus, interque eos insignem ueste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tanto ui maiore, quam paulo ante magister equitum, cum hostium duce proelium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis ueruto percussus, cum uictor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem exspirauerit. tum ad equites dictator aduolat obtestans, ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex equis, et pugnam capessant. dicto paruere: desiliunt ex equis, prouolant in primum, et pro antesignanis parmas obiciunt. recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam iuuuentutis
proceres aequato genere pugnae secum partem periculi sustinentes uidit. tum demum impulsi Latini perculsaque inclinavit acies. equiti admoti equi, ut persequi hostem posset; secuta et pedestrís acies. ibi nihil nec diuinæ nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori uouisse fertur, ac pronuntiasse militi praemia, qui primus, qui secundus castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardor fuit, ut eodem impetu, quo fuderant hostem Romani, castra caperent. hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediere.

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

5 Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Seruilius consules facti. insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquinii mortis. mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. eo nuntio erecti patres, erecta plebes. sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit laetitia: plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope inseruitum erat, iniuriae a primoribus fieri coepere. eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum deducta est. Romae tribus una et uiginti factae. aedes Mercuri dedicata est idibus Maiis.
War threatened by the Volsci; the Latins give timely warning of this and are rewarded.

22. Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax neque bellum fuerat; nam et Volsci comparauerant auxilia, quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset, et maturuit Romanus, ne proelio uno cum Latino Volscoque contenderet. hac ira consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consili poenam non metuentes necopinata res perculit. armorum inmemores obsides dant trecentos principc a Cora atque Pometia liberos; ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. nec ita multo post Volscis leuatis metu suum reedit ingenium: rursus occultum parant bellum Hernicis in societatem armorum adsumptis; legatos quoque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimittunt. sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta clades Latinos ira odioque eius, quicumque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem uiolandis abstinuit: conprehensos Volscos Romam duxere. ibi traditi consulibus, indicatumque est Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis. relata re ad senatum adeo fuit gratum patribus, ut et captiurum sex milia Latinis remitterent, et de foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad nouos magistratus reicerent. enimuo tum Latini gaudere facto, pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse. coronam auream Ioui donum in Capitolium mittunt. cum legatis donoque, qui captiurum remissi ad suos fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudo uenit. pergunt domos eorum, apud quem quisque seruierant, gratias agunt liberaliter habit cultique in calamitate sua, inde hospitia iungunt. numquam alias ante publice priuatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio coniunctius fuit.
Distress at Rome and agitation against the oppressive law of debt; the Senate is divided.

1. 23. Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat, et ciuitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabit odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes alienum. fremebant se foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes domi a ciuibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam in pace, et inter hostis quam inter ciues libertatem plebis esse; inuidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius calamitas accendit. magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit. obsita erat squalore uestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti. ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaerant speciem oris. noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse aiebant, aliaque militiae decora ulgo miserantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum cicatrices aduerso pectore ostentabat.

2. sciscitantibus, unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum circumfusa turba est prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed uilla incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore imperatum, aes alienum fecisse. id cumulatum usuris primo se agro paterno auitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis, postremo uelut tabem peruenisse ad corpus: ductum se ab creditore non in servitium sed in ergastulum et carnis sacrificam esse. inde ostentare tegum foedum recentibus uestigiis uerberum. ad haec uisa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. non iam foro se tumultus tenet, sed passim totam urbem peruadit. nexi, uincti solutique, se undique in publicum proripiunt, inplorant Quiritium fidem. nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes. multis passim
agminibus per omnes uias cum clamore in forum curritur. magno cum periculo suo qui forte patrum in foro erant in 9
eam turbam inciderunt. nec temperatum manibus foret, 10
ni propere consules P. Seruilius et Ap. Claudius ad con-
primendam seditionem interuenissent. at in eos multitudo
uera, ostentare uincula sua deformitatemque aliam. haec 11
se meritos dicere, exprobrantes suam quisque, alius alibi,
militiam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter,
uf senatum uocarent, curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moder-
toresque publici consilii circumsistunt. pauci admodum 12
patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus:
cetern metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat.
nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. tum 13
ucro eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare, et patrum
qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed inpediendae rei
causa abesse, et consules ipsos tergiuersari, nec dubie
ludibrio esse miserias suas. iam prope erat, ut ne consulum 14
quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum incerti,
morando an ueniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem
in senatum ueniunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo
inter patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis
conueniebat. Appius, uehementis ingenii uir, imperio 15
consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero adrepto
quieturos alios. Seruilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos
animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius
esse.

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

24. Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum 1
tumultuoso aduolant nuntio, Volscos infesto exercitu ad
urbem oppugnandam uenire. quae audita—adeo duas ex una ciuitate discordia fecerat—longe aliter patres ac plebes adfecere. exultare gaudio plebes, ultores superbiae patrum adesse dicere deos. alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent, cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros. patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia essent. at uero curia maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab ciue et ab hoste, Seruillium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare, ut tantis circumuentam terroribus expediret rem publicam. tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. ibi curae esse patribus ostendit, ut consulatur plebi. ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa, sed tamen parte ciuitatis, metum pro uniuersa re publica interuenisse. nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeuerti se quicquam; nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta arma pro patria non cepisse, neque patribus satis decorum, per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate adflictis ciuium suorum fortunis consuluisse. contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, ne quis ciuem Romanum uinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret aut uenderet, liberos nepotesue eius moraretur. hoc proposito edicto et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex priuato, cum retinendi ius creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent, fieri. magna ea manus fuit, neque aliorum magis in Volsco bello uirtus atque opera enituit. consul copias contra hostem educit, paruo dirimente interuallo castra ponit.
castra. sensere uigiles, excitatus exercitus, signo dato concursum est ad arma; ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit; relicum noctis utrimque quieti datum. postero die prima luce Volsci fossis repletis uallum inuadunt. iamque ab omni parte munimenta uellebantur, cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique, et nexit ante omnes, ut signum daret clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo militem audium certaminis emitit. primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa, eque usque ad castra pauidos egit. mox ipsa castra legionibus circumdata, cum Volscos inde etiam pauor expulisset, capta direptaque. postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quo confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur, captum praedae datum. inde paulum recreatus egens miles. consul cum maxima gloria sua uictorem exercitum Romam reductum decedentem Romam Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. his ex senatus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

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

Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero 4
die in magna iam spe undique partae pacis legati Aurunci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volscio agro, bellum indicentes. 

cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat. cuius fama haud procul iam ab Aricia usi tanto tumultu conciuit Romanos, ut nec consuli ordine patres, nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur, nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa conlata proelioque uno debellatum est. 

The debtors demand the fulfilment of the consul’s promises; he is hindered by his colleague Ap. Claudius and the Senate. The agitation continues into the next year (494 B.C.) and the people again refuse to serve in the army. The Senate is again divided.
populi data esset, eum praeesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, solemnia pro pontifice iussit suscipere. populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili 6 centurioni; quod facile appareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum, quam ad consulum ignominiam. saeure indique consulum 7 alter patresque, sed plebi creuerant animi, et longe alia quam primo instituerant uiua grassabantur. desperato enim 8 consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem uidissent, undique conuolabant. neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque, cum decesset, quisquam obtemperabat. ui agebatur, metusque 9 omnis et periculum [libertatis], cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus uiolarentur, in creditores a debitoribus uerterant. super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectuque 10 decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id, quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiceret, ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet. non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam, neque 11 proiectum consulare imperium; se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis uindicem fore. cum circumstaret cotidiana 12 multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum iussit. ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, prouocauit. nec cessisset prouocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre uicta pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore; adeo supererant animi ad sustinendam inuidiam. crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertis 13 sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. tandem inuisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Serullius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.
28. A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. tum uero plebs incerta, quales habitura consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis pars in Auentino, facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis, et omnia temere 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, inuidiam eius consules ad senatum reicerent. profecto, si essent in re publica magistrates, nullum futurum fuisse Romae nisi publicum concilium: nunc in mille curias contionesque [cum alia in Esquiliis, alia in Auentino fiant concilia] dispersam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. unum hercule uirum—id enim plus esse quam consulem—, qualis Appius Claudius fuerit, momento temporis discussurum illos coetus fuisse. correpti consules, cum, quid ergo se facere uellent, nihil enim segnius molliusque quam patribus placeat acturos, percunctantur, decernunt, ut dilectum quam acerrimum habeant: otio lasciuiure plebem. dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; citant nominatim iuniores. cum ad nomem nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum negare ultra decipi plebem posse; numquam unum militem habituros, ni praestaretur fides publica; libertatem unicamente prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria ciuibusque, non pro dominis pugnet. consules, quid mandatum esset a senatu, uidebant; sed eorum, qui intra parietes curiae feroxiter loquerentur, neminem adesse inuidiae suae participem. et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. prius itaque quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. tum uero ad sellas consulum propere consuolare minimus quisque natu patrum, abdicare consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium, ad quod tuendum animus deesset.
29. Vtraque re satis experta tum demum consules: "ne praedictum negetis, patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. postulamus, ut ei, qui maxime igniavi cresqant, adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. acerrimi cuiusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus." redeunt in tribunal, citari nominatim unum ex his, qui in conspectu erant, dedita opera iubent. cum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte uiolaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. quo repulso tum uero indignum facinus esse clamitantes qui patrum consulibus aderant deuolant de tribunal, ut lictori auxilio essent. sed ab ictore, nihil aliud quam prendere prohibito, cum conuersus in patres impetus esset, consultum intercursu rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam iniuriae fuerat. senatus tumultuose uocatus tumultuosius consulitur quaestionem postulatibus eis, qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis magis quam clamare et strepitu. tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihil plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine consuli coepit. tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius rem non uolgabat; de eis tantum qui fidem secuti Publii Seruii consulis Volsco, Aurunco Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum censebat. Titus Larcius non id tempus esse, ut merita tantummodo exsoluerentur; totam plebeem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sosti posse, ni omnibus consulatur; quin, si alia aliorum sit condicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura inmitis et efferatus hinc plebis odio illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis ait sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lascuire magis plebem quam saeuiere. id adeo malum ex prouocatione natum; quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos, qui una peccauerint, prouocare liceat. "agedum"
inquit "dictatorem, a quo prouocatio non est, cremus. iam hic, quo nunc omnia ardent, conticiscet furor. pulset tum mihi lictorem, qui sciet ius de tergo uitaque sua penes unum illum esse, cuius maiestatem uiolarit."

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

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

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

31. Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit fugatque, exuit castris. equitatu inmisso medium turbauerat hostium aciem, quam, dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte introrsum ordinibus firmauerant; turbatos pedes inuasit. eodem impetu castra capta debellatumque est. post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. dictator triumphans urbem inuehitur. super
solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad specta-
culum datus, sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis
deuictis Veliternus ager ademptus, Velitras coloni ab
urbe missi et * colonia deducta. cum Aequis post aliquanto
pugnatum est inuito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo
subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites extrahi rem
criminantes, ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem,
magistratu abiret, inritaque sicut ante consulis promissa
cius caderent, perpulere, ut forte temere in aduersos montis
agmen erigeret. id male commissum ignauia hostium in
bonum uertit, qui, priusquam ad coniectum teli ueniretur,
obstupefacti audacia Romanorum, relictis castris, quae
munitissimis tenuerant locis, in auersas ualles desiluere;
ubi satis praedae et uictoria incruenta fuit.

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

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

Is intromissus in castra, prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore quo in homine, non ut nunc, omnia in unum consentientia, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo
fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio uentri omnia quæri, uentrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis uoluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quæe conficerent. hac iœ dum uentrem fame domare uellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem uenisse. inde apparuisse uentris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc, quo uiuimus uigemusque, diuisum pariter in uenas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. comparando hinc, quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

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


Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Cominius consulatum inierunt. eis consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum foedus. ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit; alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque; compulsos in oppidum Longulum persecutus, moenibus potitur. inde protinus Poluscam item Volscorum
cepit, tum magna ui adortus est Coriolos. erat tum in castris inter primores iuuenum Cn. Marcius, adulescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. cum subito exercitum Romanum Coriolos obsidentem atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sineullo metu extrinsecus inminentis belli Volscaele legiones profectae ab Antio inuasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, forte in statione Marcius fuit. is cum 7 delecta militum manu non modo impetu erumpentium retudit, sed per patentem portam ferox inrupit, caedeque in proximo urbis facta ignem temere arreptum inminentibus muro aedificiis iniecit. clamor inde oppidanorum, mixtus 8 muliebri puerilique ploratu, ad terrem, ut solet, primum orto, et Romanis auxit animum et turbuit Volscos, ut-pote capta urbe, cui ad ferendam opem uenerant. ita fusi 9 Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum. tantumque sualaude obstitit famae consulis Marcius, ut, nisi foedus cum Latinis in columna aenea insculptum monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoria cessisset.

Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, uir omni in uita pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post recessionem carior plebi factus. huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae ciuium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanae in urbem, sumptus funerem defuit. extulit eum plebs sextanti-bus conlatis in capita.

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

34. Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minuciust facti. eo anno cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo grauius malum ciuitatem
inusit, caritas primum annonae ex incultis per secessionem
plebis agris, fames deinde, qualis clausis solet. uentumque
ad interitum seruitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules
pruidissent, dimissis passim ad frumentum coemendum
non in Etruriam modo, dextris ab Ostia litoribus, laeuoque
per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed in Siciliam quoque; 
adeo finitimorum odia longinquus coegerant indigere auxiliis.

4 frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naues pro bonis
Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat, 
retentae sunt. in Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem 
potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum ipsis fru-
mentatoribus fuit. ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi uenit; eo 
sustenta est plebs. incommodo bello in tam artis com-
meatibus uexati forent, ni Volscos iam mouentes arma

6 pestilentia ingens inuasisset. ea clade conterritis hostium
animis, ut etiam, ubi ea remisisset, terrore aliquo tenerentur,
et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbam
in montis nouam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, 
miserunt.

7 M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus magna
uis frumenti ex Sicilia aduecta, agitatumque in senatu,
8 quanti plebi daretur. multi uenisse tempus premendae 
plebis putabant recuperandique iura, quae extorta seces-
sione ac ui patribus essent. in primis Marcius Coriolanus,
hostis tribuniciae potestatis, "si annonam" inquit "ueterem 
volunt, ius pristinum reddant patribus. cur ego plebeios 
magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem uideo, sub iugum

10 missus, tamquam ab latronibus redemptus? egone has
indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est? Tarquinium
regem qui non tulerim, Sicinium feram? secedat nunc, 
auocet plebem; patet uia in Sacrum montem aliosque 
colles. rapiant frumenta ex agris, quem ad modum 
tertio anno rapuere. fruantur annona, quam fureo suo
fecere. audeo dicere hoc malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore, quam ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant." haud tam facile dictu est, faciendumne fuerit, quam potuisse arbitror fieri, ut condicionibus annam et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia inuitis iura inposita patres demerent sibi.

35. Et senatui nimis atrox uisa sententia est, et plebem ira prope armauit: fame se iam sicut hostes peti, cibo uictaque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi Gnaeo Marcio uincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat. eum sibi carnificem nouum exortum, qui aut mori aut seruire iubeat. in exeunte m e curia impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent. ibi ira est suppressa: se iudicem quisque, se dominum uitae necisque inimici factum uidebat. contemptim primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilli non poenae ius datum illi potestati, plebisque non patrum tribunos esse. sed adeo insensa erat coorta plebs, ut unius poena defungendum esset patribus. restiterunt tamen aduersa inuidia, usique sunt qua suis quisque, qua totius ordinis uribus. ac primo temptata res est, si dispositis clientibus absterreendo singulos a coitionibus conciliaisque disicere rem possent. uniueri deinde processere—quidquid erat patrum reos diceret—precibus plebem exposcentes, unum sibi ciuem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absoluere nollent, pro nocente donarent. ipse cum die dicta non adesset, perseveratum in ira est. damnatus absens in Volscos exulatum abiit, minitans patriae hostilesque iam tum spiritus gerens. uenientem Volsci benignene excepere, benigniusque in dies colebant, quo maior ira in suos eminebat crebraeque nunc querellae nunc minae percepientur. hospitio utebatur Attii Tullii. longe is tum
princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. ita cum alterum uetus odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, 8 consilia conferunt de Romano bello. haud facile credebant plebem suam inpelli posse, ut totiens infelicitier temptata arma caperent. multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa iuuentute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto iam uetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

Special games miraculously commanded at Rome.

1 36. Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur. instaurandi haec causa fuerat: ludis mane seruam quidam pater familiae nondum commisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circo. coepit inde ludi, uelut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. haud ita multo post Tito Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. uuisus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displinguisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ei ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, uerecundia tamen maiestatis magistratum uicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. magno illi ea cunctatio stetit; filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. cuius repentinae cladis ne causa dubia esset, aegro animi eadem illa in somnis obuersata species uisa est rogitare, sati magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem; maiorem instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet consulibus. iam praesentior res erat. cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens uis morbi adorta est debilitate subita. tunc enimuero deorum ira admonuit. fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito cum uisa atque audita et obuersatum totiens somnios Iouem, minas irasque caelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset,
consensu inde haud dubio omnium qui aderant in forum ad consules lectica defertur. inde in curiam iussu consulum delatus eadum illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrant, ecce aliud miraculum: qui captus omni- bus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

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

37. Ludi quam amplissimi ut fient, senatus decreuit. ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio uis magna Volscorum uenit. priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules uenit; dicit esse, quae secreto agere de re publica uelit. arbitris remotis "inuitus" inquit "quod sequius sit de meis ciuibus loquor. non tamen admissum quicquam ab eis crimina tum uenio, sed cautum, ne admissant. nimio plus quam uelim nostro- rum ingenia sunt mobilia. multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito sed uestra patientia incolumes simus. magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta ciuitas erit. memini, quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum iuuentute in hac urbe commissum sit. horret animus, ne quid inconsulte ac temere fiat. haec nostra uestraque causa prius dicenda uobis, consules, ratus sum. quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cuius facti dixiue contagione praesens uioler." haec locutus abiit. consules cum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad praecauendum uel ex superuacuo mouit; factoque senatus consulto, ut urbem excederent Volsci, praecones dimittuntur, qui omnes eos
proficisci ante noctem iuberent. ingens pauor primo dis-
currentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit. pro-
ficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta, se ut consceleratos
contaminatosque ab ludis, festis diebus, coetu quodam
modo hominum deorumque abactos esse.

1 38. Cum prope continuato agmine irent, praegressus
Tullius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque ueniret, primores
eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque, et eos ipfos,
shedul audientes secunda irae uerba, et per eos multitu-
dinem aliam in subjectum uiae campum deduxit. ibi in
contionis modum orationem exorsus, ueteres populi Romani
injuiias cladesque gentis Volscorum commemorauit. Tum,
“ut omnia” inquit “obliuiscamini alia, hodiernam hanc
contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram
ignominiam ludos commiseres? an non sensistis triumpha-
tum hodie de uobis esse? uos omnibus, ciuibus peregrinis,
tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisses; uestras
coniuges, uestros liberos traductos per ora hominum? quid
eos, qui audiuere uocem praeconis, quid, qui nos uidere
abeuntes, quid eos, qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obuii,
existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse? quod,
si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque
merituri, ideo nos ab sede piorum coetu concilioque abigi?

3 quid deinde? illud non succurrit, uiuere nos, quod matu-
rarimus proficisci?—si hoc profectio et non fuga est. et
hanc ur bem uos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem
morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? bellum ubis
indictum est,—magno eorum malo, qui indixere, si uiri

4 eos, qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obuii,
existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse? quod,
si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque
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5 quid deinde? illud non succurrit, uiuere nos, quod matu-
rarimus proficisci?—si hoc profectio et non fuga est. et
hanc ur bem uos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem
morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? bellum ubis
indictum est,—magno eorum malo, qui indixere, si uiri

6 estis.” ita et sua sponte irarum pleni et incitati domos inde
digressi sunt, instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere,
ut omne Volscum nomen desiceret.
Tullius and Coriolanus lead the Volscians, after a campaign of miraculous triumph in Latium, to Rome, where they reject all entreaties for peace; the Plebs refuse to fight; but Coriolanus retreats in deference to the entreaties of the matrons, headed by his mother.

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

Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius consules erant. eos recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque, in quibus stationes uigiliasque esse placuerat, loca distribuentes multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conterruit, deinde uocare senatum, referre de legatis ad Cn.
Marcium mittendis coegit. acceperunt relationem patres, postquam apparuit labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores. atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praedia belli per otium frui uelint, memorem se et ciuium injuriae et hospitum beneficii adnisurum, ut appareat exilio sibi intiratos, non fractos animos esse. iterum deinde idem missi non recipiuntur in castra. sacerdotes quoque, suis insignibus uelatos, isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihilo magis quam legatos flexisse animum.

40. Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. id publicum consilium an muliebris timor fuerit, parum inuenio; per- uicere certe, ut et Veturia magno natu mulier et Volumnia duos parvos ex Marcio serens filios secum in castra hostium irent, et, quoniam armis uiri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent. ubi ad castra uentum est, nuntiatumque Coriolano est adesse ingens mulierum agmen, primo, ut qui nec publica maiestate in legatis nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus esset, multo obstinatior aduersus lacrumas muliebres erat. dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem maestitia inter ceteras cognouerat Veturiam, inter nurum nepotesque stantem, "nisi me frustrantur" inquit "oculi, mater tibi coniunxque et liberi adsunt." Coriolanus prope ut amens consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obuiæ complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus uersa "sine, priusquam complexum accipio, sciam" inquit "ad hostem an ad filium uenerim, captiua materne in castris tuis sim. in hoc me longa uitæ et infelix senecta traxit, ut exulem te, deinde hostem uiderem? potuisti populari hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit? non tibi, quamuis infesto animo et minaci perueneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? non, cum
in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrît 'intra illa moenia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, coniunx liberique'? ergo ego 8 nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium habe-rem, libera in libera patria mortua essem. sed ego nihil iam pati, nec tibi turpius usquam nec mihi miserius, possum, nec, ut sum miserrima, diu futura sum: de his uideris, quos, 9 si pergis, aut inmatura mors aut longa seruitus manet.” uxor deinde ac liberis amplexi fletusque ab omni turba mulierum ortus et conploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem uirum. complexus inde suos dimittit; ipse retro ab urbe in castra mouit. abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano inuidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt alii alio leto. apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem uixisse eundem inuenio; refert certe hanc saepe eum exacta aetate usurpasse uocem, multo miserius seni exilium esse. non inuiderunt laude sua mulieribus uiri Romani,—adeo sine obtrectatione gloriae alienae uiuebatur,—monumentoque quod esset, templum Fortunae Muliebri aedificatum dedicatumque est.

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

Consules Titus Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Volsci, 14 Aquilio Hernici—nam ei quoque in armis erant—prorvincia euenit. eo anno Hernici deuicti, cum Volscis aequo Marte discessum est.
488 [more probably 486] B.C. The Agrarian Law proposed by Sp. Cassius, opposed by his colleague; his trial and condemnation.

1 41. Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules facti. cum Hernicis foedus ictum, agri partes duae ademptae. inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi diuisurus consul Cassius erat. adiciebat huic muneri agri aliquantum, quem publicum possideri a priuatis criminabatur. id multos quidem patrum, ipsos possedores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. sed et publica patribus sollicitudo inerat, largitione consulem periculosas libertati opes struere. tum primum lex agraria promulgata est, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. consul alter largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe aduersante, quae primo coeperat fastidire munus uolgatum a ciuiibus exisse in socios; saepe deinde et Verginium consulem in contionibus uelut uaticinantem audiuebat pestilens collegae munus esse, agros illos seruitutem eis qui acceperint latus, regno uiam fieri. quid ita enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum, quid attinuisse Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut eae gentes pro Coriolano duce Cassium habeant? popularis iam esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariae coeperat. uterque deinde consul ut certatim plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passurum se adsignari agros, dum ne cui nisi ciui Romano adsignentur; Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque ciuiibus uilior erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret ciuium animos, iubere pro Siculo frumento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. id uero haud secus quam praesentem mercedem regni aspernata plebes; adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, uelut abundarent omnia, munera eius respuebantur. quem,
ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque con-
stat. sunt qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferant: eum
cognita domi causa uerberasse ac necasse, peculiumque
filii Cerei consecravisse; signum inde factum esse et
inscriptum “ex Cassia familia datum.” inuenio apud quosdam, idque propius fidem est, a quaestoribus Caesone Fabio et L. Valerio diem dictam perduellionis, damnat-
 tumque populi iudicio, dirutas publice aedes. ea est area ante Telluris aedem. ceterum, siue illud domesticum siue publicum fuit iudicium, damnatur Seruio Cornelio Q. Fabio consulibus.

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

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

Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariae legis animi plebis. tribuni plebi popularem potestatem lege
populari celebrabant; patres satis superque gratuii furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largitiones temeritatisque inuitamenta horrebant. acerrimi patribus duces ad resis-

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

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

43. Q. Fabius inde et C. Iulius consules facti. eo anno non segnior discordia domi et bellum foris atrocius fuit. ab Aequis arma sumpta. Veientes agrum quoque Romanorum populantes inierunt. quorum bellorum crescente cura Caeso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt. Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant; Veientes, pleni iam populationum, Romam ipsam se oppugnaturos minabantur. qui terrores cum compescere deberent, auxere
insuper animos plebis; redieratque non sua sponte plebis detractandi militiam, sed Spurius Licinius tribunus plebis uenisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae patribus iniungendae, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. ceterum tota inuidia tribuniciae potestatis uersa in auctorem est; nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius collegae coorti sunt, auxilioque eorum dilectum consules habent. ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur: ducendus Fabio in Veientes, in Aequos Furio datur. et in Aequis quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est; Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum ciuibus quam cum hos-tibus fuit. unus ille uir, ipse consul, rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. nam cum consul praeter ceteras imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita instruxisset aciem, ut solo equitatu emisso exercitum hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. nec illos, etsi non adhortatio inuisci ducis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare, aut, si alius nihil, stare instructos. iniussu signa referunt, maestique—crederes uictos—execrantes nunc imperatorem nunc nauatam ab equite operam redeunt in castra. nec huic tam pestilentem exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt; adeo excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars, qua ciuem 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 Gnaeus Manlius datur.
Discord is revived by another agrarian proposal, and the levy is held only by the help of some of the tribunes. The Etruscans flock to support the Veientines, in the hope of attacking Rome in the moment of her weakness.

1 44. Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae habuit: Ti. Pontificius fuit. is eandem uiam, uelut processisset Sp. Licinio, ingressus dilectum paulisper impediit. perturbatis iterum patribus Appius Claudius uictam tribuniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in praesentia re, exemplo in perpetuum, quando inuentum sit suis ipsam uiribus dissolui. neque enim umquam defuturum, qui et ex collega uictoriam sibi et gratiam melioris partis bono publico uelit quaesitam; et plures, si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum uel aduersus omnes satis esse. darent modo et consules et primores patrum operam, ut, si minus omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicae ac senatui conciliarent. praeeptis Appii moniti patres et uniuersi comiter ac beneigne tribunos appellare, et consulares, ut cuique eorum priuatim aliquid iuris aduersus singulos erat, partim gratia partim auctoritate obtinuere, ut tribuniciae potestatis uires salubres uellent rei publicae esse; nouemque tribunorum aduersus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum consules habent. inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo undique ex Etruria auxilia conuenerant, non tam Veientium gratia concitata, quam quod in spem uentum erat discordia in-testina dissolui rem Romanam posse. principesque in omnium Etruriae populorum conciliis fremebant aeternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus saeuiant. id unum uenenum, eam labem ciuitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. diu sustentatum id malum partim patrum consiliis partim
patientia plebis iam ad extrema uenisse. duas ciuitates ex una factas, suos cuique parti magistratus, suas leges esse. primum in dilectibus saeure solitos, eodem in bello 10 tamen paruisse ducibus. qualicumque urbis statu manente disciplina militari sisti potuisse; iam non parenti magis-tratibus morem in castra quoque Romanum militem sequi. proximo bello in ipsa acie, in ipso certamine consensu 11 exercitus traditam ultro uictoriam uictis Aequis, signa deserta, imperatorem in acie relictum, iniussu in castra reditum. profecto, si instetur, suo milite uinci Romam 12 posse. nihil aliud opus esse quam indici ostendique bellum, cetera sua sponte fata et deos gesturos. hae spes Etruscos armauerant multis in uicem casibus uictos uictoresque.

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

45. Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud 1 quam suas uires, sua arma horrebant. memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat, ne rem committerent eo, ubi duae simul acies timendae essent. itaque castris se 2 tenebant tam ancipiti periculo auersi: diem tempusque forsitan ipsum leniturum iras sanitatemque animis adlaturum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere 3 agere, lacessere ad pugnam primo obequitando castris prouocandoque, postremo, ut nihil mouebant, qua consules ipsos qua exercitum increpando: simulationem intestinae 4 discordiae remedium timoris inuentum, et consules magis non confidere quam non credere suis militibus. nouum seditionis genus silentium otiumque inter armatos. ad haec in noutatem generis originisque qua falsa qua uera iacere. haec cum sub ipso uallo portisque streperent, haud 5 aegre consules pati. at inperitae multitudini nunc indig-
natio, nunc pudor pectora uersare et ab intestinis aueterere malis; nolle inultos hostes, nolle successum non patribus non consulibus; externa et domestica odia certare in animis.  
6 tandem superant externa; adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. frequentes in praetorium conueniunt, poscunt  
7 pugnam, postulant, ut signum detur. consules uelut deliberaabundi capita conferunt, diu conlocuntur. pugnare cupiebant, sed retro reuocanda et abdenda cupiditas erat, ut aduersando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent  
8 impetum. redditur responsum inmaturam rem agi, nondum tempus pugnae esse; castris se tenerent. edicunt inde, ut abstineant pugna; si quis iniussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem  
9 animaduersuros. ita dimissis, quo minus consules uelle credunt, crescit ar dor pugnandi. accendunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisse non pugnare consules cognitum  
10 est: quippe inpune se insultaturos, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque uenisse Romano imperio. his freti occursant portis, ingerunt probra,  
11 aegre abstinent, quin castra oppugnent. enimuero non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse; totis castris undique ad consules curritur. non iam sensim, ut ante, per centurionum principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. matura res erat, tergiuersantur tamen. Fabius deinde, ad crescentem tumultum iam metu seditionis collega concedente, cum silentium classico fecisset: “ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse uincere scio; uelle ne scirem ipsi fece-runt. itaque certum atque decretum est non dare signum, nisi uictores se redituros ex hac pugna iurant. consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit, deos numquam fallet.” centurio erat M. Flauoleius inter primores pugnae flagitator. “uictor” inquit, “M. Fabi, reuertar ex acie.” si fallat, Iouem patrem Gradiuumque Martem aliosque iratos inuocat deos. idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se
quisque iurat. iuratis datur signum. arma capiunt; eunt in pugnam irarum speique pleni. nunc iubent Etruscos probra iacere, nunc armati sibi quisque lingua promptum hostem offerri. omnium illo die, qua plebis qua patrum, eximia uirtus fuit: Fabium nomen maxime enituit. multis ciuilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illa pugna sibi reconciliare statuunt.

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

46. Instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detrectant. prope certa spes erat non magis secum pugnaturos quam pugnarint cum Aequis; maius quoque aliquod in tam inritatis animis et occasione ancipiti haud desperandum esse facinus. res aliter longe euenit. nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus—adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbauerant—proelium iniit. uix 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, uenerat. inter primores genus Fabium insigne, spectaculo exemploque ciuibus erat. ex his Quintum Fabium—tertio hic anno ante consul fuerat—principem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox uiribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas uersantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo extracto praeeeps Fabius in uolnus abiit. sensit utraque acies unius uiri casum, cedebatque inde Romanus, cum M. Fabius consul transiluit iacentis corpus, obiectaque parma "hoc iurastis" inquit, "milites, fugientes uos in castra redituros? adeo ignauissimos hostis magis timetis quam Iouem Martem-que, per quos iurastis? at ego iniuratus aut uictor reuertar,
aut prope te hic, Quinte Fabi, dimicans cadam." consuli
tum Caeso Fabius prioris anni consul: "uerbisne istis, frater,
7 ut pugnent, te impetraturum credis? di impetrabunt, per
quos iurauere. et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine
est dignum, pugnando potius quam adhortando accendamus
militum animos." sic in primum infensis hastis prouolant
duo Fabii, totamque mouerunt secum aciem.

1 47. Proelio ex parte una restituto nihilo segnius in
cornu altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat; ubi prope
2 similis fortuna est uersata. nam ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium,
sic in hoc ipsum consulem Manlium iam uelut fusos agentem
hostis et inpigre milites seculi sunt, et, ut ille graui uolnere
3 ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum rati gradum rettulere; cessis-
sentque loco, ni consul alter cum aliquot turmis equitum in
eam partem citato equo auctus, uiiere clamitans, collegam
se uictorem fusco altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam sustinu-
4 isset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram
offert. duorum consulem cognita ora accendunt militum
animos. simul et uanior iam erat hostium acies dum,
abundante multitudine freti, substracta subsidia mittunt ad
5 castra oppugnanda. in quae haud magno certamine impetu
facto, cum praedae magis quam pugnae memores tererent
tempus, triari Romani, qui primam irruptionem sustiner
non potuerant, missis ad consules nuntiors, quo loco res
essent, conglobati ad praetorium redeunt, et sua sponte ipsi
6 proelium renouant. et Manlius consul reuectus in castra
ad omnes portas milite opposto hostibus uiam clauserat.
ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit.
nam cum incursantes quacumque exitum ostenderet spes
uano aliquotiens impetu issent, globus iuuenum unus in
7 ipsum consulem, insignem armis, inuadit. prima excepta
a circumstantibus tela, sustineri deinde uis nequit. consul
8 mortifero uolnere ictus cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis
Crescit audacia, Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos agit; et ad extrema uentum foret, ni legati rapto consulis corpore patefecissent una porta hostibus uiam. ea erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in uictorem alterum incidunt consulem. ibi iterum caesi fusique passim.

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

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

48. Igitur non patrum magis quam plebis studiiis K. Fabius cum Tito Verginio consul factus neque belli neque dilectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere, quam ut iam aliqua ex parte incohata concordiae spe primo quoque tempore cum patribus coalescerent animi plebis. itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agrariae legis auctor tribunus exsisteret, occuparent patres ipsi suum munus facere, captium agrum plebi quam
maxime aequaliter darent; uerum esse habere eos, quorum 3 sanguine ac sudore partus sit. aspernati patres sunt, questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et euanescere uiuidum quondam illud Caesonis ingenium. nullae deinde urbanae 4 factiones fuere. uexabantur incursionibus Aequorum Latini. eo cum exercitu Caeso missus in ipsorum Aequorum agrum depopulandum transit. Aequi se in oppida receperunt, murisque se tenebant. eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit.

5 At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius consulis, actumque de exercitu foret, ni Caeso Fabius in tempore subsidio uenisset. ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veientibus fuit: res proxime formam 6 latrocinii uenerat. legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem: ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete, quietem bello in uicem eludentes. ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque, non diutius quam recens dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus; aut mox moturos apparebat Sabinos semper infestos Etruriamque 7 omnem. sed Veiens hostis, adsiduus magis quam grauis, contumeliis saepius quam periculo animos agitabat, quod 8 nullo tempore neglegi poterat aut auerti alio sinebat. tum Fabia gens senatum adiit. consul pro gente loquitur: “adsiduo magis quam magno praesidio, ut scitis, patres conscripti, bellum Veiens egent. uos alia bella curate, Fabios hostes Veientibus date. auctores sumus tutam ibi 9 maiestatem Romani nominis fore. nostrum id nobis uelut familiare bellum priuato sumptu gerere in animo est: res publica et milite illic et pecunia uacet.” gratiae ingentes 10 actae. consul e curia egressus comitante Fabiorum agmine, qui in uestibulo curiae senatus consultum expectantes steterant, domum redit. iussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse; domos inde discedunt.
The famous exploit of the Fabii, and its end.

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

L. Aemilius inde et C. Seruilius consules facti, et 9 donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione, qua Tuscius ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia,
infesta hostium uagantes per utrumque finem fecere. interullum deinde haud magnum populationibus 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 uix dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit; adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, inuecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo incipiendae sed consistendi ademit locum. ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra—ibi castra habebant—pacem supplices petunt; cuius impetratae ab insita animis leuitate ante deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenituit.

50. Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo sineullo maioris belli apparatu certamen, nec erant incursionses modo in agros aut subiti impetus in incursantes, sed ali-quotiens aequo campo conlatisque signis certatum, gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res erant, Etrusca ciuitate uictoriam tuit. id primo acerbum indignumque Veientibus est uisum; inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi. gaudere etiam multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquotiens, uelut casu incidissent, obuiam acta, et agrestium fuga uasti relictì agri, et subsidia arma- torum ad arcendas populationes missa saepius simulato quam uero pauore refugerunt. iamque Fabii adeo con-tempserant hostem, ut sua inuicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. haec spes prouexit, ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi interuallo pecora, quamquam rara hostium apparebant arma, decur- rerent. et cum inprouidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superassent, palatique passim uaga, ut fit pauore inietco, raperent pecora, subito ex insidiis consurgitur, et
aduersi 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, cogeabantur breuiore spatio et ipsi orbem colligere; quae res et paucitatem eorum insignem et multitudinem Etruscorum multiplicatis in arto ordinibus faciebat. tum omissa pugna, quam in omnes partis parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. eo nisi corporibus armisque rupere cuneo uiam. duxit uia in editum leniter collem. inde primo restitere; mox, ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit reciproindique a pauore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; uincebatque auxilio loci paucitas, ni iugo circummissus Veiens in uerticem collis euasisset. ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. trecentos sex perisse satis conuenit, unum prope puberem aetate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiae dubiisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellique uel maximum futurum auxilium.

Fighting with Etruscans. Political trials at Rome.

51. Cum haec accepta clades est, iam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius aduersus Tuscos victoria elatos confestim missus. tum quoque male pugna-2 tum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupauere; obsessaque urbs foret super bellum annona premente—transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim—, ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset reuocatus; adeoque id bellum ipsis institit moenibus, ut primo pugnatum ad Spei sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam Collinam. ibi quamquam paruo momento superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem recepto pristino animo in futura proelia id certamen fecit.
A. Verginius et Sp. Seruilius consules fiunt, post acceptam proxima pugna cladem Veientes abstinuere acie. populationes erant, et uelut ab arce Ianiculo passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant. non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes erant. capti deinde eadem arte sunt, qua ceperant Fabios. secuti dedita opera passim ad inlecebras propulsa pecora, praecipitauere in insidias. quo plures erant, maior caedes fuit. ex hac clade atrox ira maioris cladis causa atque initium fuit. traiecto enim nocte Tiberi castra Seruili consulis adorti sunt oppugnare. inde fusi magna caede in Ianiculum se aegre recepere. confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim, castra sub Ianiculo communit. postero die luce orta nonnihil et hesterna felicitate pugnae ferox, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamuis in praecipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temere adverso Ianiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediusque inde pulsus, quam pridie pepulerat, interuentu collegae ipse exercitusque est seruatus. inter duas acies Etrusci, cum in uicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.

52. Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit et aduecto ex Campania frumento, et postquam timor sibi cuique futurae inopiae abiiit eo, quod abditum fuerat, prolato. ex copia deinde otioque lasciuire rursus animi et pristina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quaerere. tribuni plebem agitare suo ueneno, agraria lege; in resistentes incitare patres, nec in uniuersos modo sed in singulos. Quintus Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. inuidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, cum haud procul inde statiuas consul habuisset. ea oppressit, cum et patres haud minus quam pro Coriolano adnisi essent, et patris Agrippae fauer hauddum exoleuisset. in multa temperarunt tribuni: cum capitis anquisissent, duorum
milium aeris damnato multam dixerunt. ea in caput uertit. negant tulisse ignominiam aegritudinemque; inde morbo absumptum esse.

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

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

53. Certamina domi finita. Veiens bellum exortum, 1 quibus Sabini arma coniunxerunt. P. Valerius consul accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis cum exercitu Veios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus sociorum locata erant, confestim adgreditur, tantamque trepidationem iniecit, ut, dum dispersi alii alia manipulatim excurrunt ad arcendam hostium uim, ea porta, cui signa primum intulerat, caperetur. intra uallum deinde caedes magis quam proelium esse. 2 tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat: tamquam Veis captis ita pauidi Veientes ad arma currunt. pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars Romanos toto impetu intentos in castra
3 adoriuntur. paulispe auersi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utroque uersis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule inmissus Tuscos fundit fugatque. eadem hora duo exercitus, duae potentissimae et maximae finitumae gentes superatae sunt.  
4 Dum haec ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Aequique in Latino agro posuerant castra populatique fines erant. eos per se ipsi Latini adsumptis Hernicis sine Romano aut duce aut auxilio castris exuerunt. ingenti praeda praeter suas reciperatas res potiti sunt missus tamen ab Roma consul in Volscos C. Nautius. mos, credo, non placebat sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis uiribus consiliisque bella gerere. nullum genus calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est, nec tamen perpelli potuere, ut acie dimicarent.  

1 54. L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Veientes prouincia euenit. non tamen bellatum; indutiae in annos quadraginta petentibus datae frumento stipendioque imperato. paci externae confestim continuatur discordia domi. agrariae legis tribuniciis stimulus plebs furebat. consules nihil Meneni damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Seruiiuii summa ui resistunt. abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius  
3 tribunus plebis arripuit. L. Aemilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum ineunt. Vopiscum Iulium pro Verginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem inuenio. hoc anno—quoscumque consules habuit—rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumeunt sordidati non plebem magis quam iuniores patrum. suadent, monent, honoribus et administratione rei publicae abstineant; consulares uero fasces, praetextam curulemque sellam nihil aliud quam pompam funeris putent; claris insignibus uelut infulis uelatos ad mortem destinari.  
5 quod si consulatus tanta dulcedo sit, iam tunc ita in animum inducant, consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate esse; consuli, uelut apparitori tribunicio, omnia
ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse. si se commo- 6 uerit, si respexerit patres, si aliud quam plebem esse in re publica crediderit,—exilium Cn. Marci, Meneni damnationem et mortem sibi proponant ante oculos. his accensi 7 uocibus patres consilia inde non publica sed in priuato seductaque a plurium conscientia habere. ubi cum id modo constaret, iure an inuria, eripiendos esse reos, atrociissima quaeque maxime placebat sententia, nec auctor quamuis audaci facinori deerat. igitur iudicii die cum plebs in foro 8 erecta expectatione staret, mirari primo, quod non descenderet tribunus; dein, cum iam mora suspicient fiaret, deterritim a primoribus credere, et desertam ac prodition causam publicam queri; tandem qui obuersati uestibulo tribuni 9 fuerant nuntiant domi mortuum esse inuentum. quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. praecipuus pauor tribunos inuaserat, quam nihil auxillii sacratae leges haberent, morte collegae monitos. nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam; adeoque neminem noxie paenitebat, ut etiam insontes fercisse uideri uellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.

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

55. Sub hanc pessimi exempli uictoriam dilectus edicitur; pauentibusque tribunis sine intercessione ulla consules rem peragunt. tum uero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse de libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reditum, cum Genucio uno
mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. aliud agen-
dum ac cogitandum, quo modo resistatur patribus; id autem
unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa plebs, quando aliud nihil
auxilii habeat, defendat. quattuor et uiginti lictores apparere
consulibus, et eos ipsos plebis homines. nihil contemptius
neque infirmius, si sint qui contemnant; sibi quemque ea
magna atque horrenda facere. his uocibus alii alios cum
incitassent, ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem,
quia, quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere,
lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos.
cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et uirgas
expediri iubent. "prouoco" inquit "ad populum" Volero,
"quoniam tribuni ciuem Romanum in conspectu suo uirgis
caedi malunt quam ipsi in lecto suo a uobis trucidari." quo
ferocius clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare
lictor. tum Volero et praeualens ipse et adiuuantibus advo-
catis repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat
clamor, eo se in turbam confertissimam recipit, clamitans
"prouoco et fidem plebis inploro; adeste civies, adeste com-
militones. nihil est quod expectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis
uestro auxilio opus est." concitati homines ueluti ad proe-
lium se expediunt; apparebatque omne discrimen adesse,
nihil cuium sanctum, non publici fore, non priuati iuris.
huic tantae tempestati cum se consules obtulissent, facile
experti sunt parum tutam maiestatem sine uiribus esse.
uiolatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis e foro in curiam con-
pelluntur, incerti, quatenus Volero exerceret uictoriam. con-
ticiscente deinde tumultu cum in senatum uocari iussissent,
queruntur iniurias suas, uim plebis, Voleronis audaciam.
multis ferociter dictis sententiis uicere seniores, quibus ira
patrum aduersus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.
56. Voleronem amplexa fauore plebs proximis comitiis
tribunum plebi creat in eum annum, qui Lucium Pinarium
P. Furium consules habuit. contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum uexandis prioris anni consulibus permissurum tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam priuato dolore habito ne uerbo quidem uiolatis consulibus rogationem tuliit ad populum, ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fienter. haud parua res sub titulo prima specie minime atroci ferebatur, sed quae patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi quos uellent tribunos auferret. huic actioni gratissimae plebi cum summa ui resisterent patres, neque, quae una uis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex collegio, auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci posset, res tamen suo ipsa molimine grauis certaminibus in annum extrahitur. plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit: patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem uenturam, Ap. Claudium Appii filium, iam inde a paternis certaminibus inuisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt; collega ei Titus Quinctius datur.

Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur. sed ut inuentor 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 accusationem Appii familiaeque superbissimae ac crudelissimae in plebem Romanam exorsus, cum a patribus non consulem sed carnificem ad uexandam et lacerandam plebem creatum esse contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati animoque. itaque deficientie oratione “quando quidem non facile loquor” inquit, “Quirites, quam quod locutus sum praesto, crastino die adeste. ego hic aut in conspectuuestro moriar, aut perferam legem.” occupant tribuni temp- plum postero die; consules nobilitasque ad inpeditandam legem in contione consistunt. submoueri Laetorius iubet
praeterquam qui suffragium ineant. adulescentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes uiatori. tum ex his preendi quosdam Laetorius iubet. consul Appius negare ius esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in plebeium; non enim populi sed plebis eum magistratum esse; nec illum ipsum submouere pro imperio posse more maiorum, quia ita dicatur "si uobis uidetur, discedite, Quirites." facile haec contemtim de iure disserendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. ardens igitur ira tribunus uiatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem ad tribunum, priuatum esse clamitans sine imperio, sine magistratu; uiolatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio omnis atrox coerta 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 proelio foret, ni Quinctius consul alter consularibus negotio dato, ut collegam ui, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saeuintem precibus lenisset, nunc orasset tribunos, ut consilium dimitterent: darent irae spatium, non uim suam illis tempus adempturum, sed consilium uiribus additurum; et patres in populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate.

1 57. Aegre sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo aegrius consul alter a patribus. dimisso tandem concilio plebis senatum consules habent. ubi cum timor atque ira in uicem sententias uariassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab impetu ad consultandum auocabantur, eo plus abhorrebant a certatione animi, adeo ut Quinctio gratias agerent, quod eius opera mitigata discordia esset. ab Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem maiestatem esse uellet, quanta esse in concordi ciuitate posset. dum consules tribunique ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse uirium in medio, distractam laceratamque rem publicam; magis quorum in manu sit, quam ut incolmis sit, quaeri. Appius contra
testari deos atque homines rem publicam prodi per metum ac deseri, non consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse, grauiiores accipi leges, quam in Sacro monte acceptae sint. uictus tamen patrum consensu quieuit. lex silentio perfertur.

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

58. Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt. numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso auctor est. nominat quoque tribunos, Cn. Sicciun, L. Numitorium, M. Duellium, Sp. Iciliun, L. Maeciliun. Volscum Aequicumque inter seditionem Romanam est bellum coortum. uastauerant agros, ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet. compositis deinde rebus castra retro mouere. Ap. Claudius in Volscos missus, Quinctio Aequi provincia euenit. eadem in militia saeuitia Appi quae domi esse, liberior, quod sine tribuniciis uinculis erat. odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio: quid? se uictum ab ea, se unico consule electo aduersus tribuniciam potestatem perlatam legem esse, quam minore conatu nequaquam tanta patrum spe priores inpedierunt consules? haec ira indignatioque ferocem animum ad uexandum saeuo imperio exercitum stimulabat. necella ui domari poterat; tantum certamen animis inbiberant. segniter otiose neglegenter contumaciter omnia agere. nec pudor nec metus coercerat. si citius agi uellet agmen, tardius sedulo incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes sua sponte motam remittere industriam. praesenti uoltus demittere, tacite prae- tereuntem exsecrari, ut inuictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moueretur. omni nequiquam acerbitate prompta nihil iam cum militiae agere, a centurionibus corruptum
exercitum dicere, tribunos plebei cauillans interdum et Vole-
rones uocare.

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

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

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

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

61. Turbulentior inde annus exceptit L. Valerio T. Aemilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege agraria, tum propter iudicium Appi Claudii, cui acerrimo adversario legis causamque possessorum publici agri tamquam tertio consuli sustinenti M. Duillius et Cn. Siccius
3 diem dixere. numquam ante tam inuisus plebi reus ad iudicium uocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus pater-
4 narum irarum. patres quoque non temere pro ullo aeque adnisi sunt: propugnatorem senatus maiestatisque uindicem suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus, modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum, iratae obici plebi.
5 unus e patribus ipse Ap. Claudius et tribunos et plebem et suum iudicium pro nihilo habebat. illum non minae plebis, non senatus preces perpellere umquam potuere, non modo ut uestem mutaret, aut supplex prensaret homines, sed ne ut ex consueta quidem asperitate orationis, cum ad populum
6 agenda causa esset, aliciud leniret atque submitteret. idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in uoltu, idem in oratione spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus
7 reum timeret, quam consulem timuerat. semel causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu; adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupefecit et plebem, ut diem ipsi sua uoluntate producere, trahi deinde
8 rem sinerent. haud ita multum interim temporis fuit; ante
9 tamen, quam predicta dies ueniret, morbo moritur. cuius cum laudationem tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebs fraudari sollemni honore supremum diem tanti uiri noluit, et laudationem tam aequis auribus mortui audiuit, quam uuii accusationem audierat, et exsequias frequens celebrait.

62. Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos profectus cum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adhortus. prohibuit foeda tem-
2 pestas cum grandine ac tonitribus caelo deicta. admirationem deinde auxit signo receptui dato adeo tranquilla serenitas reddita, ut uelut numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit. omnis ira bellum ad populationem
3 agri uertit. alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit. et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, uastati agri sunt.
incendiis deinde non uillarum modo sed etiam uicorum, 4 quibus frequenter habitabatur, Sabini exciti cum praedatoribus occurrissent, ancipiti proelio digressi postero die rettulere castra in tutiora loca. id satis consuli uisum, cur 5 pro uicto relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

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

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

64. Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit, sed, ut semper alias, sollicitae pacis certamine patrum et plebis. irata plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit: per patres clientesque patrum consules creati T. Quinctius Q. Servilius.
similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia, bello 3 deinde externo tranquilla. Sabini, Crustuminos campos citato agmine transgressi, cum caedes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina moeni- busque pulsi ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque egere. quos Seruilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequis locis non potuit; populationem adeo effuse fecit, ut nihil bello intactum relin- queret, multiplicique capta praeda rediret. et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta cum ducis tum militum opera. primum aequo campo signis conlatis pugnatum ingenti caede 6 utrimque, plurimo sanguine. et Romani, quia paucitas damno sentiendo propior erat, gradum rettulissent, ni salubri mendacio consul, fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans, con- citasset aciem. impetu facto, dum se putant uincere, uicere. 7 consul metuens, ne nimis instando renouaret certamen, 8 signum receptui dedit. intercessere pauci dies uelut tacitis indutiis utrimque quieta sumpta; per quos ingens uis homi- num ex omnibus Volscis Aequisque populis in castra uenit, 9 haud dubitans, si senserint, Romanos nocte abituros. itaque 10 tertia fere uigilia ad castra oppugnanda ueniunt. Quinctius sedato tumultu, quem terror subitus exciuerat, cum manere in tenoriis quietum militem iussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in stationem educit, cornicines tubicinesque in equos im- positos canere ante uallum iubet sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere. relicum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia in castris fuere, ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante sonitu saeuiebant, intentos uelut ad impetum hostium tenuit. 11 Ubi inluxit, Romanus integer satiatusque somno productus in aciem fessum stando et uigiliis Volscum primo
impetu perculit; quamquam cessere magis quam pulsi hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant cliui, in quos post principia integris ordinibus tutus recepitus fuit. consul, ubi ad iniquum locum uentum est, sistit aciem. miles aegre teneri, clamare et poscere, ut perculsis instare liceat. ferocius agunt equites, circumfusi duci uociferantur se ante signa ituros. dum cunctatur consul, uirtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, coniugare se ituros; clamoremque res est secuta. fixis in terram pilis, quo leuiores ardua euaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus effusis ad primum impetum missilibus telis saxa obiagentia pedibus ingerit in subeuentes, turbatosque ictibus crebris urget ex superiore loco. sic prope oneratum est sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus iam gradum consul increpando simul temeritatem simul ignauiam pudore metum excussisset. restitere primo obstinatis animis; deinde, ut obtinentes locum uires reficiebant, audent ultimo gradum inferre, et clamore renouato commouent aciem. tum rursus impetu capto enituntur atque exsuperant iniquitatem loci. iam prope erat, ut in summum cliui iugum euaderent, cum terga hostes dedere, effusoque cursu paene agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidere. in eo pauore castra capiuntur. qui Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus. paucos circumsessum dies deditur nulla oppugnantium noua ui, sed quod iam inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.
PERIOCHA LIBRI II.

Brutus iure iurando populum adstrinxit neminem regnare Romae passurum. Tarquinium Collatinum collegam suum propter adfinitatem Tarquiniorum suspectum coegit consulatu se abdicare et ciuitate cedere. bona regum diripi iussit, agrum Marti consecravit, qui campus Martius nominatus est. adulescentes nobiles, in quibus suos quoque et fratris filios, quia coniurauerant de recipiendis regibus, securi percussit. seruo indici, cui Vindicio nomen fuit, libertatem dedit; ex cuius nomine uindicta appellata. cum adversus reges, qui contractis Veientum et Tarquiniansium copiis bellum intulerant, exercitum duxisset, in acie cum Arrunte filio Superbi commortuus est, eumque matronae anno luxerunt. P. Valerius consul legem de prouocatione ad populum tulit. Capitolium dedicatum est. Porsinna Clusinorum rex bello pro Tarquiniis suscepto cum ad Ianiculum uenisset, ne Tiberim transiret uirtute Coclitis Horati prohibitus est, qui, dum ali pontem sublicium rescindunt, solus Etruscos sustinuit, et ponte rupto armatus in flumen se misit, et ad suos transnauit. accessit alterum uirtutis exemplum a Mucio, qui cum ad feriendum Porsinnam castra hostium intrasset, occiso scriba, quem regem esse existimauerat, comprehensus impositam manum altaribus, in quibus sacrificatum erat, exuri passus est, dixitque tales trecentos esse. quorum admiratione coactus Porsinna pacis condiciones ferre bellum omissit acceptis obsidibus. ex quibus uirgo una Cloelia deceptis custodibus per Tiberim ad suos transnauit, et cum reddita esset, a Porsinna honorifice remissa, equestri statua donata est. aduersus Tarquinium Superbum cum Latinorum exercitu bellum inferentem Aulus Postumius dictator prospere pugnauit. Ap. Claudius ex Sabinis Romam transfugit: ob hoc Claudia tribus adiecta est. numerus tribuim amplius est, ut essent uiginti una. plebs cum propter nexos ob aes alienum in Sacrum montem secessisset, consilio
Menenii Agrippae a seditione reuocata est. idem Agrippa cum dece- 
ssisset, propter paupertatem publico impendio elatus est. tribuni plebis 
quinque creati sunt. oppidum Volscorum Corioli captum est uiu
tute et 
opera Cn. Marci, qui ob hoc Coriolanus uocatus est. T. Latinius, uir 
de plebe, cum in uisu admonitus, ut de quibusdam religionibus ad 
senatum perferret, id neglexisset, amitto filio pedibus debilis factus 
postquam delatus ad senatum lectica eadem illa indicauerat, usu pedum 
recepto domum reuersus est. cum Cn. Marcius Coriolanus, qui in 
exilium erat pulsus, dux Volscorum factus exercitum hostium urbi 
admouisset, et missi ad eum primum legati, postea sacerdotes, frustra 
deprecati essent, ne bellum patriae inferret, Veturia mater et Volumnia 
uxor impetruerunt ab eo, ut recederet. lex agraria primum lata est. 
Spurius Cassius consularis regni crimine damnatus est necatusque. 
Opillia uirgo Vestalis ob incestum uiua defossa est. cum uicini Veientes 
incommodi magis quam graues essent, familia Fabiorum id bellum 
gerendum depoposcit, misitque in id trecentos sex armatos, qui ad 
Cremeram praeter unum ab hostibus caesi sunt. Appius Claudius 
consul, cum adversus Volscos contumacia exercitus male pugnatum 
esset, decimum quemque militum fuste percussit. res praeterea ad-
uersus Volscos et Hernicos et Veientes gestas, et seditiones inter patres 
plebemque contenet.
HINTS ON THE CHIEF DIFFICULTIES OF LIVY'S STYLE.

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

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

   Analyse the sentence carefully before translating it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. What is the main Verb? *futurum fuit.* The Subject? *quid.*
2. Conjunction *si,* with what Verb? *coepta esset.* What Subject? *illa pastorum conuenarumque plebs.* But there are other Nominatives; they must be therefore attached to *plebs—transfuga, adepta, soluta;* each has words depending on it. What is the Object of *coepta esset?*

The Infinitive *agitari.*

3. What does *et* connect? What is the construction of *serere?* Joined by *et* to *agitari.*

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

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

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

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

On the other hand *ipsi,* though it agrees with the subject of *addiderunt,* is thrown in between *nouas* and *sedes* in order to emphasize *nouas* (so *adorti* between *fessos* and *exules* in c. 20. 6, in order to emphasize *fessos*). Such exceptions will soon be easily recognized. There are a
few cases, especially at the end of Clauses, where the natural order is abandoned for the sake of sound merely and the variation makes no difference to the sense, e.g. *qui ex eo uenirent agro* instead of *qui ex eo agro uenirent*; but these are not likely to cause any difficulty.

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

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

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

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

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


**Chap. 1, page 1.**

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

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

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

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

3 **Superbo exacto rege**, 'by driving out King Tarquin the Cruel.' This is the earliest use of the Abl. Absol., where the action it describes is an Instrument towards the action of the main Verb, and is done by the Subject of the main Verb. It is safe to assume that this is so, unless the context shows, as it occasionally does, that the action was done by some one else. What is generally counted the literal translation 'the King having been driven out' gives the relation
between the Noun and the Participle, but it does not represent the close connexion which is implied in the Ablative between the action described in the phrase and the action of the main Verb of the sentence.

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

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

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

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

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

**transfuga ex suis populis.** The Substantive is used in apposition to *plebs* with the force of an Adjective; cf. phrases like *nemo senator* where we should say ‘no one of the Senators.’ The phrase refers to the way in which Romulus was said (Liv. i. 8. 6) to have peopled Rome by inviting all sorts and conditions of men, including even slaves and criminals, to migrate thither and become citizens; and it suggests the irregularities likely to occur in the conduct of a miscellaneous crowd of people, cut off from the restraints of the laws and social usage to which they had been accustomed in their old homes. In the ancient
world men's conceptions of duty were closely connected with the place and class in which they were born, and even in Livy's time very few Romans supposed that a stranger or foreigner was entitled to expect from you the same just conduct as your own fellow-citizens did.

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

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

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

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

Page 2.

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

adsuescitur. Impersonal Pass., equivalent to homines adsuescunt, just as sic uiiuitur = sic homines uiiunt.

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

res nondum adultae, 'the infant commonwealth.'

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

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

quia...factum est, quam quod deminutum...sit. The real reason,
alleged by the writer himself, is put in the Indicative, generally with quia as here; the wrong reason, given by the writer as that alleged or imagined by others, and therefore really a quotation (‘Virtually Oblique’) is put into the Subjunctive, generally with quod.

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

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

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

9 iure iurando...neminem...passuros. Supply se as Subject to passuros (esse), of which neminem regnare is the Object. se denotes the people who took the oath, the populus, which Livy frequently treats as though it were a plural word like ciues.

10 equestris gradus, v. note on plebis in § 11.

11 qui patres quique conscripti. This explanation of the phrase patres conscripti is given also by Festus (p. 254 M.). If it is correct, the phrase is an example of the Latin preference for using no word to mean ‘and’ in an enumeration, especially in short standing phrases like clam palam, ‘in secret and in public,’ sarta tecta, ‘wind-proof and water-tight.’ On this view the phrase ‘conscript fathers’ would be historically incorrect; but since the distinction which Livy asserts, if it ever existed, entirely died out in the later Republic, when the whole Senate was conscriptus by the Censors, and the phrase meant simply ‘members of the Senate,’ we may well retain the old English rendering. Cicero actually uses the singular pater conscriptus (Phil. 13. 13. 28) which shows that he did not recognize the view of the phrase which Livy adopts. And since the Senate must have been conscriptus ‘chosen’ by the King from the earliest times, we should expect a new set of members to be called adscripti ‘added,’ rather than by a name which would apply equally to new and old. It seems from Livy and Festus that the herald’s formula
for summoning the Senate was ‘Qui patres, qui conscripti, in curiam ite.’ This in old legal Latin might well mean ‘All who are both heads of families and enrolled, come to the Senate,’ but might easily have been misunderstood in later times in the sense which Livy gives to it. Several examples of such double Relatives referring to the same class of persons or things which is thus doubly limited, may be found in the statutes that have come down to us, e.g. in the decision of the Minucii, C. I. L. i. 199, ll. 5—6, qua ager privatus...Vituriorum est, quem agrum eos uendere...licet, is ager etc.

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

**jungendos patribus plebis animos.** This phrase shows that Livy, with other ancient authorities, supposed that the new members of the Senate were Plebeian; this they might be although they belonged to the *equester gradus* (§ 10), which only implies that they were included in the wealthiest class of the Comitia Centuriata. But throughout this period the Senate showed itself the bitter enemy of the Plebeians, and no change took place in its policy until after the laws of 367 B.C. when Plebeians began to be frequently admitted; and no Plebeian is mentioned as taking part in any of its proceedings until the year 400 B.C., when we are expressly told that the Plebeian Publius Licinius Calvus was a member (Liv. 5. 12). Hence it seems probable that the Senate contained none but Patricians till 400 B.C. and that Livy’s view is an example of the very common mistake of attributing to early times the political relations of a later epoch. Since Livy’s theory is clearly connected by him with the view he takes of *patres conscripti*, it throws further doubt on that view; see above.
1 **nē-cubi**, 'lest anywhere,' like *si-cubi* 'if anywhere' and *si-cunde*, probably shows the old form of the Interrogative, Relative and Indefinite words beginning with *u-*. *-cubi, -cunde* would come from *quobi* *quonde* just as *cum* from *quom*. But negatives like *ne-cuter* 'neither of the two,' *ne-cunquam* 'never,' and also *si-cuti* 'so as' (containing O. Latin *si* 'so') were wrongly divided as though they were compounded with *nec* (from *neque*) and *sic* (from *si-ce*), and so the *u*-forms arose. So in English *a noilange* became *an orange*, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

**ne intervallo quidem facto oblitém...regni.** The negative extends
over the whole phrase: 'not even after this interval forgetting (his
ambition for) the throne, as (a man would forget) a thing outside his
own sphere.'

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

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

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

5 nec esse Romae is parallel to regnare and depends on passuros.
unde is substituted for a quo, an idiom greatly loved by Latin writers.
So in the next sentence the Adv. eo takes the place of ad id.
dicturum fuisse. See the n. on facturus fuerit 1. 3.

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

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

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

9 ceteri quidem...: postquam Sp. Lucretius...timens consul etc.
These two clauses are Coupled by the Contrast; cf. n. on c. 1. 8.
alternis for alternis uicibus, as often in Livy.

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

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

Chap. 3.

1 spe omnium serius, 'later than any one expected.' This colourless
meaning of spes, applying to bad or good prospects equally, is especially
common in this phrase; so spem fallere may mean 'to disappoint' or
'to surprise pleasantly.' serius is best taken as an Adverb
since the phrase *sero est* is fairly common, whereas the Comparative of the Adjective does not seem to occur elsewhere in Livy, Cicero or Caesar.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 *ea consultatio=cons. de ea re,* a use of the pronoun *is* which is frequent in the historians; cf. *is rumor,* *is nuntius* (c. 21. 6).
tenuit intrans. ‘continued, lasted.’ Cp. tenet fama i. 4. 6, tenet nomen i. 17. 6.

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

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

Chap. 4, page 5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

excepit, ‘caught up,’ ‘overheard.’ The Prep. has a similar, partly hostile, meaning in efferre sermonem, ‘to publish a (private) remark.’ [Cf. rather exaudire, ‘to catch a distant sound.’ J. S. R.]
Livy II. Notes c. 4. 7, 5. 1—3

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

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

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

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

Chap. 5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

religiosum erat. This phrase and its older equivalent religio erat both take the Infinitive to denote the act which is forbidden by religion. The literal rendering of the Adj. phrase is 'it was an act involving religious difficulty,' of the Noun-phrase 'there was a religious difficulty
in doing’; the latter shows a more primitive use of the Infinitive, which in origin is not a Nominative but the Locative (in the Passive, the Dative) Case of a Verbal Noun. *religio* means properly ‘a tying back or down,’ ‘something which ties one.’

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

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

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

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

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

**tam eminens,** ‘as high above the river (as it now is).’

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

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

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

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

**dedit,** ‘set,’ ‘put,’ ‘made,’ a common meaning of *dare* in old Latin,
LIVY II. NOTES c. 5. 5—10

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

6 auerterant, ‘had attracted away from everyone else to’; cf. Gr. ἀπο- in ἀποβλέπει εἶτι τι, and c. 45. 2 n.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**CHAP. 6.**

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

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

**Etruriae urbes... Velientes Tarquiniensesesse.** Veii and Tarquinii were members of the 'Etruscan league' of twelve cities.

2 **ne se ortum indidem... perire sinerent.** The ms. reading is simply *ne se ortum eiusdem* etc., which some editors endeavour to justify by taking *se* as Abl. and referring it to the Tarquinienses, the subject of *sinerent* (to which of course *suos* later on does refer). But besides the difficulty that the Noun or Pronoun agreeing with *ortum* is then left to be supplied by the reader, H. J. Müller shows from a number of passages that when Livy places *se* first in a subordinate sentence he means it to refer, if there is any ambiguity, to the subject of the main sentence (here the speaker King Tarquin), not to that of the subordinate sentence; cf. *e.g.* the precisely parallel sentence c. 9. 1 *ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exulare pateretur,*
and also 1. 26. 9; 4. 41. 12; 43. 2. 2. Contrast c. 2. 9 where the se referring to the subject of the subord. clause is carefully placed after vinc. Hence some emendation is necessary, and the suggestion of M. Müller ne se ortum indidem eiusdem etc. accounts best for the ms. reading, since the first of the two words ending in the same syllable is often overlooked by copyists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

primus equus. Livy is exceedingly fond of this picturesque use of the Sing. for Plur. in naming bodies of men: so pedes, miles, and in § 11 below Tarquiniensis, Romanum.
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7 utiores adeste. On this use of the Nouns in -tor v. c. 5. 5 n.
8 derigit. According to the best mss. in the bulk of the occurrences, this, and not dirigere, is the Verb used by Livy in the sense of 'direct.' tum, 'in those (primitive) times,' so in c. 7. 4 inf.
9 dum...volneraret, 'if only he could wound,' representing 'dum (modo) volnerem' in the thought of the combatants. The meaning is that they rode straight at each other, without any swerving to escape a blow.
10 neque ita molto post. Like the parallel Eng. idiom 'not so very,' non multus implies a following clause: 'not so long after (as one might have expected).'

uelut aequo Marte. aequo Marte is such a common phrase that in itself it does not need the apologetic uelut ('as it were, so to speak'); uelut here means 'roughly speaking, practically, almost.'

Chap. 7.

1 suas quisque...domos quisque for uterque as frequently; it refers to either army as a whole, domos probably to the homes of the individual soldiers. Livy commonly uses the Acc. Pl., like the Acc. Sing., without in, meaning 'to their homes,' but he also uses in, and in other authors domos alone in this sense is comparatively rare.
2 adiciunt. The subject is vague, 'people' or 'historians,' as often, esp. with Verbs of saying. On this story see the Introd.

silua Arsia, not far from Rome, towards the N.E.
Siluani. To this 'god of the woodland,' also called Faunus and identified with the Greek Pan, the wild, fun-loving god of the mountains, was attributed the power of uttering cries which caused a sudden fright (παυκός φόβος) in an army. It is very doubtful whether Silvanus had this character before he was identified with Pan.

uno plus Tuscorum, scil. quam Romanorum.
unincere = uictorem esse, as often, cf. the regular phrases unincere iudicio, unincere sponsione.

3 postquam illuxit, nec...erat. The Perfect denotes the single event of the dawn, the Impf. a state of things which lasted some time; the Impf. is frequently thus used by Livy after postquam and other Temporal Conjunctions, cf. postquam satis apparebat c. 25. 3, ut nihil mouebant c. 45. 3.
quicquam hostium, a very common use of the Neut. Pron., cf. quicquid deorum c. 5. 7 n. quisquam has rather better MS. authority, but is less likely to have been changed by a copyist than the neuter.

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

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

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

7 indignate, 'because of the shamefulness of the charge.'

summissis fascibus, i.e. he acknowledged that his authority was conferred on him by the populus whom he was addressing.

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

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


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

meam...famam pendere. pendere has less MS. authority than pendet, but its construction is slightly less obvious and it is therefore more likely to have been altered. The sign for final -m is constantly omitted, and often wrongly added in MSS., so that it hardly amounts to a correction to write meam famam instead of mea fama. The
reason is that final -m hardly existed in sound in the spoken language; even in the Classical period it was only heard as a 'nasal colour' to the vowel, which it made long. Hence in Inscriptions and in good mss. it is often denoted by a straight line over the vowel (meā famā), but this is very frequently omitted.

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

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

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

Chap. 8, page 10.

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

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

de prouocatione. This law has been called the Magna Charta of the Roman citizen; it was the foundation of all his personal liberty, enacting that no magistrate could inflict on him sentence of death, or a sentence affecting his status as a citizen, without allowing time to appeal to the whole people. Such appeals had no doubt been occasionally or
customarily allowed by the Kings, as acts of grace (1. 26. 8). A Dictator was the only magistrate who was not bound by this law (c. 18. 8). [Later on even a Dictator was subjected to it, probably in 300 B.C. J. S. R.] Either by this law or by later ones (the dates of the various enactments are uncertain) the right of appeal was granted also against sentences of scourging, and to citizens at a distance from Rome. The nature of the right was so familiar to every Roman that Livy feels it superfluous even to state it here. In 450 B.C. a regulation of the XII Tables fixed the Comitia Centuriata as the proper body to hear these ‘appeals,’ which henceforward were regarded as the real trial of the offence, the sentence of the magistrate being merely a formal preliminary: de capite ciuis nisi per comitatum maximum...ne ferunto (Cic. De Leg. 3. 4. 11). And since every Roman citizen had the ius exulandi, or right of going into exile to escape an impending sentence of death, the right of Prouocatio meant that no Roman citizen could be legally put to death.

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

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

4 Sp. Lucretius, the father of Lucretia (1. 58).

7 foedum, ‘dire,’ ‘ill-omened.’

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

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

8 tantum...roboris, scil. ut a dedicatione non deterrcretur.

nihil aliud...auersus, quam ut, ‘suffering himself to be no further interrupted than to.’ This Adverbial use of the Acc. is frequent in Pronouns, cf. c. 20. 3.
iuberet. By this answer he implied that the matter did not require his own attention, and therefore need not interrupt the ceremony he was then performing.

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

**CHAP. 9, page 11.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Chap. 10, page 12.**

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

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

iter paene...dedit, ni unus uir fuisset. This is an example of the very common idiom by which for the true Apodosis is substituted an unconditional statement of a kindred fact, which suggests the Apodosis, and adds something to the narrative; ‘but for one man, the bridge (would have afforded and in fact) almost did afford a passage.’ So the well-known numeros memini si uerba tenerem (Verg. Ecl. 9. 45) ‘I remember the tune (and I could sing the song) if only I could recollect the words’; cf. c. 22. 1 Volsci comparauerant auxilia ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset. N. L. P. 417 c.
Cocles means 'one-eyed' (Varro L. L. 7. 71), and it is probably borrowed from the Greek κυκλαψ [which Ennius uses it to translate J. S. R.]; words taken over orally from another language are often distorted—βαλανεία (pl.) becomes balaeae (fem.), asparagus 'sparrow-grass,' and so on. It was very likely connected popularly with oculus; the termination was assimilated to the common -es -itis. Possibly, however, it is a genuine Latin word meaning 'with his two eyes in one' from co(m)- and oculus. The possession of this name does not imply that this particular Horatius had only one eye, though Dionysius (5. 23. 2) seems to have thought so.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 reuocantibus (illis), abl. absol.

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

9 alius alium...circumspectant shows the regular construction of such Pronoun phrases, Singular in apposition to a Plur. subject.
10 **objeeto cuncta scuto.** By placing *cuncta* next to *objeeto* Livy gives prominence to the chief point of the picture; *ingenti* and *gradu*, just below, are separated with the same object; 'his feet firmly planted, wide apart.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**Chap. 11.**

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

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

**propellere,** scil. *pecus.*

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

5 **porta Esquilina.** See the map for this and the other spots mentioned in this chapter. The result of Valerius' strategy was to lure the
enemy over to the E. side of the city, the furthest from their camp, and to attack them on four sides simultaneously; Lucretius coming upon them from the South, Valerius from the city directly West of them, Herminius from his ambush behind them two miles to the E., and Larcius cutting off their flight round the city to the North.

6

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

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9

\textit{dextrā laeuaque hinc...illinc.} \textit{hinc} regularly refers to the last of two contrasted points, here therefore to \textit{laeua}, so that 'right' and 'left' are written from the Romans' point of view, looking East.

10

\textit{uagandi}, so Madvig for \textit{euagandi} of the mss. The compound denotes digression on either side of a fixed course, especially the regular manoeuvres of squadrons of cavalry, and is not appropriate to straggling bodies of plunderers. The corruption came from 'dittography' of the last \textit{-e} of the preceding \textit{effuse}.

\textbf{Chap. 12.}

1

\textit{cum C. Mucius.} There is no Verb, strictly speaking, to this \textit{cum}; the sentence is broken by a long parenthesis, and resumed by \textit{itaque} in § 3.

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

2

\textit{[cum sub regibus esset].} These words add nothing to the meaning and destroy the balance of sound between this clause and the following \textit{(liberum eundem etc.)}, to which it is Coupled by Contrast; they seem to me a gloss to \textit{seruientem} which has crept into the text.
fuderit represents fudit in O. Recta, the tense being retained: see c. 10. 4 n.

4 forte deprehensus = si forte deprehensus esset.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

in singulas horas, 'for each successive hour,' 'from hour to hour,' cf. in singulos annos 3. 15. 4. The phrase does not imply, like in dies, an increase of intensity in the action.
nullum proelium timueris. Until recently the Perf. Subj. has been counted the regular Tense in Prohibitions. But in the best period it only occurs colloquially—e.g. in the Dramatists and Cicero's Letters; in serious Prose it is replaced by periphrases (noli, caue etc.). Here the colloquial idiom is used to make the speech more life-like; so 21. 44. 6. The Perf. Subj. refers to a Single Act, and is hence especially common in peremptory prohibitions like ne me uno digito attigeris 'don't lay a finger on me' (Plaut. Persa 793), and it was probably felt to be too curt for polished language. See Delbrück Vergl. Syntax II. p. 376.

sibi, i.e. Porsinnae; on its position see c. 6. 2 n.

acceso...focolo, Dat. after the compound Verb inicet.

uelut alienato ab sensu...animo, 'as though his consciousness were completely severed from the physical sensation.' There is a similar use of alienare in 26. 14. 3; 3. 48. 1 shows a different construction.

torreret, 'suffered to burn."

altaribus, poetical Plur. for Sing.; originally used of things which consisted of several parts, like ora (lips, eyes etc. hence) 'face,' pectora (the organs of the breast, hence, metaphorically) 'heart, soul,' aequora 'waters, sea'; so here 'the altar and the fire on it.' This use of the Plur. died out in prose, but in poetry it was preserved as an archaism, and by imitation extended until almost any Noun denoting a thing could be put into the Plur. instead of the Sing. if the poet chose.

macte uirtute esse, the Or. Obl. for macte uirtute esto, an old phrase meaning 'Well done, bravo;' lit. 'be blest with your valour.'
mactus is from the same root as Gr. μάκαρ, happy. macte is most easily explained as an Adv.; cf. bene est mihi, male est mihi 'I am well (or 'badly') off.' Some however regard it as a Vocative, on the strength of readings like macti este Liv. 7. 36. 5; but since in Or. Obl. we have macte and not mactum, these supposed examples of the Plural are probably corrupt.

jure belli liberum, 'free from the laws of war,' i.e. from the power which the state of war between us lawfully gives me over you.

ut...tuleris. The Perf. Subj. represents the act as single or forthwith completed: 'in order that you may find yourself to have gained in a moment.' The clause depends on some phrase like 'learn' or 'I may tell you,' which is easily understood before the main statement. It may be called a clause of Prefatory Purpose,' cf. ne...negetis c. 29. 1.

ceteri, ut cuiusque cec. primi, 'the rest in order, as each man's lot may next have fallen.' This is Madvig's correction of the reading of
Livy II. Notes c. 12. 16, 13. 2—4

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

Chap. 13, page 16.

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

his condicionibus composita pace. But Pliny (Nat. H. 34. 39. 139) adds that the Romans were obliged to hand over their arms and to pledge themselves to use iron for agriculture only; and Tacitus (Hist. 3. 72) speaks of the city as having been 'surrendered.' It is clear therefore that the traditions which Livy is following (see c. 12. 1 n. on C. Mucius) have embellished the actual events. At the same time it is clear also that the Romans gained their point so far as to keep the
Tarquins out,—perhaps because, as Livy seems to suggest, Porsinna himself was not very anxious to see them in power again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. uendendi, explanatory Gen., after titulus.

3. uenisse, shortened form of Perf. Inf. from ueneo.

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

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

se intulerant Etrusi. The Pluperf. describes an action instantaneously accomplished; cf. c. 46. 6 and 32. 12. 3 postquam...recepere
se regii, uererat periculum in Romanos and Verg. Aen. 2. 257 flammas cum regia puppis Extulerat. N. L. P. § 180.

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

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

CHAP. 15.

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

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

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

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

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

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

nihil negatum uellent. On this participial construction see c. 44. 3 n.
ea esse uota. To this phrase some reader added as a 'gloss,' i.e. an explanatory note, in the margin of the archetype of our MSS., eam esse voluntatem; hence in some MSS. these words are added to, in others they are curiously intermingled with ea esse uota. Hertz rightly removed them.

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

proinde, si...uelet..., ut patiatur...orare. On the usual view this variation of tenses is purely capricious, but see Appendix II.

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

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

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

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

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

P. Valerius quartum T. Lucretius iterum. See c. 15. i n.

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

Inregillo. The Consular Fasti (C. I. L. 17. 444) give this form also, but it is probably an early corruption for Regillo (cf. Lacus Regillus) in the Fasti themselves, see Mommsen ad loc. The actual tables we possess were inscribed in the time of Augustus, and were no doubt an amplification of older records of the Pontifices. But those earlier than 390 B.C. perished in that year when the Gauls burnt Rome, and in the restoration which was afterwards made, by memory or conjecture, many errors might arise. Livy seems rarely to have consulted the Fasti himself, but they were of course used by the earlier writers on whom he depends. One ms. here has simply Rigillo but the best put cin or cî before it, which seems best explained as a corruption of In-. [It may be doubted whether these pontifical lists would have been any more trustworthy if Rome had not been burnt at all. J. S. R.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8 *coloniae Latinae*. After the great Latin war in 340 B.C. the phrase *ius Latinum* was used to describe the special terms of alliance granted by Rome to Latin cities, and to colonies which were inferior in status to...
coloniae Romanae. At this date the name coloniae Lat. can imply little more than the fact of alliance with Rome, though possibly some Roman citizens may have been settled in these towns after some earlier conquest by Rome, as they are said to have been at Fidenae (1. 27. 9).

Pometia et Cora. Both these towns are represented by our authorities as having been Volscian and Latin at different times, and it is impossible to determine exactly the dates at which they changed their allegiance. Pometia may have originally belonged to the Volscians, from whom it was captured by Tarquin according to Livy 1. 53; Cora was probably originally Latin (Dion. Hal. 3. 34). It was certainly one of the thirty cities which formed the Latin League (Dion. 5. 61), with which Rome made war, and peace in 493 B.C. (c. 33 inf.); it lay in the hills not far from the Volscian Velitrae.

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

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

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9 obsidibus...qui trecenti accepti etc. From the narrative so far we cannot gather when these hostages were given, nor why they were not put to death or sold directly the revolt began. But in c. 22. 2 we find the same towns surrendering the same number of hostages, and then subsequently revolting; the fate of the hostages however is there left unexplained. This alone would suggest that Livy had treated as separate events what were merely separate and slightly varying accounts of the same event in different authorities. This hypothesis becomes a certainty when we find in c. 17 that the town Pometia was absolutely 'destroyed' (dirutum) in 502 B.C. only to be again besieged and plundered in 495 B.C. (c. 25. 5—6). As we have seen (§ 4 n.), the Romans had no trustworthy record of the dates of any events before 390 B.C., and hence it often happened that among the early historians the same event was assigned to different years. Livy seems to have
had before him three accounts of this campaign against the Volsci and the taking of Pometia, which dated it in 503, 502 and 495 B.C. respectively; and of which only two mentioned the hostages, one specifying only their surrender, the other only their execution.

CHAP. 17.

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

2 odio...spe...occasione, freely used Abl. of Circumstance or Cause.
   spe aliqua, 'any definite hope.'
   cuncta, 'the whole field'; so often omnia, 'the whole landscape.'

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

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

5 euaderet. See c. 10. 5 n.

6 nihil0 minus foeda....Aurunci passi: principes etc. So Madvig brilliantly corrects the corrupt foede...passim principes of the mss. (the same corruption of passi appears in c. 60. 2). On final -m in mss. see c. 7. 10 n. on meam famam.

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

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

ultas. Passive; meritus, emensus, adeptus, expertus are among other common examples of this double use of Deponent Partcc.
Chap. 18.

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

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

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

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

*Octauio Mamilio,* son-in-law of Tarquin, c. 15. 7.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tacitae indutiae, 'a tacit suspension of hostilities,' without a formal armistice; so c. 64. 8.
Chap. 19, page 22.

1  **Vetusius.** Between 450 and 350 B.C. *s* between vowels became *r* in Latin, hence the form of this name in the classical period is Veturius. Similarly Poplicola certainly called his gentile name *Valesius*, but as he was not a mere shadow like this *Vetusius* but a conspicuous figure in the traditions and often spoken of, especially in the funeral orations of the noble family descended from him, the name appears always in the form which it had taken since his day, *Valerius*. For the same reasons the heroic *Veturia* (c. 40. 1) is called by the later form of her name. In 3. 4. 2 and 3. 8. 2 we find competing the contemporary form with *s* and the later with *r*.

2  **Crustumeria, Praeneste,** see the map. Praeneste had a large Etruscan element in its population, and hence was likely to act independently of the purely Latin towns, just as Tusculum did, for the same reason; see *Ital. Dialects*, p. 310.

   *gliscens,* 'smouldering.' The root meaning of the word is to glow, be bright, as appears in the cognate Gr. *x̂λιον* 'brightness, rich apparel.' The inceptive termination adds the notion of gradually increasing. Livy and Tacitus are very fond of the picturesque metaphor contained in the word.

3  **lacum Regillum.** This lake seems to have dried up before the classical period, and its exact site is unknown.

4  **ira,** Nominative, scil. *Romanorum.*

5  **suismet ipsi.** So I. F. Gronov, mss. *ipsis*, a very common corruption when *ipse* in the Nom. follows immediately on some case of *suus*. How regular this order was may be seen from the Fr. *même*, which is a contraction for *met-ipsimum*, earlier *met-ipsissimum*, where the enclitic -*met* which properly belonged to a preceding *suus* (or *se*, or *meus* etc.) came to be regarded as a strengthening prefix to the following *ipse*.

   *miscuere certamina,* 'joined in conflict;' a poetical, and especially Vergilian phrase. Equally Vergilian are the construction *infestus admisit* (§ 6), and the phrases *proelium ciet* (§ 10), *defluxit* (c. 20. 3), *rapit* (ib. 7), *aduolat* (ib. 10). The tone of Livy’s diction always rises in heroic scenes.

6  **Tarquinius...quamquam iam aetate...grauer.** Heroic deeds in extreme old age are the order of the day in the legends of the Roman Kings: Ihne reckons (*Early Rome*, p. 66) that Tarquin himself was at least 70 years old when in a fit of youthful passion he threw his father-in-law
down the senate-house steps (Liv. i. 48. 3) and so ascended the throne! The explanation is that the dates both of the foundation of Rome and of the expulsion of the Kings were established by fairly strong traditions, but the number of the Kings was unknown. When seven came to be regarded as the orthodox number—it must in fact have been far larger—the lives of the seven chosen individuals had to be stretched (by the early annalists) in proportion so as to fill up the two and a half centuries.

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

7 et, 'furthermore, on the other side also' as in c. 48. 6; see c. II. 6 n. impetum dederat, an old and probably colloquial phrase, often used by Livy (e.g. c. 51. 4) for the common imp. facere; cf. c. 5. 5 n. on dedit. nec fefellit ueniens Tusulanum, a Grecism in imitation of the constr. of φθάνω and λανθάνω (ἔφθασά σε προσελθών 'I anticipated you in getting there'), very common in Livy, both with and without an Acc. contraque et ille, mss. contra quem, corr. Madvig; on final -m see c. 7. 10 n. If Livy had written quem referring to Aebutius, he would certainly not have arranged the preceding clause so as to imply that it referred to Tus. ducem, i.e. the order would have been nec Tus. d. fefellit ueniens.

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

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

Chap. 20, page 23.

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

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

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

temere, 'blindly,' which is almost the literal meaning of the word.

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

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

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

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

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

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

10 dicto paruere, c. 18. 8 n.

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


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

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

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

intrasset, Oblique, for Fut. Perf. in O. R.
LIVY II. NOTES c. 21. 1—5 121

CHAP. 21.

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

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

aedis. So the mss. here, cf. stirpis 2. 1. 1; and this form in -is is said to be commoner in Livy than the regular -es in this class of Nouns. But in § 7 we have aedes. Etymologically, -es is original in sedes, nubes, plebes, pubes, where the original stem ended in -es-, and on the pattern of these the ending spread to a certain number of -i-stems, resembling them in sound or meaning (caedes, aedes, labes, tabes). Hence, as in other discrepancies due to analogy, the usage varied, and it is quite likely Livy wrote now aedis and now aedes.

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

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

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

4 implicant, scil. te (tempora inquirentem).

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

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

5 Appius Claudius, c. 16. 4.
Cumis...Aristodemum. See c. 14. 6 n.
eo nuntio. See n. on *ea consultatio* c. 3. 5.

*fieri coepere.* Here Livy follows the older use (Cic. *Brut.* 27. 106) in which *fieri* was treated as a Deponent; elsewhere (e.g. in this very phrase 3. 65. 7) he treats it as a Passive and puts *coptae sunt*; see c. i. 4 n.

7 *tribus una et viginti factae.* These tribes were essentially local divisions, *ϕυλαι τωπικαλ* as they are called by Greek writers. The creation of the four first, those comprising the city itself (Suburana, Esquilina, Collina, Palatina), is attributed to Servius Tullius (Liv. i. 43), but it is not known when the next seventeen were added. Cf. the note on *velut Claudia tribus* c. 16. 5.

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**Notes**

1 **Latino bello.** On the Abl. see n. on *triennio* c. 21. 1.

*comparauerant*... *ni maturatum*... *esset.* Cf. *iter paene dedit ni unus nir fuisset* c. 10. 2 n. The clause *quae mitterent* is of course Final.

**Latino Volscique.** Collective Sing., c. 6. 6 n.

2 **hac ira =ира hinc orta,** cf. *eo nuntio* c. 21. 6, c. 3. 5 n.

*necopinata.* In this word, as in *neglegens,* we have the Old Lat. Adv. *nec* meaning simply ‘non,’ as in the XII Tables *si nec esceit* ‘si non erit.’ The second half is not the Conjunction, but the Indefinite or Generalising *-que* Gr. τε, as in *quisque,* *usque,* *obis τε,* *ωτε* etc., so that this *nque* meant originally ‘not at any time, never.’

*obsides...trecentos.* See c. 16. 9 n.

3 **Volscis...suum reddid ingenium.** *suus* may be used not merely to refer to the Subject of the sentence, but to any persons mentioned in the sentence, provided that the word denoting them is placed in an emphatic position. It generally precedes both the Subject of the sentence, and the *suus,* cf. *Syracusani suas res restituuit* (Cic.) ‘he gave the Syracusans their own property again.’ The *suus* is often in agreement with the Subject, as here. Cf. c. 33. 1.

*ingenium,* ‘inborn inclination,’ explained by the next clause.

**Hernicis.** The position of this tribe midway between the Volsci and Aequi (see the map) made their attitude in wars in Latium of great importance to Rome, and the alliance which she made with them in 486 B.C. (c. 41) finally separated her two worst enemies, and made it impossible for them to join in an advance upon the city, up the valley of the Trerus.

4 **recens,** Adv., an old colloquial use, avoided by Cic. and Caes., and in other authors common only with the Perf. Partc.
clades. Some good mss. read cladis; if so cf. aedis c. 21. 2 n.

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

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

fuit gratum, scil. eos hoc indicasse.

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

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

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

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

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

1 nexos ob aes alienum. In Roman law a man was called nexus, 'bound,' who had borrowed money on the strength of a pledge he gave to his creditor, with various solemn formalities, that he would pay him interest and capital at a stated time; and that else, in default of payment, he would render personal service to him until he had worked out his freedom from the debt. If the debtor failed to pay, the creditor had the right of treating him exactly like a slave. This barbarous law of debt was not changed until the Lex Poetelia et Papiria of 326 B.C. greatly modified the creditor's power over the person of his debtor; but the institution of the Tribunes of the Plebs, by which the present agitation was brought to an end (c. 33), no doubt served to reduce the hardship in the worst cases.

2 inuidiam eam, like hac ira c. 22. 2.

3 pallore ac macie perempti, a rhetorical exaggeration, lit. 'dead with pallor and thinness.' Render: 'his bodily condition was still more shocking,—pale, shrunken, half-dead.'

4 ordines duxisse, 'had commanded his Company more than once,' i.e. had been Centurion, the commander of a Century, the military unit.

5 aliquot locis. Adv. phrase used as an Adj., see n. on meam uobiscum pacem c. 15. 5.

6 fortunis aliis, i.e. his farm-stock and furniture. aliis=reliquis, cf. cc. 13. 7 and 59. 3.

ergastulum et carnificinam, 'place of punishment and torture.'

erg. was an underground dwelling or prison, for the punishment of unruly slaves. If, for instance, a slave offended his master in his town household, he might be sent to work in a gang on his master's estate in the country, and after hard labour in the day the gang would be shut up in an ergastulum at night. carnificina was the prison where the carnifex strangled criminals, or tortured slaves to extract evidence.

8 uincti solutique, i.e. those who had already been arrested by their creditors, and those who were still at large but feared to be arrested. Others understand that both parts of the crowd were in their creditors'
hands, but that only some wore chains (quincula § 10)—a constraint which the creditor could legally impose.

implorant Quiritium fidem, c. 10. 3 n.

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11. haec se meritos. Ironical, ‘these were the rewards they had earned.’

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

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

12 per infrequentiam. Yet there does not seem to have been any general rule requiring a fixed quorum in the Senate; we hear even of decrees being hurried through designedly when only a few Senators were present (Liv. 38. 44. 6); but for special purposes a quorum was demanded by various enactments, e.g. in the S. C. de Bacc. of 186 B.C., Liv. 39. 18. 9 and C. I. L. 1. 43. But there was always a strong feeling against business being done in a thin House, and in this case the consuls presiding probably exercised his own discretion and refused to proceed; the consuls had the power of fining any senator who absented himself without excuse (Cic. Phil. 1. 4. § 11—12).

13 extrahi, ‘put off,’ lit. ‘prolonged, drawn out.’ It is common with an Obj. of the thing (rem, bellum etc.) but the only passages quoted for this use with a personal Object are Stat. Theb. 1. 323, 3. 575. Livy would hardly have used it without eluii to make the meaning clear.

14 tandem...ueniunt; frequentique tandem. This repetition of tandem may be a merely accidental blemish;—so prope in 1. 14. 4 with other examples. Madvig would excise it.

CHAP. 24, page 28.

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

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

nomina darent, i.e. to the consul who was holding the levy.
praemia, *i.e.* the booty, and especially the land taken from the enemy, from which the Plebeians were commonly excluded; cf. c. 42. 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

possīdēret, ‘enter upon, take possession of.’ In Latin the word, and its derivatives *possīdēre, possessio* always denote the actual occupation
of property to which one's legal title may or may not be a good one. possido denotes the act of beginning the occupation, possideo the position of being in it.

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

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

Chap. 25.

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

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

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

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

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

5 ad Suessam Pometiam. On the nature of this narrative see n. on obsidibus c. 16. 9.
6 decidentem Romam. Madvig would remove this second Romam, but it serves to prevent any possible ambiguity in the decidentem.

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

Chap. 26.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chap. 27.

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

cum Appius. On this 'inverted cum-construction' see c. 10. 10 n. Here it is followed by the Hist. Inf. as in 3. 37. 5 cum interim mentio comitiorum nulla fiet.
insita superbia. The Claudian family were distinguished throughout Roman history as the proudest of all the noble houses, conspicuous for their bitter hatred of the Plebs and their contempt for public opinion; see e.g. Liv. 9. 34. 3, Tac. Ann. 1. 4. [Yet, as extremes meet, a member of the family sometimes turned demagogue, like Cicero’s enemy, Publius Clodius. J. S. R.]

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

2 exprobrabant, c. 23. 11 n.
sua quisque. On the Sing. see c. 10. 9 n.
belli, probably Locative, like domi militiaeque.

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

3 mouebant...cogebat. Turn by the Passive (c. 13. 2 n.).
plebis...patres. Livy here identifies the party of the creditors with the Patricians, the debtors with the Plebs. No doubt the bulk of the Senate would sympathise with the creditors, but the Plebeians were by no means all poor. Yet the agitation of the debtors naturally led to an attack on the Patricians, since the Law Courts, by which the debtors were handed over to their creditors, were controlled entirely by the Patricians through the Consuls, who were of course always Patrician at this date.

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

5 Mercu-ri aedem. This dedication has already been recorded (c. 21. 7), where Livy was following another authority. The story given here of the reference of the matter to the people is extremely improbable at this date; it is probably a guess of one of the annalists of the last century B.C. (cf. c. 22. 5 n.) when such interferences of the Comitia were not uncommon.
praeesse annonae. This implied not merely keeping the market itself clean and orderly, but regulating the prices and securing a regular supply of corn from the Greek traders of S. Italy and Sicily. Later on these duties were assigned to the Aediles.

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

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

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

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

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

7 consulum alter, i.e. Appius Claudius. ✠

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

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

10 ambitionem. See n. on ambitiosum, § 4 sup.

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

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

animi, scil. Appii Claudii.
chap. 28, page 32.

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

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

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

3. **futurum fuisset** = *fuisset* in O. R., see c. i. 3 n. on *facturus fuerit.*

publicum concilium, a recognised and constitutional assembly, under the presidency of the regular magistrates, *i.e.* a *contio* (c. 24. 6 n.).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**abdicare consulatum iubentes.** This was the utmost they could do towards deposing them; for in theory every Consul resigned his office
of his own free will, when his year came to an end. It seems to have been a legal fiction as though the tenure of office of the supreme magistrate were still unlimited as it had been with the Kings; cp. c. 2. 1 n. on regem sacrificulum.

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

Chap. 29, page 33.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


**Chap. 30.**

1 *Verginii Larciique, scil. sententiae*. *

exemplo, 'because of the precedent they set.'

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

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

utroque, Adv. = *erga utramque factionem.*

2 *respectu rerum priuatarum*, 'consideration for private interests,' *i.e.* those of the capitalists, many of whom were probably members of the Senate. Livy's comment is in what we are wont to call a thoroughly modern spirit.
imperio suo uehemens magistratus. Some word, such as that here inserted (by Moritz Müller) is needed for Subject to *permiteretur*; it may have been abbreviated (*māg*², or the like) and so have dropped out before the *ma-* of mansueto. Madvig's *imperii uis uehemens* and Frigell's *imperium sua ui uehemens* are both highly probable palaeographically, but need to be supported by other passages in which *uis* and *uehemens* are together applied to *imperium*, when it means 'office of command.' *uis in oratione uehementissima* (Quintil. 9. 4. 13) might perhaps be quoted as lending some support to Madvig's conjecture, and Liv. 3. 26. 12 *uirum ipso imperio uehementiorem* (Quinctius, the dictator) in favour of Frigell's.

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 quattuor, scil. *legionibus*.

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

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

pilis, a slight anachronism for *hastis*, since the *pilum* is not mentioned in the Servian armament (1. 43) and even in the Latin War (Liv. 8. 8. 3 ff.) of 340 B.C. it seems not to have been in use. The *hasta*
was for thrusting; the pilum, a much longer weapon (with \(\frac{4}{3}\) feet of shaft and the same length of blade), was a pike for hurling, which not merely wounded your enemy, but pinned him to the ground.

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

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

**Chap. 31.**

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

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

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

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

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locus in circo. This appears to be the only example in Roman history of such an honour (similar to the προεδρία at Athens) being granted permanently to a particular man or family, but there can be no doubt of the fact since it is confirmed in the elogium C. I. L. 1\(^1\). 284. This was composed for or by the Valerian family in the classical period and could not have openly claimed for them a privilege that they did not possess. This and the other extraordinary honours paid to the Valerii (e.g. c. 16. 7; with the right of burial within the city, Cic. Leg. 2. 23. 58 etc.) were no doubt connected with the half-royal position of this gens in the first years of the Republic, see c. 8. 3 n.

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

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

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

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

agmen erigeret, scil. consul; the regular phrase for leading a force uphill.
ignauia, probably Abl. and uertit Intrans. as in c. 8. 1 n.

ubi, if it is retained, can hardly refer to anything but ualles, though some edd. connect it also with castris. Madvig and others correct to ibi, which would refer to castris.

decesserat with Dat. of Persons Interested, as often in Livy, e.g. 9. 29. 1.

gratia, 'private pressure,' the exercise of personal influence, cf. c. 3. 3 n.

quae, Nom. Pl. Neut., its antecedent being understood as Object to praeparauerant.

relecta, 'put off (indefinitely).'</The Senate refused to consider the question.

me dius fidius, i.e. (sic) mē deus Fidius (adiuuet, ut uera loquor), an abbreviated oath ('so may the God of Good Faith bless me, as I speak truth'), which has become fused into a single word like mehercule (i.e. me, o Hercule, ita adiuues ut etc.), so that the e of deus has sunk to i in an unaccented syllable just as that of lego in col-ligo. Deus Fidius is the God of Good Faith, i.e. Jupiter.

apparuit, not 'appeared' but, as most commonly, 'was clearly evident.'

suam uicem, 'for their sake.' Adverbial (contained) Acc. suam=plebis.

quoniam per eum non stetisset, quin, 'since it had been no fault of his that.' Generally quominus and sometimes ne (3. 61. 2) are used after this phrase, quin only here (M. Müller).

praestaretur, scil. fides. On the origin of this verb see c. 18. 11 n.

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

in consilium uerba, lit. 'into the words,' i.e. after the words dictated by, the regular phrase for 'swearing obedience to.'

religionem, 'the binding power of their oath'; cf. n. on religiosum erat c. 5. 3.
Piso, c. 18. 5 n. on ueterrimos auctores.

in Auentinum. Both traditions are strongly supported, cf. e.g. 3. 54. 9; Cic. Rep. 2. 58 combines them. But the Aventine was at this date still covered with wood acc. to Dion. 10. 31, being first peopled in consequence of the Lex Icilia of 456 B.C. which assigned it to Plebeians. Hence Schwegler (2. 236) concludes that the mention of the Aventine is merely due to a confusion with the Second Secession of 449 B.C. when the Aventine was held, in military fashion, by the plebs (3. 51. 10).

sumendo, scil. from the neighbouring farmers. This use of the Gerund is equivalent in meaning simply to the Nominative of the Pres. Partc., and its convenience is probably the reason why that case of that Partc. is so much less frequently used than the other cases. In some of the Romance languages this form in -ndo has ousted the Pres. Partc. from use altogether. On the real character of this ‘Ablative’ form see c. 9. 6 n. on oneris ferendo essent.

mallent...secesserit...existat. On the tenses see c. 9. 2 n., and cf. 28. 5. The Or. Obl. depends on the notion of reflection suggested by incerti.

quamdiu...fore. A ‘rhetorical’ question, i.e. one whose answer is clearly foreshadowed (here nullum tempus), and therefore equivalent to a statement and taking the construction of a statement in Or. Obl., i.e. the Acc. and Inf.

ducere. Perhaps Hist. Inf., like timere; in any case the subject to be supplied is patres, whether Nom. or Acc.

quod inde oriundus erat. Livy seems to assume, though he does not state, that Menenius was a Senator as well as a Plebeian. The former is improbable, see c. 1. 11 n. on iungendos patribus plebis animos. According to other authorities, including Cic. Brut. 14. 54 and the Valerian elogium (see c. 31. 3 n.), the peacemaker was the Dictator himself, M'. Valerius. And so apparently Livy himself thought in 8. 18. 12.

oriundus. On the form see c. 9. 1 n.

prisco illo...et horrido modo, ‘in old-fashioned and homely style.’ Compare the picture of this scene in Shakespeare’s Coriolanus, 1. 1, which is based on Plutarch; cf. the Introduction § 3. The fable itself is very ancient, and has been used on many occasions; cf. Xen. Mem. 2. 3. 18, and St Paul, 1 Ep. Cor. xii. 12 ff.
10 dentes quae-conficerent. One good ms. indicates that something is lost before quae, but no satisfactory suggestion has been made for any restoration. Most editors eject quae, but how did it get there? Is it a remnant of quicquam? But I am not sure that there is anything wrong. We may render: 'when neither the lips would take in the food offered them, nor the teeth accept what they were (intended) to dispose of';—a very common Past-Future use of the Impf. Subj. Cf. 21. 42. 2 se quisque eum optabat quem fortuna legeret and see Hale, The Anticipatory Subjunctive, pp. 61 ff.

11 quo uluiimus uigemusque. On this Indic. see c. 15. 3 n. on erit.
12 comparando, like sumendo § 4 n.

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

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

sacrosancti, lit. 'consecrated by a religious penalty,' i.e. protected by a sentence of outlawry (from all divine and human privileges) entailed upon the person who laid violent hands upon them; such a person was sacer (see c. 8. 2 n. on sacrand). In 4. 6. 7, Livy describes the Tribunes as 'quos foedere ito cum plebe sacrosanctos accepissent.' If this foedus is to be taken in a literal sense, as an agreement between two communities regarding one another as strangers (Dionysius 6. 89 adds that it was made by the festiales as treaties always were), it would explain the origin of the religious protection which the Tribunes enjoyed, since a foedus was always sacrum in Roman Law. This view implies that the Patricians regarded the Plebeians as essentially foreigners even in 494 B.C. (cf. c. 44. 10). Niebuhr and Schwegler (2. 249, 283 ff.) held that this was the case, and it seems to me the most probable view. It is quite certain that the Plebeians were at this period jealously excluded from any share in the State Religion; for example no auspices were ever taken for the concilia plebis (see e.g. Liv. 6. 41). If this view of the origin of the sanctity of the Tribunes be adopted, it involves the rejection of Mommsen's theory that under the Republic the Plebeians were always members of the Comitia Curiata, a theory which cannot be said to have been ever established though it has found its way into many text-books. [Note that the controversy as to the origin of the
sanctity only relates to the period which ends in 449 B.C., since then the plebeian privileges became a recognized part of public law. J. S. R.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11 'sumptus funeri defuit. This is probably a misunderstanding of the object of the public funeral, like that in c. 16. 7.
ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris. plebis probably depends on secessionem; at this period (cf. § 10) Livy does not represent the Plebs as owning much land. On the discrepancy of this statement with c. 32. 4 see the Appendix.

qualis clausis solet. Madvig would insert esse after qualis, but the ellipse is defended by r. 25. 9 tum clamore, qualis ex insperato fauentium solet, Romani adiuuaut militem suum. Often the Verb after the Relative is left to be supplied altogether, e.g. 3. 26. 5, 3. 62. 6.

per Volscos, 'past the territory of the V.,' which then reached to the sea.

sed in Siciliam quoque. After sed the mss. insert quaesitum, which all editors reject. It has no construction, and may well have been a gloss written by some reader who took in Sicilia as an Abl.; see c. 7. 10 n.

coeegerant, scil. Romanos.

pro bonis Tarquiniorum. See cc. 5. 2; 6. 3.

Aristodemo, c. 14. 6 n. on Cumis.

remisisset, Intrans., 'had abated'; Oblique for the Fut. Perf. Indic.

Norbam. See the map; it lay on the W. edge of the Volscian hills, where they fall away into the Pompitine marshes.

ab latronibus, 'from brigands.'

qui non tulerim, Subj. of Essential Definition (N. L. P. § 400 c.): lit. 'I, being one who would not brook,' i.e. 'though I would not.' This sentence seems to imply that Coriolanus took part in driving out the Tarquins; which contradicts adulescens of c. 33. 5. See Appendix I.

tertio anno. Between these words Wesenberg would insert ante, on the ground that the Abl. alone cannot be defended by phrases like his paucis diebus, 'in the last few days,' where the Demonstrative answers the same purpose as ante. But the Demonstr. is omitted by some writers, e.g. Sall. Jug. 11. 6 illum tribus proxumis annis adoptatione in regnum peruenisse, where, as here, the backward reference is given merely by the past Verb. If any word is inserted it should be antehac rather than ante.

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potius...quum ut...prohiebant, 'instead of preventing,' c. 15. 2 n. [The argument is that the Patricians may safely abrogate the privileges of the Tribunes, even if this leads to a new secession; for the Plebeians
will be convinced by their second experience (if they are not already) that a secession involves a dearth and consequently suffering for themselves; and hence they will submit. J. S. R.]

12 condictonibus laxandi annonom, ‘by the terms they might have exacted for lowering the price of corn,’ lit. ‘by conditions of lowering.’

CHAP. 35.

1 ira, Nomin.
nome se...siclus hostes, i.e. the Patricians were trying to starve them into surrender.

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

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

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

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

3 unius poena defungendum. poena is Instrum. Abl. and the Gerund has no object expressed; ‘the Patricians could only escape (from the
danger) by means of suffering one man to bear the penalty.' So 8. 19. 14.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chap. 36.

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

magni. This seems to have been a technical name for games held
in fulfilment of a vow, which are often called untiui; Cicero so describes these particular games, Div. i. 26. 55.

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

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

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

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

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

Before uicit the MSS. give timorem, which can hardly stand for timorem deorum, and is not likely to have been placed so close to ne
without being connected with it. It is probably a gloss to explain what it was that was overcome by his *vereundia*; but some editors alter to *timorique*, which would govern the *ne*-clause and make excellent sense (for the Sing. Verb after two abstract Subjects cf. c. 5. 8 n.). But it is perhaps not so likely to have given rise to the corruption.

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

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

*aegro animi*. This use of the Locative is regular after words denoting doubt and suspense; in Cicero only after *pendère, angi* and their derivatives; Livy follows the freer poetical use, attaching it to many other Adj. of the same sense, e.g. *incertus* (1. 7. 6).

*haberet...eat...nuntiet*. For the change of Tense cf. c. 9. 2 n.

5 *praesentior...erat*, 'came home to him more nearly.'

6 *tunc enimuero*, 'then indeed,' cf. *enimuo tum* in c. 22. 6 n.; the compound particle most commonly stands first in the sentence.

*admonuit*, 'taught him its lesson'; so 40. 56. 10; in 28. 44. 1 it has a similar meaning, but the 'lesson' is expressed by a Dependent Clause.

*consilio propinquorum adhibito*. It was a regular custom at Rome to hold a formal council of members of one's family or one's friends on serious questions, and their decision was always quoted as having something like legal force.

*repraesentatas*, 'actually embodied, carried out in.' The word properly means 'to pay down (a sum of money) in cash'; *praesens pecunia* is 'ready money.' Hence metaphorically the Verb means 'to make actual, bring into concrete shape,' and sometimes (with *uerbis* or the like) 'to bring home to one's mind (by vivid description).'

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8 *captus*, 'ailing;' a common meaning of this Participle, regularly with the Abl. of the part affected.

**Chap. 37.**

1 *uis magna Volscorumuenit*. On this story see the Appendix.

2 *priusquam committerentur*. Cf. c. 28. 9 n.

3 *arbitris*, 'outsiders, observers,' a picturesque substitute for *testibus.*

*criminatum...cautum*. Supines.
quod sequius sit, Subjunc. of Mild Assertion; 'what may seem somewhat discreditable'; cf. citius defuerit, c. 43. 10.

4 nimio plus quam uelim, 'far more than I should like.' Some editors alter to uellem, ' than I should have liked,' but the change seems hardly necessary. The use of nimio with Comparatives (lit. 'by too much') is a colloquial pleonasm.

6 per eandem occasionem. For this use of per to mean 'on,' 'on the occasion of' cf. c. 18. 2 per ludos, 23. 12 per infrequentiam senatus.

ab Sabinorum iuentute, c. 18. 2 and n.

temere. See c. 20. 3 n.

8 ut fit. See c. 4. 5 n.

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9 in hospitia depends on discurrentes. The Noun is used in the concrete sense, 'the houses of their hosts.'

quodam modo, 'in some sense, almost, practically,' modifying the strong statement contained in coetu hominum abactos.

Chap. 38.

1 ad caput Ferentinum. The source of the rivulet Ferentina, in the hills bounding the Alban Lake to the N., where there was a sacred grove, close to the later Via Appia; on this detail of the story see Appendix I. \[ \text{Page 44.} \]

ut quisque ueniret. For the Subjunc. see c. 27. 8 n. on cum uidissent. Livy keeps the Ciceronian construction in ut cuique...erat c. 44. 5 where there is no notion of time.

secunda irae uerba, 'words which fed the flame of their anger'; secundus means literally 'following,' an old Partc. of sequor (cf. oriundus, 'springing,' c. 9. 1 n.), then of streams or winds which carry one in the desired direction (secundo flumine, 'with the stream'); and hence generally 'favourable, auspicious.' With Dat., as here, in 5. 49. 4.

2 cladesque...commemorauit. Tum, ut etc. Some such words as those here inserted by M. Müller seem to have been lost; none of the other attempts to make Latin out of the Ms. text are satisfactory.

per nostram ignominiam, 'with (lit. 'amid') ignomy to us,' a modal use of per greatly beloved, though not first created, by Silver Latin writers, cf. uinci se per suum alque illorum dedecus 3. 42. 2.
3 an non sensistis. an regularly implies that the question it asks is regarded by the questioner as an alternative ("Or have you not felt?") to some other conclusion: hence it is often used in Indignant Questions (even where the previous sentence did not contain a question), and implies: 'Do you not believe what I am saying? Or (am I to think that)...?'

traductos, 'made a mock of,' lit. 'led across (the stage) like a show,' or 'through (the city) like captives in a Triumph,' a Livian use, cf. 36. 40. 11.

per ora hominum = per oculos h.; cf. c. 36. 3 n.

4 quod...uiolaturi simus depends upon the following ideo: 'must they not have thought that it is for this reason (and no other), viz. that we should defile..., that we are being expelled?'

piaculumque merituri, 'and incur the wrath of heaven,' lit. 'deserve (to have to pay) a penalty for infringing holy rites.' Cf. supplicium merere 3. 19. 6.

5 succurrit, 'occur to your minds,' so Verg. Aen. 2. 317, and c. 40. 7 inf.

si hoc prefectio. The Neut. Pron. is not always attracted to the gender of the predicate (as it is e.g. in c. 10. 2 n.), cf. Verg. Aen. 3. 173 nec sopor illud erat. It is natural that it should keep its own gender when the identity is denied, as it is here.

et hanc urbem etc. et introducing a question has often the force of Gr. ἐτα, 'And after all this do you...?' Cf. Verg. Aen. 6. 807 et dubitamus adhuc uirtutem extendere factis?, following the prophecy of the great deeds of Augustus.

moriendum...fuit. The Gerundive, like the Fut. Partc. in Active Verbs, is often put with the Past Indic. Tenses of esse, instead of the Pluperf. Subjunc. Passive in the Apodosis of Unfulfilled Conditions. The Potentiality of the statement is expressed entirely by the participial form; see c. 1. 3 n.

magno eorum malo, Abl. of Accompaniment, which, in certain phrases, esp. with bono and malo, comes to express practically a Result; cf. pessimo publico c. 1. 3 n.

6 instigandoque suos quisque. The equivalence of the -do form of the Gerund to the Nom. of the Pres. Partc. nowhere appears so plainly as when a Pron. or Numeral is attached to it in the Nom.; cf. 4. 31. 2 and deponendo tutelam ipse 24. 4. 9, also 22. 34. 10. On the origin of this form and use see c. 9. 6 n., c. 32. 4 n. On the Sing. quisque see c. 10. 9 n. The Plur. suos seems to be put for suum by a confusion;
in suas quisque domos c. 7. i n. it seems to have a different meaning. It might conceivably mean here 'the communities (i.e. villages) nearest to his own home.' [Livy could have written instig. suos populos without quisque, and he has a peculiar habit of throwing words like quisque, ipse, solus into the middle of a sentence and leaving the construction as it was. J. S. R.]

deficeret. On this 'revolt' see Appendix I. [L. 67]

CHAP. 39, page 45.

1 omnium populorum, the different Volscian communities; but see Appendix I.

2 Cerceios profectus. This town lay on the next considerable promontory of the Latian coast to the S.E. of Antium, whence we may assume that Coriolanus started, as being then the chief town of the Volsci (cc. 33. 6; 63. 5; 65. 7). Its communications with Rome can have been only by sea so long as the Volsci held Antium.

3-4 inde in Latinam uiam etc. The statements of these sentences contain a geographical error. The first set of towns mentioned (Satricum etc.) and also Lavinium lie to the S.W. of the Via Appia, whereas the Via Latina ran considerably to the North of it. On the other hand the second set of places, Corbio and the rest, lay to the N. and E. of the Via Latina. Niebuhr cut the knot by transferring the whole clause in Latinam...transgressus into § 4, after tum deinceps. This would give excellent sense, but it is very improbable that such a corruption should have arisen at an earlier date than that of the archetype of our mss., and have left no trace of the disturbance in it; when words have got out of their proper place by accident, different mss. generally vary somewhat in the point at which they put them back into the text, and even in a single good ms. there is often some mark of doubt. It seems likely that we have here a real error, either on the part of an early editor, or on Livy's, or, more probably still, in the annalist whom he is here following. See Appendix I.

3 Mugillam, mss. nouellam, which some edd. alter simply to nouela, rendering 'these newly acquired possessions (of the Romans)' as referring to c. 33. 4 ff. where all but Satricum are mentioned. But this diminutive adj. seems not to occur elsewhere in Livy (except in a Proper Name in 41. 5. 1), and the meaning given to it is strange. Hence most edd.
accept the correction here printed; Dion. Hal. (8. 36) adds Μογιλανοῦς, which may well stand for Μογιλλανοῦς, to this group of captured towns, and Μυγιλλανοῦς was a Cognomen of the Papirian gens. On the other hand it might be urged that the position of haec unqualified immediately after the enumeration was unusual.

8 id modo non conueniebat. But this was a serious exception! On the real cause of the helplessness of the Romans see Appendix I.

9 Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius. The iam implies that Livy has omitted to chronicle the Consuls of some intervening years (490 and 489), and suggests that he was conscious that he was here recording traditions as to the dates of which it was well not to be too particular (so in c. 51. 1).

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11 responsum rettulerunt: si...redderetur...si...uelint etc. On this change of Tenses see Appendix II.

12 insignibus, i.e. infulis.

Chap. 40.

1 Veturiam. On the form of the name see c. 19. 1 n. on Vetusius. A Roman wife was called by the nomen of her father’s family; thus the mother of the Gracchi (Ti. and C. Sempronius Gracchus) was called Cornelia, being the daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus.

2 duos paruos ex Marcio ferens filios. For the position of ferens, which of course has nothing to do with ex Marcio, cf. c. 20. 2 n. on infenso cessit hosti.

3 primo, mss. in primo, but Livy only uses the Neut. as a Substantive in a local sense (e.g. c. 20. 10); corr. Aldus.

religione. Cf. the n. on religiosum erat c. 5. 3. Note the ‘Chiasmus’ in these two clauses, i.e. their arrangement so that the corresponding parts of each occupy different places in each, the resulting order being

\[ a_1 b_1 \]
\[ \chi \]
\[ b_2 a_2 \]

which suggested the name, from the shape of the Greek letter Chi.

obstinatior...erat, ‘showed himself still more obdurate’; the Impf. is descriptive, indicating the attitude he showed at first.
5 Coriolanus propò ut etc. belongs to cum...ferret, but is put in front of cum for emphasis, as c. 35. 6 and often.

consternatus goes with ab sede sua, 'driven by amazement from his seat'; cf. c. ad arma 7. 42. 3 etc.

ferret = offerret, as in c. 13. 2 n.

sine...sciam. Like caue and uelim, sine often takes the Subjunctive without any intervening particle. The Subjunct. was originally independent ('paratactic'), but came to be felt as really governed by the introductory Impv.

7 quamuis...perueneras is said to be the only example of an Indic. after quamuis in Livy, who elsewhere uses it with Adjj. or Partcc. The Indic. occurs in later writers, never in Cicero.

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succurrit, as in c. 38. 5.

8 nec tibi turpius usquam nec mihi. M. Müller's excellent correction of the MSS. reading turpius quam mihi, where the quam has been abandoned by all editors. The us- of usquam fell out through 'haplography' after turpius; the word is slightly more picturesque than unquam, 'under any circumstances': so 42. 34. 15 cum adolescentes nihil adversus...senatus auctoritatem usquam feceritis, nunc quoque etc.

ut sum miserrima, 'miserable indeed, as I am,' a reading preserved only by the Medicean; the other MSS. all give ut sim, 'even if I were to be,' which is intelligible but weak after the preceding statement.

9 uideris, Fut.-Perf., as in uiderint di ('the gods must see to it'), cf. uos uideritis 1. 58. 10; see Roby, Lat. Gr. 2. 1593. An emphatic future statement about another person often implies a command; so bona uenia me audies, facies ut sciam, and the like.

cmploratio sui. The Pron. refers to the Subject of the action implied in the Verbal Noun: 'their bemoaning themselves.'

10 Fabium. On Fabius Pictor see c. 18. 5 n.

11 inuiderunt laude sua mulieribus, a variation, commoner in later writers, for the more usual laudi mulierum; Livy also uses the Acc. of the Thing beside the Dat. of the Person. laude is an Abl. of Circumstance. The Verb means literally 'to look askance upon.'

12 monumentoque. So Gronov, no doubt rightly, for the cumbrous reading of the MSS. monumento quoque. This clause explains, as one added by -que often does, the previous statement (non inuiderunt etc.),
by mentioning the proof of this. It does not add a new and distinct circumstance. *monumento* is of course Pred. Dat.

**Fortunae Muliebri.** On the connexion of this temple with the story see Appendix I. (c. 18)  

12-14 Rediere deinde Volsci etc. This and the following paragraph seem from their conciseness to have been taken from some early annals. In any case it is clear that they come from a different source from that which furnished the elaborate story of Coriolanus, now concluded.

**Chap. 41, page 48.**

1 *cum Herニックis foedus.* This was a most important achievement, a very early application of the Roman maxim *diuide et impera.* For the Hernici dwelt in and above the Trerus-valley which parted the Volscians from the Aequians. These two dangerous enemies of Rome could no longer join forces at a safe distance from the city and then make a combined attack; and the Hernici were always likely to be able to warn the Romans of any warlike movement begun by either of their two neighbours. They generally received generous treatment from Rome, and Dionysius' account (8. 71, and 77) that they kept their land sounds far more probable than the statement in the next sentence here, with which stands or falls also the exact truth of *deuicti* at the end of c. 40.

2 *possideri.* See c. 24. 6 n. on *possidēret.* The theory that Cassius intended to take any land which was in the occupation of citizens in order to give it to the Latins must have been invented by some annalist of the last century B.C., whose sympathies were with the Italians. Even C. Gracchus never proposed to hand over land held by citizens to people who were not citizens at all.

*struere,* 'was aiming at,' lit. 'building up,' always with a notion of something secret or treacherous; so c. 3. 6, Verg. *Aen.* 2. 60.

3 *promulgata.* From Livy's silence, as well as from the more circumstantial narrative in Dionysius (8. 75 f.), it appears that the proposal was never actually passed.

4 *munus uolgatum...exisse in socios.* The mss. variously give *egisse, isse, esse,* of which *exisse* seems the best correction. The Acc. and Inf., I think, is best taken as depending on *fastidire* (as in 6. 41. 2 *qui se inspici fastidiat*). Madvig puts a stop at *uolgatum,* treating the next brief clause as expressing the reflection of the plebs, but this seems
somewhat abrupt. I am inclined to think that volgatum should be expelled as a gloss which has crept into the text to explain exisse.

5 acceperint, an old correction of the mss. -rant, which, as the whole arrangement was only in prospect, cannot be justified. Contrast c. 15. 3 n.

6 quid...adsumi socios. The Infin. clause depends on attinuisse no less than does Hernicis...partem tertiam reddi, the two being connected by the repetition of quid. This is shown, I think, by the Plur. eae gentes, which it is difficult to apply to Hernicis only and which must therefore include the socios et nomen Latinum. But since these latter folk have nothing to do with the land left to the Hernicans (see § 1), it follows that the nisi-clause must apply equally to both the preceding questions. For the order cf. Verg. Aen. 9. 12 nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus, where the position of tempus corresponds to that of ita enim here, securing a balance in sound with the following clause. So Cic. Rosc. Am. § 30 testes in hunc et accusatores huiusce pecunia comparant, where in hunc and huiusce pecunia apply to both testes and accusatores. See further my note on 'Interweaving,' Class. Rev. 1900 (Oct.), p. 357.

socios et nomen L. The phrase is a slight anachronism, since at this date the Romans had no allies save the Latins (and Hernicans, who were not 'adsumpti' in this grant of land).

quid attinuisse. Rhetorical Question, see c. 32. 6 n. If quid adsumi socios is taken as a question by itself, it is one whose answer is not quite so immediately foreshadowed, so that one might have expected the Subjunct. as in quis dux uiae? (Tac. Hist. 4. 62 in Or. Obl.).

8 ambitiosus. Cf. c. 27. 4 n.

pro Siculo frumento, with acceptam; see c. 34. 7.

9 praesentem mercedem, 'a palpable bribe,' see n. on repraesentatas c. 36. 6.

suspcionem insitam, 'their instinctive dread.' In the following clause I have accepted part of a suggestion of Vielhaber's (ap. Weissenb.) and cut out the words in animis hominum which precede respuebantur in the mss. The phrase seems to be quite unparalleled with such a metaphor, and I believe it is simply a gloss (to explain insitam) which has crept into the text at the wrong place.

uelut abundarent. uelut here and often is put for uelut si, 'just as if,' cf. cc. 36. 1, 50. 4.
ubi primum magistratu abit, for a Roman magistrate was hardly ever prosecuted while his office lasted, however he abused it.

patrem auctorem. In virtue of the patria potestas the Head of the Family had the same power of life and death over his children (unless and until he renounced his rights over them by formal emancipation) as he had over his slaves (cf. c. 36. 1 n.). In strict law the paterfamilias was responsible for the acts of his slaves and his children, and therefore for punishing their misdeeds.

cognita...causa. Cf. n. on consilio propinquorum adhibito c. 36. 6.

peculium denotes the money or property which a slave was permitted to hold by his master’s permission; in law whatever was his belonged to his master, but custom protected his hoardings, and a favourite slave sometimes had a slave of his own (whence the Papal title, denoting the humblest position conceivable, servus servorum). The word was also applied to the property of children still ‘in patris manu,’ since the father had the same rights over them. Like pecunia, the word is derived from pecus; cattle was at one time the universal medium of exchange in Europe, and metallic currency was first devised simply as a symbol standing for so many cattle.

Cereri consecrauisse. Cf. c. 8. 2; it was no doubt in a violation of the law there recorded that Cassius’ treason was held to consist.

apud quosdam. This second tradition is amalgamated with the first by Cic. Rep. 2. 60, who represents the father as a witness against his son at the trial.

propius fidem. The Advv. prope, propius and proxime, when used to govern a Case, always take the Acc. (cf. c. 48. 5). But the Adj. propior and proximus regularly take the Dat.

a quaestoribus...diem dictam perduellionis. These officers, who are more commonly called IIuiri perduellionis, were instituted under the Kings, no doubt in order to relieve the King himself of the odium of passing sentence on traitors. The Quaestores Paricidii, who dealt with cases of murder, are probably equally ancient. After the institution of the provocatio (c. 8. 2 n.) these officers, originally judges, became merely the prosecutors before the Court of the People. They condemned the accused as a matter of course; he then appealed to the people, and so the real trial began. [Note that the IIuiri were appointed for each particular trial and for that only. J. S. R.]
perduellionis from perduellis, 'a deadly enemy,' and that from duellum (trisyll.) a bye-form in Old Lat. of *duellum (disyll.), which gave the later bellum by the regular change of initial d+consonant u (usually written y) to b, as in bonus from O. Lat. dyonus, bis from *duis.

CHAP. 42.

2 redegit in publicum. The technical term for handing over moneys, with the account of them, to the Treasury.

tenuere, 'made good their point,' with the ut-clause for Object, as 23. 20. 10, cf. plura tenuit 4. 10. 9; so obtinuere in c. 43. 11; 44. 5. They did this, probably, in part at least by the aid of the presiding Magistrate, who was of course a Patrician, and who would obey the orders of the Senate and declare the election of a particular candidate, over-riding the votes given, if necessary. Cf. c. 43. 11 n.

patres = patricians as in § 3, see the n. on patres conscripti, c. 1. 11.

5 Castoris aedes, on the S.W. side of the Forum. It was restored with magnificence by Augustus, and three of the Corinthian columns then erected still stand in their places.

nota erat Latino bello, c. 20. 12 n.

a Postumio. The Prepn., which most editors insert, may easily have fallen out after the o of bello.

6 tribuni plebi. In this phrase the Gen. of plebes is often so written; it appears to be a bye-form of the 5th decl. Gen. plebei, which also appears, in this phrase and in plebei scitum.

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celebrabant, 'kept before men's eyes.'

gratuiti, 'spontaneous,' i.e. not stimulated by the hope of grants of land.

largitiones, i.e. the proposed grants of land.

8 una lex etc., 'the proposal was brought into contempt, and its authors also, through etc.' manus means lit. 'empty,' or 'shown to be empty.'

uno uelut tenore, a proverbial phrase meaning 'uninterruptedly'; used by Livy, both with and without the apologetic uelut.

locatus, 'well-placed,' a metaphor from the investment of money.

mansit in ea familia. This concentration of power in a few noble houses continued down to the closing century of the Republic; Mommsen
has pointed out that for about two centuries only some sixteen gentes are represented in the list of Patrician Consuls. \(\textit{Rom. Hist. 2. 325 n.}\)

11 \textit{tandem eo.} So Madvig; the mss. give \textit{tamen}. If this were genuine it must mean ‘in spite of the general apprehension of having incurred divine displeasure’ (it was only one person who proved guilty). But this is rather forced, and the contrast is one which would occur more naturally to a modern writer; to Livy the guilt of a Vestal would seem a public reproach.

\textit{poenas dederit.} The penalty was terrible, to be buried alive; cf. 22. 57. 2.

**Chap. 43.**

1 \textit{agrum quoque.} They not only threatened war but made a raid.

2 \textit{Ortonam.} The site of this town is unknown. It must not be confused with the better known Ortona on the coast of Frentanum.

3 \textit{redierat...plebi mos.} For earlier refusals see cc. 24. 2, 27. 7, 29. 2. \textit{legis agrariae...iniungendae} depends on \textit{tempus}.

\textit{susceperat...impediendam}, a concise and somewhat contemptuous phrase. \textit{suscipere} with a Gerundive was the Construction used regularly of contractors who undertook some public work.

4 \textit{auxilioque eorum, i.e.} the other tribunes protected the Consuls from arrest by their colleague, who would accuse the Consuls of infringing his sanctity by continuing the levy in the face of his veto.

6 \textit{negotil, ‘trouble,’ as in the phrase negotium habere.}

\textit{unus ille uir} etc. looks like a reminiscence of \textit{Aen. 6. 846}, written of a greater Fabius; \textit{tu Maximus ille es Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem}; a line of course taken from the Ennian \textit{Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem}. Livy’s phrase is more like the Vergilian line. Cf. n. on c. 50. 9.

\textit{quantum in se fuit, prodebat, ‘was doing its best to betray.’} Since the Indic. \textit{fuit} gives us a remark of Livy’s, not a reflection of the Subject of \textit{prodebat}, the \textit{se} is out of place; contrast Cic. \textit{Phil. 2. § 29 quantum in ipsis fuit}. But Livy occasionally writes \textit{se} in such cases; cf. c. 55. 6 \textit{ubi indignantium pro se acerminus erat clamor, co se recipit}. So 1. 17. 2 \textit{quia...ab sua parte non erat regnum}.

7 \textit{pedes.} For the Sing. cf. c. 6. 6 n.

8 \textit{nec illos...cogere potuit.} This sentence must be inverted and turned
by the Passive in English; 'and these soldiers, granting that they might not be moved by the exhortations of a leader they detested, could not even be stirred by the sense of their own....' Even this is cumbrous. The only way to reconcile the sentence with English idiom is to paraphrase instead of translating it. ('One would have expected that etc.... But it was not so.')

_in praesentia_, 'for the moment,' is best regarded as containing a Neut. Pl. of the Partc., as its regular antitheses in Livy are phrases like _in posterum, in perpetuum_ (cf. c. 44. 2). [Yet there are passages like Cic. _Tusc._ 5. 100, Clu. 10, where it is contrasted with an Abl., and in these at least it seems hard to deny the same Case to _praesentia_. J. S. R.]

9 _crederes_. Cf. c. 27. 6 n.

10 _citius defuerit_, 'may often be found wanting.' Subjunc. of Mild Assertion, cf. c. 37. 3 n. and 21. 27. 5 _ea uix fidem fecerint._

11 _obtinuere...ut_. Cf. c. 42. 2 n.

_creant...datur._ Here as in c. 42. 2 and c. 56. 5 inf. the wording suggests that a kind of bargain was made; the Patrician presiding over the election allowed a free choice to the Comitia of the second Consul (Manlius), but forced through the election of the first, the Patrician candidate (Fabius), without regard to the votes cast.

**Chap. 44, page 52.**

1 _uelut_, as in c. 41. 9 n.

_processississet_. Impers., 'as if the attempt had been successful.' Livy generally uses this with _res_ as Subject.

2 _in praesentia_, as in c. 43. 8. Note the Chiasmus (c. 40. 3 n.).

_inuentum sit._ On this Retention of Primary Tenses in Or. Obl. see c. 3. 3 n.

_suis ipsam uiribus_. Cf. Hor. _Epod._ 16. 2 _suis et ipsa Roma uiribus ruit._

3 _bono publico_. See n. on _pessimo publico_ c. 1. 3.

_uelit quaesitam_. This is the oldest and most idiomatic construction after _velo_ (just as after _opus est_ c. 3. 3 n.) and is no doubt identical historically with the same in English ('I want this done'). The _-to_-Partc. was in use in Indo-Eur. languages many centuries before the Infinitive was attached to Verbs of wishing or even formed at all (cf. n. on _religiosum erat_ c. 5. 3).

It was the influence of this old and familiar construction, I believe, which, when the Inf. came into use, made the Passive Inf. preferred
to the Active after *uoło, iuβeo* and similar Verbs; *iubet parari arma* is better Latin than *iubet (miliτes) parare arma*.

si pluribus opus sit. On the constr. of *opus est* see c. 3. 3 n.

satis esse. Because in Roman usage a magistrature who forbade a particular step was held to have superior authority to one who commanded it.

4 darent. Impf. Subj. as regularly for the Impv., in spite of preceding Presents; see c. 6. 3 n., 10. 4 n. It attracts the following *conciliarent* into the same Tense; see Appendix II.

5 patres is constructed both with *uniuersi* and with *consulares*, the latter being in Apposition and limiting it at the same time.

*priuatim aliquid iuris* etc., 'any claim upon individual Plebeians in their private relations with them.' This is meant to include both the pressure a creditor may exert on his debtor, and more friendly kind of influence, such as a claim on a man's gratitude for past kindness.

6 *nouemque tribunorum* depends upon *auxilio*. The numeral seems a slip for *quattuor*, see c. 33. 2 with c. 33. 3 n.; or perhaps a mere scribe's corruption of *IV* into *IX*.

7 *concitata* agrees with *auxilia*.

8 *saeuitant*, like *inuentum sit* in § 2. The following *repertam ut... essent* represents *reperta est ut essent* in Or. Recta. The phrase recalls Verg. *Aen.* 1. 148 *cum saepe coarta est Seditio saeuitque animis ignobile uolgus*; cf. c. 50. 9 n.

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9 *suos cuique parti magistratus, suas leges*. This expresses exactly what seems to have been the original conception of the Tribunate (cp. the n. on c. 33. 1), as an office confined to Plebeians counterbalancing the Consulship, an office confined (at this date) to Patricians.

10 sisti potuisse. See c. 29. 8 n.

11 *Aequis*. But in c. 43. 6 the Consul Fabius was fighting the Veientines when his men mutinied. From here to the end of c. 50, as Weissenborn points out, Livy is following, at first or second hand, some writer whose object was to glorify the Fabian house. But in c. 43 the tone is somewhat different (see esp. § 10), so that Livy was there probably drawing from another source. This may account for the discrepancy; and that it is a real one appears from the repetition of the statement about the Aequi in c. 46. 1.

12 *suo milite*. The pron. Adj. of course refers to *Romam*, not to the speakers.
Chap. 45.

1. pessimi proximo bello exempli, c. 43. 6.

2. tam ancipti periculo auersi, 'pre-occupied by the thought of so insidious a danger.' Cf. c. 5. 6 a ceteris omnium in se auerterant oculos, and 1. 12. 10 auerterat ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo uiri, where res refers to the plight of the Sabine King who had ridden into a morass, and periculo, as here, is Abl. Instrum.; so auersi turbatique c. 53. 3. These and similar examples show that we must not render 'averse from (facing),' which Livy would have expressed by auersi a periculo; and which would suggest a slur upon their courage.

forsitan. Used by Livy like fortasse, as a mere Adv.; cf. c. 2. 7 where it is attached to an Adj. merely, and Praef. 12 where an Indic. follows (forsitan necessariae erunt).

3. obequitando...prouocando. On this half-Instrumental, half-Circumstantial use of the Gerund in -do see n. on sumendo c. 32. 4. qua...qua. See c. 35. 4 n. It is curious that this not very frequent idiom occurs three times in this chapter.

4. remedium timoris, i.e. an expedient for concealing their cowardice.

magis non confidere quam non credere. The difference between these Verbs may be seen in such a sentence as confido dextra mea, credo amico. You have confidence in the strength of an instrument, but in the loyalty of a friend. Render: 'lacked confidence in their valour rather than trust in their loyalty.'

nouum seditionis genus. They point in derision to the inactivity of the Romans, as evidence that the story of their disaffection was untrue. 'Why don't you murder your officers, if you have mutinied?'—is the Etruscan feeling.

nouitatem generis originisque. Cf. illa pastorum conuenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis c. 1. 4 with n.

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5. nolle inultos hostes etc. The Inf. is no doubt Historic, like those before and after it; 'they began to be unwilling that etc.' On the construction of inultos see c. 44. 3 n., and on its Passive meaning c. 17. 6 n.

successum. Impers. Pass. Parte., the constr. being otherwise parallel to that of inultos, and having no past meaning; the Impers. Active is commoner. The negatives contradict that of nolle; 'they were unwilling that the patricians or even the consuls should (still) fail of success.'
eludebat, 'plied their ridicule,' absol. as in i. 48. 2.

tenerent. Impf. for Impv. as in c. 44. 4. The following abstineant takes its Tense from edicunt.

quo minus...credunt. The parallel Comparative phrase is replaced by crescit; cf. c. 19. 10 with n.

enimuo. Cf. c. 22. 6 n.

concedente, 'seeing that his colleague was already inclined to give way.'

uelle ne scirem ipsi fecerunt, 'they have themselves caused my ignorance of their wish to do so.' After facere and efficere, ne often replaces ut non, even where, as here, the notion of Purpose is comparatively faint, e.g. Cic. Fin. 4. 10 quae (via) efficit ne necesse sit, and Liv. 5. 32. 4.

nisi...iurant. In colloquial Latin the Pres. is often put for the Fut. after si; so 6. 15. 6 nisi facis; Cic. ad Brut. 1. 13. [In some phrases, e.g. nisi causae, the Pres. is constant. J. S. R.] This use of the Pres. for the Fut. occurs in English and many other Indo-Eur. languages, and it is probably a survival from very early times when neither the Future nor the Subjunctive had been invented.

si fallat governs fidem understood, and depends on the Verb of punishing implied in iratos inuocat; the construction of this phrase is like nolle inultos in § 5.

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armati. So all the best mss.; the later, followed by many editors, read armatis, which gives a smoother construction. The -s might have fallen out, or, with almost equal ease, have been inserted, before sibi. The Nom. is possible; the attraction of some word in the subordinate sentence, which happens to denote the same people as the Subject of the main sentence, into the Case of that Subject is not uncommon, e.g. 9. 43. 11 passi for the more logical (sibi) passis, (ut qui...coniungi...passi duos exercitus nihil crederent superesse spei). On the whole therefore it is best to follow the best mss.

Fabium nomen. After this the mss. insert Fabia gens, which most edd. reject as a gloss. There is hardly a perceptible difference of meaning between the two phrases; F. nomen is literally 'everyone called a Fabian.'
Chap. 46.

1 prope certa spes erat, scil. Etruscis.
pugnaturos, scil. Romanos.
cum Aequis. See c. 44. 11 n.
in tam irritatis animis etc. For this meaning of in cf. c. 3. 4 n.
occasione ancipiti, i.e. the Roman soldiers might be expected to regard their own leaders as not less hostile to them than were the Etruscans themselves; cf. c. 24. 3 ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste. Render, 'and seeing that it was doubtful what they would do in the hour of battle.'

haud desperandum, scil. sibi, the Etruscans, whose thoughts are represented by this Or. Obl.

3 pilis. See c. 30. 12 n.
abietis temere, 'thrown away aimlessly.' abicere always means to cast a thing away from one without any heed where it goes to; so metaphorically the Partc. abiectus means 'cast off, fallen to the ground, worthless.'

ad gladios, 'a hand to hand fight.'
uenerat. Instantaneous Pluperf., see n. on se intulerant c. 14. 6.
On the 'Inverted cum-clause' see c. 10. 10 n.

4 confertos, earlier -ferctos, from farcire compounded with con.-
ferox uiribus etc., 'proud of his strength and skill at arms.' Remember that ferox never means 'fierce.'

incautum is equivalent to an Adv., and goes closely with uersantem; cf. c. 19. 6 infestus admisit.

praeceps...in uolnus abiiit, 'fell fainting headlong over his wound'; cf. 1. 58. 12 prolapsa in uolnus moribunda cecidit, and Verg. Aen. 10. 488 corruit in uolnus. abire praeceps is a common phrase for 'falling headlong.'

5 parma, he small round shield used by horsemen. The Consul has dismounted, and carries only the parma, though he is now among the infantry who are armed with the heavy oblong scutum.

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7 infensis hastis. So the mss. Some editors alter to infestis, but it seems likely enough that infensus, which means lit. 'thrust against, aimed at' (from *fendo, 'to strike,' Gr. θείων), should be used here somewhat more literally than usual; it is commonly applied to persons, meaning 'with hostile intent.' [It is applied to weapons by Vergil and some other poets. J. S. R.]
pugnam ciebat, 'revived the fight,' a poetical phrase, covering the notions of (1) stirring one's men to battle, and (2) forcing the enemy to fight. The first is more prominent here, as in c. 19. 10.

cessissent loco. The technical term for 'giving ground.' loco is a pure Abl.

rem inclinatam, 'the tottering fortune of the day,' a favourite phrase of Livy's. inclinare is to make a thing lean to one side, without causing it to fall completely.

cum praedae magis...tererent tempus. So Gronov and Madvig for dum, which some editors are content to retain, both here and in 1. 40. 7. The examples of dum with the Subj. in precisely the same sense as with the Indic. are too few to be convincing, and even if there were more of them, it is extremely unlikely that Livy would use this rare construction in a clause immediately following one with dum and the regular Indic. Pres.

triarii Romani. Livy applies this term to the reserve left to guard the camp, as in later times; it does not imply that the division of the line into Hastati, Principes, and Triarii (Bk. 8. 8) had yet been established.

quo loco res essent. Cf. Verg. Aen. 2. 322 quo res summa loco, Panthu?

quacumque...ostenderet. On this Subjunc. in a General Temporal Clause see c. 27. 8 n.

Tuscis...Romanos. Coupling Contrast, see c. 1. 8 n.

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trepidos agit, a poetical phrase, like many others in these chapters of heroic deeds (e.g. pugnam ciebat § 1, cumulatior § 11).

pro eximia eo bello opera. For this adjectival use of a phrase (eo bello) cf. multis in vicem casibus c. 44. 12; c. 15. 5 n.

facile passurum respondit. The Subject of passurum is of course se understood, as often, almost regularly, where there is no ambiguity. But the se of the next clause is emphatic, representing an ego added to the Verb in Or. R.

familia funesta, as in c. 8. 7 n.

[consule altero amisso]. These words simply repeat the meaning of the preceding more picturesque phrase, and they are so weak an addition to it that I venture to bracket them as a gloss. [I hesitate;
Livy's striving after fulness of expression often leads him into what looks like weakness. [J. S. R.]

lauream, the wreath of bay leaves worn by the general in a Triumph, which he laid at the feet of Jupiter in the Temple on the Capitol.

11 depositus triumphus, 'his refusal of the triumph.' Cf. provinciam deponere, 'to lay aside a provincial governorship,' Cic. ad Fam. 5. 2. 3.

in tempore, 'at a suitable time,' a standing phrase. Contrast in tempus, 'for the moment,' ad tempus, 'up to time,' or 'at the moment.' Cicero uses tempore alone = in tempore.

cumulatior, 'with all the greater increase.' Cf. the famous message of Dido to Aeneas (Aen. 4. 436) (ueniam) Quam mihi cum dederis cumulatam morte remittam, 'a kindness which I will return...enhanced by (my own) death.'

rediit, Gnomic Perfect, 'has often been found to come back.' It seems unnecessary to alter to reedit, as some add.

laudator. On the use of nouns in -tor see c. 5. 5 n.; the custom of laudationes at funerals was typical of the Roman nobility. When the member of the family who was being buried had done nothing in particular, and even if he had, the speaker would dwell on the ancient glories of the house. In this way, by constant repetition, strong family traditions were developed, and often committed to writing. No doubt it is some Fabian tradition that Livy is here following, at first or second hand; cf. c. 44. 11 n. on Aequis, also c. 19. 1 n. on Vetusius.

concedendo is merely Circumstantial, not Instrumental, i.e. Livy does not imply that his modesty was assumed on purpose to enhance his glory. See n. on sumendo c. 32. 4.

12 eius, quod. This use of the Neut. Pron. is comparatively rare in any Case but the Nom. or Acc., cf. c. 28. 2 quod...exsequendum esset, inuidiam eius, where, as here, the Relative is in a Case which prevents any ambiguity.

reconciliandi, in Apposition to eius, a somewhat rare construction; cf. 6. 11. 9 and 21. 4. 3 where the Gerund is in App. to res.

neculla re nisi salubri reip. arte. The mss. read parte, a typically stupid corruption; corr. Gruter. The same scholar, followed by Madvig, would remove re, so as to makeulla agree with arte, in its common sense of 'means,' and reip. Dat. after salubri. I do not know any precise parallel to the phrase reipublicae arsin the sense of reip. gerendae ars, but I do not feel sure that it is corrupt. [Is not reip. Dat. after salubri whichever reading be adopted? J. S. R.]
1 K. Fabius, i.e. Caeso Fabius. Though usually spelt with C when written in full, this praenomen is abbreviated K. Compare the use of the archaic C (=g) and CN (=gu) for the praenomina which when written in full are Gaius and Gnaeus respectively.

neque belli. So Duker, rightly, for bella of the MSS. bella agere is nonsense here.

incohata. This (not inchoata) is the correct spelling of this word. The parallel form is preserved in the Osc. Pres. Subj. kahad, meaning 'he may take or attempt' which in point of the vowels stands to incohare in much the same way as, say, regat to rogare (rogare being originally only a Frequentative of rego, meaning 'to direct one's self to a person frequently,' hence 'to question or entreat' him, just as adire and Eng. 'approach' have come to mean 'make a petition to'). In both cases the derivative verb shows the form of the root which contains o.

primo quoque tempore, 'at the earliest possible moment' (lit. 'at any first opportunity'), a regular phrase.

cum patribus for cum patrum animis, a frequent type of abbreviation. Cf. c. 13. 8 supra Coclites id facinus, i.e. supra Coclitum facinora.

2 priusquam...exsisteret. On the Subjunc. see c. 28. 9 n. It is because of the notion of preventing that quisquam is used.

occuparent...darent...partus sit. See Appendix II.

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uerum esse, 'the straightforward course was,' a common use of uerus, cf. Hor. Epist. 1. 7. 98 metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede uerum est.

4 eo cum exercitu, i.e. in Latinum agrum cum ex.

eo nulla pugna. Another use of the same Adv., 'therefore.'

5 in tempore. See c. 47. 11 n.

proxime formam. See c. 41. 11 n.

6 in urbem, i.e. Veios. legionibus is Dat.

eludentes, 'frustrating,' the commonest use of the word; in the two phrases bellum means 'active hostilities' on the Romans' part and on the Aequians' respectively.

- et alia bella. For this use of et cf. c. 19. 7 n.
non diutius quam...transiret quiescentibus = quos Romani scierant non diutius quieturos quam etc. Hence transiret is Virtually Oblique and therefore Subjunc. Tacitus would probably have written quieturis, but in earlier writers this Partc. is rare in the Abl. Absol.—one of many proofs that it was invented (out of the originally indeclinable Infin. in -urum) at a comparatively late period of Latin.

aut mox moturos. The mss. add se which Madvig rightly excised, as inserted by a scribe who did not realise how easily a Neut. form may serve in Latin in one clause as Nom., in the next as Acc., e.g. Cic. de Or. 2. 43 quod et a Crasso tactum est et Aristoteles adiunxit, cf. Madvig’s (3rd) edition of Cic. de Fin. p. 650. Madvig’s correction gives us the required antithesis between the two halves of the sentence. [And yet I do not feel sure of it. aut is so frequently out of place in one of two alternative clauses (cf. c. 27. 2 n.) that Livy may have only meant aut alia bella praesentia instabant. J. S. R.]

7 auerti ailio. Cf. c. 45. 2 n.; ailio is of course an Adv.

8 nos alia bella...Fabios...Veientibus. Coupling Contrast (c. 1. 8 n.). auctores sumus tutam...fore, ‘we are responsible, we guarantee that...shall be safe.’ The phrase auctor sum with Acc. and Inf. generally means ‘I am responsible for the statement that’; here, as the Future Statement is equivalent to a Promise, a fuller but not unnatural meaning is forced upon auctor; no precise parallel is quoted.

10 domos. On this Acc. see c. 7. 1 n.

Chap. 49, page 59.

1 familiam means strictly a ‘household’ including its dependents, but often in the sense of ‘a (noble) house,’ as here. This sentence Ovid neatly reproduces in his versification of the story, Fast. 2. 197 una domus uires et onus susceperat urbis.

2 si sint...deposcant. On the retention of Primary Tenses, c. 3. 3 n. deposcunt is parallel to sint (no connecting particle being needed in this rapid summary of public feeling); the main Verb of the Apodosis is posse.

postera die. But posterore are c. 48. 10. Livy is fond of playing with the varying gender of dies. The word was originally Masc., being identical with Gr. Ζεῦς, but the influence of the other words of the ε- declension into which it had fallen made it natural to treat it as Fem. The orig. inflexion was Nom. diuīs, Acc. diuēm, Dat. diēi. The old Nom. still appears in nudius tertius, ‘two days ago’ (lit. ‘now it is the 3rd
day’), *nu* being a parallel form of *nunc* (for *num-ce*) as Gr. *vv* of *vōv, vuv* (for *vōμ, vuvμ*).

3 *paludatus, i.e.* wearing the military cloak of a General; it was generally of purple, trimmed with gold. Although this was a strictly private expedition, the commander assumes the status of a General officially commissioned. Livy must, I think, have been conscious that this is what this sentence would convey to an ordinary Roman reader, though he may be (Prof. Reid thinks he is) using the word here in its archaic sense referring to any soldier’s cloak (as *paludatis lictoribus 41. 10. 7* and 45. 39. 11, and *paludamentum 1. 26. 2*), not the General’s in particular.

*signa ferri iubet.* On the Passive, see the n. on *uelit quaesitam c. 44. 3.*

4 *sex et trecenti...omnes patricii.* Livy does not here mention the clients and servants, who according to some authorities (e.g. Dionys. 9. 15) numbered several thousand. [The numbers are very odd in the Fabian legends. In 7. 15. 9 a Fabius attacks the Tarquinienses and loses precisely 307 men; cf. 7. 19. 2. J. S. R.]

*quorum neminem ducem sperneres.* Reproduced by Ovid (*Fasti 2. 200*) *e quis dux fieri quilibet aptus erat.* For the Indef. 2nd Pers. in this Tense cf. c. 35. 5 and c. 27. 6 n.

*egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus,* ‘(a body of men which would have formed) an admirable Senate at any time.’ The remark no doubt refers to the number as well as to the personal qualities of the Fabii; three hundred was the traditional number of the Senate (c. 1. 11).

The mss. give *sperneret* and the text is Madvig’s brilliant correction. If the words are Subject to *sperneret* as the defenders of that reading suppose, they must mean “the-at-all-times-admirable Senate,” at once a feeble, an exaggerated and an irrelevant commendation, which could hardly be paralleled elsewhere in Livy; and the reference to the Senate at all is quite unnecessary. On the other hand the slight difficulty of seeing the construction and meaning of the phrase with the true reading was quite enough to tempt a scribe to corrupt *sperneres* into *sperneret.*

5 *propria alia...excitata,* Coupling Contrast (which of course is regular with pronouns like *alis*) with a slightly Chiastic inversion of order (so below § 9 *sua tuta...infesta hostium*). *publicā* of course with *sollicitudine.*

6 *ab se= a nobis* in Or. Rect. *

7 *praetereuntibus,* scil. *Fabiis;* probably Abl. Absol., but conceivably
Dat. Comm., giving the persons for whose benefit the people made their prayers.

*quidquid deorum.* For the Neut. cf. c. 5. 7 n.

*ad parentes restituant.* For *ad* with *restituere* cf. c. 13. 6 n.

*in cassum missae,* 'fell fruitless,' a poetical phrase, like many others in this chapter.

8  *dextro iano.* This phrase and one or two others preserve the literal meaning of *ianus,* 'an arch' (this gate having two). So we have the *summus,* *imus* and *medius ianus* on the N.E. side of the Forum (Hor. *Epist.* 1. 1. 54). As a deity, Janus was represented by a double-faced head, surmounting an arch through which a street passed.

*portae Carmentalis...Cremeram.* See the map. The name of the gate was derived from an ancient altar of the goddess Carmenta or Carmentis which stood hard by.

9  *sua tuta...infesta hostium.* See § 5 n.; the contrast with *sua,* 'their own territory,' makes it possible to use the Gen. *hostium*—to mean 'that of the enemy,' as though it were Acc. Neut. Pl. of an adj. meaning 'belonging to the enemy.'

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10  *quamquam uix...fuit.* This use of *quamquam* to introduce what is practically an Independent sentence, giving a correction or modification of a preceding statement, is fairly frequent in Livy, e.g. 3. 11. 13, 21. 19. 4.

12  *Saxa Rubra.* On the Flaminian Road, not far N. of Rome.

*ab insita...levitate* goes with *paenituit,* 'thanks to their characteristic fickleness'; *ab* gives the inward source of the feeling, as often, cf. *tantus ab imprudentia...pauor* 4. 39. 6.

*ante deductum...praesidium,* 'before the garrison was withdrawn,' like *post conditam urbet,* etc.

**Chap. 50.**

1  *impetus in incursantes.* The loss (by 'haplography') of the Preposition which all edd. agree in restoring before *incursantes* gave rise to the corruption *incursantium,* which appears in most of the mss.

2  *opulentissima, ut tum res erant.* Dionysius (2. 24) tells us that Veii was in size comparable to Athens at this date. Before the rise of Rome it was no doubt the chief mart of the Tiber valley.

3  *ferocem,* c. 46. 4 n.
gaudere is Hist. Inf., to which supply Veientes as Subject, and take the following Acc. and Inf. clause as Object.

Fablis, Dat. Comm., or of the Possessor, after audaciam cresc.

4 uelut as in c. 41. 9 n. As Subject of incidisset supply pecora.

nasti, in its literal meaning, 'empty, unpeopled.'

6 superassent 'had passed beyond,' a common use of the word, especially of crossing a hill or a narrow pass—the latter is suggested here.

uaga, ut fit pauore iniecto. On ut fit see c. 4. 5 n.

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7 et ipsi, like Gr. καὶ ἀπόλω, 'on their side too, in response.' Cf. c. 3. 2 n. on neque ei.

orbem colligere, 'to draw into a ring,' with the same object as the modern 'forming in square to receive cavalry.'

8 et paucitatem... insigne et multitudinem... faciebat. The Predicate insigne faciebat belongs to both ei Clauses, but is distributed between them for the sake of rhythm ('Interweaving,' see c. 41. 6 n.).

9 rupere cuneo uiam. The phrase rupere uiam is highly poetical and is said not to occur elsewhere in Livy. Cf. Verg. Aen. 2. 494 fit via ui, rumpunt aditus, and 10. 372 ferro rumpenda per hostis Est via. When beside these two lines we place Liv. 4. 38. 4 ui uiam faciunt and the present passage, it is hard to think that the resemblances are accidental. And we have already seen others in this Book, cc. 19. 5; 38. 5; 43. 6; 44. 8; 47. 5 and 11). Further M. Müller in the App. to his edition of this book gives about a score of other parallelisms between the Aeneid and the First and Third Decades of Livy; and in fact every reader of Livy who is at all familiar with Vergil's text will recognise some resemblance, faint or clear, on nearly every page.

But the Aeneid was not published as a whole till after Vergil's death in 19 B.C., while Livy in 1. 19. 3 mentions the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 B.C., but not that of 25 B.C.; and in 9. 18. 9 he makes no mention of the restoration of the Roman standards by the Parthians in 20 B.C. Hence some scholars conclude either that Vergil borrowed from Livy, or (as M. Müller) that all the parallelisms are due to their both having borrowed from Ennius. Some resemblances (not included in those mentioned above) certainly come from Ennius (but cf. c. 43. 6 n.); but it is very hard to believe that they all do. Again, similar resemblances appear in the Fourth Decade of Livy, which was certainly not even written till after Vergil was dead. And while such vivid
phrases as \textit{fit uia ui} and \textit{animos aequabit Olympo} (\textit{Aen.} 6. 783) might well become the quieter \textit{ui uiam faciunt} and \textit{cuius magnitudini animum semper aequavit} (Liv. 33. 21. 3), the converse process is less likely. Add to this the far greater probability that a metrical phrase will remain in one's memory and be reproduced, than a sentence of prose, and we have, I think, quite satisfactory ground for believing that Livy was thoroughly familiar with the text of the \textit{Aeneid} long before it was published, and must have been included in Vergil's circle of friends. Even Propertius, who must have been comparatively an outsider (see Postgate, \textit{Select Elegies of Propertius}, Introd. p. xxxii), heralded the appearance of the \textit{Aeneid} as early as 26 B.C. (3. 32. 65 ff.).

10 \textit{uincebat...ni...euasisset}. As in c. 10. 2 n.

11 \textit{prope puberem aetate}. The Abl. is Complementary to the Adj., like that in \textit{maior natu} etc.: 'hardly more than a boy in years.' Some editors alter the text to \textit{propter impuberem aetatem}, which seems needless.

This 'boy' became consul a few years later (3. 1. 1), one of many difficulties in the chronology of this story, placed where it is.

\textit{domi bellique}. The allusion is probably to Q. Fabius Maximus (9. 45 ad fin.), who settled a burning question in 304 B.C. by admitting freedmen-citizens to the four City Tribes and to those only; and to the Dictator who wore down Hannibal by his policy of refusing to fight ('\textit{Cunctator}', cf. 30. 26. 7 and the lines quoted in the n. on \textit{unus ille uir} c. 43. 6).

\textit{uel maximum}, 'even the greatest, perhaps the very greatest.' This use of \textit{uel} shows very clearly its origin as an Impv. of \textit{uelle}; literally, it is 'take it to be greatest, have it the greatest if you like,' or as in English, 'call it the greatest,' 'say, the greatest.' In the Alternative use it meant 'take this......(or) take that.' In Oscan, \textit{heri}, the Impv. of the Verb meaning 'to take, choose,' is used in exactly the same way to mean 'or.'

\textbf{Chap. 51.}

1 \textit{cum...accepta...est, iam}. On the significance of this \textit{iam} at the end of a story see c. 39. 9 n. The mss. give \textit{esset}, but Crevier's change to \textit{est} seems necessary in a sentence which merely states a date.

3 \textit{paruo momento}, 'by only a small turn of the scale,' cf. c. 7. 10 n.
4 ueilut ab arce Ianiculo. For the (fairly common) omission of the Prep. with the second noun, cf. Ovid Heroid. 8. 110 quaque licet fugio sicut ab hoste uiro. The mss. give Ianiculi, which must mean 'from their camp, as though they were coming from the stronghold of the Janiculum.' But since this was in their hands, see § 7, most editors adopt the slight change to Ianiculo.

impetus dabant. As in c. 19. 7 n.

5 deditā operā, 'on purpose,' goes with propulsā.

praecipitauere, Intrans., in the sense of 'falling unawares into,' for which, in later Decades, the Passive is commoner; in the meaning 'hurl one's self into (intentionally)' se praecipitare is used (M. Müller).

7 et ipse. See c. 50. 7 n.

hesterna felicitate pugnae, 'by yesterday's success in battle,' a slight variation on the more prosaic hesternae pugnae fel., which is not uncommon; cf. 4. 10. 8 pacis domesticam curam (instead of domesticae). ferox, c. 46. 4 n.

quamuis in praecipitia, 'into any plans however headlong,' lit. 'into plans as headlong as you like.'

dum celeriora essent, Virtually Oblique; 'provided only they were speedier' was the Consul's thought.

agebat, scil. consulem. Cf. mouerat eum casus c. 13. 2 n.
adverso Ianiculo. See c. 35. 4 n. on adversa inuidia.

aciem erexit, as in c. 31. 5 n.

occidione, 'with a killing,' i.e. 'with great slaughter.'
oppressum. On the meaning of this verb see c. 4. 7 n.

Chap. 52.

2 suo ueneno, the same metaphor as in c. 44. 8. But the addition of suo gives it a contemptuous turn.

incitare, scil. plebem.

3 diem dicunt. The precise charge is not mentioned; possibly, as Weissenborn suggests, it was that of having needlessly caused the death of so many Plebeians in the battle which followed the disaster of the Cremera (c. 51. 1).

cum haud procul etc. This statement seems to come from a different source from that whence the account of the actual reverse is taken (c. 51. 1 Menenius missus).
ea oppressit. MSS. *eam*, a common corruption (c. 7. 10 n.). *ea* of course = *inuidia.*

5 in multa temperarunt may, I think, be rendered 'contented themselves with a fine' on the analogy of phrases like *consistere in, niti in, morari in, persistere in.* For the use of *temperare* without Obj., meaning simply 'to restrain one's self,' cf. Plaut. *Epid.* I. 2. 8 *cum in amore temperes.* Some take *in* so here also, rendering 'were moderate in fixing the amount of the fine,' but that is not the sense that seems most natural to the context, though 2000 *asses* (see the next note) was only a moderate fine. For similar clemency on the part of the Tribunes cf. 3. 58. 10. [I think the second interpretation is right. The parallels *consistere in* etc. do not seem to me close enough. J. S. R.]

cum capitis anquisissent, 'though they had begun his trial on a capital charge,' i.e. a charge involving, if proved, the loss of the accused's *caput* or status as a citizen.

duorum milium aeris...multam dixerunt. This [J. S. R.] seems the most probable reading; the MSS. give *multam edixerunt,* but the compound Verb is not so used, but only in the sense of 'to announce a fine beforehand (in case some expected offence is committed).’ The numeral of course was written originally simply MM.

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*aeris,* 'two thousand (pounds) of bronze,' *i.e.* 2000 *asses,* since the *as* was originally a rod of bronze weighing a pound.

ea in caput uertit, 'but the punishment (after all) affected his life'; with something like a play on the word, *caput* is here used to mean 'physical existence,' as in 27. 23. 4 *in capita consulum prodigiorum euentus uertit.*

7 exprobrando. On this Verb see c. 23. 11 n.

*quibus tum saeuiret,* 'who were the instruments of their rage.' When persons are regarded merely as instruments or circumstances, the word denoting them can be used in the Instrumental Abl.; cf. *suo milite uinci* c. 44. 12. Cf. Cic. *Mil.* § 20. 54 *uxore constrictus,* 'hampered by his wife's presence.'

8 iuuit. Notice this method of linking sentences together by beginning the second with its main verb. It is not infrequent in Livy and very common in Tacitus. The connexion lies simply in the contrast between the actions of the two sentences, which is brought out as sharply as possible when the most significant word of the second stands first in it.
Chap. 53.

1 *Veiens bellum...quibus.* The Antecedent to the Pron. is contained in the ethnic Adj., as often.

*ut, dum...excurrunt...capetur.* *dum* has a great affection for the Pres. Indic., which it continually retains in subordinate sentences, and, in post-Augustan writers, even in Or. Obliq.

*alia, Adv. ‘by one path.’* It is probable that these Fem. Abl. Adv. arose by omission of *uia, just like ῥῆν ταχιστῆν, ῥῆν ἄλλην (ὁδὸν) etc. in Greek.*

2 *in urbem, i.e. Veios.*

*pars...eunt.* This construction is exceedingly common in Livy.

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3 *paulisper.* On the Postposition see n. on *parumper* c. 25. 3. It seems to have meant very much the same with both Acc. and Abl.

*auersi.* See c. 45. 2 n.

*duae...maximae finitumae gentes, ‘two of the greatest of the neighbouring races’;* *cf. 25. 8. 1 duarum nobilissimarum in Italia Graecarum ciuitatium,* which shows a similar application of a Superlative to a Noun phrase containing another Adj.

5 *mos...non placebat.* So a Roman leader was sent to the Latins in c. 30. 9. This was a fixed principle in Roman politics, and was later embodied in all their treaties with their “allied” *i.e. subject states.*

6 *calamitatis, i.e. in the shape of injury to their lands and homesteads.*

Chap. 54.

1 *provincia* was the technical term for the external duties assigned to any Magistrate who possessed the *imperium* (*i.e. the Consuls, and the Praetors when in command of an army; also the Dictator, and in later times Proconsuls and Propraetors*). It was especially often applied to the duty of conducting a particular war, and in later times, to a particular conquered territory which it required military force to administer, a ‘province.’ The word is probably derived from *sincere,* meaning originally ‘what a man goes on (or ‘forth’) to conquer’; *cf. prospectus,* ‘what a man can see before him.’

*euenit* takes its Number from the adjacent predicate Subst.; so cc. 40. 14; 58. 4; *cf. 1. 35. 9 ludicrum fuit equi.*
frumento stipendioque imperato. Note the meaning of this Verb when Transitive; 'to impose, enjoin upon.'

2 arripuit, 'brought into Court, put on their trial,' as in 3. 58. 7; it is more commonly used of the actual arrest. Their offence was probably some unconstitutional violence in resisting the Tribunes' proposal.

3 rei...sordidati, see n. on reos diceres c. 35. 5.

4 abstineant...putent depend directly on suadent, monent by 'Parataxis' (c. 40. 5 n.), and take the same Tense.

consulares uero fasces. Here, as often (e.g. 4. 1. 3), uero denotes a climax.

infulis uelatos, like victims at the altar.

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6 exilium Cn. Marci, see c. 35. 6.

Meneni damnationem, c. 52. 5. Note the Chiasmus (c. 40. 3 n.) in these two phrases.

7 iure an iniuria. In these half-parenthetic clauses an, which is properly used in questions, Direct or Indirect, comes to be used instead of siue. Cf. 28. 43. 3 ea suspicio, utitio orationis an rei, haud sane purgata est. If nihil curabant, or incertum erat, were inserted here before iure an iniuria we should have a perfectly regular Indirect Question in a parenthesis, the Verb of the Dependent Clause (eriperentur) being at once supplied from eripiendos esse.

quamuis audaci, like quamuis in praecipitia c. 51. 7.

8 suspectior. On this Adj. see c. 7. 11 n.

9 domi mortuum...inuentum. Livy, like people at the time, assumes that Genucius died by foul play. But so little was commonly known of disease at Rome that it is extremely probable that many sudden deaths which were supposed to be murders were really due to natural causes, e.g. those of Scipio the younger and Germanicus.

quam nihil auxilii, cf. quam nihil in Hannibale auxilii 26. 16. 13; 'how absolutely powerless to protect them were.'

sacratae leges, c. 33. 3.

10 noxiae 'guilt, guilty deed.' This is the proper meaning of the word, being the Abstract Noun corresponding to the Adj. noxius 'guilty,' though our mss. occasionally give it in place of noxa, 'injury, harm suffered.' This latter word however, derived directly from the root of noceo (as Gr. δοκέω from that of δοκέω), has a broader use, like Eng. harm or ill, including also (1) the pain of punishment (as in c. 59. 6), and (2) active harm, evil-doing.
malo, 'by chastisement,' as in c. 34. 11 hoc malo domitos. Compare the stolid retort of the noble Metelli to Naevius' epigram (which asserted Fato (i.e. not by merit) Metelli Romae fiunt consules). They replied in a single Saturnian

At Naevio poetae dabunt malum Metelli,
and put him in prison forthwith.

Chap. 55.

1 sub hanc...uictoriam, 'immediately after this victory.' The MSS. give sub hac uictoria, which some defend giving sub the sense 'under the shadow of'; but the only passages quoted for this (where there is no mention of the persons who are submitting, suffering, or the like) are all (e.g. 25. 15. 8) with Ablatives which can be changed (and are changed by most edd.) into Accusatives by the mere addition of -m (see c. 7. 10 n.).

pessimi exempli, 'of disastrous omen,' 'ominous.'

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2 resistatur...defendat with the Presents in the following sentence are 'retained,' as in c. 3. 3 n.

3 quattuor et uiginti lictores, '24 lictors (and no more).’ Livy here implies that each Consul was regularly attended by his lictors, although, according to c. 1. 8, it was only in alternate months that the lictors of a particular Consul carried fasces; according to Dionys. (5. 2) the Consul who was not acting as senior for the month had fasces, but without the axes in them—a view which seems to be supported by Liv. 3. 36. 4.

apparere, 'were in attendance on,' a meaning from which is derived the word apparitor, 'official attendant.'

nihil contemptius, 'no force could be more contemptible'; for this adjectival use of Partcc. cf. optatus, 'desirable,' conspectus, 'conspicuous,' inviolatus, 'inviolable.'

si sint qui contemnant = si sunt qui contemnant in O. Recta.

4 quod ordines duxisset, see c. 23. 4 n. This was Volero's plea.

militem, scil. gregarium, a soldier of the rank and file.

5 appellat tribunos...'prouoco...ad populum.' Note this, the regular difference in the use of the two words meaning to 'appeal.'

spoliari, i.e. nudari, as often, e.g. 8. 32. 10.

uobis, i.e. the Patricians.
ubi...pro se...erat. See c. 43. 6 n.

fidem plebis imploro. See c. 10. 3 n.

omne discrimen adesse, 'that everything was in peril,' lit. 'that every kind of peril was at hand'; discrimen denotes especially the kind of crisis produced when established principles or institutions are challenged. With this sinister use of omnis cf. phrases like omnia turbare, 'to overthrow the whole constitution,' and the like.

non publici fore, non priuati iuris, 'Interweaving,' see cc. 41. 6 n., 50. 8 n.

parum. For the derivation of this word see n. on parumper c. 25. 3.
exerceret uictoriam, 'would push his victory'; as 6. 22. 4.
in senatum uocari, scil. patres. For the Passive after iubeo cf. 49. 3; 44. 3 n.

Chap. 56.

1 tribunum plebi. On the form of the Gen. see c. 42. 6 n.

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2 permissurum tribunatum, 'would devote his year of office as a tribune to'-a construction of permitsre which seems to occur nowhere else. The metaphor is from giving a horse the rein. In the mss. the gloss administraturum is inserted in the text.

post...habito. This use of habere...post... for the compound post-habere is said not to occur elsewhere in Livy. It appears also in Tacitus (Hist. 3. 64 ad fin.), probably by imitation.

ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fient. Livy does not say how the Tribunes had been previously elected. After the struggle of 494 B.C. (c. 32 f.) it is simply inconceivable that the Plebeians should have allowed their newly created defenders to be elected by any one but themselves; nor is it even clear by whom Livy conceived them to have been first elected. What then was the object of the Lex Publilia? In c. 60. 5 Livy describes its effect in the phrase patribus ex concilio sub-mouendis, and Dionysius (9. 43) adds that the Law also empowered the Tribes to pass formal resolutions under the presidency of the Tribunes. Hence it is inferred (by Schwegler 2. 553 ff.), and rightly, I think, that the real object of the law was to give precise form and legal recognition to the Comitia Tributa, so that it was not a mere assemblage (concilium) of chance persons, but a regular body (Comitia), parallel to the Comitia
Centuriata. And one of the regulations to secure this would naturally be that Patricians had no right to be present, cf. § 10 and 3. II. 4. Later on (e.g. Liv. 5. 30. 4) when the Plebeians had learnt to trust to their numerical superiority, and still more after 339 B.C., when in consequence of the *Leges Publiliae* the distinction between the Orders had lost all political importance, the prohibition dropped out of notice.

Schwegler's view seems to me clear and probable so far as it goes. For a discussion of the difficult questions that remain in the early history of the Plebeian assembly (or assemblies) the student may be referred to Willems, *Droit Publ. Rom.*, Ed. 5, pp. 165 and 293, and the authorities he cites.

4 *quae una uis ad resistendum.* For this construction after *uis* cf. 5. 9. 7 *inuentam esse uim maiorem ad coercendos magistratus*; so 30. 16. 3. For the fact cf. cc. 43. 4; 44. 2.

   *ex collegio*, scil. *tribunorum.*
   *in annum,* 'over the whole year.'

5 *a paternis certaminibus.* See c. 27. *inuisum infestumque,* 'hateful to and hating,' a common combination.

   *consulem faciunt; collega...datur.* See c. 43. i1 n.

7 *aetatis eius haud quisquam,* 'no one of that day.'

8 *rudis in militari* etc. 'his untrained soldier's tongue could not keep pace with his audacity and indignation.'

9 *non facile loqur...quam.* The omission of *tarn* in the first half of the Comparison before *facile* (where Madvig wished to insert it) is paralleled by many other cases in Livy, which like this seem to be all negative; e.g. 25. 15. 9 *non militum fiducia...quam inuentutis Thurinae.* But cf. Verg. *G.* 3. 309 where there is no negative.

   *praesto,* 'make good'; on the origin of this use see c. 18. i1 n.

10 *occupant,* in its regular meaning, 'seized (before any one else could).'

   *templum,* i.e. the *rostra* in the Comitium from which assemblies of the people were regularly addressed; the same term is applied to this platform in 8. 14. 12. It denotes properly any space (of ground, or even in the sky) which has been marked off by the regular augural ceremonies (*augurato*), so it is regularly applied to the Curia Hostilia where the Senate met. But *aedes* denotes a building used for religious purposes only.
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12 illum ipsum, i.e. magistratum populi, such as a Consul.

pro imperio, 'in virtue of his office,' in the ordinary exercise of his power. Even a Consul requested (not commanded) the people to disperse.

14 concursus hominum...multitudinis, Madvig would excise hominum, but it hardly seems likely to have been added as a gloss, and multitudinis can be taken in Apposition.

15 saeuentem...lenisset. Elsewhere Livy seems generally to use lenire with an Abstract Noun like iram as Object; but cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 393 lenire dolentem.

16 non uim suam illis. The Possessive Adj. refers to illis, not to tempus though it is the subject of the clause. See c. 22. 3n. illis would have been put before uim suam but that the latter phrase had to follow the Negative directly, and Negatives are by preference put at the beginning of their clause.

Chap. 57.

2 sententias uariassent, 'produced conflicting opinions'; cf. 23. 5. 8 variante fortuna euentum.

quo magis goes with auocabantur, the phrase spatio interp. giving the reason for their change of mind.

eius opera, 'by his efforts, thanks to him,' a convenient substitute for ab eo.

3 petitur, ut...uellet...posset. The Hist. Pres. takes Past Sequence, as often.

tantam, 'only so great.' esse uellet, 'would consent to leave.'
dum...trahant...sit...sit. On these Primary Tenses Retained even after the introductory Imperfects in the Purpose Clause, see Appendix II. nihil relictum...in medio, because the two contending parties wasted the whole strength of the community in their contentions.

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4 in Sacro monte. See cc. 32 f.
Chap. 58.

1 perinde ac, for perinde ac si, like uelut for uelut si c. 36. 1.
duo. See c. 33. 3 n.
Piso. See c. 18. 5 n.

3 uastauerant...ut, 'they had been laying waste...in the hope that.' The reason for their hope was not the ravaging of the fields, but the nearness to Rome which it implies. The Volscians hoped that as they were so near the Plebs might come over to them, and leave the Patricians in Rome at their mercy.

4 prouincia. See c. 54. 1 n.
eadem...saeuitia...esse...odisse, Hist. Infinitives.

5 quid? 'nay, indeed...?' This conjecture of Weissenborn's seems the best correction of the MSS. quod.
electo aduersus, 'chosen on purpose to resist.'
quam...impedierunt. So the MSS. Editors generally change to impedierint, which may be right, but the retention of the Indic. seems scarcely any harsher here than in qui erit finis c. 15. 3, ubi v. n.

6 ira indignatioque...stimulabat. On the Singular Verb see c. 5. 8 n.
poterat, scil. exercitus.
certamen. In an abstract sense 'spirit of contentiousness'; so in c. 59. 1.

7 si...uellet...si...adesset. This use of the Subjunctive in General Conditions (si='if ever') is a mark of Silver Latin and hardly appears in Cicero. Cf. 3. 36. 8 si collegam appellasset, ita discedebat ut paeniteret, 'if ever a man appealed from Appius to one of the other Decemvirs, he always went away regretting it.' [A few examples must be admitted even in Cicero, e.g. De Or. 1. § 232. J. S. R.]

8 praesenti. Dat. of Disadvantage: 'they would not look him in the face when he stood before them.'
tacite goes, probably, with exsecreari, 'under their breath.'

Chap. 59, page 70.

1 nihil eorum=n. earum rerum.

2 Appio...Fabio. Dat. Incomm., like praesenti c. 58. 8. Their treatment of Fabius was related in c. 43. 6 ff.

3 expressa uis, 'an effort was wrung from them.'
alia...sua clade, 'in any other kind of defeat they suffered,' =alia
reliqua, as in c. 23. 6. This is Crevier's correction of the mss. alii. Others read alibi which is simpler, but less likely to have been corrupted.

4 infractus, Partc. of infringo.

ne utique, 'not in any case, by all means not.' Whatever else he did, he must not rely upon the soldiers' obedience to any command bidding them execute punishment on their fellows.

5 negare...milites...exaudiri...fuisse, etc. Or. Obl., the reasons urged by Appius' advisers. On the Retained Present moueantur see App. II.

6 quando quidem...lucrarentur, Oblique, the reason Appius gave for yielding.

noxae=poenae, see n. on noxiae c. 54. 10. 
remissa contione, 'abandoning his project of haranguing them.'
Cf. remittere iustitium, intercessionem.
iter...cum iussisset, prima iuce. On the leap in this sentence from one day to the next see the Hints on Livy's Style, p. 80 sup. On the postponement of cum see c. 40. 5 n.

7 cum maxime, 'just when.'
ullius, Neut., like eorum in § 1, and eius in c. 47. 12, ubi v. n. This is a rare use of ullam.

8 ita...euasere, 'with such speed did they rush out of the battle.'

9 reuocando...persecutus esset. The Gerund=reuocans, or ut reuocaret, see c. 32. 4 n. on sumendo.

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10 signo amisso signiferos, 'standard-bearers who had lost their standards.' Abl. of Description. Beware of rendering it here by 'with.'

11 duplicarios. Because these specially privileged soldiers ought to have set a better example to their fellows. A man was so called when he was allowed double rations, in reward for some special act of valour.
sorte decumus quisque. The motive of this grim institution ('decimation' in the strict sense) is explained by Cicero (pro Cluent. 46. 128) ut metus ad omnes, poena ad paucos praeclirct.

Chap. 60.

1 contra ea, 'on the other hand,' cf. inter-ea, post-ea etc., which preserve the original length of the -a of the Neut. Pl.
quo is magis. With the Comparative magis, quo takes the place of ut after effecerat. is is of course Quinctius.

C. L. II.
gauderet, i.e. indulge, give the rein to.

2 acta praeda. ea omnis. This (Frigell's) seems certainly the right interpretation of the reading of M praedae caddomn (at the end of a line). The vulgate actae praedae [plur.] omnis [sing.] can hardly, I think, be defended.

3 quibus...gaudent. Not Hist. Pres., but a general observation.

4 maior victoria...quam usu, 'more important because it marked the victory in a set combat than in its practical effects.'

5 patribus ex concilio submouendis. Since the Plebeians always outnumbered the Patricians in the Assembly of the Tribes, where the voting, in each Tribe, was by heads, it made no difference in the majority of votes whether Patricians were present or not. But no doubt the poorer Plebeians escaped some terrorising. On the nature of the change legally, see c. 56. 2 n.

**Chap. 61.**

1 exceptit, 'followed,' used absolutely, as in 25. 23. 8 alia subinde spes, postquam haec una evaserat, exceptit. But more commonly an Acc. is added, as in nox diem exceptit and the like.

2 possessorum publici agri. See c. 24. 6 n. on possideret.

  tamquam tertio consuli. When the Verb of a Comparative Clause after ut, tamquam or the like is left to be supplied, the Subject of that Verb is regularly attracted into the case of the word which denotes the thing or person compared to that Subject: cui...tamquam tertius consul esset (qui hoc fecisset) is abridged into cui...tamquam tertio consuli.

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3 ad iudicium...populi. On the right of the Tribes to try such cases see c. 35. 2 n.

  plenus suarum, etc. 'laden with the grudges cherished against both himself and his father.' The Adjj. represent Obj. Genitives.

4 dumtaxat, 'strictly speaking, only.' The Adv. is taken from an old legal phrase limiting the amount of fines which one could impose (taxare) under a particular law. The formula ran generally thus; 'For a breach of this statute the magistrate may inflict any fine he chooses provided that he (only) levies (dum taxat) such and such a proportion of the guilty person's property.' Hence the phrase came to be attached to particular words meaning 'so far forth as (so and so),' 'so
and so) in its strict sense.' Hence it has a double colour, sometimes, as here, 'no more than,' 'only'; sometimes 'no less than,' 'at least,' as in Hor. Sat. 2. 6. 42 Maecenas me coepit habere suorum In numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere reda Vellet, iter faciens, 'at least so far as this, that I was one he liked to have with him on a journey.' Prof. Reid connects taxare with Osc. tanginom 'sententiam' and O. Lat. tongere, tongitio, Eng. think etc., which is quite possible phonetically and gives a better sense than the usual derivation from tangere 'to touch': 'provided he estimates the fine at (less than half etc.).'

5 non modo...sed ne...quidem, 'not only not...but not even so much as to,' the regular use of non modo when ne...quidem follows. modo means literally 'by the limit' and hence 'just, exactly'; non modo therefore may mean either 'I do not say (so much as) this, not only not this,' or 'I do not say (so little as) this, not only this.'

uestem mutaret. See c. 35. 5 n. on reos.

6 spiritus, 'lofty tone.'

7 diem...prolicerent, 'adjourned the trial to another day,' lit, 'announced the day for trial onwards.' In this phrase dies is always Fem., see c. 49. 2 n.

trahi, 'drag on indefinitely.'

9 supremum diem, 'the day of the burial,' as often (e.g. Cic. Mur. § 75). But it often means 'the last day of life,' e.g. Cic. Phil. 1. § 34.

Chap. 62.

2 religio fucrit, with Inf., see c. 5. 3 n.

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4 quibus frequenter habitabatur, Impers., 'in which the folk lived not far from one another'; cf. 9. 28. 5 frequenter ibi habitabatur, and for the Abl. 8. 22. 5. When the Verb is used transitively (e.g. 1. 30. 1) it has a somewhat different sense, 'inhabit,' instead of 'live (after such and such a fashion).'

postero die. For the change of time in this sentence cf. c. 59. 6 n.

5 pro uicto, 'as vanquished'; cf. pro uictis c. 7. 3.

integro...bello, 'with the war not yet begun.'
Chap. 63.

2 ultima uis, i.e. open civil war; so 3. 17. 9.

4 nihil alid quam. For the Advl. Acc. cf. c. 8. 8 n.

perfusis uano timore, lit. 'bathed in'; render 'with no other result than to plunge the Romans into empty terror.'

5 ex insidiis = ab hoste ex insidiis erumpente.

6 Caenonem, the port of Antium, somewhat to the E. of that town.

7 tenent, 'occupy, employ.'

populantes. On the literal meaning of this word see c. 12. 5 n.

Chap. 64.

1 interesse consularibus comitiis. The Consuls were elected by the Comitia Centuriata, of which the Plebeians were, of course, members: each man ranked in one or other of the five Classes according to his property. On this occasion they refused to vote.

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3 Crustuminos campos, the former territory of Crustumeria, captured, according to the tradition, in 501 B.C. (c. 19. 2); see the map.

a porta prope Collina, 'from (what was) almost the Colline gate,' i.e. from a point hard by that gate. [Cf. i. 14. 4 in ipsis prope portis, so 27. 18. 3; 30. 30. 8. J. S. R.]

4 ipsum quidem agmen...populationem...fecit. Coupled by Contrast, but with quidem (=Greek μὲν) added to the first clause, to emphasise its real subordination in sense to the second: 'although he did not succeed in......yet he pushed his ravages so far afield...'

adipisci, 'catch up,' as in c. 30. 14 n.

multiplici...praeda, 'many times the quantity of booty (previously lost).'

5 et in Volscis. For this emphatic use of et, 'and indeed,' cf. c. 28. 8 n. and see c. 11. 6 n. In § 6 just below it has a slightly different colour, implying more contrast; 'and the Romans for their part.'

cæde...sanguine denote the killed and the wounded respectively.

6 paucitas damno sentiendo proprior erat, 'their small numbers made them more quickly conscious of their loss,' lit. 'were nearer to feeling their loss (than the large army of the enemy).'

dum se putant uincere, uicer. Perhaps suggested by the famous possunt quia posse uidentur, Verg. Aen. 5. 231 (cf. c. 50. 9 n.).
8 haud dubitans...abituros. Livy frequently puts the Acc. and Inf. after haud dubito, non dubito (e.g. 1. 23. 7) in the sense of 'I do not doubt (a fact),' a colloquial construction for which quin with the Subjunc. is regular in earlier prose writers.

9 ueniunt. It appears from what follows that they did not come right up to the camp, but halted some little distance off.

10 Hernicorum cohortem. The Hernici were bound by their treaty (c. 41. 1) to send auxiliary troops when Rome was at war.

in stationem, 'to a picket,' which must have been just outside the camp.

Chap. 65, page 75.

2 post principia, 'under shelter of the front ranks.' These stood their ground and kept off the enemy, while the rest of their own army moved backward up the hillside in good order (integris ordinis).

3 euaderent, 'surmount,' with Acc. as often in Livy (e.g. 7. 36. 2) in this sense; cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 685. It is commoner however in its ordinary use with in as in § 6.

4 simul...simul, 'now...now,' 'both...and'; a poetical use very common in Livy, cf. Verg. Aen. 1. 631.

pudore metum excussisset. excutere is a strong and picturesque metaphor; one may perhaps render; 'stung them out of their cowardice by rousing their shame.'

5 ut obtinentes locum, etc. 'as, while holding their ground steadily, they gradually recovered their strength.'

6 prope erat, ut, 'it had nearly come about that,' 'almost,' as in c. 23. 15.

7 Antium. The capture of the chief town of the Volscians makes a fitting end to a Book in which they have appeared as the most dangerous enemies the Romans had to face after King Porsenna's retreat.
APPENDIX.

I. ON THE STORY OF CORIOLANUS. (CC. 33—40.)

In looking back on this story as a whole it is worth while to separate its central features from the rest. Probably everyone would agree to include among these the proud and tyrannous character of Coriolanus, his hatred of the Plebs, his trial and banishment; his march upon Rome, the danger of the city, and his retreat in deference to his mother's entreaties. If this much is given us, we have nearly all that our imagination values. Now in these things thus barely stated there is no reason for doubt; none of them are at all inconsistent either with one another or with our general knowledge of Rome and the surrounding tribes in the V Century B.C. But the story as the tradition presents it is wrapped up in a mass of details which it is difficult to accept, such as the marvellous number of towns which Coriolanus captured in a single campaign (c. 39. 3—4), and the even more marvellous complacency with which the Volscian army first accepted a Roman commander, and

1 An exception should perhaps be made of the trial, which, as has been recently pointed out by the distinguished Italian historian Prof. Pais (Storia di Roma, i. i. p. 498, indicated to me by Prof. Reid), presents many strange features (cf. Prof. Reid's n. on c. 35. 2). But, if I have rightly understood Prof. Pais' ultra-sceptical treatment of the whole story (as a fiction based upon the worship of Mars at Rome and Corioli), it appears to me to involve a far greater number of improbable assumptions than those it professes to remove.
then sacrificed the fruit of all their fighting and turned back from Rome when it lay within their grasp, because their leader listened to the entreaties of his mother and the other Roman matrons. One can hardly doubt that an army of half-barbarous Volscians, if it had really followed Coriolanus to the walls of Rome, would have made very short work of his filial scruples. The truth is, as we shall presently see in detail, that the mythical elements in the story all spring from the part these Volscians play in it; and it is extremely probable, as Schwegler conjectures in his brilliant analysis of the tradition\(^1\), that they were brought into it by early Roman annalists from patriotic motives. Now in the Great Volscian Wars, lasting from 466 to 441 B.C. (see Book III. \textit{passim}), the Romans did suffer a whole series of defeats; once the Volscians advanced to within three miles of the walls (3. 6. 7)\(^2\). But the story of these reverses would be much less offensive to a Roman ear if they could be represented as having been due to the prowess of an exiled Roman, not of the Volscians unaided; and the story of Coriolanus gave just the handle which a patriotic historian desired for such a shift. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that the descent of Coriolanus upon Rome and the series of defeats which the Romans suffered from the Volscians were entirely distinct events; and that the troops which were led to Rome and away again were not the Volscian army but some force raised by Coriolanus and entirely dependent upon him.

This theory is rendered very probable by the double account which Dionysius gives of Coriolanus' exploits. One of his versions (8. 17—56) corresponds on the whole to Livy's much shorter and soberer narrative; the other (8. 12) represents Coriolanus as making a preliminary descent on Rome at the head of a band of volunteers and ravaging only the lands of Plebeians. Now in the struggles between the Orders such banishments as his were frequent (cc. 52, 54 and 3. 66. 2); and one may well accept Schwegler's conjecture that the troops he

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\(^1\) \textit{Röm. Geschichte}, II. p. 349 ff.
\(^2\) We may note that both in this year 466 B.C., and in 453, Rome was crippled by a pestilence (3. 2. 2, and 3. 22. 2).
was leading consisted in fact of other exiled nobles like himself, with their dependants. Appius Herdonius, a Sabine, put himself at the head of just such a band in 460 B.C. (3. 15. 5), and seized the Capitol. The return of a band of political outlaws was always dreaded, as a source of fresh conflict, in ancient communities (e.g. at Corcyra in 432 B.C.); and this theory would account very well for the willingness of the Romans to stoop to entreaties when Rome was at the mercy of Coriolanus, and for the retreat of the troops at his command:—an act which is natural enough in a band of men linked together only by their leader, and partly, perhaps, touched by the same feelings as he, but altogether incredible when attributed to such bitter enemies of Rome as the Volscians.

All the confusions due to the interpolation of these Volscians become worse confounded by the reference of the whole story to the years 493—488 B.C. This was probably due, as we shall see, to its supposed connexion with the temple of Fortuna Muliebris, which was completed in 488.

It is of course quite possible that Coriolanus may have had some kind of understanding with the Aequians and Volscians, who were, no doubt, at war with Rome at the time of his raid. As Schwegler points out, Cicero refers to the story in a way which suggests this view; bellum Volscorum illud grauissimum cui Coriolanus exsul interfuit (Brut. 10. 41) is a phrase which would more naturally have been worded otherwise if Cicero had conceived of Coriolanus as actually commanding the Volscian Army.

We may now take one by one the points in Livy's story which call for comment.

33. 4. ad Volscum bellum. This war, with the capture of Corioli, is clearly mythical. Corioli was actually one of the thirty Latin cities included in the league mentioned in the preceding sentence (Schwegler II. p. 363, 326). See the next note.

5. cui cognomen postea Coriolano. Livy seems to imply that the hero owed this name to his exploit in capturing the town. It seems probable that the converse is the truth, i.e. that this exploit was put down to him to explain his name (which, like Collatinus, Regillensis
and many more, probably implies no more than that his family once migrated from the town to Rome). At all events there is no other example of such a name being taken by any one but the General in command of the whole army, nor any other example of such a title at all until more than a century later; according to Liv. 30. 45. 7 Africanus was the first.

9. memoria cessisset. This shows that there was no record of this Volscian War in the Fasti. Livy, accepting the tradition of its having been waged in this year, infers that Cominius conducted it, merely from his not being mentioned in the treaty with the Latins.

34. 2. ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris. But in c. 32. 4, where Livy was probably following a different and older authority, the length of the Secession is given only as aliquot dies. The reason given for the famine, if not the famine itself, is no doubt one of the mythical additions to the story; and the details bear a suspicious resemblance to those given of the famines in 433 and 411 (Liv. 4. 25. 4, and 4. 52).

37. 2. uis magna Volsorum uenit. The constructors of the composite tradition which Livy is following found nothing incredible in this friendly visit of the Volsci to Rome immediately after the loss of Corioli (c. 33. 5) and their refusal to sell corn to Roman envoys (c. 34. 4).

38. 1. caput Ferentinum was a place of assembly for Latins (1. 50 and 51), not Volscians; see the map. The scene of this mythical oration must have been fixed at a later date, when there was no distinction, much less any enmity, between Latins and Volscians.

6. deficeret. The Volscians were in no sense allies of Rome at this date, so that one does not expect to hear of their ‘revolting.’ But no doubt some such phrase appeared in the traditional account of this "Volscian War," which was unencumbered by dates.

39. 1. omnium populorum. The phrase probably comes ultimately from some account which reckoned the Aequi among the followers of Coriolanus (cf. c. 40. 13); the towns enumerated in § 4 are in or near Aequian territory. See below. The election of a Roman exile by the Volscians as their leader is of course one of the most incredible points in the story. Tribal feeling was bitterly strong in ancient Italy, and there is no other example of such a choice in all its history.

3—4. When we compare the account in Dionysius, it is not hard to conjecture a possible source for the confusion which these sections exhibit in the mind of a writer in whose day there were no maps in our
sense of the word, and when all the towns mentioned, save Pedum and Labici, if they still existed at all, had sunk to small hamlets, so that their exact position would not be familiar to him. Dionysius (8. 17—36) enumerates the two sets of conquests in the reverse order; and it is conceivable that the account which underlies our text began with a phrase taken from the tradition which Dionysius accepts, and then went on to follow the other version without the writer's being conscious that his prefatory phrase was inconsistent with the rest. It can hardly be an accident that we should find a confusion in Livy's narrative exactly where we know the traditions varied.

But why did the traditions vary on just this point? Because of the attempt to ascribe to Coriolanus two separate series of defeats which, no doubt, the Romans did suffer, rather later on, at the hands of (1) the Volscians, who would take the S. group of towns, and (2) the Aequians, who would take the N.E. group. The fiction betrays itself by its extravagance as well as by this discrepancy of order; for in no historical war in ancient Italy were so many towns captured in one campaign.

40. 12. templum Fortunae Muliebri. But there was also a temple to Fortuna Virilis, ascribed to Servius Tullius, and its feminine counterpart was probably not less old. A temple in commemoration of Volumnia's success should have been to Pietas Muliebris, not Fortuna; and, in fact, this particular temple did not stand at the Fossae Cluiliae, where Coriolanus is said to have halted (c. 39. 5), but a mile nearer Rome (Fest. p. 242 M.). Hence Schwegler concludes (II. 382) that the connexion of Volumnia with this temple was a popular myth.

But the date of the first sacrifice at this altar, Dec. 1, 488 B.C., was recorded in the Commentaries of the Pontifices (Dion. 8. 55); and this is probably the reason why this date was taken for the march of Coriolanus by the annalists, who were concerned to bring his story by hook or by crook into the course of recorded history. We have seen already that this date is certainly too early. It was not till some twenty-five years later that Rome was so reduced by the Aequian and Volscian wars, and by pestilence (463 B.C.), as to have been at the mercy of an invader.
II. ON THE VARIATION OF SEQUENCE IN ORATIO OBLIQUA.

§ 1. Every reader of Livy is familiar with the curious alternation of Secondary with Primary Tenses of the Subjunctive in passages in the Oratio Obliqua where what is called *repraesentatio* is admitted; that is, where some at least of the Primary Tenses which would have stood in Oratio Recta are retained in spite of their subordination to a Past Verb of saying or thinking. We have found a number in this Book, for example:

2. 39. II. Atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praeda belli per otium frui uelint,...se...adnisurum, ut apparet etc.

In Cicero this variation is practically\(^1\) unknown, and the sentence just quoted, had it been written by Cicero, would certainly have shown *uellent* and *apparet*. But in the Historians we find very frequent variation. Caesar sometimes uses the Secondary Tenses continuously in a passage of some length (e.g. *B. Gall. I. 13*), but in Livy this uniformity is extremely rare;—for example, I can find no case of it in either Book I.\(^2\) or Book II. It is clear, then, that although the use of Secondary Tenses throughout a Reported Speech was established as an intelligible idiom before Livy began to write, Livy himself did not regard it as either obligatory or beautiful. What we need to have made clear is the principle or principles which he followed in using both Primary and Secondary Tenses in the same passage.

§ 2. No tenable explanation, so far as I know, has been offered; after disproving with ease a conjecture of Kühnast's,

\(^1\) See B. (3) below (p. 190) for the solitary type of variation in Cicero.

\(^2\) The largest sets of Secondary Subjunctive Tenses in Book I. are such passages as 17. 9, 40. 4, 47. 6, in each of which all the Verbs are included in one sentence; in none is any actual speech reported.
Draeger (I. p. 279 ff.) is content to suggest that the Tenses are changed to secure variety of endings. But an examination of a very large number of passages (including all those in Books I. and II.) has convinced me that the secret of the variation lies in the poverty of the Subjunctive in Tense-forms. It has no Tenses which can reflect precisely the Future or Future-perfect of the Indicative, nor the Imperative; so that if one started, as I believe Livy did, with a desire to retain precisely the Tenses of the Oratio Recta, that principle could not be carried out in these three cases, and in default of it, it was natural that the ordinary custom of Sequence in single dependent Clauses should influence his choice. The general principle which represents Livy’s use, may, I believe, be stated as follows:

A. In passages of Or. Obliqua in which Livy is using Primary Tenses after a Past governing Verb, the Primary Tenses appear, as a rule, only where they are actually retained from the Or. Recta; i.e. (1) all retainable Tenses are retained with great regularity; but (2) where a change of Tense is unavoidable (as in converting the Imperative and the Future of the Or. Recta), there Livy’s usage varies but the Tense chosen is most often Secondary: e.g. 1. 40. 3.

Livy’s text (Or. Obliqua).

Tum impensius eis indignitas crescere (Hist. Inf.) si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se REDIRET regnum sed...ad seruitia CADERET, ut...quod Romulus ipse TENUERIT regnum donec in terris FUERIT, id seruus serua natus POSSIDEAT. ...id domus suae de-decus fore si...seruis etiam regnum Romae PATERET.”

The same in Or. Recta.

“(Etiam foedius nobis erit)

..........................
si ne ab T. quidem ad nos REDIBIT regnum, sed.....ad seruitia CADEIT, ut...quod R. ipse TENUIT regnum donec in terris FUIT, id seruus serua natus POSSIDEAT. .......id domus nostrae dedecus erit si..... seruis etiam.......................... PATEBIT.”

In this passage it is surely incredible that after ut Livy should suddenly fall into Primary Tenses unless there were some reason for it. Such a theory can only be properly tested by the examination of a very large number of examples, and to discuss
all those I have noted in Livy and other authors would take us far beyond the limits of an Appendix. All I can do here is to present a *prima facie* case for my contention; to deal with all the constructions which bear upon it, favourably or otherwise, occurring in Book II.; and to show the reason for such a rule in the origin of the construction. I shall be content if the reader is persuaded of two things: (1) that in order to understand a Tense in Or. Obliqua it is absolutely necessary to consider what it represents in the Or. Recta—an elementary precaution which Draeger and others have singularly disregarded; and (2) that the distinction between what may be called ‘retainable’ and ‘non-retainable’ Tenses which is laid down by the canon I propose gives us a fair working hypothesis by which to explain the great mass of the examples in question, and from which to start in dealing with the cases that remain over, the number of which, though in itself it is considerable, is very small when compared to the rest.

§ 3. One or two limitations to the rule may be stated at once.

B. (1) *The Subjunctives which depend directly upon the Main Verb which introduces the Oratio Obliqua, take the regular Sequence; thus, they are Secondary after a Past Tense, whether or not the Primary Tenses are retained in the body of the speech itself, e.g.*

2. 28. 5: Correpiti consules cum quid ergo se facere uellent—nihil enim segnius...quam patribus p l a c e at acturos...percunctarentur, decernunt ut dilectum...habeant.

Here *uellent* takes its Tense from *percunctarentur* on which it depends and which is the ordinary Past Subjunctive after a Circumstantial *cum*. But *placeat* reproduces *placet* of the O.R. The Historic Present *decernunt* is treated as a Primary Tense, a very common construction.

So in c. 9. 1—2: Nunc orabant ne...pateretur, nunc...ne...sineret. Nisi quanta ui ciuitates (libertatem) expetant tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infinis.

1 Though it seems to be implied, for instance, by Postgate, *N. L. P.* § 430 (10).
This in O.R. would be *Nisi quanta...expetunt, tanta...defendunt, aequantu*, etc. Other examples are in cc. 32. 5; 57. 3; 59. 4—5; see below.

(2) Similarly the Imperfect Subjunctive which is regularly used to give a Past Command throws any Verbs that may depend upon it into Secondary Tenses; and this influence sometimes extends even into the next sentence, e.g.

6. 39. 6—12. After seven Primary Subjunctive Tenses the Command appears in the Impf. Proinde ipsi primum statuerent...quid uellent, deinde...declararent. This seems to infect the two Subjunctives of the next sentence (si uellent...esse quod eosdem reficereinent), after which the Primary Tenses are resumed.

2. 48. 2. *Itaque principio anni censuit priusquam quisquam...tribunus existeret, occuparent patres ipsi suum munus facere, captiium agrum plebi...darent. Verum esse habere eos quorum sanguine...partus sit.*

Many other examples will be found below.

I may add, though no example appears in Book II., this further clause.

(3) *A Clause of Purpose depending upon another such Clause which, though relating to the past, is in the Present because depending directly upon a Main Verb in the Historic Present, is often, perhaps regularly, put into a Secondary Tense.*

28. 31. 4. *Nuntios ad Senatum mittit qui...hortentur ut auxilia mitterent, quibus...imperium Hispaniae repeti posset. Compare Verg. Aen. 1. 298 Demittit...Ut terrae...pateant, ne...Dido Finibus arceret.*

Draeger (i. p. 235) recognises this as a common construction in Cicero, e.g. *Verr. 2. 2. 50 Agrigentini...mittunt qui eum leges doceant...ut intelligeret, etc.*

Here the decisive factor is probably the degree of nearness to the Historic Present of the Main Verb.

§ 4. We may now consider some examples of the Re-presentation from other Books than the Second. In order that the truth of the canon may be easily tested, I add in a parallel column what I believe to have been the Oratio Recta of each extract.
This extract gives us 9 examples of A. (1) (p. 188 sup.).
sulem uere plebeium,—fecissent. nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni a patribus desierint, coepisse. cui non apparere, id actum et quaesitum esse ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id postea, quia inuitis eis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse ut uitiosus dictator peraugures fieret. habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse, et populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei qui mature uincere quam diu imperare malit.

This extract gives us 12 examples of A. (1), 1 example of A. (2), fecissent = feceritis.

In the long speech reported in Book IV. c. 2 there are 30 Subjunctives, and of these none are in Secondary Tenses except (1) those which represent the same Secondary Subjunctive Tenses of Or. Recta (e.g. si diuinassent in § 9); (2) Imperfects representing Imperatives with the Subjunctives directly depending on them (§§ 4 and 8); and (3) donec...essent = donec...erunt (§ 4). And the remaining Subjunctives equally conform to the rules here given, whether the two Perfects in § 12 be taken to represent the Future Perfect, or, as I am inclined to prefer, the Perfect Indicative

1 Other passages which show what I believe to be the regular use without any exceptions are the Speeches which begin in 1. 46. 8; 1. 53. 7; 3. 50. 8; 10. 24. 8; 24. 33. 8; 28. 32. 4. On the other hand the Speeches in 3. 24. 4—5 and 3. 56. 9 each present one exception (coniecisset and abisset), i.e. a Secondary Tense in place of one which might have been retained (A. (1) sup.). For these I believe there is a
§ 5. We can now deal briefly with the cases occurring in Book II. For convenience all those that I have noted are cited here, though for such as have been already discussed, the reference will be enough.

**Livy's Text.**

2. 6. 3. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno uisus sit, partes regni rapuisset... ne quis expers sceleris esset. ferrent opem, adiuuarent; suas quoque...iniurias ultum irent.

2. 9. i ff. See p. 189 sup.

2. 10. 4. Deum...fidem testabatur nequiquam...eos fugere. si transitum pontem a tergo relquiissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio...quam in Ianiculo fore. itaque monere, praedicere, ut pontem ferro, igni, quacunque ui possint, interrumpant; se ipsum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum.

The present *possint* would probably have been used after *interrumpant* even if it represented a *Future* as it may (conceivably a Pres. Subj.), though the Pres. Indic. seems more natural in this brief and energetic call to action. But I think the Impf. *posset* points definitely to a Future in the Recta, as in the closely parallel pair of Tenses in 1. 26. 1: imperat Tullus uti iuuentutem in armis habeat; usurum se eorum opera si bellum...foret. The Future after *si* is more formal, less colloquial, and somewhat less confident a Tense than the Present.

2. 12. 2. Indignum uidebatur populum R....cum sub regibus esset nullo bello...obsessum esse: liberum eundem ab...Etruscis obsideri quorum saepe exercitus fuderit.

**Equivalent in Or. Recta.**

Deum...fidem testor nequiquam
...uos fugere. si...
reliqueritis, iam plus hostium in Palatio...erunt.
itaque moneo...
ut pontem...
.......quacunque ui potestis, interrumpatis; ego...
............quantum corpore uno poterit obsisti, excipiam.

Indignum est si populus...
cum ...
.....eset, nullo bello......obsessus est: liber...............obsidetur
ab.....Etruscis quorum........
fudit.

definite reason; but I cannot do more here than state it dogmatically; the Perf. Subj. in these passages represents a Past Aorist, the Pluperfect represents a True Perfect.

C. L. II.
2. 15. 3—4. Ea esse uota...ut qui libertati erit...finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde si saluam esse uellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse orare.

Ea sunt uota...............
ut qui............erit finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde si saluam esse uis Romam, ut patiar is liberam esse, oramus.

The Impf. uellet in spite of sit and patiatur seems to be due to the influence of proinde, which is closely associated in Or. Obl. with the Impf. Subj. of a Past Command (e.g. 6. 39 sup.), for which the orare ut is here substituted. Prof. L. C. Purser thinks si uellet = si uoles ‘if you will be pleased that Rome be safe’; this would of course fall in with my canon better, but si uis is so much commoner than si uoles that I hesitate.

2. 28. 5. See above, p. 189.

2. 32. 6. Quam diu...tranquillam, quae secesserit, multitudinem fore? Quid futurum deinde si quod...bellum exsistat?

Quam diu...tranquilla quae secessit, multitudo erit? Quid futurum est deinde si quod...bellum exsistat (or exsistet, or, less probably, exsistit).

The preceding mallent falls under B. (1) p. 189 sup.

2. 32. 9. fuerit = O. R. fuit. The remaining Subjunctives down to the end of the speech would have stood as they are in O. R., except dum uellent...uenisse in § 10 = dum uolunt...uenerunt in O. R., where the conversion is not surprising, since uenerunt is a Past Aorist, contrast c. 57. 3 inf.

2. 36. 4. haberet falls under B. (1) p. 189. instare ni eat ac nuntiet = O. R. instat ni is ac nuntias (cf. nisi caues and n. on c. 45. 13).

2. 39. 11. Atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praeda belli per otium frui uelint, ...se...adnisurum ut appareat etc.

Si ..............reddetur (‘if the land is to be restored’), potest agi de pace: si......frui uoltis, adnitar ut appareat etc.

The Impf. redderetur might be ascribed to its nearness to rettulerunt, but the parallelism of the two Clauses, which are Coupled by Contrast, seems to suggest that there must be some other reason for the difference between redderetur and uelint. [Certainly. L. C. P.]
2. 41. 5. Consulem...uelut uaticinanatem audiebat...agros illos seruitutem eis qui aceperunt latusos. quid...Hernicis...capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut...pro Coriolano duce Cassium habeant?

aceperunt here, I think, represents a Perfect, not a Future Perfect, because the Perfect in quid attinuisse reddi ('what was the good of restoring?') seems to shew that the speaker is rhetorically describing the proposal as already enacted. ut habeant was Present in the Recta to denote a Purpose that still continued.

2. 44. 2-4. quando inuentum sit=quando inuentum est. defuturum qui uelit=deerit qui uelit. si opus sit, fore=si opus est (or erit), erunt. darent operam ut conciliarent=date...ut concilietis (B. (2) sup.).

2. 44. 8. nisi saeuiant=nisi saeuiunt. repertam ut essent=reperta est ut esset.

2. 45. 8. tenerent=tenete. (Edicunt inde...) si...pugnauerit (Perf. Subj.)=si...pugnauerit (Fut. Perf.). Note that the governing Verb is Hist. Pres.

2. 48. 2. See above, p. 190.

2. 54. 4-7. The speech begins with two Imperatival Subjunctives depending directly on a Historic Pres. (suadent, monent...abistineant...putent) and the same Tense is maintained in the next two commands (§ 5 inducant, § 6 proponant) although they are in separate sentences. Note that no Secondary Tense has intervened. In § 5 quod si...sit =quod si...est. In § 6 we have 3 Perf. Subj.=Fut. Perf.

2. 55. 2-3. resistatur, defendat, contemnnant would have stood in O. R. quando habeat=quando habet. nihil contemptius si sint qui contemnnant=n. c. si sunt ('whenever there are') or si sint ('if only there were'), rather, I think, than si erunt. [sint, I think. L. C. P.]

2. 57. 3. uellet, posset fall under B. (1). dum trahant...nihil relictum esse=dum trahunt nihil relictum est (i.e. restat, contrast c. 32. 10 sup.).

quorum sit, ut sit as in O. R.

ib. 4. quam acceptae sint=quam acceptae sunt.

2. 59. 4-5. uellet, esset, B. 1. ut moueantur, as in O. R.
§ 6. In Book II. therefore we have found only 2 at all likely exceptions to A. (1) (uellet c. 15. 4, uellent c. 32. 10) against at least 34 regular examples, not counting the doubtful cases like c. 44. 3 (sit) where the Pres. or Perf. Subj. is ambiguous. Of the non-retainable Tenses (A. (2)) we have found (again excluding the ambiguous cases)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary.</th>
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<tr>
<td>7 Imperfects for Imperatives.</td>
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<td>2 „ depending on a preceding Imperfect.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 „ for Futures.</td>
<td>but all these 8 examples depend upon Main Verbs in the Hist. Present.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pluperfect for Fut. Perfect.</td>
<td></td>
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In the passages previously quoted from other Books (not including any cited in the footnote to p. 192) there were

4 Imperfects = Futures.
1 Pluperfect = Fut. Perfect.
2 doubtful Perfects.
Several Imperfects = Imperatives.

§ 7. After the evidence we have seen, the origin of the variation is clear, namely, the influence of the Tenses actually used in the speech when it was made. Where Livy could actually reproduce these, he felt free to do so except in certain definite cases (B. (1) and B. (2)). It remains to ask, why did he feel that these cases, the Subjunctives immediately dependent on the Introductory Verb, and the Past Command (which, as we have seen, is very regularly indeed given by the Imperfect)—stood on a different level? The answer is one of some importance in Historical Syntax. In these cases Livy was using an idiom which he felt to be fixed, which he could not depart from; in the other, though he was aware of the Ciceronian practice, he did not feel it binding; in other words—the extension of the Rules of Sequence over the whole area of a Reported Speech was a much later development than the growth of the Rules in single Dependent Clauses, and a development which was in truth never completed. But we can
go further than this. Livy's use shows the points from which the extension started; not merely Clauses of Purpose and Indirect Question depending on a Past Main Verb, but the Imperfect Subjunctive of Past Commands, which, like the Plautine *non redderes* 'you ought not to have paid it,' was felt to be really an Independent Past Tense. In the Ciceronian use the Secondary colour spreads from these Verbs over the whole of the Speech; in Livy what we may call the earlier stratum of the Secondary Tenses remains remarkably distinct, though we can discern the points of difficulty and uncertainty outside this stratum which inclined more precise writers to abandon the Primary Tenses altogether. More extended enquiry will very likely reveal further principles which guided Livy where at present his usage appears to vary without reason; but it will be admitted, I think, that our investigation has already confined the apparent "irregularity" to very narrow limits, and by so doing has vindicated Livy's character as a writer from a tacit but somewhat serious reproach.
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