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Livy

Book VI.

With Introduction and Notes

By

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PREFACE.

THIS edition has been prepared on the same plan as that of the other books of Livy edited by me in this series. I have not for the reason given in the preface to Book IX. inserted any maps. The object of the Introduction, as of those to the other books, is to put young students on their guard against accepting all Livy’s statements as true, and to offer them some means of estimating the historical value of the contents of individual books. A writer in the Guardian criticising my edition of Book IX. was good enough to say that ‘I failed to bring out the interest of my subject.’ I never intended to ‘bring out the interest of the subject.’ I should have supposed that that was for Livy to do, not for the editor of a school edition of a fragment of his work.

The text is that of Madvig and Ussing, second edition, with a few variations mentioned in the notes on the Text.

H. M. S.

Bourn,
August, 1892.
INTRODUCTION.

Livy opens this book with a cheering promise that the subsequent history is to be more trustworthy than the preceding. He soon however belies his promise. The main facts of the history of these years may perhaps be extracted from the statements of Annalists and family historians out of which Livy has woven his dramatic narrative. But as regards anything like accuracy of detail it is perfectly true, as Dr Arnold said, that 'no period of Roman history since the first institution of the tribunes of the Commons is really more obscure than the thirty years immediately following the retreat of the Gauls.' We find all the same exaggerations, inconsistencies, repetitions and even falsifications, that we find in the previous books. It may be useful to briefly consider Livy's history of this period under three heads, (1) the foreign wars, (2) the story of M. Manlius, (3) the civil agitations terminating in the passing of the Licinian Rogations.

THE FOREIGN WARS.

The hero of these is Camillus, who wins marvellous victories with marvellous rapidity over enemies already completely subdued, whose destroyed armies are reproduced for his glory and the glory of Rome in a way that caused even Livy some uneasiness (c. 12 § 2). To particularise, we find in cc. 2 and 3 an account of three brilliant victories won by Camillus. He first attacked the Volscians and reduced them to submission,
thus bringing to a close a war of seventy years duration (§ 13). He then turned on the Aequians, defeated them and captured Bolae. Meanwhile 'almost the whole of Etruria' (a favourite phrase when Livy is talking of that people) had been besieging Sutrium, an ally of the Romans. The besieged had surrendered and were leaving Sutrium, when Camillus appeared on the scene. He found of course everything prepared for a brilliant victory, and proceeded to win it, re-capturing Sutrium with all the soldiers of 'almost all Etruria' inside it.

Such is the account of these victories. But, three years afterwards, we are surprised to find an almost exact repetition of these Volscian and Etruscan campaigns. The Volscians of Antium had renewed war in spite of their reduction to submission three years before. They are now said to be assisted by Latins. Camillus, again appointed to the command, again divides his forces into three divisions. He himself takes the field against the Volscians who, deserted by the Latins and Hernicans, take refuge in Satricum. This town Camillus takes by storm, receiving the submission of the Volscians. From there he returns to Rome to make preparations for the siege of Antium, when news of an Etruscan war diverts him from his purpose. He then again finds Sutrium captured (though only partially this time) by the Etruscans, recaptures it with great slaughter of the enemy, and advancing on Nepete captures that town also. Now, anyone comparing these two sets of transactions will find it difficult to believe that the latter is not a repetition of the former, with some varieties of detail. If we ask the question, which of the two accounts of the capture and re-capture of Sutrium is historical, the most probable answer is, neither. That Sutrium was secured by the Romans about this time is highly probable, because a colony appears to have been planted there in B.C. 383. The founding of the colonies of Satricum, Nepete and Setia in 385, 383, and 382 also testifies to considerable Roman successes against the Volscians. But when it comes to the question of detailed and circumstantial accounts of these events, we must be content with ignorance and decline Livy's picturesque narrative, sacred bowls notwithstanding (c. 4).
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Another example of Livy's historical method in this book, connected with wars of the period, will perhaps be sufficient to show how little we can trust his most circumstantial narrative. In c. 29 § 9 we are told that T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, having received the surrender of Praeneste, brought from that city to Rome a statue of Jupiter Imperator, which he placed *inter cellam Iovis ac Minervae* on the Capitolium. A tablet fixed at the foot of it as a monument of his achievements recorded that 'the gods had allowed the dictator T. Quinctius to capture nine towns.' Now, Cicero also mentions a statue of Jupiter Imperator dedicated on the Capitolium. But he says that that statue was brought by T. Quinctius Flamininus from Macedonia. Now, setting aside the antecedent improbability (pointed out by Dr Ihne) that the statue of the supreme deity should be carried away from a town not taken by force, but surrendered on condition of retaining its liberty (c. 29 § 7), it is in the highest degree improbable that there should have been two imported statues of Jupiter Imperator dedicated on the Capitolium, or that Cicero should be mistaken about the origin of a statue brought to Rome after the second Macedonian War.

These two examples are sufficient to show the value of Livy's narrative as a detailed history. It is clear then that we must be content with a very meagre outline of events as the only trustworthy facts of this period. That outline amounts to this: (1) that hostilities with the Volscians, which had been carried on at intervals from the earliest times of Rome, were renewed after the Gallic capture of Rome; that the Volscians were assisted by the Etruscans, and later by the members of the Latin League, especially by Praeneste; that in this war the Romans were successful, and after thirteen years of it had gained possession of the Pomptine territory, which they secured by the founding of Satricum and Setia. (2) That in this period begins the resistance of the members of the Latin League which culminated in the great Latin War, B.C. 340—338, resulting in the dissolution of the League. A history of that League would be more in

1 Verr. ii. iv. 58. See Long's note on the passage.
place in an Introduction to the viiiith book. Here we are concerned only with the fact that several Latin cities directly or indirectly made war on Rome, either by aiding the Volscians, or rebelling on their own account, as in the case of Lanuvium and Praeneste. These towns had to be subdued by force of arms, while Tusculum and Satricum were compelled to accept Roman citizenship, and to be incorporated in the Roman state, evidently more as a precaution against their hostility than as a reward for their fidelity or good services. The hostile feeling of the Latins against Rome was due no doubt partly to the conduct of Rome as head of the League, of which conduct the Ardeatine decision\(^1\) is probably an extreme instance. But the main cause was (as Dr Mommsen says) the subjugation of their common foe; ‘forbearance ceased on one side, devotedness ceased on the other, from the time when they thought they had no longer need of each other\(^2\).’

**THE STORY OF M. MANLIUS.**

Niebuhr accepts this story practically as Livy gives it. Ihne regards it as in the main historical, but takes exception to the statement that it was the tribunes who instituted proceedings against Manlius, holding that his trial and death was wholly the action of patricians. ‘One thing,’ he says, ‘is certain, that Manlius was an advocate of the liberties of the plebs.’ He goes on to explain (adopting on this point the view of Niebuhr and Schwegler) that the *concilium populi*, mentioned c. 20 § 11, must have been ‘the patrician assembly of the *curiae,*’ and to draw inferences in favour of his view from that assumption. But Mommsen has shown conclusively that no such assembly as a purely patrician assembly of the *curiae* existed, so that if Manlius was put to death by act of the *comitia* it must have been the combined action of patricians and plebeians. As regards his motive, Dr Ihne acquits Manlius of all attempt to aspire to absolute power. He considers that he fell a victim to the hatred

\(^1\) Livy iii. 71.  
\(^2\) Vol. i. p. 356.
of his patrician enemies for befriending the debtors and, possibly, attempting to divide the consulate between the two orders.

But Dr Mommsen in an exhaustive examination of the story has shown reason to regard it as an invention of later times. The results of his examination briefly stated are as follows: (1) M. Manlius, the people's friend, is not satisfactorily identified with the saviour of the Capitol. Capitolinus was a cognomen before the saving of the Capitol (c. 17 § 5 n.) and, though Livy and Dionysius identify the consul of B.C. 392 with the saviour of the Capitol, Diodorus does not. He calls that consul Aulus Manlius, and speaks of the saviour of the Capitol simply as Μάρκος τις Μάλλιος ἐνδοξός ἀνήρ. (2) The antecedents of the Manlius of Livy's narrative, his achievements, crowns &c., are incredible and can only be regarded as the ornamental inventions of family records. (3) As regards the trial, Mommsen points out that Livy's account does not agree with what are simpler and evidently older versions of the story, such for example as that given by Diodorus. The latter places the death of Manlius in B. C. 385. Livy postpones the execution from B. C. 385 to B. C. 384. He incarcerates Manlius in B. C. 385 by Cossus, dictator, but sets him free to be executed next year, when Camillus, the hated rival of Manlius, was consular tribune. This looks suspiciously dramatic, and the division of the story into the two acts of incarceration and execution like a later development.

Diodorus' simple and brief account, ἐπιβαλόμενος τῇ τυραννίδι κρατηθεὶς ἀνηρέθη, seems to imply that Manlius having actually levied war against the state was overpowered, and put to death. This is quite at variance with Livy's (the later) account, which represents a formal trial as taking place, Livy going into full details, repeated after him by Plutarch and Dio Cassius. It is a question, considering the account given by Diodorus, whether any formal trial took place at all. But the oldest account of the trial is pretty evidently given incidentally by Livy (c. 20 § 12) and is entirely at variance with the later one.

As regards the reasons for the trial given by Livy, there is no earlier authority for them than Livy himself and Dionysius. In alluding to the older account of the trial Livy states no ac-
cusation made against Manlius. Judging from the form of that trial, all probably that would have been stated in connexion with it would have been that Manlius was arraigned on a charge of treason.

There is the further difficulty of the want of connexion between the acts ascribed to Manlius in connexion with his patronage of the plebs and the charge of aiming at monarchy. Livy sees the difficulty, but makes no attempt to solve it. Mommsen's conclusion is that the story of Manlius as 'a people's friend' put to death on a trumped up charge by greedy and jealous patricians is an invention of the democrat party in the last century of the republic, and is a 'quasi-historic model' of what took place in B. C. 89 during the Social war, when the clamour for *novae tabulae* began to be serious, of what took place later when under Cinna the Valerian laws reduced all debts by 75 p.c., and later still in the Catilinarian time. The story of a M. Manlius put to death for insurrection or treason of some kind was possibly found in the history of the times after the Gallic capture, and on this the inventive fancy of democrat annalists exercised itself. The result was the story of M. Manlius as Livy gives it to us, a development of later times, the old story clothed in the ideas, fears and hopes of the latter days of the republic.

**The agitations terminating in the Licinian Rogations.**

Livy's account of the causes and motives at work which resulted in the Licinian legislation is probably in the main historical. Even the story of the sisters Fabia, which may perhaps be described truly as 'an old wives' fable,' points to a fact in exhibiting the social as the strong motive in the minds of the richer plebeians for insisting on the passing of the Licinian proposals. The refusal of Licinius and Sextius to divide their proposals points to the same fact. The richer plebeians after the passing of the Canuleian law, and the institution of consular
tribunes, were in the position of people suffering from a social and sentimental grievance, which they could only get redressed with the assistance of their poorer brethren who were suffering from substantial grievances\(^1\). Hence the alliance between the two, so clearly indicated in the terms of the Licinian legislation. The richer plebeians\(^2\), sharing the substantial advantages possessed by the patricians, were not probably most of them very eager to listen to the clamour of their poorer brethren for equal division of the domain lands, and relief to debtors. But the jealous social exclusiveness of the patricians, shown especially in the struggle against opening the consulship, and the extreme difficulty which plebeians experienced in getting elected even to those offices of state to which they were eligible, made it apparent that only in such an alliance could the well-to-do plebeians hope for the social and titular equality which they desired. For a full account of the causes of this revolution the student must be referred to Mommsen’s history, Book II. c. 3.

The actual means by which the struggle was maintained and the legislation so long deferred are not at all clear. This is due mainly to our want of positive information about the concilium plebis, in which the proposals were ultimately carried. This assembly was identified apparently in the minds of Roman historians with the comitia tributa, from which it was entirely distinct; consequently all our knowledge about it is gained by inference only. But it seems pretty certain that the plebiscita of the concilium plebis only became laws, if sanctioned by the senate. It would seem then that the refusal of such sanction would indefinitely postpone legislation by that assembly. But probably it was nearly as difficult at this time for the senate to refuse its sanction against the wishes of the united plebs as it is now in England for the house of Lords to resist a consensus of the Commons of England. Livy represents the contest as being

\(^1\) The distress among these was due partly to the hardship of long military service, only partially relieved by the institution of military pay, and partly to losses and expenses consequent on the Gallic invasion.

\(^2\) Mommsen, I. 296.
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maintained by means of tribunes secured to interpose their veto. That is probably true, but not the whole truth. The probability is that the senate used all the weapons of tribunician interpellation, divisions between the plebeians, and partial concessions, before employing their last resource and refusing sanction to the proposals when passed in the assembly. In the end they would be beaten back to this last necessity (as in fact Livy's words, c. 42 § 9, seem to indicate) and then, confronted by the two alternatives of full concession or civil war, would choose the former.
TITI LIVII
AB URBE CONDITA
LIBER VI.

B.C. 390. Short preface in which Livy points out that with the rebuilding of the city the records become more trustworthy. Q. Fabius is impeached for a violation of the ius gentium (cf. v. 35, 36).

Quae ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani sub regibus primum, consulis deinde ac dictatoribus decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere, foris bella, domi seditioves, quinque libris exposui, res cum vetustate nimia obscuras, velut quae magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum, et quod, etiamsi quae in commentariis pontificum alisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere. Clariora deinceps certioraque ab se-cunda origine velut ab stirpibus laetius feraciusque renatae urbis gesta domi militiaeque exponentur. Ceterum primo, quo adminiculo erecta erat, eodem innixa, M. Furio princepe, stetit, neque cum abdicare se dictatura nisi anno circumacto passi sunt. Comitia in inequentem annum tribunos habere, quorum in magistratu capta urbs esset,
non placuit; res ad interregnum rediit. cum civitas in opere ac labore assiduo reficiendae urbis teneretur, interim Q. Fabio, simul primum magistratu abiit, ab Cn. Marcio tribuno plebis dicta dies est, quod [legatus] in Gallos, ad quos missus erat orator, contra ius gentium pugnasset; cui iudicio eum mors adeo opportuna, ut voluntariam magna pars crederet, subtraxit.

B.C. 389. After one interregnum, Camillus as interrex procures the election of military tribunes, six in number. Surviving documents are collected and certain days, marked by disaster, are included among dies nefasti. The Volscians and Etruscans take advantage of the condition of Rome to begin war. The Latins and Hernicans also threaten to rebel. Camillus named dictator divides the army raised into three divisions. He himself takes the field against the Volscians and Acquians, and defeats both.

Interregnum ininitum; P. Cornelius Scipio interrex, et post eum M. Furius Camillus. is tribunos militum consulari potestate creat L. Valerium Publicolam iterum, L. Verginium, P. Cornelium, A. Manlium, L. Aemilium, L. Postumium.

Hi ex interregno cum extemplo magistratum inissent, nulla de re prius quam de religionibus senatum consuluere. in primis foedera ac leges, (erant autem eae duodecim tabulae et quaedam regiae leges) conquiri, quae comparerent, iussuerunt; alia ex eis edita etiam in vulgus; quae autem ad sacra pertinebant, a pontificibus maxime, ut religione obstrictos haberent multitudinis animos, supressa. tum de diebus religiosis agitari coëptum, diemque a. d. xv Kal. Sextiles, duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii caesi, quo deinde ad Aliam cum exitio urbis foede pugnatum, a posteriore clade Aliensem appellarunt, insignemque rei nulli publice privatimque agendae
fecerunt. quidam, quod postridie idus Quintiles non litasset Sulpicius tribunus militum, neque inventa pace deum post diem tertium objectus hosti exercitus Romanus esset, etiam postridie idus rebus divinis supersederi iussum, inde, ut postridie calendae quoque ac nonas eadem religio esset, traditum putabant.

Nec diu licuit quietis consilia erigendae ex tam gravi casu rei publicae secum agitare. hinc Volsci, veteres hostes, ad extinguedum nomen Romanum arma cecerant; hinc Etruriae principum ex omnibus' populis coniurationem de bello ad fanum Voltumnae factam mercatores affereban't, novus quoque terror accesserat defectionis Latinorum Hernicorumque, qui post pugnam ad lacum Regillum factam per annos prope centum nunquam ambigua fide in amicitia populi Romani fuerant. itaque cum tanti undique terres circumstarent appareretque omnibus, non odio solum apud hostes, sed contemptu etiam inter socios nomen Romanum laborare, placuit, eiusdem auspiciis defendi rem publicam, cuius recuperata esset, dictatoremque dici M. Furium Camillum. is dictator C. Servilium Ahalam magistrum equitum dixit; iustitioque indico dilectum iuniorum habuit, ita ut seniores quoque, quibus aliquid roboris superesset, in verba sua iuratos centuriaret. exercitum conscriptum armatumque trifariam divisit. partem unam in agro Veiente Etruriae opposuit, alteram ante urbem castra locare iussit; tribuni militum his A. Manlius, illis, qui adversus Etruscos mittebantur; L. Aemilius praepositus. tertiam partem ipse ad Volscos dixit, nec procul a Lanuvio (ad Mecium is locus dicitur) castra oppugnare est adortus. quibus ab contemptu, quod prope omnem deletam a Gallis Romanam juventutem crederent, ad bellum profectis tantum Camillus auditus imperator terroris intulerat, ut vallo se ipsi, vallum congestis arboribus
saepirent, ne qua intrare ad munimenta hostis posset. quod ubi animadvertit Camillus, ignem in obiectam saepem coniici iussit; et forte erat vis magna venti versa in hostem; itaque non aperuit solum incendio viam, sed, flammis in castra tendentibus, vapore etiam ac fumo crepituque viridis materiae flagrantis ita consternavit hostes, ut minor moles superantibus vallum militibus munitum in castra Volscorum Romanis fuerit, quam transcendentibus saepem incendio absqueptam fuerat. fusis hostibus caesisque cum castra impetu cepisset dictator, praeadam militi dedit, quod minus sperata minime largitorem. persecutus deinde fugientes, cum omnem Volscum agrum depopulatus esset, ad dedititionem Volscos septuagesimo demum anno subjicit. victor ex Volscis in Aequos transiit, et ipsos bellum molientes; exercitum eorum ad Bolas oppressit, nec castra modo, sed urbem etiam aggressus impetu primo cepit.

3 Sutrium is besieged by the Etruscans and forced to surrender. But on the very day of its capture Camillus appears on the scene and recovers it.

Cum in ea parte, in qua caput rei Romanae Camillus erat, ea fortuna esset, aliam in partem terror ingens ingruerat. Etruria prope omnis armata Sutrium, socios populi Romani, obsidebat; quorum legati, opem rebus affectis orantes, cum senatum adissent, decretum tulere, ut dictator primo quoque tempore auxilium Sutrinis ferret. cuius spei moram cum pati fortuna obsessorum non potuisset, confectaque paucitas oppidorum opere, vigiliis, vulneribus, quae semper eisdem urgabant, per pactiam urbe hostibus tradita, inermis cum singulis emissae vestimentis miserabili agmine penates relinqueret, eo forte tempore Camillus cum exercitu Romano intervenit. cui
cum se maesta turba ad pedes provolvisset, principumque orationem necessitate ultima expressam fletus mulierum ac puerorum, qui exsilii comites trahebantur, excepisset, parciere lamentis Sutrinos iussit: Etruscis se luctum lacrimasque ferre. sarcinas inde deponi Sutrinosque ibi considere modico praesidio relictō, arma secum militem ferre iubet. ita expedito exercitu profectus ad Sutrium, id quod rebatur, soluta omnia rebus, ut fit, secundis invenit, nullam stationem ante moenia, patentes portas, victorem vagum praedam ex hostium tectis egerentem. iterum igitur eodem die Sutrium capitur; victores Etrusci passim trucidantur ab novo hoste, neque se conglobandi coeundique. in unum aut arma capiundi datur spatium. cum pro se quisque tenderent ad portas, si qua forte se in agros recedere possent, clausas (id enim primum dictator imperaverat) portas inveniunt. inde ali arma capere, ali, quos forte armatos tumultus occupaverat, convocäre suos, ut proelium inirent; quod accensum ab desperatione hostium fuisset, ni praecones per urbem dimissi poni arma et parci inermi iussissent nec praeter armatos quemquam violari. tum etiam quibus animi in spe ultima obstinati ad decertandum fuerant, postquam data spes vitae est, iactare passim arma inermesque, quod tutius fortuna fecerat, se hosti offerre. magna multitudo in custodias divisa; oppidum ante noctem redditus Sutrinis inviolatum integrumque ab omni clade belli, quia non vi captum, sed traditum per condiciones fuerat.

Camillus celebrates a triumph. The remainder of his spoils, after repaying the matrons (cf. v. 50), is dedicated in the form of three golden paterae to Jupiter of the Capitol. Such Veientines, Capeñatians, and Faliscans as had assisted Rome receive citizenship and land. The emigrants are recalled from Veii.
Camillus in urbem triumphantis rediit, trium simul bel-
lorum victor. longe plurimos captivos ex Etruscis ante
currum duxit, quibus sub hasta venundatis tantum aeris
redactum est, ut, pretio pro auro matronis persoluto, ex eo,
quod supererat, tres paterae aureae factae sint, quas cum
titulo nominis Camilli ante Capitolium incensum in Iovis
cella constat ante pedes Iunonis positas fuisse.

Eo anno in civitatem accepti, qui Veientium Cape-
natiumque ac Faliscorum per ea bella transfugerant ad
Romanos, agerque his novis civibus assignatus. revocati
quoque in urbem senatus consulto a Veis, qui aedificandi
Romae pigritia, occupatis ibi vacuis tectis, Veios se con-
tulerant. et primo fremitus fuit aspernantium imperium;
dies deinde praestituta capitalisque poena, qui non remi-
grasset Romam, ex ferocibus universis singulos, metu suo
quemque, obedientes fecit; et Roma cum frequentia
crescere, tum tota simul exsurgere aedificiis, et re publica
impensas adiuyante et aedilibus velut publicum exigentibus
opus et ipsis privatis (admonet enim desiderium usus)
festinantibus ad effectum operis; intraque annum nova urbs
stetit.

B.C. 388. *Military tribunes are elected, six in number. One army is
occupied in ravaging the lands of the Aequians. A second enters
Etruria, where the towns Cortuosa and Contenebra are taken. The
Capitol is strengthened with a massive stone substruction. The 25
tribunes agitate for the distribution of the Pomptine land, but without
success.*

Exitu anni comitia tribunorum militum consulari potes-
tate habita. creati T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q. Servilius
Fidenas quintum, L. Iulius Iulus, L. Aquilius Corvus, L. 30
Luc etius Tricipitinus, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus exercitum alte-
rum in Aequos, non ad bellum (victos namque se fateban-
tur), sed ab odio ad pervastandos fines, ne quid ad nova consilia relinquuerent virium, duxere, alterum. in agrum Tarquiniosem. ibi oppida Etruscorum Cortuosa et Contenebra vi capta. ad Cortuosam nihil certaminis fuit: improviso adorti primo clamore atque impetu cepere; direptum oppidum atque incensum est. Contenebra paucos dies oppugnationem sustinuit, laborque continuus, non die, non nocte remissus, subegit eos. cum in sex partes divisus exercitus Romanus senis horis in orbem succederet proelio, oppidanos eodem integro semper certamini paucitas fessos obiiceret, cessere tandem, locusque invadendi urbem Romanis datus est. publicari praedam tribunis placebat; sed imperium quam consilium segnius fuit; dum cunctantur, iam militum praedae erat, nec nisi per invidiam adimi poterat.

Eodem anno, ne privatis tantum operibus cresceret urbs, Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est, opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum. iam et tribuni plebis, civitate aedificando occupata, contiones suas frequentare legibus agrariis conabantur. ostentabatur in spem Pomptinus ager, tum primum post accisas a Camillo Volscorum res possessionis haud ambiguæ. criminabantur, multo eum infestorem agrum ab nobilitate esse, quam a Volscis fuerit; ab illis enim tantum, quoad vires et arma habuerint, incursiones eo factas; nobiles homines in possessionem agri publici grassari, nec, nisi, antequam omnia praecipient, divisus sit, locuin ibi plebi fore. haud magno opere plebem moverunt, et infrequentem in foro propter aedificandi curam et eodem exhaustam impensis, eoque agri immemorem, ad quem instruendum vires non essent.

B.C. 387. After more than one interregnum military tribunes are elected, six in number. Four new tribes are formed. Renewed agitation about the Pomptine land.
In civitate plena religionum, tunc etiam ab recenti clade superstitionis principibus, ut renovarentur auspicia, res ad interregnum rediit. interreges deinceps M. Manlius Capitolinus, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus, L. Valerius Potitus; hic demum tribunorum militum consulari potestate comitia habuit. L. Papirium, C. Cornelium, C. Sergium, L. Aemilium iterum, L. Menenium, L. Valerium Publicolum tertium creat; iī ex interregno magistratum occepere. eo anno aedes Martis Gallico bello vota dedicata est a T. Quinctio duumviro sacris faciendis. tribus quattuor ex novis civibus additaque, Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, Arnienâs; eaeque viginti quinque tribuum numerum expleverunt. de agro Pomptino ab L. Sicinio tribuno plebis actum ad frequentiorem iam populum mobilioremque, ad cupiditatem agrī, quam fuerat. et de Latinō Hernicoque bello mentio facta in senatu maioris belli cura, quod Etruria in armis erat, dilata est.

B.C. 386. Camillus military tribune, with five colleagues. News arrives that Antium assisted by the Latins is in arms against Rome. Camillus at the desire of his colleagues takes general command of all the forces, which he divides into three divisions, one to act against Antium, the second to watch the Etruscans, Latins, and Hernicans, the third to guard Rome.

Res ad Camillum tribunum militum consulari potestate rediit; collegae additi quinque, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, Q. Servilius Fidenas sextum, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. Horatius Pulvillus, P. Valerius. principio anni aversae curae hominum sunt a bello Etrusco, quod fugientium ex agro Pomptino agmen repente illatum in urbem attulit, Antiates in armis esse Latinorumque populos iuventutem suam misisse ad id bellum, eo abnuentes publicum fuisse consilium, quod non prohibitos tantummodo [voluntarios]
dicerent militare, ubi vellent. desierant iam ulla contemni bella. itaque senatus dis agere gratias, quod Camillus in magistratu esset: dictatorem quippe dicendum eum fuisse, si privatus esset; et collegae fateri, regimen omnium rerum, ubi quid bellici terroris ingruat, in viro uno esse, sibique destinatum [in] animo esse Camillo summittere imperium, nec quicquam de maiestate sua detractum credere, quod maiestati eius viri concessissent. collaudatis ab senatu tribunis et ipse Camillus, confusus animo, gratias egit.

ingens inde ait onus a populo Romano sibi, qui se [dictatore] iam quartum creasset, magnum a senatu talibus de se iudiciis eius ordinis, maximum tam honorato collegarum obsequio iniungi. itaque si quid laboris vigiliarumque adiici possit, certantem secum ipsum annisurum, ut tanto de se consensu civitatis opinionem, quae maxima sit, etiam constantem efficiat. quod ad bellum atque Antiates attinieat, plus ibi minarum quam periculi esse; se tamen, ut nihil timendi, sic nihil contemnendi auctorem esse. circumsederi urbem Romanam ab invidia et odio finitimorum; itaque et ducibus pluribus et exercitibus administrandam rem publicam esse. "te" inquit, "L. Valeri, socium imperii consiliique legiones mecum adversus Antiatem hostem ducere placet; te, Q. Servili, altero exercitu instructo paratoque ad urbem castra habere, intentum, sive Etruria se interim, ut nuper, sive nova haec cura, Latini atque Hernici moverint; pro certo habeo, ita rein gesturum, ut patre, avo teque ipso ac sex tribunatibus dignum est. tertius exercitus ex causariis senioribusque a L. Quinctio scribatur, qui urbi moenibusque praesidio sit. L. Horatius arma, tela, frumentum, quaeque alia belli tempora poscent, provideat. te, Ser. Corneli, praesidem huius publici consilii, custodem religionum, comitiorum, legum, rerum omnium urbanarum, collegae facimus." cunctis in partem munerei
LIVII

...sui benigne pollicentibus operam, Valerius, socius imperii lectus, adiecit, M. Furium sibi pro dictatore seque ei pro magistro equitum futurum; proinde, quam opinionem de unico imperatore, eam spem de bello haberent. se vero bene sperare patres et de bello et de pace universaque re publica erecti gaudio fremunt, nec dictatore unquam opus fore rei publicae, si tales viros in magistratu habeat, tam concordibus iunctos animis, parere atque imperare iuxta paratos laudemque conferentes potius in medium quam ex communi ad se trahentes.

7 Camillus and Valerius set out for Satricum where a large force of Volscians, Latins, and Hernicans is collected. The soldiers being disheartened by news of the overwhelming force of the enemy, Camillus addresses them.

Iustitio indicto diletuque habitu, Furius ac Valerius ad Satricum profecti, quo non Volscorum modo iuventutem Antiates ex nova subole lectam, sed ingentem Latinorum Hernicorumque vim conciverant ex integerrimis diutina pace populis. itaque novus hostis veteri adiunctus commodit animos militis Romani. quod ubi aciem iam instructi Camillo centuriones renunitiaverunt, turbatas militum mentes esse, segniter arma capta, cunctabundosque et restitantes egressos castris esse, quin voces quoque auditas, cum centenis hostibus singulos pugnaturus, et aegre inerem tantam multitudinem, nedom armatam, sustineri posse, in equum insilit et ante signa, obversus in aciem, ordines interseque: "quae tristitia, milites, haec, quae insolita cunctatio est? hostem an me an vos ignoratis? hostis est quid aliud quam perpetua materia virtutis gloriaeque vestrae? vos contra me duce, ut Falerios Veiosque captos et in capta patria Gallorum legiones caesas taceam, modo trigeminae victoriae triplicem triumphum ex his ipsis Volscis
et Aequis et ex Etruria egistis. an me, quod non dictator 5
vobis, sed tribunus signum dedi, non agnoscitis ducem?
neque ego maxima imperia in vos desidero, et vos in me
nihil praeter me ipsum intueri decet; neque enim dictutura
mihi unquam animos fecit, ut ne exsilium quidem ademit.
iidem igitur omnes sumus, et cum eadem omnia in hoc 6
bellum afferamus, quae in priora attulimus, eundem even-
tum belli exspectemus. simul concurreritis, quod quies
didicit ac consuevit, faciet: vos vincetis, illi fugient.” 0

10 An engagement follows in which Camillus wins a decisive victory. The 8
Latin and Hernicans return to their homes. The Volscians retire
into Satricum, but Camillus storms the city.

Dato deinde signo ex equo desilit et proximum signiferum
manu arreptum secum in hostem rapit, “infer, miles” cla-
mitans, “signum.” quod ubi videre ipsum Camillum, iam 2
ad munera corporis senecta invalidum, vadentem in hostes,
procurrunt pariter omnes clamore sublato, “sequere impera-
torem” pro se quiesque clamantes. emissum etiam signum 3
Camilli iussu in hostium aciem ferunt, idquê ut repeteretur,
concitatos antesignanos; ibi primum pulsum Antiatem, 4
terroremque non in primam tantum aciem, sed etiam ad
subsidiarios perlatum. nec vis tantum militum movebat, 5
excitata praesentia ducis, sed quod Volscorum animis nihil
terribilium erat quam ipsius Camilli forte oblata species; ita, 6
quocunque se intulisset, victoriam secum haud dubiam
trahebat. maxime id evidens fuit, cum in laevum cornu
prope iam pulsum arreptio repente equo cum scuto pedestri
advectus conspectu suo proelium restituit, ostentans vincible-
tem ceteram aciem. iam inclinata res erat, sed turba 7
hostium et fugam impediebat, et longa caede conficienda;
multitudo tanta fesso militi erat, cum repente ingentibus
procellis fusus imber certam magis victoriam quam proelium
8 diremit. signo deinde receptui dato, nox insecuta quietis Romanis perfect bellum. Latini namque et Hernici relictis Volscis domos profecti sunt, malis consiliis pares adepti eventus; Volsci ubi se desertos ab eis videre, quorum fiducia rebellaverant, relictis castris moenibus Satrici se inde receptui dato, nox insecuta quietis Romanis perfect bellum. Latini namque et Hernici relictis Volscis domos profecti sunt, malis consiliis pares adepti eventus; Volsci ubi se desertos ab eis videre, quorum fiducia rebellaverant, relictis castris moenibus Satrici se includunt. quos primo Camillus vallo circumdare et aggere atque operibus oppugnare est adortus. quae postquam nulla eruptione impediri videt, minus esse animi ratus in hoste, quam ut in eo tam lentae spei victoriam exspectaret, cohortatus milites, ne tanquam Veios oppugnantes in opere longinquo sese tererent: victoriam in manibus esse, ingenti militum alacritate moenia undique aggressus scalis oppidum cepit. Volsci abiectis armis sese dediderunt.

9 Camillus returns to Rome to urge the Senate to provide means for the destruction of Antium. While he is speaking, ambassadors from Nepete arrive imploring assistance. Camillus and Valerius proceed to Sutrium, recapture the portion of it captured by the Etruscans, and disperse the enemy. They then march to Nepete which is entirely in the hands of the Etruscans.

Ceterum animus ducis rei maiori, Antio, imminebat: id caput Volscorum, eam fuisse originem proximi belli. sed quia nisi magno apparatu, tormentis machinisque, tam valida urbs capi non poterat, relictum ad exercitum collega, Romam est profectus, ut senatum ad excidendum Antium hortaretur. inter sermonem eius (credo rem Antiatem diuturniorem manere dis cordi fuisse) legati ab Nepete ac Sutrio auxilium adversus Etruscos petentes veniunt, brevem occasionem esse ferendi auxilii memorantes. eo vim Camilli ab Antio fortuna avertit. namque cum ea loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque essent, et illis occupandi ea, cum quid novi molirentur, et Romanis recuperandi tuendique cura erat. igitur senatui
cum Camillo agi placuit, ut omissa Antio bellum Etruscum susciperet; legiones urbanae, quibus Quinctius praefuerat, ei decernuntur, quamquam expertum exercitum assue-tumque imperio, qui in Volscis erat, mallet, nihil recusavit; Valerium tantummodo imperii socium depoposcit. Quinctius Horatiusque successores Valerio in Volscos missi.

Profecti ab urbe Sutrium Furius et Valerius partem oppidi iam captam ab Etruscis invenere, ex parte altera, intersaeptis itineribus, aegre oppidanos vim hostium ab se arcentes. cum Romani auxilli adventus, tum Camilli nomen celeberrimum apud hostes sociosque et in praesentia rem inclinatam sustinuit et spatium ad opem ferendam dedit. itaque diviso exercitu Camillus collegam, in eam partem circumductis copiis, quam hostes tenebant, moenia aggregi iubet, non tanta spe, scalis capi urbem posse, quam ut, aversis eo hostibus, et oppidanis iam pugnando fessis laxaretur labor et ipse spatium intrandi sine certamine moenia haberet. quod cum simul utrinque factum esset anicepsque terror Etruscos circumstaret, et moenia summa vi oppugnari et intra moenia esse hostem viderent, porta se, quae una forte non obsidebatur, trepidi uno agmine eiecere. magna caedes fugientium et in urbe et per agros est facta; plures a Furianis intra moenia caesi; Valeriani expeditiores ad persequendos fuere nec ante noctem, quae conspectum ademit, finem caedendi fecere. Sutrio recepto restitutoque sociis, Nepete exercitus ductus, quod per deditionem acceptum iam totum Etrusci habebant.

In answer to a summons to surrender the city, the citizens declare their inability to do so; thereupon the Romans first try to frighten them into surrender, and, failing in this, take the city by storm. The citizens who have been guilty of betraying the city to the Etruscans, and all the Etruscans, are put to death. The Latins and Hernicans
in reply to a demand to account for their late conduct disclaim connexion with their citizens, who served with the Volscians, and explain that fear of the Volscians has been their only reason for not supplying their contingent of soldiers.

Videbatur plus in ea urbe recipienda laboris fōre, non eo solum, quod tota hostium erat, sed etiam quod parte Nepe- sinionum prodente civitatem facta erat deditio; mitti tamen ad principes eorum placuit, ut secernerent se ab Etruscis fidemque, quam implorassent ab Romanis, ipsi praestarent. unde cum responsum allatum esset, nihil suae potestatis esse, Etruscos moenia custodiasque portarum tenere, primo populationibus agri terror est oppidanis admotus; deinde, postquam deditio isquam societatis fides sanctior erat, fascibus sarmentorum ex agro collatis, ductus ad moenia exercitus, completisque fossis scalae admotae, et clamore primo impetuque oppidum capitur. Nepesinis inde edictum, ut arma ponant, parcique iussum inermi; Etrusci pariter armati atque inermes caesi. Nepesinorum quoque auctores deditio isque securi percussi; innoxiae multitudini redditae res, oppidumque cum praesidio relicitum. ita duabus sociis urbibus ex hoste receptis, victorem exercitum tribuni cum magna gloria Romam reduxerunt.

Eodem anno ab Latinis Hernicisque res repetitae quacsitumque, cur per eos annos militem ex instituto non dedissent. responsum frequenti utriusque gentis concilio est, nec culpam in eo publicam nec consilium fuisset, quod suaie iuventutis aliqui apud Volscos militaverint; eos tamen ipsos pravi consili poenam habere, nec quemquam ex iis reducem esse; militis autem non dati causam terrorem assiduum a Volscis fuisset, quam pestem adhaerentem lateri suo tot super alia aliis bellis exhauriri nequisset. Quae relata patribus magis tempus quam causam non visa belli habere.

Insequenti anno, A. Manlio, P. Cornelio, T. et L. Quinctiiis Capitolinis, L. Papirio Cursoe iterum, C. Sergio iterum tribunis consulari potestate, grave bellum foris, gravior domi seditio exorta, bellum a Volscis, adiuncta Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, seditio, unde minime timeri potuit, a patriciae gentis viro et inclitae famae, M. Manlio Capitolino. qui nimius animi cum alios principes sperneret, uni invideret eximio simul honoribus atque virtutibus, M. Furio, aegre ferebat, solum eum in magistratibus, solum apud exercitus [esse] tantum iam eminere, ut iisdem auspiciis creatos non pro collegis, sed pro ministris habeat, cum interim, si quis vere aestimare velit, a M. Furio recuperari patria ex obsidione hostium non potuerit, nisi a se prius Capitolium atque arx servata esset, et ille inter aurum accipiendum et in spem pacis solutis animis Gallos aggressus sit, ipse armatos capientesque arcem depulerit, illius gloriae pars virilis apud omnes milites sit, qui simul vicerint, suae victoriae neminem omnium mortalium socium esse. his opinionibus inflato animo, ad hoc vitio quoque ingenii vehemens et impotens, postquam inter patres non, quantum aequum censebat, excellere suas opes animadvertit, primus omnium ex patribus popularis factus cum plebeiiis magistratibus consilia communicare; criminando patres, alliciendo ad se plebem, iam aura, non consilio feri famaeque magnae malle quam bonae esse. et non contentus agrariis legibus, quae materia semper tribunis plebi seditionum fuisset, fidem moliri coepit: acriores quippe aeris alieni stimulos esse, qui non egestatem modo atque ignominiam minentur, sed nervo ac vinculis corpus liberum territent. et erat aeris alieni magna
vis re damnosissima etiam divitibus, aedificando, contracta. bellum itaque Volscum, grave per se, oneratum Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, in speciem causae iactatum, ut maior potestas quae reretur; sed nova consilia Manlii magis compulere senatum ad dictatorem creandum. creatus 5 A. Cornelius Cossus magistrum equitum dixit T. Quinctium Capitolinum.

12 The dictator postponing the home contest marches into the Pomptine territory to meet the Volscians. The question how the Volscians procured the vast number of men required for their wars discussed. The address of Cossus to his soldiers before the battle.

Dictator etsi maiorem dimicationem propositam domi quam foris cernebat, tamen, seu quia celeritate ad bellum opus erat, seu victoria triumphoque dicturae ipsi vires se additurum ratus, dilectu habito in agrum Pomptinum, quo 15 a Volscis exercitum inductum audierat, pergit. non dubito, praeter satietatem, tot iam libris assidua bella cum Volscis gesta legentibus illud quoque succursurum, quod mihi per-censenti propiores temporibus harum rerum auctores miraculo fuit, unde toties victis Volscis et Aequis suffecerint 20 3 milites. quod cum ab antiquis tacitum praetermissum sit, cuius tandem ego rei praeter opinionem, quae sua cuique coniectanti esse potest, auctor sim? simile veri est, aut intervallis bellorum, sicut nunc in dilectibus fit Romanis, alia atque alia subole iuniorum ad bella instauranda toties 25 usos esse, aut non ex iisdem semper populis exercitus scriptos, quanquam eadem semper gens bellum intulerit, 5 aut innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quae nunc, vix seminario exiguo militum relieto, 6 servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant. ingens certe, 30 quod inter omnes auctores conveniat, quanquam nuper Camilli ductu atque auspicio accisae res erant, Volscorum
exercitus fuit ad hoc Latini Hernicique accesserant et Circeiensium quidam et coloni etiam a Velitris Romani. Dictator, castris eo die positis, postero quem auspicato prodisset hostias et caesa pacem deum adorasset, laetus ad milites iam arma ad propositum pugnae signum, sicut edictum erat, luce prima capientes processit. “nostra victoria est, milites” inquit, “si quid di vatesque eorum in futurum vident. itaque, ut decet certae spei plenos et cum imparibus manus conserturos, pilis ante pedes positis, gladiis tantum dextras armemus. ne procurri quidem ab acie velim, sed obnixos vos stabilis gradu impetum hostium excipere. ubi illi vana iniecerint missilia et effusi stantibus vobis se intulerint, tum micent gladii, et veniat in mentem unicique, deos esse, qui Romanum adiuent, deos, qui secundis avibus in proelium miserint. tu, T. Quincti, equitem intentus ad primum initium moti certaminis tene at ubi haerere iam aciem collato pede videris, tum terrorem equestrem occupatis alio labore infer, invectusque ordines pugnantium dissipa.” sic eques, sic pedes, ut praeceperat, pugnant; nec dux legiones nec fortuna fefellit ducem.

The enemy trusting in their numbers are easily defeated. The pursuit lasts till nightfall. A very large number of prisoners are taken and vast spoil. From the number of Latin and Hernian prisoners taken, and the social position of some of them, it is clearly proved that those two peoples have publicly assisted the enemy.

Multitudo hostium, nulli rei praeterquam numero freta et oculis utramque metiens aciem, temere proelium iniit, temere omisis; clamore tantum missilibusque telis et primo pugnae impetu ferox, gladios et collatum pedem et vultum hostis ardore animi micantem ferre non potuit. impulsa frons prima et trepidatio subsidiis illata; et suum terrorem intulit eques; rupti inde multis locis ordines motaque
omnia, et fluctuanti similis acies erat. dein postquam cadentibus primis iam ad se quies perverturam caedem
4 cernebat, terga vertunt. instare Romanus; et donec armati
confertique abibant, peditum labor in persequendo fuit;
postquam iactari arma passim fugaque per agros spargi
aciem hostium animadversum est, tum equitum turmae
emissae, dato signo, ne in singulorum morando caede
5 spatium ad evadendum interim multitudini darent: satis
esse missilibus ac terrore impediri cursum obequitandoque
agmen teneri, dum assequi pedes et iusta caede conficere
6 hostem posset. fugae sequendique non ante noctem finis
fuit. capta quoque ac direpta eodem die castra Volscorum,
praedaque omnis praeter libera corpora militi concessa est.
7 pars maxima captivorum ex Latinis atque Hernicis fuit, nec
omnium de plebe, ut credi posset mercede militasse, sed
principes quidam iuventutis inventi, manifesta fides, publica
8 ope Volscos hostes adiutos. Circeiensium quoque quidam
cogniti et coloni a Velitris; Romamque omnes missi
percontantibus primoribus patrum eadem, quae dictatori,
dejectionem sui quisque populi, haud perplexe indicavere.

14 Continued agitations at Rome. Manlius releases a centurion, condemned
to servitude for debt. Violent emotion of the people roused by the centu-
rition's account of his services and sufferings. Manlius sells his estate
for the benefit of the people. He attacks the patricians accusing them
of appropriating the gold recovered from the Gauls.

Dictator exercitum in stativis tenebat, minime dubius,
bellum cum iis populis patres iussuros, cum maior domi
exorta moles coegit acciri Romam eum, gliscente in dies
seditione, quam solito magis metuendum auctor faciebat.
2 non enim iam orationes modo M. Manlii, sed facta popularia
in speciem, tumultuosa eadem, qua mente fierent, intuenti
3 erant. centurionem, nobilem militaribus factis, iudicatum
pecuniae cum duci vidisset, medio foro cum caterva sua accruvit et manum iniecit, vociferatusque de superbia patrum ac crudelitate feneratorum et miseriis plebis, virtutibus eius viri fortunaque, "tum vero ego" inquit "nequicquam hac dextra Capitolium arcemque servaverim, si civem commilitonemque meum, tanquam Gallis victoribus captum, in servitutem ac vincla duci videam." inde rem creditori palam populo solvit, libraque et aere liberatum emittit, deos et homines obtestantem, ut M. Manlio, liberatori suo, parenti plebis Romanae, gratiam referant. acceptus ex templo in tumultuosam turbam et ipse tumultum augebat, cicatrices acceptas Veienti, Gallico aliisque deinæps bellis ostentans: se militantem, se restituentem eversos penates, multiplici iam sorte exsoluta, mergentibus semper sortem usuris, obratum fenore esse; videre lucem, forum, civium ora M. Manlii opera; omnia parentium beneficia ab illo se habere; illi deovere corporis vitaeque ac sanguinis quod supersit; quodcunque sibi cum patria, penatibus publicis ac privatis iuris fuerit, id cum uno homine esse. his vocibus instincta plebes cum iam unius hominis esset, addita alia commodioris ad omnia turbanda consilii res. fundum in Veienti, caput patrimonii, subiecit praeconi, "ne quem vestrum" inquit, "Quirites, donec quicquam in re mea supererit, iudicatum addicteve duci patiar." id vero ita accendit animos, ut per omne fas ac nefas secuturi vindicem libertatis viderentur. ad hoc domi, contionantis in modum, sermones pleni criminum in patres; inter quos, [cum] omissi discriminate, vera an vana iaceret, thesauros Gallici auri occultari a patribus iecit, nec iam possidendis publicis agris contentos esse, nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant; ea res si palam fiat, exsolvì plebem aere alieno posse. quae ubi obiecta spes est, enimvero indignum facinus videri, cum conferendum ad redimendum civitatem a Gallis aurum
The Dictator is recalled to Rome. He summons Manlius before him, and orders him on pain of arrest to make good his accusations and his promises. The reply of Manlius.

Ita suspensis rebus, dictator accitus ab exercitu in urbem venit. postero die senatu habito, cum satis periclitatus voluntates hominum discedere senatum ab se vetuisset, stipatus ea multitudine, sella in comitio posita, viatorem ad M. Manlium misit; qui dictatoris iussu vocatus, cum signum suis dedisset, adesse certamen, agmine ingenti ad tribunal venit. hinc senatus, hinc plebs, suum quisque intuentes ducem, velut in acie constiterant. tum dictator, silentio facto, “utinam” inquit “mihi patribusque Romanis ita de ceteris rebus cum plebe conveniat, quemadmodum, quod ad te attinet eamque rem, quam de te sum quaesituras, conventurum satis confido. spem factam a te civitati video, fide incolumi ex thesauris Gallicis, quos primores patrum occultent, creditum solvi posse. cui ego rei tantum abest ut impedimento sim, ut contra te, M. Manli, adhorter, liberes senore plebem Romanam et istos incubantes publicis thesauris ex praeda clandestina evolvas. quod nisi facis, sive ut et ipse in parte praedae sis, sive quia vanum indicium est, in vincla te duci iubebo nec diutius patiar, a te multitudinem fallaci spe concitari.” ad ea Manlius nec se fefellisse ait, non adversus Volscos, toties hostes, quoties patribus expediat, nec adversus Latinos Hernicosque, quos falsis criminiibus in arma agant, sed adversus se ac plebem
Romanam dictatorem creatum esse; iam omissō bello, 8 quod simulatum sit, in se impetum fieri; iam dictatorem profiteri patrocinium feneratorum adversus plebem; iam sibi ex favore multitūdinis crimen et perniciem quaerī. "offendit" inquit "te, A. Corneli, vosque, patres conscripti, 9 circumfusa turba lateri meo? quin eam diducitis a me singuli vestris beneficiis, intercedendo, eximendo de nervo cives vestros, prohibendo iūdicatos addīctosque duci, ex eo, quod aslīt opibus vestris, sustinendo necessitātes aliorum? sed quid ego vos, de vestro impendatis, horōr? sortem 10 reliquam ferte; de capite deducite, quod usūris pernumera-tum est; iam nihilo mea turba quam Ļullius conspectior erit. at enim quid ita solus ego civium curam ago? nihilo 11 magis, quod respondeam, habeo, quam si quaeras, quid ita solus Capitolium arcemque servaverim. et tum universis, quam potui, opem tuli et nunc singulis seram. nam quod 12 ad thesauros Gallicos attinet, rem suapte naturā facilem difficilem interrogatio facit. cur enim quaeritis, quod scitis? cur, quod in sinu vestro est, excuti iūbetis potius, quam ponatis, nisi aliqua fraus subest? quo magis argui præ- 13 stigias iūbetis vestras, eo plus vereor, ne abstuleritis observ-vantibus etiam oculos. itaque non ego vos, ut indicem praedas vestras, sed vos id cogendi estis, ut in medium proferatī."  

25 Manlius is arrested and thrown into prison. The people though indignant dare not resist the authority of the dictator. Many however put on mourning, and show other signs of grief. The general indignation is stimulated by the dictator’s triumph. To quiet the people a colony is despatched to Satricium, but it makes matters rather worse than better.  

30 The dictator resigns.

Cum mittere ambages dictator iūberet et aut peragere verum indicium cogeret aut fateri facinus insimulati falso
crimine senatus oblataeque vani furti invidiae, negantem arbitrio inimicorum se locuturum in vincla duci iussit.

arreptus a viatore "Iuppiter" inquit "optime maxime Iunoque regina ac Minerva ceterique di deaeque, qui Capitolium arcemque incolitis, sicine vestrum militem ac praesidem sinitis vexari ab inimicis? haec dextra, qua Gallos fudi a delubris vestris, iam in vinclis et catenis erit?"

nullius nec oculi nec aures indignitatem ferebant; sed invicta sibi quaedam patientissima iusti imperii civitas fecerat, nec adversus dictatoriam vim aut tribuni plebis aut ipsa plebs attollere oculos aut hiscere audebant. coniecto in carcerem Manlio, satis constat magnam partem plebis vestem mutasse, multos mortales capillum ac barbam promississe, obversatamque vestibulo carceris maestam tur-bam. dictator de Volscis triumphavit, invidiaeque magis triumphus quam gloriae fuit; quippe domi, non militiae partum eum actumque de cive, non de hoste fremebant; unum defuisset tantum superbiae, quod non M. Manlius ante currum sit ductus. iamque haud procul seditione res erat; cuius leniendae causa, postulante nullo, largitor voluntarius repente senatus factus Satricum coloniam duo millia civium Romanorum deduci iussit. bina iugera et semisses agri assignati; quod cum et parvum et paucis datum et mercedem esse prodendi M. Manlii interpreta-

8 rentur, remedio irritatur seditio. et iam magis insignis sordibus et facie reorum turba Manliana erat, amotusque post triumphum abdicatione dictatae terror et linguam et animos liberaverat hominum.

17 Reproaches hurled against the people (Livy does not say by whom) for deserting their champions. Manlius is released by the Senate only in time to prevent his liberation by force. Ambassadors from the Hernicans, from Circeii and Velitrae demanding the surrender of
their prisoners, in order that they may deal with their offence before their own tribunals, receive a stern reply, warning them to leave the city at once.

Audiebantur itaque propalam voces exprobrantium multitudini, quod defensores suos semper in praecipitum locum favore tollat, deinde in ipso discrimine periculi destituat: sic Sp. Cassium in agros plebem vocantem, sic Sp. Maelium ab ore civium famem suis impensis propulsantem oppressos; sic M. Manlium, mersam et obrutam fenore partem civitatis in libertatem ac lucem extrahentem, proditum inimicis. saginare plebem [populares] suos, ut iugulentur. hocine patiendum fuisse, si ad nutum dictatoris non responderit vir consularis? fingerent, mentitum ante, atque ideo non habuisse, quod tum responderet; cui servo unquam mendacii poenam vincla fuisse? non obversatam esse memoriam noctis illius, quae paene ultima atque aeterna nomin Romano fuerit? non speciem agminis Gallorum per Tarpeiam rupem scandentis? non ipsius M. Manlii, qualem eum armatum, plenum sudoris ac sanguinis, ipso paene Iove erepto ex hostium manibus, vidissent? selibrisne farris gratiam servatori patriae relatam? et quem prope caelestem, cognomine certe Capitolino Iowi parem fecerint, eum pati vinctum in carcere, in tenebris obnoxiam carnisicis arbitrio ducere animam? adeo in uno omnibus satis auxiliis fuisse, nullam opem in tam multis uni esse? iam ne nocte quidem turba ex eo loco dilabebatur, re- fracturosque carcerem minabuntur, cum remisso, quod erepturi erant, ex senatus consulta Manlius vincis liberatuer; quo facto non seditio finita, sed dux seditioni datus est.

Per eosdem dies Latinis et Hernicis, simul colonis Circeiensibus et a Velitris, purgantibus se Volsci crimine belli captivosque repetentibus, ut suis legibus in eos anim-
adverterent, tristia responsa reddita, tristiora colonis, quod cives Romani patriae oppugnandae nefanda consilia inissent. non negatum itaque tantum de captivis, sed, in quo ab sociis tamen temperaverant, denuntiatum senatus verbis, facessere ex urbe ab ore atque oculis populi Romani, ne nihil eos legationis ius, externo, non civi comparatum, tegeret.

18 B.C. 384. Military tribunes elected, six in number. With peace abroad the struggle at home gains strength. Manlius inviting the plebs to his house urges them to use their power as the army of the State to free themselves from the tyranny of the patricians. For the first time now Manlius is accused of aiming at royalty.

Recrudescente Manliana seditione, sub exitum anni comitia habita, creatique tribuni militum consulari potestate Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis iterum, P. Valerius Potitus iterum, M. Furius Camillus quintum, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus iterum, C. Papirius Crassus, T. Quinctius Cincinnatus iterum. cuius principio anni et patribus et plebi peropportune externa pax data, plebi, quod non avocata dilectu spem cepit, dum tam potentem haberet ducem, fenoris expugnandi, patribus, ne quo externo terrore avocarentur animi ab sanandis domesticis malis.igitur cum pars utraque acrior aliquanto coorta esset, iam propinquum certamen aderat. et Manlius, advocata domum plebe, cum principibus novandarum rerum interdiu noctuque consilia agitat, plenior aliquanto animorum irarumque, quam antea fuerat. iram accenderat ignominia recens in animo ad contumeliam inexperto; spiritus dabat, quod nec ausus esset idem in se dictator, quod in Sp. Maelio Cincinnatus Quinctius fecisset, et vinculum suorum invidiam non dictator modo abdicando dictaturam fugisset, sed ne senatus quidem sustinere potuisset. his simul inflatus exacerbatus-
que iam per se accensos incitabat plebis animos. "quousque tandem ignorabitis vires vestras, quas natura ne beluas quidem ignorare voluit? numerate saltem, quot ipsi sitis, quot adversarios habeatis. si singuli singulos aggressuri essetis, tamen acius crederem vos pro libertate quam illos pro dominatione certaturos; quotenim clientes circa singulos fuistis patronos, tot nunc adversus unum hostem eritis. ostendite modo bellum; pacem habebitis. videant vos paratos ad vim; ius ipsi remittent. audendum est aliquid universis, aut omnia singulis patienda. quousque me circumspectabitis? ego quidem nulli vestrum deero; ne fortuna mea desit, videte. ipse vindex vester, ubi visum inimicis est, nullus repente fui, et vidistis in vincla duci universum, qui a singulis vobis vincla depuleram. quid sperem, si plus in me audeant inimici? an exitum Cassii Maeliique exspectem? bene facitis, quod abominamini. di prohibebunt haec; sed nunquam propter me de caelo descendent; vobis dent mentem oportet, ut prohibeatis, sicut mihi dederunt armato togatoque, ut vos a barbaris hostibus, a superbis defenderem civibus. tam parvus animus tanti populi est, ut semper vobis auxilium adversus inimicos sit, nec ullum, nisi quatenus imperari vobis sinatis, certamen adversus patres noritis? nec hoc natura insitum vobis est, sed usu possidemini. cur enim adversus externos tantum animorum geritis, ut imperare illis aquum censeatis? quia consuestis cum eis pro imperio certare, adversus hos tentare magis quam tueri libertatem. tamen, qualescumque duces habuistis, qualescumque ipsi fuistis, omnia adhuc, quantacunque petistis, obtinuistis seu vi seu fortuna vestra. tempus est etiam maior conari. experimini modo et vestram felicitatem et me, ut spero, feliciter expersum; minore negotio, qui imperet patribus imponetis quam, qui resisterent imperantibus, improsuistis. solo aquandae sunt
dictatae consulatusque, ut caput attollere Romana plebes possit. proinde adeste; prohibete ius de pecuniis dici; ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura mea et fides nomen induit; vos si quo insigni magis imperii honorisve nomine vestrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini potentiore ad obtinenda ea, quae vultis.” inde de regno agendi ortum initium dicitur; sed nec cum quibus nec quem ad finem consilia pervenerint, satis planum traditur.

The Senate pass a decree ordering the magistrates to protect the commonwealth from the fatal designs of M. Manlius. The military tribunes, assisted by the tribunes of the plebs, who are convinced of Manlius’ criminal ambition, determine to impeach him.

At in parte altera senatus de secessione in domum privatam plebis, forte etiam in arce positam, et imminenti mole libertati agitat. magna pars vociferantur, Servilio Ahala opus esse, qui non in vincla duci iubendo irritet publicum hostem, sed unius iactura civis finiat intestinum bellum. decurritur ad leniorem verbis sententiam, vim tamen eandem habentem, ut videant magistralus, ne quid ex perniciosis consiliis M. Manlii res publica detrimenti capiat. tum tribuni consulari potestate tribunique plebi (nam et ei, quia eundem et suae potestatis, quem libertatis omnium, finem cernebant, patrum auctoritati se dediderant) li tum omnes, quid opus facto sit, consultant. cum praeter vim et caedem nihil cuiquam occurreret, eam autem ingentis dimicationis fore appareret, tum M. Menenius et Q. Publilius tribuni plebis: “quid patrum et plebis certamen facimus, quod civitatis esse adversus unum pestiferum civem debet? quid cum plebe aggradimur eum, quem per ipsam plebem tutius aggredi est, ut suis ipse oneratus viribus ruat? diem dicere ei nobis in animo est. nihil minus populare quam regnum est. simul multitudo
illa non secum certari viderint et ex advocatis iudices facti erunt et accusatores de plebe, patricium reum intuebuntur et regni crimen in medio, nulli magis quam libertati favebunt suae."

5 Manlius is put on his trial. He is deserted by all his friends and relations. His moving appeal to the people, which could not counterbalance the prejudice against him. However, in the Campus Martius in full sight of the Capitol it is clear that the citizens cannot bring themselves to condemn him. The trial is therefore adjourned to another place and time. He is condemned and executed. A pestilence follows, ascribed by some to the anger of the gods at the execution of the preserver of the Capitoline temple.

Approbantibus cunctis diem Manlio dicunt. quod ubi est factum, primo commota plebs est, utique postquam sordidatum reum viderunt nec cum eo non modo patrum quemquam, sed ne cognatos quidem aut affines, postremo ne fratres quidem A. et T. Manlios, quod ad eum diem nunquam usu venisset, ut in tanto discrimine non et proximi vestem mutarent: App. Claudio in vincla ducto C. Claudium inimicum Claudiamque omnem gentem sordidam suisse; consensu opprimi popularem virum, quod primus a patribus ad plebem defecisset. cum dies venit, quae praeter coetus multitudinis seditiosasque voces et largitionem et fallax indicium pertinentia proprie ad regni crimen ab accusatoribus obiecta sint reo, apud neminem auctorem invenio; nec dubito, haud parva suisse, cum damnumi mora plebi non in causa, sed in loco fuerit. illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines, quae et quanta decora foeda cupiditas regni non ingrata solum, sed invisa etiam reddiderit: homines prope quadringentos produxisse dicitur, quibus sine fenore expensas pecunias tulisset, quorum bona venire, quos duci addictos prohibuisset; ad hace decora quoque belli non commemorasse tantum, sed
protulisse etiam conspicienda, spolia hostium caesorum ad triginta, dona imperatorum ad quadraginta, in quibus insignes duas murales coronas, civicas octo; ad hoc servatos ex hostibus cives [produxit], inter quos C. Servilium magistrum equitum absentem nominatim; et cum ea quoque, quae bello gesta essent, pro fastigio rerum oratione etiam magnifica, facta dictis aequando, memorasset, nudasse pectus insigne cicatricibus bello acceptis et identidem Capitolium spectans Iovem deosque alios devocasse ad auxilium fortunarum suarum precatusque esse, ut, quam mentem sibi Capitolinam arcem protegenti ad salutem populi Romani dedissent, eam populo Romano in suo discrimine darent, et orasse singulos universosque, ut Capitolium atque arcem intuentes, ut ad deos immortales versi de se iudicarent. in campo Martio cum centuriatim populus citaretur, et reus ad Capitolium manus tendens ab hominibus ad deos preces avertisset, apparuit tribunis, nisi oculos quoque hominum liberassent tanti memoria decoris, nunquam fore in praeoccupatis beneficio animis vero 11 crimini locum. ita prodicta die, in Petelinum lucum extra portam Flumentanam, unde conspectus in Capitolium non esset, concilium populi indictum est. ibi crimen valuit, et obstinatis animis triste iudicium invisumque etiam iudicibus factum. sunt, qui per duumviro, qui de perdueillione anquirerent, creatos auctores sint damnatum. tribuni de saxo Tarpeio deiecerunt, locusque idem in uno homine et eximiae gloriae monumentum et poenae ultimae fuit. adiectae mortuo notae sunt, publica una, quod, cum domus eius fuisset, ubi nunc aedes atque officina Monetae est, latum ad populum est, ne quis patricius in arce aut Capitolio habitaret, gentilicia altera, quod gentis Manliae decreto cautum est, ne quis deinde M. Manlius vocaretur, hunc exitum habuit vir, nisi in libera civitate natus esset,
memorabilis. populum brevi, postquam periculum ab eo nullum erat, per se ipsas recordantem virtutes desiderium eius tenuit. pestilentia etiam brevi consecuta, nullis occurrentibus tantae cladis causis, ex Manliano supplicio magnae parti videri orta: violatum Capitolium esse sanguine ser- vatoris, nec dis cordi fuisse, poenam eius oblatam prope oculis sui, a quo sua templ a erepta e manibus hostium essent.

B.C. 383. The burden of foreign war is aggravated by the defection of the Lanuvini. The senate, in order to conciliate the plebs and induce them to consent to war with the Lanuvini, appoint commissioners to distribute the Pontine land, and to plant a colony at Nepete. Military operations are delayed by the pestilence. Rumoured defection of Praeneste.

Pestilentiam inopia frugum et vulgata utriusque mali famam anno insequente multiplex bellum excepit, L. Valerio quartum, A. Manlio tertium, Ser. Sulpicio tertium, L. Lucretio, L. Aemilio tertium, M. Trebonio tribunis militum consulari potestate. hostes novi, praeter Volscos, velut sorte quadam prope in aeternum exercendo Romano militi datos, Circeiosque et Velitras colonias, iam diu molientes defectionem, et suspectum Latium, Lanuvini etiam, quae fidelissima urbs fuerat, subito exorti. id patres rati contemptu accidere, quod Veliternis civibus suis tam diu impunita defectio esset, decreverunt, ut primo quoque tempore ad populum ferretur de bello eis indicendo. ad quam militiam quo paratior plebes esset, quinqueviros Pontino agro dividendo et triumviros Nepete coloniae deducendae creaverunt. tum, ut bellum iuherent, latum ad populum est, et nequicquam dissuadentibus tribunis plebis omnes tribus bellum iuserunt. apparatum eo anno bellum est, exercitus propter pestilentiam non eductus; eaque
cunctatio colonis spatum dederat deprecandi senatum; et magna hominum pars eo, ut legatio supplex Romam mitteretur, inclinabat, ni privato, ut fit, periculo publicum implicitum esset auctoresque defectionis ab Romanis metu, ne soli crimini subiecti piacula irae Romanorum dedere tur, avertissent colonias a consiliis pacis. magna hominum pars, ut legatio supplex Romam mittetur, inclinabat, ni privato, ut fit, periculo publicum implicitum esset auctoresque defectionis ab Romanis metu, ne soli crimini subiecti piacula irae Romanorum dederentur, neque in senatu solum per eos legatio impedita est, sed magna pars plebis incitata, ut praedatum in agrum Romanum exirent. haec nova iniuria exturbavit omnem spem pacis. de Praenestinorum quoque defectione eo anno primum fama exorta; arguentibusque eos Tusculanis et Gabinis et Lavicanis, quorum in fines incursatum erat, ita placide ab senatu responsum est, ut minus credi de criminibus, quia nollent ea vera esse, appareret.

22 B.C. 382. Two of the six military tribunes of this year lead an army against Velitrae. The Veliterni assisted by a force of Praenestines outnumbering their own are defeated. War is declared against the Praenestines, who in the following year in conjunction with the Volscians capture Satricum, and cruelly ill-treat the inhabitants.

Insequenti anno Sp. et L. Papirii novi tribuni militum consulari potestate Velitras legiones duxere, quattuor collegis, Ser. Corneli Maluginensi tertium, Q. Servilio, C. Sulpicio, L. Aemilio quartum [tribunis], ad prae sidium urbis et si qui ex Etruria novi motus nuntiarentur (omnia enim inde suspecta erant), relictis. Ad Velitras adversus maiora paene auxilia Praenestinorum quam ipsam colonorum multitudinem secundo proelio pugnatum est ita, ut propinquitas urbis hosti et causa maturioris fugae et unum ex fuga receptaculum esset. oppidi oppugnatione tribuni abstinuere, quia et anceps erat nec in perniciem coloniae pugnandum censebant. litterae Romam ad senatum cum victoriae nuntiis aciores in Praenestinum quam in Veliter-
num hostem missae. itaque ex senatus consulto populiique iussu bellum Praenestinis indictum; qui coniuncti Volscis anno insequente Satricum, coloniam populi Romani, pertinaciter a colonis defensam, vi expugnarunt foedeque in captis exercuere victoriam.

B.C. 381. Camillus, elected military tribune for the sixth time, is appointed to the command of the Volscian war, and leads his army against Satricum. The enemy are prepared for them, and anxious to fight. L. Furius, colleague of Camillus, in spite of the latter's advice, determines to give battle at once.

Eam rem aegre passi Romani M. Furium Camillum sextum tribunum militum creavere. additi collegae A. et L. Postumii Regillenses ac L. Furius cum L. Lucretio et M. Fabio Ambusto. Volscum bellum M. Furio extra ordinem decretum; adiutor ex tribunis sorte L. Furius datur, non tam e re publica, quam ut collegae materia ad omnem laudem esset, et publice, quod rem temeritate eius prolapsam restituit, et privatim, quod ex errore gratiam potius eius sibi quam suam gloriam petiit. exactae iam aetatis Camillus erat, comitiisque iurare parato in verba excusandae valetudini solita consensus populi restiterat; sed vegetum ingenium in vivido pectore vigebat, virebatque integris sensibus, et civiles iam res haud magnopere obeuntem bella excitabant. quattuor legionibus quaternum millium scriptis, exercitu indicito ad portam Esquilinam in posteram diem, ad Satricum profectus. ibi eum expugnatores coloniae haudquaquam perculsi, fidentes militum numero, quo aliquantum praestabant, opposierunt. postquam appropinquare Romanos senserunt, extemplo in aciem procedunt, nihil dilaturi, quin periculum summae rerum facerent: ita paucitati hostium nihil artes imperatoris unici, quibus solis confiderent, profuturas esse. idem ardor
et in Romano exercitu erat et in altero duce, nec praesentis
dimicationis fortunam ulla res praeterquam unius viri
consilium atque imperium morabatur, qui occasionem
2 iuvandarum ratione virium trahendo bello quaerebat. X eo
magis hostis instare, nec iam pro castris tantum suis 5
explicare aciem, sed procedere in medium campi et vallo
prope hostium signa inferendo superbam fiduciam virium
3 ostentare. id aegre patiebatur Romanus miles, multo
aegrius alter ex tribunis militum, L. Furius, ferox cum actate
et ingenio, tum multitudinis ex incertissimo sumentis animos
4 spe inflatus. hic per se iam milites incitatos insuper
instigabat elevando, qua una poterat, aetate auctoritatem
collegae, iuvenibus bella data dictitans, et cum corporibus
5 vigere et deflorescere animos; cunctatorem ex acerrimo
bellatore factum, et, qui adveniens castra urbésque primo
impetu rapere sit solitus, eum residem intra vallum tempus
terere, quid accessurum suis decessurumve hostium viribus
6 sperantem? quam occasionem, quod tempus, quem insidiis
7 instruendis locum? frigere ac torpere senis consilia. sed
Camillo cum vitae satis, tum gloriae esse; quid attinere
8 deceat, pati consenescere vires? his sermonibus tota in se
averterat castra; et cum omnibus locis posceretur pugna,
“sustinere,” inquit, “M. Furi, non possimus impetum
militum, et hostis, cuius animos cunctando auximus, iam
9 minime toleranda superbia insultat; cede unus omnibus et
patere te vinci consilio, ut maturius bello vincas.” ad ea
Camillus, quae bella suo unius auspicio gesta ad eam diem
essent, negare in eis neque se neque populum Romanum
aut consilii sui aut fortunae paenituisse; nunc scire se, 30
collegam habere iure imperioque parem, vigore aetatis
10 praestantem; itaque se, quod ad exercitum attineat, regere
consuesse, non regi; collegae imperium se non posse
impedire. dis bene iuvantibus ageret, quod e re publica
duceret; aetati suae se veniam eam petere, ne in prima acie
esset; quae senis munia in bello sint, iis se non defuturum.
id a dis immortalibus precari, ne qui casus suum consilium
laudabile efficiat. nec ab hominibus salutaris sententia nec
a dis tam piae preces auditae sunt. primam aciem auctor
pugnae instruit, subsidia Camillus firmat validamque
stationem pro castris opponit; ipse edito loco spectator
intentus in eventum alieni consilii constitit.

10 The Romans are outmanoeuvred, and retreat in disorder. Camillus
rallies them, and gains a splendid victory.

Simul primo concursu concrepuere arma, hostis dolo,
non metu pedem rettulit. lenis ab tergo clivus erat inter
aciem et castra; et, quod multitudo suppetitabat, aliquot
validas cohortes in castris armatas instructasque reliquerant,
quae inter commissum iam certamen, ubi vallo appropin-
quasset hostis, erumperent. Romanus cedentem hostem
effuse sequendo in locum iniquum pertractus opportunus
huic eruptioni fuit; versus itaque in victorem terror et
novo hoste et supina valle Romanam inclinavit aciem.

instant Volsci recentes, qui e castris impetum fecerant; 4
integrint et illi pugnam, qui simulata cesserant fuga. iam
non recipiebat se Romanus miles, sed immemor recentis
ferociae veterisque decoris terga passim dabat atque effuso
cursu castra repetebat, cum Camillus, subiectus ab circum-
stantibus in equum et raptim subsidiiis oppositis, “haec
est” inquit, “milites, pugna, quam poposcistis? quis homo,
quis deus est, quem accusare possitis? vestra illa temeritas,
vestra ignavia haec est. securi alium ducem sequimini
nunc Camillum et, quod ductu meo soletis, vincite. quid
vallum et castra spectatis? neminem vestrum illa nisi
victorem receptura sunt.” pudor primo tenuit effusos; 7
inde, ut circumagi signa obvertique aciem viderunt in hostem, et dux, praeterquam quod tot insignis triumphis, etiam aetate venerabilis inter prima signa, ubi plurimus labor periculumque erat, se offerebat, increpare singuli se quisque et alios, et adhortatio in vicem totam alacri clamore pervasi aciem. neque alter tribunus rei defuit, sed missus a collega restituente peditum aciem ad equites, non castigando, ad quam rem leviorem auctorem eum culpae societas fecerat, sed ab imperio totus ad preces versus orare singulos universosque, ut se reum fortunae eius diei crimine eximerent: "Abnuente ac prohibente collega, temeritati me omnium potius socium quam unius prudentiae dedi. Camillus in utraque vestra fortuna suam gloriam videt; ego, ni restituitur pugna, quod miserrimum est, fortunam cum omnibus, infamiam solus sentiam." optimum visum est in fluctuante acie tradi equos et pedestri pugna invadere hostem. Eunt insignes armis animisque, qua premi parte maxime peditum copias vident. nihil neque apud duces neque apud milites remittitur a summo certamine animi. sensit ergo eventus virtutis enixae opem, et Volsci, qua modo simulato metu cesserant, ea in veram fugam effusi, magna pars et in ipso certamine et post in fuga caesi, ceteri in castris, quae capta eodem impetu sunt; plures tamen capti quam occisi.

Some Tusculans being discovered among the captives, war is declared against Tusculum. Camillus and L. Furius proceed thither, but find no signs of warlike intentions on the part of the Tusculans, who persistently refuse to offer resistance.

Ubi in recensendis captivis cum Tusculani aliquot noscitarentur, secreti ab aliis ad tribunos adducuntur, percontantibusque fassi, publico consilio se militasse. cuius tam vicini belli metu Camillus motus extemplo se Romam
captivos ducturum ait, ne patres ignari sint, Tusculanos ab
societate descisse: castris exercituique interim, si videatur,
praesit collega. documento unus dies fuerat, ne sua
consilia melioribus praeferret; nec tamen aut ipsi aut in
exercitu cuium quam satis placato animo Camillus laturus
culpam eius videbatur, qua data in tam praecipitem casum
res publica esset; et cum in exercitu, tum Romae constans
omnium fama erat, cum varia fortuna in Volscis gesta res
esset, adversae pugnae fugaeque in L. Furio culpam,
secundae decus omne penes M. Furium esse. introductis
in senatum captivis, cum bello persequendos Tusculanos
patres censuissent Camilloque id bellum mandassent, adiu-
torem sibi ad eam rem unum petit, permissoque, ut ex
collegis optaret, quem velit, contra spem omnium L.
Furium optavit, qua moderatione animi cum collegae
levavit infamiam, tum sibi gloriam ingentem peperit. nec
fuit cum Tusculanis bellum; pace constanti vim Romanam
arcuerunt, quam armis non poterant. intrantibus fines
Romanis non demigratum ex propinquis itineri locis, non
cultus agrorum intermissus; patentibus portis urbis togati
obviam frequentes imperatoribus processere; commenatus
exercitui comiter in castra ex urbe et ex agris devehitur.
Camillus, castris ante portas positis, eadem forma pacis,
quae in agris ostentaretur, etiam intra moenia esset, scire
cupiens, ingressus urbem, ubi patentes ianuas et tabernis
apertis proposita omnia in medio vidit, intentosque opifices
suo quemque operi, et ludos litterarum strepere discontentium
vocibus, ac repletas semitas inter vulgus aliud puerorum et
mulierum huc atque illuc euntium, qua quemque suorum
usuum causae ferrent, nihil usquam non pavidis modo, sed
ne mirantibus quidem simile, circumspiciebat omnia, in-
quirens oculis, ubinam bellum fuisset; adeo nec amotae rei
usquam nec oblatae ad tempus vestigium ullam erat, sed ita
omnia constanti tranquilla pace, ut eo vix fama belli perlata videri posset.

26 Camillus sends the Tuscan senate to Rome, where they declare their resolution to abstain from war, whatever the Romans do. They obtain peace, and shortly afterwards receive the Roman franchise.

Vitus igitur patientia hostium senatum eorum vocari iussit. “soli adhuc” inquit, “Tusculani, vera arma verasque vires, quibus ab ira Romanorum vestra tu-taremini, invenistis. ite Romam ad senatum; aestima-bunt patres, utrum plus ante poenae an nunc veniae meriti sitis. non praecipiam gratiam publici beneficii; deprecandi potestatem a me habueritis; precibus eventum vestris senatus, quem videbitur, dabit.” postquam Romam Tus-culani venerunt senatusque paulo ante fidelium sociorum maestus in vestibulo curiae est conspectus, moti extemplo patres vocari eos iam tum hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter iussere. dictator Tusculanus ita verba fecit: “quibus bellum indixistis intulistisque, patres conscripti, sicut nunc videtis nos stantes in vestibulo curiae vestrae, ita armati paratique obviam imperatoribus legionibusque vestris pro-
cessimus. hic noster, hic plebis nostrae habitus fuit, eritque semper, nisi si quando a vobis proque vobis arma acceperimus. gratias agimus et ducibus vestris et exer-citibus, quod oculis magis quam auribus crediderunt et, ubi nihil hostile erat, ne ipsi quidem fecerunt. pacem, quam nos praestimus, eam a vobis petimus; bellum eo, sicubi est, avertatis precamur; in nos quid arma polleant vestra, si patiendo experiundum est, inermes experiemur. haec mens nostra est, di immortales faciant, tam felix, quam pia. quod ad crimina attinet, quibus moti bellum indixistis, etsi revicta rebus verbis confutare nihil attinet, tamen, etiamsi vera sint, vel fateri nobis ea, cum tam evidenter paenituerit,
tutum censemus. peccetur in vos, dum digni sitis, quibus ita satisfiat." tantum fere verborum ab Tusculanis factum. 8 pacem in praesentia, nec ita multo post civitatem etiam impetraverunt. ab Tusculo legiones reductae.

5 B.C. 380. Censors are created on account of a 'vague rumour about debts'. But no census is taken, one of the censors first elected dying, and the election of two fresh ones having been vitiated. Tribunician agitations. On news of war from Praeneste the tribunes forbid the arrest of debtors, and the citizens refuse to serve.

Camillus, consilio et virtute in Volsco bello, felicitate in Tusculana expeditione, utroboque singulari adversus collegam patientia et moderatione insigne, magistratu abiit, creatis tribunis militariibus in insequentem annum L. et P. Valeriis, Lucio quintum, Publio tertium, et C. Sergio tertium, L. Menenio iterum, P. Papirio, Ser. Cornelio Maluginense. censoribus quoque eguit annus, maxime propter incertam famam aeris alieni, aggravantibus summam etiam invidiosius tribunis plebis, cum ab iis elevaretur, quibus fide magis quam fortuna debentium laborare creditum videri expedebat. creati censores C. Sulpicius Camerinus, Sp. Postumius Regillensis, coeptaque iam res morte Postumii, quia collegam suffici censori religio erat, interpellata est. igitur cum Sulpicius abdicasset se magistratu, censores alii vitio creati non gesserunt magistratum; tertios creari, velut dis non accipientibus in eum annum censuram, religiosum fuit. cam vero ludificationem plebis tribuni ferendam negabant: fugere senatum testes tabulas publicas census cuiusque, quia nolint conspici summam aeris alieni, quae indicatura sit, demersam partem a parte civitatis, cum interim obaeratam plebem obiectari alii atque alii hostibus. passim iam sine ullo discrimine bella quaeri: ab Antio Satricum, ab Satrico Velitras, inde Tusculum legiones ductas; Latinis, Hernicis,
Praenestinis iam intentari arma, civium magis quam hostium odio, ut in armis terant plebem nec respirare in urbe aut per otium libertatis meminisse sinant aut consistere in contione, ubi aliquando audiant vocem tribuniciam de levando fenore et fine aliarum iniuriarum agentem. quod si sit animus plebi memor patrum libertatis, se nec addici quemquam civem Romanum ob creditam pecuniam passuros neque dilectum haberi, donec, inspecto aere alieno initaque ratione minuendi eius, sciat unusquisque, quid sui, quid alieni sit, supersit sibi liberum corpus an id quoque nervo debeatur. merces seditionis proposita confestim seditionem excitavit. nam et addicentur multi, et ad Praenestini famam belli novas legiones scribendas patres censuerant; quae utraque simul auxilio tribunicio et con-sensu plebis impediri coepta; nam neque duci addictos tribuni sinebant, neque iuniores nomina dabant. cum patribus minor in praesens cura creditae pecuniae iuris exsequendi quam dilectus esset (quippe iam a Praeneste profectos hostes in agro Gabino consedisse nuntiabatur), interim tribunos plebis fama ea ipsa irritaverat magis ad susceptum certamen quam deterruerat, neque aliquid ad seditionem exstinguendam in urbe quam prope illatum moenibus ipsis bellum valuit.

The Praenestines hearing what was going on, advance as far as the Colline gate. Trepidation in the city. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus is named dictator; and the citizens give in their names for military service readily. The Praenestines fall back upon the Alia.

Nam cum esset Praenestinis nuntiatum,nullum exercitum conscriptum Romae, nullum ducem certum esse, patres ac plebem in semet ipsos versos, occasionem ratu duces eorum, raptim agmine acto, pervastatis protinus agris, ad portam Collinam signa intulere. ingens in urbe trepi-
datio fuit. clamatam "ad arma," concursumque in muros atque portas est; tandemque ab seditione ad bellum versi dictatorem T. Quinctium Cincinnatum creavere. is magister equitum A. Sempronium Atratinum dixit. quod ubi auditum est, (tantus eius magistratus terror erat) simul hostes a moenibus recessere et iuniores Romani ad edictum sine retractatione convenere. dum conscribitur Romae exercitus, castra interim hostium haud procul Alia flumine posita; inde agrum late populantes, fatalem se urbi Romanae locum cepisse, inter se iactabant; similis pavorem inde ac fugam fore, ac bello Gallico fuerit; etenim si diem contactum religionem insignemque nomine eius loci timeant Romani, quanto magis Aliensi die Aliam ipsam, monumentum tantae cladis, reformidaturos? species profecto iis ibi truces Gallorum sonumque vocis in oculis atque auribus fore. has inaniam rerum inanes ipsas volventes cogitationes, fortunae loci delegaverant spes suas. Romani contra, ubicunque esset Latinus hostis, satis scie, eum esse, quem ad Regillum lacum devictum centum annorum pace obnoxia tenuerint: locum insignem memoria cladis irritatum se potius ad delendam memoriam dedecoris, quam ut timorem faciat, ne qua terra sit nefasta victoriae suae; quin ipsi sibi Galli si ofterantur illo loco, se corporis, ut Romae pugnaverint in repetenda patria, ut postero die ad Gabios, tunc cum effecerint, ne quis hostis, qui moenia Romana intrasset, nuntium secundae adversaeque fortunae domum perferret.

A battle is fought on the Alia, in which Cincinnatus defeats the Praenestines. Eight cities subject to Praeneste are captured. Then Velitrae is stormed. Lastly Praeneste surrenders. Triumph of Cincinnatus.

His utrinque animis ad Aliam ventum est. dictator Romanus, postquam in conspectu hostes erant instructi
intentique, "videsne tu" inquit, "A. Semproni, loci fortuna illos fretos ad Aliam constitisses? nec illis di immortales certioris quicquam fiduciae, maiorisve quod sit auxilii, dederint. at tu, fretus armis animisque, concitatis equis invade mediam aciem; ego cum legionibus in turbatos trepidantantesque inferam signa. adeste, di testes foederis, et expetite poenas debitas simul vobis violatis nobisque per vestrum numen deceptis." non equitem, non peditem sustinuere Praenestini. primo impetu ac clamore dissipati ordines sunt; dein postquam nullo loco constabat acies, terga vertunt, consternatique et praeter castra etiam sua pavore praelati non prius se ab effuso cursu sistunt, quam in conspectu Praeneste fuit. ibi ex fuga dissipata locum, quem tumultuario opere communirent, capiunt, ne, si intra moenia se recepisserat, extemplo ureretur ager depopulatissimus, que omnibus obsidio urbi inferretur, sed postquam, diruptis ad Aliam castris, victor Romanus aderat, id quoque munimentum relictum, et vix moenia tuta ratì oppido se Praeneste includunt. octo praeterea oppida erant sub dicione Praenestinorum; ad ea circumlatum bellum, deincepsque haud magno certamine captis, Velitras exercitus ductus. eae quoque expugnatae. tum ad caput belli Praeneste ventum. id non vi, sed per deditionem receptum est. T. Quinctius, semel acie victor, binis castris hostium, novem oppidis vi captis, Praeneste in deditionem accepto, Romam revertit, triumphansque signum Praeneste de vectum Iovis imperatoris in Capitolium tuli. dedicatum est inter cellam Iovis ac Minervae, fabulaque sub eo fixa, monumentum rerum gestarum, his ferme incisa litteris fuit: "Iuppiter atque divi omnes hoc dederunt, ut T. Quinctius dictator oppida novem caperet." die vicesimo, quam creatus erat, dictatura se abdicavit.
B.C. 379. Six military tribunes elected, three of them plebeians. The two Manlii, acting against the Volscians, are inveigled into an ambuscade. A dictator is appointed. The Volscians however take no advantage of their victory. The Praenestines rouse the Latins to assist them in renewing war. Fresh colonists sent to Setia.

Comitia inde habita tribunorum militum consulari potestate, quibus aequatus patriciorum plebeiorumque numeros. ex patribus creati P. et C. Manlii cum L. Iulio; plebes C. Sextilium, M. Albinium, L. Antistium dedit. Manliis, quod genere plebeios, gratia Iulium anteibant, Volsci provincia sine sorte, sine comparatione extra ordinem data; cuius et ipsos postmodo et patres, qui dederant, paenituit. inexplorato pabulatum cohortes misere; quibus velut circumventis, cum id falso nuntiatum esset, dum, praesidio ut essent, citati feruntur, ne auctore quidem asservato, qui eos hostis Latinus pro milite Romano frustratus erat, ipsi in insidias praecipitavere. ibi dum iniquo loco, sola virtute militem restantes, caedunt caedunturque, castra interim Romana, iacentia in campo, ab altera parte hostes invasere. ab ducibus utrobique produita temeritate atque inscitia res; quicquid superfuit fortunae populi Romani, id militum etiam sine rectore stabilis virtus tutata est. quae ubi Romam sunt relata, primum dictorem dici placebat; deinde, postquam quietae res ex Volscis asserebantur et apparuit, nescire eos victoria et tempore uti, revocati etiam inde exercitus ac duces, otium-que inde, quantum a Volscis, fuit; id modo extremo anno tumultuatum, quod Praenestini, concitatis Latinorum populi, rebellarunt. eodem anno Setiam, ipsis querentibus penuriam hominum, novi coloni adscripti; rebusque haud prosperis bello domestica quies, quam tribunorum militum ex plebe gratia maiestasque inter suos obtinuit, solatum fuit.
31 B.C. 378. Renewed disturbances at home owing to the prevalence of debt. Invasion by the Volscians. The senate are obliged to suspend the tributum, and forbid proceedings to be taken against debtors during the continuance of the war, before an army can be raised. The Roman army, unable to bring the Volscians to an engagement, 5 thoroughly devastate their land. Proceedings against debtors begin again, and the tributum is again levied.

Insequentis anni principia statim seditione ingenti arsere, tribunis militum consulari potestate Sp. Furio, Q. Servilio iterum, L. Menenio tertium, P. Cloelio, M. 10 Horatio, L. Geganio. erat autem et materia et causa seditionis aes alienum; cuius noscendi gratia Sp. Servilius Priscus, Q. Cloelius Siculus censores facti, ne rem agerent, 3 bello impediti sunt; namque trepidi nuntii primo, fuga deinde ex agris legiones Volscorum ingressas fines populari- 15 que passim Romanum agrum attulere. in qua trepidatione tantum asfuit, ut civilia certamina terror externus cohiberet, ut contra eo violentior potestas tribunicia impediendo dilectu esset, donec condiciones impositae patribus, ne quis, quoad debellatum esset, tributum dare aut ius de 20 5 pecunia credita diceretur. eo laxamento plebi sumpto, mora dilectui non est facta. legionibus novis scriptis, placuit duos exercitus in agrum Volscum legionibus divisis duci. Sp. Furius, M. Horatius dextrorsus in maritimam oram atque Antium, Q. Servilius et L. Geganius laeva ad montes 25 Ecetram pergunt. neutra parte hostis obvius fuit. popula- 6 tio itaque non illi vagae similis, quam Volscus latrocinii more, discordiae hostium fretus et virtutem metuens, per trepidationem raptim fecerat, sed ab iusto exercitu iusta ira facta, spatio quoque temporis gravior. quippe a Volscis, 30 timentibus, ne interim exercitus ab Roma exiret, incursiones in extrema finium factae erant; Romano contra etiam in
hostico morandi causa erat, ut hostem ad certamen eliceret. itaque omnibus passim tectis agrorum vicisque etiam quibusdam existis, non arbore frugisera, non satis in spem frugum reliquis, omni, quae extra moenia fuit, hominum pecudumque praeda abacta, Romam utrinque exercitus reducti.

Parvo intervallo ad respirandum debitoribus dato, postquam quietae res ab hostibus erant, celebrari de integro iurisdictio, et tantum abesse spes veteris levandi fenoris, ut tributo novum fenus contraheretur in murum a censoribus locatum saxo quadrato faciundum; cui succumbere oneri coacta plebes, quia, quem dilectum impediunt, non habebant tribuni plebis.

B.C. 377—371. The next military tribunes elected, six in number, are all patricians. Three armies are raised without opposition for war against the Volscians and Latins. A battle is fought before Satricum, where the Latins and Volscians are encamped, in which after a severe struggle the Romans are successful. The enemy retreat first to Satricum, and thence to Antium.

Tribunos etiam militares patricios omnes coacta principum opibus fecit, L. Aemilium, P. Valerium quartum, C. Veturium, Ser. Sulpicium, L. et C. Quinctios Cincinnatos. iisdem opibus obtinuere, ut adversus Latinos Volscosque, qui coniunctis legionibus ad Satricum castra habebant, nullo impediente omnibus iunioribus sacramento adactis, tres exercitus scriberent, unum ad praesidium urbis, alterum, qui, si qui alibi motus exstitisset, ad subita belli mitti posset; tertium longe validissimum P. Valerius et L. Aemilius ad Satricum duxere. ubi cum aciem instructam hostium loco acquo invenissent, extemplo pugnatum; et ut nondum satis certam victoriam, sic prosperae spei pugnam imber ingentibus procellis fusus diremit. postero die iterata
pugna, et aliquamdiu aequa virtute fortunaque Latinae maxime legiones, longa societate militiam Romanam e-
doctae, restabant. eques immissus ordines turbavit; turbatis signa peditum illata, quantumque Romana se invexit acies, tantum hostes gradu demoti; et ut semel inclinavit pugna, iam intolerabilis Romana vis erat. fusi hostes cum Satricum, quod duo millia inde aberat, non castra peterent, ab equite maxime caesi; castra capta direptaque. ab Satrico nocte, quae proelio proxima fuit, fugae simili agmine petunt Antium; et cum Romanus exercitus prope vestigiis seque-
retur, plus tamen timor quam ira celeritatis habuit. prius itaque moenia intravere hostes, quam Romanus extrema agminis carpere aut morari posset. inde aliquot dies vastando agro absumpit, nec Romanis satis instructis apparatu bellico ad moenia aggredienda nec illis ad subeundum pugnae casum.

33 The Latins and Antiates quarrel, and the latter surrender to Rome. The Latins in a rage burn Satricum, and surprise and capture Tusculum. The inhabitants however hold the citadel, and the Romans coming to their assistance recover the city and massacre the Latins.

Seditio tum inter Antiates Latinosque coorta, cum Antiates victi malis subactique bello, in quo et nati erant et consuerant, deditionem spectarent, Latinos ex diutina pace nova defectio recentibus adhuc animis ferociores ad perseverandum in bello faceret. finis certaminis fuit, postquam utrisque apparuit, nihil per alteros stare, quo minus incepta persequerentur. Latini profecti a societate pacis, ut rebantur, inhonestae se se vindicaverunt; Antiates, incommodis arbitris salutarium consiliorum remotis, urbem agrosque Romanis dedunt. ira et rabies Latinorum, quia nec Romanos bello laedere nec Volscos in armis retinere
Liber VI.

potuerant, eo erupit, ut Satricum urbem, quae receptaculum primum eis adversae pugnae fuerat, igni concremarent. nec aliud tectum eius superfuit urbis, cum faces pariter sacris profanisque iniicerent, quam matris Matutae templum; inde eos nec sua religio nec verecundia deum arcuisse dicitur, sed vox horrenda edita templo cum tristibus minis, nefandos ignes procul delubris amovissent. incensos ea rabie impetus Tusculum tulit ob iram, quod desert0 communi concilio Latinorum non in societatem modo Romanam, sed etiam in civitatem se dedissent. patentibus portis cum improviso incidissent, primo clamore oppidum praeter arcem captum est. in arcem oppidani refugere cum coniugibus ac liberis, nuntiosque Romam, qui certiorem de suo casu senatum facerent, misere. haud segnius, quam fide populi Romani dignum fuit, exercitus Tusculum ductus; L. Quinctius et Ser. Sulpicius tribuni militum duxere. clausas portas [Tusculi], Latinosque simul obsidentium atque obsessorum animo hinc moenia Tusculi tueri vident, illinc arcem oppugnare, terrere una ac pavelere. adventus Romanorum mutaverat utriusque partis animos: Tusculanos ex ingenti metu in summam alacritatem, Latinos ex prope certa fiducia mox capienda arcis, quoniam oppido potirentur, in exiguam de se ipsis spem verterat. tollitur ex arce clamor ab Tusculanis; excipit aliquanto maior ab exercitu Romano. utrinque urgentur Latini; nec impetus Tusculanorum decurrentium ex superiore loco sustinent nec Romanos subeuntes moenia molientesque obices portarum arcere possunt. scalis prius moenia capta, inde effracta claustra portarum; et cum aniceps hostis et a fronte et a tergo urgeret, nec ad pugnam ulla vis nec ad fugam loci quicquam superesset, in medio caesi ad unum omnes. recuperato ab hostibus Tusculo, exercitus Romam est reductus.
Increasing misery of debtors at Rome. The story of the younger Fabia and her sister. The plans of her father M. Fabius and her husband C. Licinius Stolo.

Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris erant, tantum in urbe vis patrum in dies miseriaeque plebis crescebant, cum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi, facultas solvendi impediretur. itaque cum iam ex re nihil dari posset, fama et corpore, iudicati atque addicti, creditoribus satisfaciebant, poenaque in vicem fidei cesserat. adeo ergo obnoxios summiserant animos non insimi solum, sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad tribunatum militum inter patricios petendum, quod tanta vi ut liceret tetenderant, sed ne ad plebeios quidem magistratus capessendos petendosque ulli viro acri experientique animus esset, possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per paucos annos recuperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur. ne id nimis laetum parti alteri esset, parva, ut plerumque solet, rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit. M. Fabii Ambusti, potentis viri cum inter sui corporis homines, tum etiam ad plebem, quod haudquaquam inter id genus contemptor eius habebatur, filiae duae nuptae, Ser. Sulpicio maior, minor C. Licinio Stoloni erat, illustri quidem viro, tamen plebeio; eaque ipsa affinis haud spreta gratiam Fabio ad vulgum quaesierat. forte ita incidit, ut in Ser. Sulpicii tribuni militum domo sorores Fabiae cum inter se, ut fit, sermonibus tempus tererent, lictor Sulpicii, cum is de foro se domum recuperet, forem, ut mos est, virga percuteret. cum ad id, moris eius insueta, expavisset minor Fabia, risui sorori fuit, miranti ignorant id sororem; ceterum is risus stimulus parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri subdidit. frequentia quoque prosequentium rogantiumque, num quid vellet, credo fortunatum matrimonium ei sororis
visum, suique ipsum malo arbitrio, quo a proximis quisque minime anteiri vult, paenituisse. confusam eam ex recenti morsu animi cum pater forte vidisset, percontatus "satin' salve?" avertentem causam doloris, quippe nec satis piam adversus sororem nec admodum in virum honorificam, elicuit comiter sciscitando, ut fateretur, eam esse causam doloris, quod iuncta impari esset, nupta in domo, quam nec honos nec gratia intrare posset. consolans inde filiam Ambustus bonum animum habere iussit: eosdem prope-diem domi visuram honores, quos apud sororem videat. inde consilia inire cum genero coepit, adhibito L. Sextio, strenuo adolescente et cuius spei nihil praeter genus patri-cium deesset.

C. Licinius and L. Sextius elected tribunes of the plebs. They promulgate three bills (1) to relieve debtors (2) to limit occupation of domain land (3) to abolish military tribunes and provide that one consul at least should be a plebeian. Other tribunes are engaged by the patricians to veto the proposals. Licinius and Sextius veto all, except plebeian, elections.

Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes, nisi suis in summo imperio locatis, nullum speraret: accingendum ad eam cogitationem esse; conando agendoque iam eo gradu fecisse plebeios, unde si porro annitantur, pervenire ad summa et patribus aequari tam honore quam virtute possent. in praeestentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, quo in magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad ceteros honores aperirent. creatique tribuni C. Licinius et L. Sextius promulgavere leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis plebis, unam de aere alieno, ut, deducto eo de capite, quod usuris pernumeratum esset, id, quod superesset, triennio aequis pensionibus persolveretur; alteram de modo agro-
rum, ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret, tertiam, ne tribunorum militum comitia fierent, consulumque utique alter ex plebe crearetur; cuncta, ingentia et quae sine certamine maximo obtineri non possent. omnium igitur simul rerum, quarum immodica cupidó inter mortales est, agri, pecuniae, honorum, discrimine proposito, conterriti patres cum trepidassent publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem invento, collegas adversus tribunicias rogationes comparaverunt. qui ubi tribus ad suffragium ineundum citari a Licioinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praevidiis nec recitari rogationes nec solenne quicquam aliu ad sciscendum plebi fieri passi sunt. iamque frustra saepe concilio advocato, cum pro antiquatis rogationes essent, “bene habet” inquit Sextius; “quando quidem tantum intercessionem pollere placet, isto ipso telo tutabi-9 mur plebem. agite dum, comitia indicite, patres, tribunis militum creandis; faxo, ne iuvet vox ista ‘veto,’ quam nunc concinentes collegas nostros tam laeti auditis.” haud irritae cecidere minae; comitia, praeter aedilium tribunorumque plebi, nulla sunt habita.

Licinius and Sextius are re-elected for five years in succession. An attack of the Veliternians on Tusculum forces the tribunes to give way, and military tribunes are elected for B.C. 370.

Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis refecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt, eaque solitudo magistratum, et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus, per quinquennium urbem tenuit.

Alia bella opportune quievere; Veliterni coloni gestientes otio, quod nullus exercitus Romanus esset, et agrum Romanum aliquoties incursavere et Tusculum oppugnare adorti sunt; eaque res, Tusculanis veteribus sociis, novis civibus
opem orantibus, verecundia maxime non patres modo, sed etiam plebem movit.

B.C. 370. Great difficulty is experienced in levying an army. Tusculum is relieved and Velitrae besieged but not taken.

5 Remittentibus tribunis plebis comitia per interregem sunt habita; creatique tribuni militum L. Furius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, Ser. Cornelius, P. et C. Valerii haudquaquam tam obedientem in dilectu quam in comitiiis plebem habuere; ingentique contentione exercitu scripto, 4 profecti non ab Tusculo modo summovere hostem, sed intra suamet ipsum moenia compulere, obsidebanturque 5 haud paulo vi maiore Velitrae, quam Tusculum obsessum fuerat. nec tamen ab eis, a quibus obsideri coeptae erant, expugnari potuere; ante novi creati sunt tribuni militum, 6 Q. Servilius, C. Veturius, A. et M. Cornelii, Q. Quinctius, M. Fabius.

B.C. 369. The new military tribunes succeed no better at Velitrae. The tribunes re-elected for the eighth time renew their agitation under more favorable circumstances, M. Fabius Ambustus being one of the six military tribunes this year. They add to their previous proposals a bill to appoint ten instead of two commissioners sacris faciundis, five of them to be plebeians.

Nihil ne ab iis quidem tribunis ad Velitras memorabile factum. in maiore discriminate domi res vertebantur. nam 7 praeter Sextium Liciiniumque latores legum, iam octavum tribunos plebis refectos, Fabius quoque tribunus militum, Stolonis socer, quarum legum auctor fuerat, earum suasorem se haud dubium ferebat; et cum octo ex collegio tribunorum 8 plebi primo intercessores legum fuissent, quinque soli erant, et, ut ferme solent, qui a suis desciscunt, capti et stupentes, animis a voce alienis, id modo, quod domi praeceptum erat,
9 intercessioni suae praetendebant: Velitis in exercitu plebis magnam partem abesse; in adventum militum comitia differri debere, ut universa plebes de suis commodis suffragium ferret. Sextius Liciniusque cum parte collegarum et uno ex tribunis militum Fabio, artifices iam tot annorum usu tractandi animos plebis, primores patrum productos interrogando de singulis, quae ferebantur ad populum, fatigabant: auderentne postulare, ut, cum bina iugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta iugera habere liceret, ut singuli prope trecentorum civium possident agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum necessarium aut locum sepulturae suus pateret ager? an placeret, fenore circumventam plebem, potius quam sorte creditum solvat, corpus in nervum ac supplicia dare, et gregatim quotidie de foro addictos duci, et replieri vinctis nobiles domus et, ubicunque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse?

37 haec indigna miserandaque auditu cum apud timentes sibimet ipsos, maiore audientium indignatione quam sua, 2 increpuissent, atqui nec agros occupandi modum nec fenore trucidandi plebem alium patribus unquam fore affirmabant, nisi alterum ex plebe consulem, custodem suae libertatis, 3 plebes fecisset. contemni iam tribunos plebis, quippe quae potestas iam suam ipsa vim frangat intercedendo.

4 non posse aequo iure agi, ubi imperium penes illos, penes se auxilium tantum sit; nisi imperio communicato, nunquam plebem in parte pari rei publicae fore. nec esse, quod quisquam satis putet, si plebeiorum ratio comitii consularibus habeatur; nisi, alterum consulem utique ex plebe fieri necesse sit, neminem fore. an iam memoria exisse, cum tribunos militum idcirco potius quam consules creari placuisset, ut et plebeiis pateret summus honos, quattuor et quadraginta annis neminem ex plebe tribunum creatum esse? quid crederent? duobusne in locis
sua voluntate impertituros plebi honorem, qui octona loca tribunis militum creandis occupare soliti sint, et ad consula-
tum viam fieri passuros, qui tribunatum saeptum tam diu
habuerint? lege obtinendum esse, quod comitiis per gra-
tiam nequeat, et seponendum extra cērta m consulatum, ad quem plebi sit aditus, quoniam in certamine
relictus praemium semper potentioris futurus sit. nec iam
posse dici id, quod antea iactare soliti sint, non esse in
plebeiis idoneos viros ad curules magistratus. numquid
10 enim socordius aut segnius rem publicam administrari post
P. Licinii Calvi tribunatum, qui primus ex plebe creatus sit,
quam per eos annos gesta sit, quibus praeter patricios nemo
tribunus militum fuerit? quin contra patricios aliquot dam-
natos post tribunatum, neminem plebeiium. quaestores
15 quoque, sicut tribunos militum, paucis ante annis ex plebe
to creati, nec ullius eorum populum Romanum paeni-
tuisse. consulatum superesse plebeiis; eam esse arcem
libertatis, id columna. si eo perventum sit, tum populum
Romanum vere exactos ex urbe reges et stabilem libertatem
suam existimaturum; quippe ex illa die in plebem ventura
omnia, quibus patricii excellant, imperium atque honorem,
gloriam belli, genus, nobilitatem, magna ipsis fruenda,
maiora liberis relinquenda. huius generis orationes ubi
12 accipi videre, novam rogationem promulgant, ut pro duum-
virs sacris faciundis decemviri creentur, ita ut pars ex plebe,
pars ex patribus fiat; omniumque earum rogationum comitia
in adventum eius exercitus different, qui Velitras obsidebat.

B.C. 368. The struggle over the Licinian laws continues: Camillus is
appointed dictator. Licinius and Sextius refuse to recognise their
colleagues' veto. Camillus threatens to administer the military oath
to all the juniors, and lead them out of the city, but presently
resigns, his reason for doing so being uncertain.

Prius circumactus est annus, quam a Velitris reduce-
rentur legiones; ita suspensa de legibus res ad novos tribunos militum dilata; nam plebis tribunos eosdem, duos utique, qui legum latores erant, plebes reficiebat. tribuni militum creati T. Quinctius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius. principio statim anni ad ultimam dimicationem de legibus ventum; et cum tribus vocarentur nec intercessio collegarum latoribus obstaret, trepidi patres ad duo ultima auxilia, summum imperium summumque [ad] civem decurrunt. dictatorem dici placet; dicitur M. Furius Camillus, qui magistrum equitum L. Aemilium cooptat. legum quoque latores adversus tantum apparatum adversariorum et ipsi causam plebis ingentibus animis armant, concilioque plebis indicto, tribus ad suffragium vocant. cum dictator, stipatus agmine patriciorum, plenus irae minarumquæ consedisset, atque ageretur res solito primum certamine inter se tribunorum plebi ferentium legem intercedentiumque, et, quanto iure potentior intercessio erat, tantum vinceretur favere legum ipsarum latorumque, et “uti rogas” primae tribus dicerent, Camillus “quando quidem” inquit, “Quirites, iam vos tribunicia libido, non potestas regit, et intercessionem, secessione quondam plebis partam, vobis eadem: vi facitis irritam, qua peperistis, non rei publicae magis universae quam vestra causa dictator intercessioni adero eversumque vestr um auxilium imperio tutabor. itaque si C. Licinius et L. Sextius intercessioni collegarum cedunt, nihil patricium magistratum inseram concilio plebis; si adversus intercessionem tanquam captae civitati leges imponere tendent, vim tribuniciam a se ipsa dissolvi non patiar.” adversus ea cum contemptim tribuni plebis rem nihiloe segniius perage rent, tum percitus ira Camillus lictores, qui de medio plebem emoverent, misit et addidit minas, si pergerent, sacramento omnes iuniores adacturum exercitumque extem-
plo ex urbe eductum. terrorem ingentem incuserat 9 plebi; ducibus plebis accendit magis certamine animos quam minuit. sed re neutro inclinata magistratu se abdicavit, seu quia vitio creatus erat, ut scripsere quidam, seu quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad plebem idque plebs scivit, ut, si M. Furius pro dictator quid egisset, quingentum millium ei multa esset; sed auspiciis magis quam novi exempli rogationem deterrit ut potius credam, cum ipsius viri facit ingenium, tuum quod ei suspectus est extemplo 10 P. Manlius dictator, quem quid creari attinebat ad id certamen, quo M. Furius victus esset? et quod eundem M. Furium dictatorem insequens annus habuit, haud sine pudore certe fractum priore anno in se imperium repetiturum; simul quod eo tempore, quo promulgatum de multa 12 eius traditur, aut et huic rogationi, qua se in ordinem cogi videbat, obsistere potuit aut ne illas quidem, propter quas et haec lata erat, impedire, et quod usque ad memoriam nostram tribunicis consularibusque certatum viribus est, dictaturae semper altius fastigium fuit.

Manlius is named dictator. In the interval between the two dictatorships, 39 the tribunes bring their proposals before the concilium plebis. The plebeians vote for the debt and agrarian proposals, but reject the one touching the consulship. Licinius and Sextius declare that they will not stand for the tribuneship again, unless the plebs accept and support all the proposals. Appius Claudius Crassus delivers a violent speech against the tribunician proposals. Licinius and Sextius are re-elected for the tenth time, and carry their bill touching the commissioners sacris faciundis (c. 36).

Inter priorem dictaturam abdicatam novamque a Manlio initam ab tribunis velut per interregnum concilio plebis habito, apparuit, quae ex promulgatis plebi, quae latoribus gratiora essent. nam de fenore atque agro rogationes iubebant, de plebeio consule antiquabant; et perfecta utra-
que res esset, ni tribuni se in omnia simul consulere plebem dixissent. P. Manlius deinde dictator rem in causam plebis inclinavit, C. Licinio, qui tribunus militum fuerat, magistro equitum de plebe dicto. id aegre patres passos accipio; dictatorem propinqua cognitione Licii se apud patres excusare solitum, simul negantem, magistri equitum maius quam tribuni consularis imperium esse. Licinius Sextiusque, cum tribunorum plebi creandorum indicta comitia essent, ita se gerere, ut negando, iam sibi velle continuari honorem, acerrime accenderent ad id, quod dissimulando petebant, plebem. nonum se annum iam velut in acie adversus optimates maximo privatim periculo, nullo publice emolumento stare. consentiisse iam secum et rogationes promulgatas et vim omnem tribuniciae potestatis. primo intercessione collegarum in leges suas pugnatum esse, deinde ablaginatione iuventutis ad Veliternum bellum; postremo dictatorium fulmen in se intentatum. iam nec collegas nec bellum nec dictatorem obstare, quippe qui etiam omen plebeio consuli magistro equitum ex plebe dicendo dederit; se ipsam plebem et commoda morari sua. liberam urbem ac forum a creditoribus, liberos agros ab iniustis possessoribus extemplo, si velit, habere posse. quae munera quando tandem satis grato animo aestimaturus, si inter accipiendas de suis commodis rogationes spem honoris latoribus earum incidat? non esse modestiae populi Romani id postulare, ut ipse fenore levetur et in agrum, iniuria possessum a potentibus inducatur, per quos ea consecutus sit, senes tribunicios non sine honore tantum, sed etiam sine spe honoris relinuat. proinde ipsi primum statuerent apud animos, quid vellent, deinde comitiis tribuniciis declararent voluntatem. si coniuncte ferri ab se promulgatas rogationes vellent, esse, quod eosdem reficerent tribunos plebis; perlatus eos enim, quae promulgaverint; sin, quod cuique
privatim opus sit, id modo accipi velint, opus esse nihil invidiosa continuatione honoris; nec se tribunatum nec illos ea, quae promulgata sint, habituros.

Adversus tam obstinatam orationem tribunorum cum praie indignitate rerum stupor silentiumque inde ceteros patrum defixisset, App. Claudius Crassus, nepos decemviri, dicitur odio magis iraque quam spe ad dissuadendum processisse et locutus in hanc fere sententiam esse. "neque novum neque inopinatum mihi sit, Quirites, si, quod unum familiae nostrae semper obiectum est ab seditiosis tribunis, id nunc ego quoque audiam, Claudiae genti iam inde ab initio nihil antiquius in re publica patrum maiestate fuisse, semper plebis commodis adversatos esse. quorum alterum neque nego neque initiis eo, nos, ex quo adsciti sumus simul in civitatem et patres, enixe operam dedisse, ut per nos aucta potius quam imminuta maiestas earum gentium, inter quas nos esse voluistis, dici vere posset; illud alterum pro me maioribusque meis contendere ausim, Quirites, nisi, quae pro universa re publica fiant, ea plebi tanquam aliam incolenti urbem adversa quis putet, nihil nos neque privatos neque in magistratibus, quod incommodum plebi esset, scientes fecisse, nec illum factum dictumve nostrum contra utilitatem vestram, etsi quaedam contra voluntatem fuerint, vere referri posse. an hoc, si Claudiae familiae non sim nec ex patricio sanguine ortus, sed unus Quiritium quilibet, qui modo me duobus ingenuis ortum et vivere in libera civitate sciam, reticere possim, L. illum Sextium et C. Licinimum, perpetuos, si dis placet, tribunos, tantum licentiae novem annis, quibus regnant, sumpisse, ut vobis negent potestatem liberam suffragii, non in comitiis, non in legibus iubendis, se permissuros esse? 'sub condicione' inquit- 'nos reficietis decimum tribunos.' quid est alius dicere: 'quod petunt alii, nos adeo fastidimus, ut sine mercede...
magna non accipiamus’? sed quae tandem ista merces est, qua vos semper tribunos plebis habeamur? ‘ut rogationes’ inquit ‘nostras, seu placent seu dthicent, seu utiles seu inutiles sunt, omnes coniunctim accipiatis.’ obsecro vos, Tarquinii tribuni plebis, putate me ex media contione unum civem suclamare: ‘bona venia vestra liceat ex his rogationibus legere, quas salubres nobis censemus esse, antiquare aliae.’ ‘non’ inquit ‘licebit, ut de fenore atque agris, quod ad vos omnes pertinet, iubeas, et hoc portenti non fiat in urbe Romana, uti L. Sextium atque hunc C. Licinium consules, quod indignaris, quod abominaris, videas; aut omnia accipe, aut nihil fero.’ ut si quis ei, quem urgeat fames, venenum ponat cum cibo et aut abstinere eo, quod vitale sit, iubeat aut mortiferum vitali admisceat. ergo si esset libera haec civitas, non tibi frequentes suclamassent: ‘abi hinc cum tribunatibus ac rogationibus tuis’? quid? si tu non tuleris, quod commodum est populo accipere, nemo erit, qui ferat? illud si quis patricius, si quis, quod illi volunt invidiosius esse, Claudius diceret: ‘aut omnia accipite, aut nihil fero,’ quis vestrum, Quirites, ferret? nunquanne vos res potius quam auctores spectabitis, sed omnia semper, quae magistratus ille dicet, secundis auribus, quae ab nostrum quo dicentur, adversis accipiatis? at hercule sermo est minime civilis; quid? rogatio qualis est, quam a vobis antiquatam indignantur? sermoni, Quirites, simillima. ‘consules’ inquit, ‘rogo, ne vobis, quos velitis, facere liceat.’ an aliter rogat, qui utique alterum ex plebe fieri consulem iubet nec duos patricios creandi potestatem vobis permittit? si hocie bella sint, quale Etruscum fuit, cum Porsinna Ianiculum insedit, quale Gallicum modo, cum praeter Capitolium atque arcem omnia haec hostium eant, et consulatum cum hoc M. Furio et quolibet alio ex tribus L. ille Sextius peteret, possetisne ferre, Sextium
haud pro dubio consule esse, Camillum de repulsa dimicare?
hocine est in commune honores vocare, ut duos plebeios fieri
consules liceat, duos patricios non liceat? et alterum ex
plebe creari necesse sit, utrumque ex patribus praeterire
liceat? quaenam ista societas, quaenam consortio est? parum
est, si, cuius pars tua nulla adhuc fuit, in partem eius venis,
nisi partem petendo totum traxeris? 'timeo' inquit, 'ne, si
duos licebit creari patricios, neminem creetis plebeium.'
quid est dicere alius: 'quia indignos vestra voluntate crea-
turi non estis, necessitatem vobis creandi, quos non vultis,
imponam'? quid sequitur, nisi ut ne beneficium quidem
debeat populo, si cum duobus patriciis unus petierit plebeius,
et lege se, non suffragio creatum dicat? quomodo extor-
queant, non quomodo petant honores, quaerunt; et ita
maxima sunt adepturi, ut nihil ne pro minimis quidem
debeant; et occasionibus potius quam virtute petere honores
malunt. est aliquis, qui se inspici, aestimari fastidiat, qui
certos sibi uni honores inter dimicantes competores aequum
censeat esse, qui se arbitrio vestro eximat, qui vestra neces-
saria suffragia pro voluntariis et serva pro liberis faciat.
omitto Licinium Sextiumque, quorum annos in perpetua
potestate tanquam regum in Capitolio numeratis; quis est
hodie in civitate tam humilis, cui non via ad consulatum
facilior per istius legis occasionem quam nobis ac liberis
nostris fiat? si quidem nos ne cum volueritis quidem creare
interdum poteritis, istos, etiamsi nolueritis, necesse erit. de
indignitate satis dictum est. at enim dignitas ad homines
pertinet; quid de religionibus atque auspiciis, quae propria
deorum immortalium contemptio atque iniuria est, lo quae?
auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace,
domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est, qui ignoret? penes
quos igitur sunt auspicia more maiorum? nempe penes
patres; nam plebeius quidem magistratus nullus auspicato
creatur; nobis adeo propria sunt auspicia, ut non solum, quos populus creat patricios magistratus, non aliter quam auspicato creet, sed nos quoque ipsi sine suffragio populi auspicato interregem prodamus, et privati auspicia habeamus, quae isti ne in magistratibus quidem habent. quid igitur aliud quam tollit ex civitate auspicia, qui plebeios consules creando a patribus, qui soli ea habere possunt, 8 ast auter? eludant nunc licet religiones: quid enim esse, si pulli non pascantur, si ex cavea tardius exierint, si occecerit avis? parva sunt haec; sed parva ista non contem-9 nendo maiores nostri maximam hanc rem fecerunt; nunc nos, tanquam iam nihil pace deorum opus sit, omnes caerimonias polluimus. vulgo ergo pontifices, augures, sacrificuli reges creentur; cuilibet apicem Dialem, dummodo homo sit, imponamus; tradamus ancilia, penetralia, 10 deos deorumque curam, quibus nefas est; non leges auspiciato ferantur, non magistratus creentur; nec centuriatis nec curiatis comitiis patres auctores fiant; Sextius et Licinius tanquam Romulus ac Tatius in urbe Romana regent, quia pecunias alienas, quia agros dono dant. tanta dulcedo est 11 ex alienis fortunis praedandi, nec, in mentem venit, altera lege solitudines vastas in agris fieri pellendo, finibus dominos, altera fidem abrogari, cum qua omnis humana societas 12 tollitur? omnium rerum causa vobis antiquandas censeo istas rogationes. quod faxitis, deos velim fortunare.” 25

42 Oratio Appii ad id modo valuit, ut tempus rogationum 2 iubendarum proferretur. refecti decimum iidem tribuni, Sextius et Licinius, de decemviris sacrorum ex parte de plebe creandis legem pertulere. creati quinque patrum, quinque plebis, graduque eo iam via facta ad consulatum 3 videbatur. hac victoria contenta plebes cessit patribus, ut in praesentia consulum mentione omissa tribuni militum crearentur.
LIBER VI.

B.C. 367. On news of a Gallic war Camillus is appointed dictator. After the Gauls are defeated, the struggle over the Licinian rogations is renewed, and ends in their becoming law. L. Sextius is elected first plebeian consul. The praetorship, confined to patricians, is instituted.


Cum praeter Velitrarum obsidionem, tardi magis rem exitus quam dubii, quietae externae res Romanis essent, fama repens belli Gallici allata perpulit civitatem, ut M. Furius dictator quintum diceretur. is T. Quinctium Poe-num magistrum equitum dixit. bellatum cum Gallis eo anno circa Anienem flumen, auctor est Claudius, inclitamque in ponte pugnam, qua T. Manlius Gallum, cum quo provocatus manus conservit, in conspectu duorum exercituum caesum torque spoliavit, tum pugnatam. pluribus auctoribus magis adducor ut credam, decem haud minus post annos ea acta, hoc autem anno in Albano agro cum Gallis dictatore M. Furio signa collata. nec dubia nec difficilis Romanis, quamquam ingentem Galli terrorem memoria pristinae cladis attulerant, victoria fuit. multa millia barbarorum in acie, multa captis castris caesa; palati alii, Apuliam maxime petentes, cum fuga se longinqua, tum quod passim eos simul pavor terrorque distulerant, ab hoste [sese] tutati sunt. dictatori consensu patrum plebis-que triumphus decretus.

Vixdum perfunctum eum bello atrocior domi seditio excepit, et per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut rogationes tribuniciae acciperentur; et comitia consul-lum adversa nobilitate habita, quibus L. Sextius de plebe primus consul factus. et ne is quidem finis certaminum fuit. quia patricii se auctores futuros negabant, prope
secessionem plebis res terribilesque alias minas civilium certaminum venit, cum tandem per dictatorem condicionibus sedatae discordiae sunt, concessumque ab nobilitate plebi de consule plebeio, a plebe nobilitati de praetore uno, qui ius in urbe diceret, ex patribus creando. ita ab diutina ira tandem in concordiam redactis ordinibus, cum dignam cam rem senatus censeret esse, meritoque id, si quando unquam alias, deum immortalium fore, ut ludi maximi fierent et dies unus ad triduum adiiceretur, recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis, conclamatum a patriciis est iuvenibus, se id honoris deum immortalium causa libenter facturos ut aediles fierent. quibus cum ab universis gratiae actae essent, factum senatus consultum, ut duo viros aediles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret, patres auctores omnibus eius anni comitiis fierent.
NOTES.

Chapter I.

p. 1. 4 condita...captam] the use of the pf. part. pass. with a substantive as equivalent to a verbal substantive and a genitive case; much more common in Livy than in any other Latin author. See Appendix.

urbe...urbem] the repetition is probably, as Weissenb. says, intended to mark distinctly the beginning and end of the period alluded to.

5 consulibus &c.] governed by sub, which would more usually be repeated, as the two groups of ablatives are divided by primum and deinde.

The history of the decemvirate is given in Book III., the institution of Consular tribunes, officers who from B.C. 444 to 367 were substituted for consuls (though consuls especially in the earlier years of this period were occasionally elected), is described in Book IV.

6 ac] on Livy’s use of the copulative conjunctions see Appendix.

8 § 2. velut] ‘being scarcely discernible, as one may say, in the far distance,’ lit. ‘like things which in consequence of a long interval of space are hardly descried.’

ex] either causal, as, ex vulnere moritur, or local, meaning, ‘from the other end of the intervening space.’

9 quod...fuere, quod...interiere] two causal sentences corresponding to the causal ablative vetustate.

parvae...varae] ‘meagre and few.’ Livy probably is thinking of the numerous and voluminous annals of later times.

10 litterae] ‘writings.’

una &c.] ‘the one means of securing a trustworthy record of past events;’ the rhythm of the phrase seems to connect fidelis with memoriae, but it may of course qualify custodia.
etiamque sc. litterae 'even any written history that was contained.'

commentariis] these were strictly speaking only the records of the decisions and official replies of the pontifices on matters of religious ceremonial, cf. Cic. de domo c. 53 § 136. These would of course contain indirectly and incidentally some historical information, but it would seem as if both here and in iv. 3. 9 Livy must have mentally included in the term the other pontifical records, the Fasti, and the Annales maximi.

publicis] laws, treaties, registers of censors and such like.

privatis] family records, pedigrees, funeral orations &c.

§ 3. claviora &c.] 'Better founded as well as more brilliant will be the story of the period next succeeding, beginning with the second foundation, with the new growth (as it were) of the city, now rising on the relics of the old, with richer vigour and more fruitful promise.' I have here taken claviora in the secondary sense. It may be literal, 'clearer;' 'less obscure.'

Weissenb. understands deinceps to mean 'continuously,' in fortlauender reihenfolge. The metaphor is confused, ab stirpibus urbis renatae signifying both the roots of the old tree (city) and the shoots of the new, unless (which seems impossible) ab stirpibus is to be taken after renatae.

domi militiaeque] hardly need rendering in English, gesta d. m.que being really covered by our word 'history.'

§ 4. ceterum] dismisses what is of the nature of a digression, and resumes the main narrative, cf. IX. 15. 9.

primo] adverb, without deiné or any similar word corresponding to it, cf. X. 15. 9.

adminiculo] the prop of the young tree, carries on the metaphor in ab stirpibus &c.

principe] the foremost citizen, cf. v. 30. 4 (of Camillus), 41. 7 (in the plural). The word here is used in quite a general sense, not as equivalent to princeps senatus.

anno] the magisterial year, beginning at this time on July 1, cf. v. 32. 1. Livy does not mean, as Weissenborn has pointed out, that Camillus held his dictatorship for a full year, but that he continued to hold it after his triumph ('at the earnest request of the Senate' v. 49. 9) and laid it down at the end of the official year, when the consular tribunes laid down their office. The siege, towards the end of which Camillus was appointed dictator, began in July and lasted seven months.
§ 5. *tribunos* that is, the consular tribunes; it was considered that these tribunes must have offended the gods, hence the resolution, cf. v. 17. 3. The dictator probably, as Weissenb. suggests, did not hold the *comitia* (which would have been the usual course) because he was named by these tribunes.

*esse* subjunctive in *oratio obliqua*. This was the reason stated in the resolution, or in the minds of the senators; the relative in a causal sentence does not require the subjunctive when the cause is a matter of fact pure and simple, see Roby ii. 311 for examples.

p. 2. 3 § 6. *Q. Fabio* cf. v. 36. 7. All the ambassadors were guilty of the offence, but Fabius had taken the most prominent part, and therefore was selected for impeachment.

*simul primum*] 'on the very day that'—an unusual combination in Livy.

4 *dies*] the first step in a *iudicium populi* was for the prosecutor to give public notice of the day on which he proposed to summon the *Comitia* for the purpose.

5 *orator*] an ambassador, as II. 32. 8, v. 15. 3, Vergil, *Aen.* VII. 153, an archaistic use of the word apparently.

*ius gentium*] the law common to all nations, that is, practically, the law observed by the Romans in dealing with other tribes of Italy. It might be called international law, but in a sense much more limited than the phrase conveys now. See Maine, *Ancient Law*, pp. 46—50.

18 § 8. *creat*] 'procuris the election of,' so III. 8. 3, &c.

*Valerium*] v. 26. 2.

21 § 9. *ex*] at the expiration of the *interregnum*, therefore at least six days after July 1. For the use of *ex* of immediate succession (here assisted by *extemplo*) cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* c. 36 § 102, *ex ipsa caede nuntium misit*.

23 § 10. *foedera*] reckoned among religious documents on account of the religious sanctions attached to them. Religion entered also largely of course into the old laws. See below. It was generally believed by the Romans that several such treaties survived; see for example Cic. *pro Balbo* § 53 and compare Livy ii. 33.

*duodecim tabulae*] the original ones engraved on copper or bronze (III. 57. 10) would no doubt, as Weissenb. says, have been plundered by the Gauls, but there may have been copies on less valuable materials.

24 *regiae leges*] 'what seems to have been the only collection of regal law known to Romans of the literary period was mythical in its origin

*quae compararent*] the subjunctive because the clause is hypothetical, ‘if any were forthcoming.’

25 *quae autem &c.*] In the regal laws there would be a large number of regulations bearing on public worship. A list of *dies fasti* and *nfasti &c.* seems to have formed a portion of the Twelve Tables.

28 § 11. *religiosis*] ‘religious’ days are thus defined by Aulus Gellius (quoted by Weissenb.); ‘they are days which are dishonoured and disqualified for use (impediti) by some evil omen; on which one must refrain from performing any divine service, or beginning any new undertaking; the ignorant multitude wrongly call them *nfasti*?

29 a. d. *quintum decimum*] July 18th, the traditional date according to the best authorities.

30 *Cremeram*] II. 48—50.

32 *insignem &c.*] see note on Text.

p. 3. 1 § 12. *quod postridie &c.*] The account given by Aulus Gellius, who quotes Verrius Flaccus as his authority, is as follows: after the recovery of the city L. Atilius in a speech before the senate mentioned that before the battle on the Alia Q. Sulpicius had sacrificed as the regular preliminary to fighting on the day after the Ides of July; that two days after that, the battle was fought, and two days after the battle, the city was taken. On this several senators stated that they recollected that, whenever sacrifice had been performed on the day after kalends, nones, or ides, a disaster had followed. Thereupon the Pontifices decreed *nullum his diebus sacrificium recte futurum. non litasset...neque &c.*] ‘had sacrificed without obtaining favorable omens and without securing the favour of heaven &c.’ This seems to imply that Sulpicius had fought in spite of unfavorable sacrifice, of which offence Verrius Flaccus’ account gives no hint. He implies rather that the sacrifice had been misleading. For the sense of *pax* in this connexion cf. c. 12 § 7.

3 *post diem tertium*] = *die tertio post* by the well known attraction due to the position of the words, regularly exemplified in the calendar use *ante diem tertium &c. kalendas &c.* = *die tertio &c. ante kalendas &c.*

4 *postridie idus, calendas &c.*] = *dies post idus &c.*, is used as an indeclinable subst. of any case that the construction requires.
CHAPTER II.

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Chapter II. erigentia...rei publicae

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expressing the aim or destination of consilia; cf. 18. 3. ix. 45, 18

oratores pectus paudae, iii. 24. § 1. praetorianus legum tollenda a

Livian usage; but it may possibly be the dative of the gerundive

expressing the purpose of the action of the predicate, cf. 1. 4, 5. 6,

diicem me. bello creavere. Cicero uses the dative of the gerund

in this sense, but only with the verb sum, and practically only in the phrase

non solendo esse.

10 § 2. populis representing all the twelve peoples, cf. iv. 23. 5

cum legatis circa diecim populos missis impetrassent, ut ad Volturna

fanum indiceretur omnem Etruriae concilium. The shrine of Volturna,

the tutelary goddess of the Etruscan Confederation, was in the neigh-

bourhood of Volsinii.

12 § 3. defectus descriptive genitive expressing the occasion of the

alarm. § 4. lacum Regillum representing all the twelve peoples, cf.

11. 19. 3. fides in amicitia a common use of in with ablative to express state or

position, in the position of friends; amicitia in such connexion implies

the active friendship of all states. In the former case, the dictator having been

nominated by the senate, the proclamation of a iustitiam seems to have been regarded as a natural

consequence of the appointment.

§ 6. ita...tit, the cessation of all civil jurisdiction, and by conse-

quence practically of all public business. Except in the case of a

dictator it could only be proclaimed by decree of the senate. In the

latter case, the dictator having been nominated by the senate, the

proclamation of a iustitiam seems to have been regarded as a natural

consequence of the appointment.

§ 1. iuratos &c. 'sworn to obey him,' i.e., 'having sworn after his

words, i.e., taken an oath prescribed by him,' idem in me. the

middle participle. The sacramentum was generally repeated by one

man in each legion, and accepted by the rest by the formula idem

in me. L. VI.
centuriaret] cf. x. 21. 4 nec ingenui modo aut iuniores sacramento adacti sed seniorum etiam cohortes factae libertinique centuriati; non modo sed etiam in that passage seems to be the equivalent of ita...ut here; comparing these two passages, we are led to suppose that by centuriaret here Livy means not ‘enrolled in the centuries,’ but ‘formed centuries of.’

29 § 8. ad Mecium] ‘By-the-Mecius.’ Diodorus says ἐν τῷ καλοῦμένῳ Μάρκῳ, Plutarch Camillus, πέρι τὸ Μάρκιου ὄρος. Mecius was probably a hill near Lanuvium. For the form of the name of the locality compare Ad Murcim, the name of the hollow between the Palatine and Aventine hills.

30 § 9. ab contemptui] the internal cause or ground of the action in praefectis. This causal use of ab expresses (1) an external fact of which another external fact is the consequence, e.g., ab simili clade profugum; this occurs twice in Cicero and is rare in Livy; (2) the external or internal reason or motive for an action, as here; this is frequent in Livy, but does not occur in Cicero.

31 crederent] oblique: the thought on which their contempt was grounded.

32 auditus] cf. c. i § 1.

p. 4. 7 § 11. superantibus] ‘the Romans found less difficulty in making their way into the Volscian camp over the vallum defended by soldiers, than they had done in crossing the burning embers of the barricade;’ superare vallum like superare montem &c.; Weissenb.’s note is rather misleading here.

11 § 12. duce] circumstantial abl., ‘under a general by no means prone to liberality.’

largitore] the adjectival use of the subst., quite common in classical prose, esp. with substantives in tor and trix, though more freely used, and with more verbal force in the subst., by Livy. See Livy IV. (Pitt Press Series) Appendix. Cf. v. 22. 1, 32. 8.

14 § 13. demum] ‘after no less than 70 years warfare,’ so tum demum ‘then and not till then.’

15 § 14. et ipsos] a favorite usage of Livy, prob. in imitation of Greek, the pronoun being used really to fix and strengthen the force of et = etiam.
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Chapter III.

21 caput] cf. v. 46. 5, speaking of the forces collected at Veii, sed corpori valido caput decreat, when Camillus was recalled from Ardea to lead them.


Livy gives us no information as to when Sutrium became an ally of Rome. It may have been shortly after the capture of Veii, when Falerii and Capena obtained treaties of peace, v. 27. 15, 24. 3.

25 affectis] 'impaired,' 'weakened,' used absolutely, cf. v. 18. 4 vires corporis adfectae.

tulere] 'carried away with them,' so responsum ferre, iii. 6. 5, practically = 'obtained.'

ut] depends on decretum.

26 primo quoque] has two meanings, (1) 'one after the other' as decimus quisque = 'every tenth' i.e. one after every ninth, (2) 'the very first,' as here, and commonly.

27 § 3. moram] 'such postponement of their hopes,' lit. 'the delay of their hope of which (help),' cf. c. 25 § 2.

28 paucitas &c. = oppidani, quia pauci erant, as fortuna &c. = obsessi, quae erat fortuna; such a use of the abstract for concrete, sustained also all through the sentence, is rather remarkable.

29 per pactionem] adverb phrase formed by per and its subst., so § 10 per condiciones, cf. ii. ii. 2 per occasiones &c.

30 singulis] apparently, in addition to those they were wearing.

31 § 4. eo forte tempore] 'just at that moment, it so chanced.'

p. 5. 1 provocvisset] (as egerentem below) apparently not used before Livy.

2 expressam] 'spoken under stress of the direst necessity,' Livy seems to mean that what they had to tell was what they had been forced to by extreme necessity, not that Camillus had recourse to extreme measures to make them speak.

3 exceptisset] 'accompanied,' cf. c. 32 § 11.

4 luctum lacrimasque] 'mourning and moaning.'

7 § 5. ita] i.e. by leaving the baggage.

id quod rebatur] 'as he expected,' in apposition to the following clause.

8 omnia] with an adj. or participle (often as here qualified by an adverb phrase), to express the completeness or universality of what is signified by the adj. or participle, is a favorite idiom with Livy. Cf. ix. 13. 6
per omnia pacata Samnium magis iniuriis et odio quam beneficioullo
populi Romani, XXVII. 45. 7 &c. &c., see Appendix. ‘Slackness every-
where due to &c.’

ut fit] = ut fere fit ‘as is so often the case.’

§ 6. in unum] is pleonastic, amplifying the co in cocundii.

§ 7. si qua] elπως, ‘in the hope that they might.’

§ 8. a] cf. c. 2 § 9.

§ 9. quibus] = ii quibus ‘those whose minds had been made up.’

in spe ultima] ‘as a last resource,’ ‘in sheer despair,’ lit. ‘being at
the end of their hopes,’ cf. c. 2 § 4.

in custodias divisa] ‘placed in safe custody in different places.’

Chapter IV.

p. 6. 1 trium] with Volscians, Aequians, and Etruscans.

§ 2. sub hasta] the spear was set up from the earliest times at sales
of booty as a symbol probably of the way in which the ownership had
been acquired. Subsequently it came to be used as a symbol of
dominium, or ownership generally, in the sale of confiscated property
and state goods generally, as well as in the court of the centumviri.
That a real spear or something representing it was set up at these sales
in later times is clear from the expression hasta posita used by Cicero
several times in this connexion.

Some regard the hasta as the symbol of magisterial authority, but in
that case it is difficult to see why it was confined to these special
occasions of the exercising of magisterial authority.

§ 3. cum titulo &c.] ‘inscribed with the name of Camillus.’


Innonis] there were three distinct shrines (cellae) in the Capitoline
temple, one of Jove, one of Juno, and one of Minerva. If the statement
here is correct, there must have been a statue of Juno in the cella of
Jupiter as well.

§ 4. civitatein] full citizenship.

ea bella] the wars with Veii, Capena and Falerii, B.C. 396, 5, v.
18 fol. There must have been a considerable number of emigrants, for
they formed the nucleus of four new tribes, c. 5 § 8.

§ 5. pigritia] ‘reluctance to build,’ so i. 31. 5 militandi pigritia.

praestituta] ‘a day was prescribed and severe punishment threatened
to anyone who had not returned to Rome by the time fixed, and the
personal fears thus excited reduced them from concerted defiance to
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individual obedience,' lit. 'the prescribing of a day &c. reduced them, each by means of his own fears.'

[remigrasse] the subjunctive is generic, signifying not a definite person or persons, but any who answered to a certain description, or came within a certain class. The pluperfect of course implies that the returning was to be accomplished before the dies praestituta. For the use of exigentibus indicating complete reverse, cf. II. 6. egentem ex tanto modo regno. capitais poena] penalty affecting the life, or the civil status of a citizen (deminutio capitis), a wider term therefore than our 'capital punishment.' Here the word is probably used in a general sense, 'very severe.'

17 § 6. tota] everywhere.

18 exigentibus] Strictly, demanding or exacting the completion of a contract. The word is used of the censorial inspection of the repairs of public buildings to see that the contract had been properly carried out, sarta tecta exigere. The aediles as curators of the streets exercised, as it seems, a general superintendence over the rebuilding of the city to see that the conditions of state assistance (v. 55. 3) were fulfilled, 'the aediles insisting on the work.'

19 usus] genitive after desiderium.

32 § 8. namque] the position is Livian. He affects this variation of position in several conjunctions, itaque and ergo after the beginning of a sentence, igitur at the beginning &c.

p. 7. 1 ab odio] cf. c. 2 § 9.

3 § 9. Cortinosa, Contenebra] not otherwise known but apparently dependencies of Tarquinii.

7 § 10. laborque] Weissenb. regards que as epexegetical, 'held out only a few days, that is to say, labour &c.,' or, as adversative, as xxiii. 7. 11. Luterbacher translates it by 'doch.' The adversative force of que is found in Plautus, and in Cicero, but only with a negative sentence preceding. It is found in Livy without a negative preceding, as in 11. 39. 10. It is due probably to a proposition with a concessive modification being thrown into the form of two coordinate clauses instead of being expressed by principal and subordinate. But the use here seems more like the use in vix ea futus erat senior subitoque fragore intonuit lacvum, cf. Livy XLIII. 4. 10, where the intimate connexion expressed by que is used to signify the immediate sequence of the fact it introduces. So here the use would emphasise the shortness of the resistance made; in this case it will be translated by 'when.'

8 eos] constructio ad sensum, cf. c. 3 § 2.
cum &c.] the explanation of the previous statement. We should expect a causal particle to introduce it.

9 in orbem] cf. v. 19. 11 in partes sex munitorum numerum divitit; senae horae in orbem operi attributae sunt. From this it seems that in orbem here is to be taken closely with senis horis, which is an ablative of manner rather than time, 'in the way of (according to) six hours forming a cycle,' i.e. 'each of the six divisions took its turn at fighting for one hour out of every six.' The distributive in such a case need not be pressed, and this arrangement is more likely in itself than one by which the same division would be kept fighting for 6 hours continuously, with 30 hours intermission.

10 integro certamini] for integris hostibus, is a striking example of the abstract for the concrete.

13 § 11. imperium] 'the order did not follow promptly on the decision.'

14 nisi per invidiam] cf. I. 3 § 3 'without creating ill-feeling.'

17 § 12. saxo quadrato] This work is the more remarkable considering the condition the state finances must have been in. The object of it was partly to strengthen the Capitol, partly to prevent an enemy scaling it again. It was probably therefore on the side where the Gauls had climbed up. 'The earliest form of Roman masonry consisted of rectangular tufa blocks placed in layers, alternately parallel to, and across the line of the wall so as to bind the mass together firmly,' Burn, Old Rome, p. 4.

18 hac] 'the present,' cf. I. 55. 9 nullius ne horum quidem magnificentiae operum fundamenta non exsuperaturum, compare also Preface § 4 festinantibus ad haec nova. On the fact see Pliny, N.H. xxxvi. 104 senes...insanas Capitoli substructiones mirabantur.

Chapter V.

19 frequentare] 'used efforts to draw the people to public meetings by mooting agrarian proposals.' frequentare is to 'make numerous or thronged;' a lex agraria was a proposal dealing with the domain land, generally for distributing it among the poorer citizens.

20 legibus] the vague plural heightening the rhetorical effect of the word; only one proposal is really meant.

§ 2. in spem] 'was held out so as to come within their hopes' or 'so as to be an object of hope,' i.e. 'the prospect of a division of the Pompitine land was held out to them.' ostendere spem alicuius rei is a far more usual form of expression. The Pompitine territory was a very
fertile district on the east of the Pomptine marshes, hitherto alternately in the hands of the Romans and of the Volscians.

22 *possessio* descriptive genitive ‘of undisputed possession,’ that is, ‘possessed undisputedly,’ ‘to which now for the first time their title was placed beyond dispute, indisputably secured.’ *possessio* is used in a general sense, not in the special sense it had in connexion with the holding of the *ager publicus*.

§ 3. *crimenabantur*] sc. *tribuni plebis.

23 *infestorem*] used here in a passive sense, ‘liable to danger,’ *ab nobilitate* signifying the quarter from which the danger is to be expected, cf. x. 46. 9 *regio ca infesta ab Samnitibus erat*.

26 § 4. *grassari*] a favorite word with Livy, not used by Cicero or Caesar. It meant originally ‘to go about,’ but acquired a special sense of going about in a disorderly manner, hence *grassator* one who riots for amusement, or attacks people as a robber or foot-pad. In a secondary sense the word means ‘to proceed,’ sometimes in a simple sense as *iure grassari*, III. 44. 8, but more frequently with an implication of ill-design or of violence; so here ‘were greedily settling on,’ ‘were grabbing hold of.’

*possessio*] in the technical sense of occupation of the domain land, not freehold possession.

29 § 5. *cddem*] see note on Text.

30 *immemorem*] ‘having no mind for,’ ‘careless about,’ a frequent meaning of *immemor* in Livy, implying indifference, rather than forgetfulness, so *memor* = ‘having regard for’ and *obliviscor* ‘to disregard,’ cf. II. 6. 9, 2. 3, 10. 8, &c.

*instruendum*] ‘planting and stocking.’

*vires*] ‘means,’ ‘resources,’ cf. XXI. 1. 2, XXIII. 41—6.


*tune etiam*] imply *alias* in the preceding phrase, ‘always religious, and at this time also.’

2 *superstitiosis*] ‘with its leading men full of religious panic.’ Livy does not apparently mean any contrast between the religiousness of the mass and the nobles under ordinary circumstances, but simply to point out that the ordinary religious feeling, intensified at this time, induced the leading men to refuse office for the purpose of getting the auspices renewed by an *interrex*. For a similar renewal of the auspices, cf. v. 17. 3, where it was necessitated by the fact of the retiring consular tribunes having been elected *vitio*. They were obliged to resign, and
the auspices, or power of consulting the gods by auspice, returned, according to the phrase, to the patres, to whom in theory it always belonged, cf. c. 41 § 6, though in public matters it was always exercised by their delegates the chief magistrates. A new departure, as it were, was then made, the patres appointing an interrex to take the auspices afresh (ab integro) for the purpose of holding the comitia to elect new magistrates. This was what was done now. But what had happened to make people think that the auspicial succession was vitiated by the Gallic disaster now, whereas the magistrates of the previous year had been elected apparently in the ordinary way (c. 4 § 7), is not at all clear.

ab] cf. c. 2 § 9.

ut...auspicia] depend on res...rediit.

renovare] = ab integro repetere in v. 17. 3.

3 deinceps] 'in succession,' fuere is omitted as frequently in similar statements, e.g. III. 32. 5 inde Consules C. Menenius, P. Sestius Capitolinus.

8 § 7. occisper] apparently an archaism, Livy frequently uses it with magistratum for object.

9 § 8. aedes] outside the Porta Capena between the first and second milestones on the Appian Road, cf. Ovid Fasti vi. 192. A via tecta is there mentioned in connexion with it, which was possibly a colonnade leading to it.

10 duumviro] one of the two Curators of the Sibylline books; on these see Ramsay p. 330. More usually commissioners (duumviri) were specially elected for the purpose of dedicating a temple, of whom one was chosen by lot to perform the actual ceremony, and was the one whose name was recorded in connexion with it, II. 27. 6, 42. 5, &c. It has been suggested that sacris jiciundis here is used loosely for aedis dedicandae causa creato; otherwise we are to suppose that the vowing of the temple had been entrusted to the Sibylline curators, one of whom was appointed to dedicate the temple. The vowing of it is not mentioned before this by Livy.

tribus] These are named from localities, not, as the earlier tribes, from the names of Roman gentes.

ex novis] cf. c. 4 § 4.

12 viginti quinque] 21 were completed B.C. 495, II. 21. 7.
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Chapter VI.

13  
ad] 'before' in a contio, cf. Aulus Gellius xiii. 16. 2, who deduces from a statement of Messala, aliud esse cum populo agere, aliud concionem habere. Nam cum populo agere est rogare aliciuid populum, quod suffragis suis aut iubeat aut vetet; concionem autem habere est verba facere ad populum sine uilla rogatione.

14  
'mobiliorem'] 'more open to the allurement of land-owning;' lit. 'more fit for moving up to desire of land.'

15  
§ 2. de bello...mentio...dilatd] = bellum de quo mentio facta fuerat dilatum.

24  
§ 3. res rediti] the phrase commonly used of an interregnum, when the chief power of the state was vested in, or devolved on the single interrex; used here of Camillus it implies (as does additi also) the leading position held by him, the other tribunes being rather assistants, than colleagues to him.

26  
Servilius] cf. c. 4 § 7.

27  
P. Valerius] c. 5 § 6.

28  
§ 4. fugientium] probably clients of the patricians who had occupied the Pomptine land.

30  
Antiates] Antium was a Volscian town, which had been conquered by the Romans B.C. 468, and temporarily occupied, a Latin Colony being planted there, but in B.C. 459 the town recovered its freedom.

31  
§ 5. eo...quod] 'though they disclaimed any state responsibility in the matter, by saying that they merely abstained from forbidding volunteers to serve where they pleased,' lit. 'that they were serving as volunteers simply not forbidden.'

p. 9.  
§ 6. quippe] 'why!' said they, 'we should have to &c.;' something obviously true concerning a foregoing statement.

6  
§ 7. animo] see note on Text.

9  
confusus] 'overcome,' used here, unusually, to express the effect of modesty; cf. c. 34 § 8.

10  
§ 8. inde] introduces the speech, the position of it is due to the desire to emphasize ingens dictatorem. See note on Text.

12  
honorato] used adjectivally as = honorificus, so xxvii. 10. 6, senatus quam poterat honoratissimo decreto.

14  
§ 9. secum] 'rivalling his present (or former) self,' compare the use of se in sui dissimilis &c.
tanto...civitatis] qualify opinionem, 'an opinion expressed with so much unanimity by all the citizens;' the ablative is circumstantial; the use of an adverb phrase qualifying a substantive is common to Livy with earlier writers, e.g., heri semper lenitas verèbar quorum evaderet (Terence), neque longas a me neque semper mea manu literas exspectais (Cicero), but Livy is much more free in his use of this idiom.

16 constantem] 'unchanging,' 'permanent;' if constantem governs consensu, the latter must be the dative, the ablative would require cum, but 'consistent with the general opinion' has no meaning here.

§ 10. atque] 'and in particular,' atque adds the special to the general, cf. vii. 13, ut viris ac Romanis dignum sit, pugnaturos.

17 ut...sic] = μεν...δὲ, in concessive sense, 'but while he encouraged them not to fear, he advised the utmost caution,' 'while he said "no fear" he equally said "no over-confidence."'

§ 11. ab invidia] ab here seems rather to express the agent, than the ground or motive as in c. 2 § 9, the feeling being identified with the people, or the people expressed by their predominant feeling; invidia finitimorum = finitimi invidia moti, as mitis sapientia Laelii = Laelius miti sapientia praeditus.

§ 12. L. Valerii] see note on Text.

§ 13. interim] while Camillus was dealing with the Antiates.

se] belongs to Latini atque Hernici as well as to Etruria.

nova] cf. c. 2 § 3.


§ 14. causariis] men who in consequence of bodily defect or ill-health were discharged from service in the field. Digest iii. 2.

est honesta missio quae emeritis stipendiis, vel ante ab imperatore indulgentur, et causaria quae propter valetudinem laboribus militiae solvit. The medical use of the word is probably derived from the military.

§ 15. consiliis] i.e. the senate. The duties and powers here implied are those ordinarily belonging to the chief magistrates. They were to be all entrusted to the sole charge of Cornelius for the time being, compare iv. 31. 1. In case of all the chief magistrates leaving Rome a praefectus urbi would be appointed, cf. iii. 3. 6. The duties implied in custodem religionum, comitiorum, legum are those of superintending those matters
of state religion for which the chief magistrates were responsible, of holding and presiding in the comitia, and of jurisdiction.

§ 16. *partem &c.* 'the duties respectively allotted to them,' lit., 'for the share consisting of their duty,' munera is a descriptive genitive.

p. 10. *bene* 'ungrudgingly,' 'readily,' the opposite of *maligne* 'scantily' or 'grudgingly.'

2 *adiecit* 'said further;' what he means is that he will submit himself to Camillus as a *magister equitum* would to a *dictator*, not of course that there would be any alteration in their legal positions.

§ 17. *se vero* 'for their part;' vero generally emphasises by way of contrast, cf. Cic. *Philipp.* II. 42. 108 *ista vero quae et quanta barbaria est*; but it is sometimes used especially with personal pronouns, and with *tum*, simply to emphasise or accentuate a word or phrase, cf. XXVII. 19. 12.

*bene sperare* absolute use, 'had good hopes,' 'felt confident.'

§ 18. *in medium* conferre in medium is 'to bring together into what is open to all,' so 'to contribute to a common stock,' 'devote to the public good.'

Chapter VII.

15 *iustitio* cf. c. 2 § 6.

16 *Satricum* an old Latin town, which probably at the time of the Gallic invasion had fallen into the hands of the Volscians, who held it at this time. It lay between Lanuvium and Antium, in the Pomptine plain.

17 *nova subole* those apparently who had grown up since the devastation of B.C. 389, c. 2 § 12.

20 § 2. *quod ubi* *quod* may be said to be, strictly speaking, in apposition to *turbatas...esse*, which contains the statement of the antecedent *hostis...commovit &c.*; practically as in *quod si* it is simply copulative; as in the English vulgar colloquial usage, 'which when the captain came for to know of it,' 'which' might be scientifically analysed as 'which, namely, it (the conduct previously mentioned), when the captain came to know of.'

23 *restitantes* see note on Text.

*quin* as with *etiam*, simply a cumulative adversative particle, 'nay, even.'

25 *nedum* 'let alone,' 'much less;' *nedum* originally means 'fully, altogether, quite not,' and is used to imply that what follows it, though
mentioned, is really outside of consideration; if what precedes is, or is not the case, still more or still less is that which follows, IX. 18. 4 adulationes etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum (still more) victoribus. Cicero apparently (though Hand, Tursellinus denies this) only uses it after negative or quasi-negative sentences. He also uses it only in connexion with a verb either expressed or easily supplied from the context. Livy uses it as an adverb simply.

§ 3. interequitans] here transitive, generally intransitive. He seems to have ridden to the front, faced round upon the army and riding in and out of the files of the antesignani made his address. Weissenb. says that he addressed the antesignani first, and then rode among the other ranks; but it is difficult to see how the words can mean this. The men were apparently not drawn up in standing-fight order, so that the standards would be in the front of the maniples not, as in the latter case, in the rear.

haec] the more ordinary position would be quae haec tristitia; hostis est quid alium quam is an imitation of the elasticity of Greek, more conspicuously imitated XXI. 30. 6.

materia] so Cicero, pro Milone § 35, calls Clodius segetem ac materiem suae gloriae to Milo.


victoriae] descriptive genitive indicating the ground of the triumph, so practically equivalent to ob, cf. Cic. Philipp. XIV. 23 Pharsaliae vero pugnae ne triumphum quidem egit. Livy XXXIII. 37. 10 Boiorum (= de Bois) triumphi spem collegae reliquit.

ex] the source of the triumph, regularly used, as also de, of the people by the defeat of whom the triumph is claimed.

p. 11. i Aequis] the preposition is not repeated with this word, because the Aequi are thought of as combined with the Volsci.

§ 5. signum] here the red flag hung over the general's tent as a signal to prepare for an engagement.

non desidero] 'I do not feel the need' of dictatorial powers in dealing with you.


ut ne...quidem] a slight anacoluthon; the comparison begins as if it were to be expressed by neque...neque, for neque enim here is not 'and indeed not,' but 'for neither.'
Chapter VIII.

13 signo] the signal by sound of trumpet for the attack.
14 infer signum] 'forward!'
15 § 2. quod ubi] cf. c. 7 § 2.
20 § 3. antesignanos] those who fought in front of the first line of standards, which were placed in a regular battle in the rear ranks of the maniples. These would be the hastati in the first instance, but if they were forced to retire and the principes took their place, these would become the antesignani for the time being. In case of these also being driven back, the triarii would become antesignani. The term in fact means any soldiers fighting in a pitched battle in front of the foremost standards, see ix. 39. After the time of Marius the term acquired a different signification.

24 § 5. forte oblata] = si (or quibus) forte oblata esset, 'whenever they chanced to encounter him.'
25 § 6. intulisset] the subjunctive (as the optative in Greek) signifies the indefinite repetition of the action. It is not 'everywhere where as a matter of definite fact he appeared,' but 'anywhere where he might appear.' It is really the protasis of a purely hypothetical conditional sentence; if he appeared anywhere a result followed: the fact of his appearance is implied, but not formally expressed, the main point being the result that followed if the condition was fulfilled.

27 cum scuto] the common use of cum of a man’s accoutrement, so cum gladio ‘sword in hand.’
29 § 7. turba] ‘the unwieldy mass;’ turba precedes the et which strictly speaking it should follow, because it really suggests the one cause which in two ways deferred the completion of the victory; one MS. has impediebatur fuga in which case turba would be ablative, and the position of et strictly grammatical.
30 longa] is the emphatic word here, ‘to despatch such a multitude was a work of time for the wearied soldiers,’ lit., ‘so great a multitude was to be despatched (only) by a long work of slaughter by wearied soldiers.’

p. 12. § 8. quietis] without further trouble to the Romans, lit., ‘for the Romans remaining inactive.’
2 namque] cf. c. 4 § 8.
4 § 9. quorum] ‘in reliance on whom.’
7 est adortus] ‘set to work to.’
§ 10. quae] sc. opera.
LIVY. VI.

8 minus...quam ut] 'there was too little spirit in the enemy to justify him in waiting for such a distant prospect of victory.'

speci] is descriptive genitive, 'a victory of such slow hope' = 'a victory that could only be hoped for after long waiting;' all that is meant is that Camillus thought that he might take the town by storm, and that a siege would be waste of time.

10 nesci] the words with which he encouraged his men; the sentence then goes on from cohortatus milites.

12 alacritate] abl. of circumstance.

Chapter IX.

20 ceterum] has its usual adversative force; Camillus had finished this work; his mind, however, was fixed on a greater object. For the use of immineo cf. III. 51. 9; in a similar sense with in and accus. xxviii. 16. 3.

22 § 2. machinisque] siege-implements generally, the general coupled by que to the particular tormentis, both are in apposition to apparatu.

23 valida] especially in its maritime resources.

ad exercitum] ad in the sense of apud is found in all writers, e.g. ad urbem, ad portas esse. It is specially common in Livy in this phrase.

30 § 4. opposita] 'lay in front of Etruria' on the South. Nepete commanded the roads to Falerii on the East, Sutrium those to Tarquinii on the West.

inde] = ab ea parte 'in that direction;' the use of an adverb for the case of a pronoun, or for a preposition and case of a pronoun, is very common in Livy.

31 illis] the Etruscans.

p. 13. 2 § 5. quibus Quinctius] right or wrong, Livy must mean the army of causarii and seniores mentioned c. 6 § 14. It is of course improbable that such an army should have been given to Camillus, and therefore probably Livy has made a mistake both in the name of the troops and that of their commander, as he himself could have seen the improbability. Historically the point is not important, as probably all these details are more or less mythical.

4 § 6. imperio] his command; any Roman army would be accustomed to obey orders.

mallef] is apodosis of an elliptical conditional sentence, 'he would have preferred, if choice were possible.'
9 § 7. *intersaeptis itineribus*] ‘by means of barricades.’

12 § 8. *inclinam*] ‘redressed the balance;’ lit. ‘supported the lowered scale of things,’ a favorite metaphor from the balance; compare the uses of *momentum.*

15 § 9. *tanta spe*] = *non tam spe,* see note on Text.

16 *eo*] ‘to that side;’ *aversis* drawn away from the part which they were besieging, the part held by the Sutrians.

17 *ipse*] he would enter, in the absence of the enemy, the part still held by the Sutrians.

19 § 10. *antecep*] from the Romans who were attacking the Etruscans’ portion of the town, and those who had entered the part still held by the Sutrians, in the rear of the Etruscans, who had turned to defend the other part.

**Chapter X.**


13 § 4. *fides*] ‘the pledge (or covenant) of surrender was regarded by them as more sacred than that of alliance.’ The position of the comparative is somewhat irregular.

   *erat*] cf. c. 29 § 1.

14 *ductus*] sc. *est.

17 § 5. *parci*] ‘and orders issued for quarter to be given to the unarmed.’ *inermi,* generic use of the singular number, very common in the case of proper names.

18 *Nepesinorum*] partitive genitive, ‘of the Nepesines those who &c.’ *ex Nepesinis* would perhaps be more usuai, or *Nepesinorum ii qui auctores fuerant.*

23 § 6. *res repetitae*] the demand for restitution or indemnification which was the regular preliminary to declaration of war.

24 *ex instituto*] ‘according to covenant.’ The terms of the Latin league merely stipulated that the members should assist one another in war. Livy, as Weissenb. says, here seems to be thinking of the obligation of *civitates foederatae* at a later period to furnish troops *ex formula.*

26 § 7. *quod suae &c.*] cf. c. 6 § 5. Their plea was that they were only responsible for what was done *publico consilio; nec culpam in eo publicam nec consiliumuisse = non culpam in eo publicamuisse,* quia *non publico factum esset consilio.*

   *quod...militaverint*] relative to *eo,* ‘that the state was not to blame
LIVY. VI.

for some of its soldiers having served in the Volscian armies, inasmuch as it had not authorised their action.'

§ 8. eos tamen ipsos] as for the men themselves, they were beyond the reach of punishment.

dati] see Appendix.

super alia aliis] 'one after (upon) another.' This use of super ('on the top of') of addition, or accumulation, begins with Livy, cf. iv. 30. 2 super acceptam in Algido cladem.

§ 9. non visa] the construction of the sentence is, magis tempus belli non habere quam causam non habere, 'seemed to mean that it was no time, rather than that there was no ground for war.' What Livy means is that the Latins felt that there was ground for war, but that it was not a favorable time for the Romans to make it, that otherwise their answer would have been different. habere 'to imply.' Weissenb. and Luterb. render it as if it were equivalent to quibus relatis, patribus magis tempus belli non esse quam causa visa est.

Chapter XI.

p. 15. 10 § 3. nimius animi] so stupentes animi, suspensus animi, from comparison with which it might seem as if animi were a remnant of the locative case, like humili &c. Draeger however regards it as an instance of the post-classical extension (under the influence of Greek) of the defining genitive, used after adjectives, which in classical Latin is limited to a certain number of adjectives, such as cupidus, gnarus, expers, plenus &c. &c. Livy and the Augustan poets are much more free in the use of this genitive, cf. integer vitae, seri studiorum &c. &c.

solum] see note on Text.

§ 4. interim] 'when all the while (after all),' has no temporal, but simply adversative force, cf. iv. 51. 4.

aestimare] used absolutely, 'to reflect.'

§ 5. inter] with gerund or gerundive, a rather favorite use of Livy's to express simultaneity of actions, or the interruption of one action by another, cf. 11. 20. 9 inter spoliandum corpus veruto percussus, but not used before him. Cicero only uses ad, in and ob with the accus. gerund or gerundive, the second only once.

in spem pacis] lit. 'their minds relaxed into the hope of peace,' i.e., careless, with the certainty of peace before them.

pars virilis] more common in the phrase pro virili parte, as 1.
preface § 3 *pro v. p. rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi consulere* = 'to take an active part in helping to record;' so here *pars virilis* 'a man's (emphatic) share resting with the soldiers' means that all the soldiers had played an active part in obtaining the glory, and therefore could claim a substantial share of it.

*apud*] *penes* is used in the same sense in some phrases with the verb *sum*, cf. IX. 1. 7.

esse] apparently a return on the original construction of the sentence, but it is very awkward. Luterbacher accepts a suggestion of Harant to insert *constet*, depending like the other verbs on *cum*.

*mortalium*] for *hominum*, is commonly used by Sallust, by Livy only in speeches and descriptions of battles.

§ 6. *ad hoc* 'in addition to this,' a common use in Sallust and Livy and later writers. Cicero uses *ad* in the sense of 'added to,' but with a construction adapted to give that force to the preposition, not in a bare phrase like this, cf. in Vatin. c. 8 *si ad cetera vulnera...hanc quoque plagam inflixisses*.

§ 7. *primus*] Livy has forgotten Valerius Poplicola and Spurius Cassius.

*popularis*] 'a People's friend.'

*criminando...alliciendo*] modal ablatives explaining *consilia communicare*. This modal sense of the gerund (in which it sometimes is practically equivalent to a present participle) is rare before Livy; in earlier writers it is almost always instrumental.

aura] Livy leaves *populati* to be supplied from the context.

§ 8. *agrariis &c.*] Livy apparently does not mean that Manlius brought forward any agrarian measures, but that he set his mind on something more revolutionary. Agrarian measures were not extreme enough to satisfy him.

*moliri*] 'undermine,' *molior* is to undertake heavy work of some kind; the context gives its particular sense here, to undertake heavy work, of which established credit is the object, is to shake or undermine it.

*acriores*] i.e. than the desire for land.

*nervo ac vinculis*] when a debtor was *indicatus pecuniae*, that is, condemned by a *index* in the amount of a debt, 30 days were allowed him to pay it. At the expiration of that time, if the debt was not paid, he was arrested and taken before the praetor, by whom he was assigned (*addictus*) to the creditor. The latter was obliged to keep him for 60 days, during which he could secure him by stocks (*nervus*) or fetters.
and chains, to prevent his absconding. If at the end of 60 days the debt was still unpaid, the debtor became the property of the creditor to sell into slavery or to put to death. During the 60 days the creditor on three nundinae exhibited the debtor in public, and proclaimed the amount of the debt, in case any one might choose to pay it and release him.

33 § 9. *et erat*] 'and no doubt,' almost = *et enim*, or *et profecto*, cf. IX. 16. 12, XXVII. 15. 7.

p. 16. 2 *itaque*] the position is common in Livy, cf. c. 4 § 8.

3 *in speciem* &c.] 'was ostensibly put forward as the ground,' lit. 'was exhibited so as to be the outside appearance of the cause;' *ut...quaerere* tur depends on the whole expression *in speciem...iactatum*, expressing the purpose of it, *cur* would have been more natural.

Chapter XII.

15 *seu ratus*] the use of the participle as the equivalent of the conjunction and verb in the corresponding clause is a *Livian graecism*.

17 § 2. *tot*] qualifies *libris*; 'besides the weariness caused by the constant recurrence of Volscian wars through so many books, my readers doubtless will feel the same question (difficulty) suggest itself to them, which has puzzled me &c., namely, whence &c.' *legentibus* with its object *tot*... *gesta* is governed grammatically by *succursurum*, but in sense is rather connected with *satiatement*. Hence the position of *satiatement*, and the addition of *quoque* to show that *illud* &c. is a second effect on the readers' minds of the accounts of the Volscian wars.

18 *succursurum*] sc. *esse*, instead of *quin* with subjunctive, the regular construction, is not uncommon in Livy, and also in Cornelius Nepos; in Cicero or Caesar *non dubito* with infin. would always mean 'not to hesitate.'

19 *rerum*] genitive after *auctores*, but qualifying *temporibus* as well.

21 § 3. *tacitum*] the passive participle of *taceo* in the sense of 'to hold the tongue about,' cf. Verg. *Aen*. vi. 841 *Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum, aut te, Cosse, relinquat?* Livy i. 50. 9.

22 *tandem*] the rhetorical use, cf. iv. 3. 16; 'what explanation, let me ask, can I give, beyond offering a conjecture, which it is open to every one (which every one is at liberty) to make for himself.' The sense of the relative clause is that Livy's explanation is conjectural, with no more authority than any other man's conjecture.

25 § 4. *alia atque alia*] 'one generation after another,' the combination which is used, but rarely and in a rather different sense by Cicero and
Sallust, is common in Livy; it is probably an imitation of ἀλλος καὶ ἀλλος and for that reason a favourite phrase with Livy. Livy’s graecism appears in his uses of alius more than in any other one word.

26 populis...gens] ‘states’...‘nation.’ The gens is the whole number of people claiming a common origin, and included under a common name, the populus is a political unit inside the gens. The Antiates, for example, were a ‘people’ of the Volscian gens.

29 § 5. quae] accusative after vindicant.

vix &c.] in Livy’s time owing to the system of large grazing farms, the free population of the old Volscian territory was exceedingly small, cf. Plin. N. H. xviii. 35 latifundia perdidere Italiam; Appian B. C. 1. 7, in consequence of the large slave-worked grazing estates, τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἀλγότης καὶ δυσανδρία κατελάμβανε, πριχομένους πενίᾳ τε καὶ ἐσφοράς καὶ στρατείας. εἰ δὲ καὶ σχολάσειαν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ ἄργλας διετίθεντο, τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἔχομένης, καὶ γεωργοῖς χρωμένων θεράπουσιν ἀντὶ ἔλευθερων.

servitia] slave-gangs employed on the latifundia.

30 § 6. certe] takes up from § 1. However difficult it may be to understand, the size of the Volscian army was certainly very great.

31 quod...conveniat] ‘the Volscian army, we may feel sure, as all the authorities agree on the point, &c.’ quod is relative ‘a thing which,’ and conveniat is subjunctive, because the relative clause gives Livy’s ground for speaking with certainty.

p. 17. 2 Circieiensium] Circeii was said to have been first colonised by Tarquinius Superbus. A second colony (Latin) was planted there B.C. 393. Cf. c. 21 § 2.

Velitris] was taken from the Volscians, and a colony planted there in B.C. 494.

3 § 7. eo die] the day of his arrival.

auspicato] modal ablative of the neut. pf. pass. participle used as substantive; this is one of the few such ablatives used by Cicero; those that he uses had practically become adverbs. They are far more frequent in Livy, who uses them in fact whenever convenient, cf. xxvii. 2. 12 explorato &c. This is otherwise called a substantival use of the ablative absolute. But there seems no advantage in the name. The ablative absolute of a participle with a sentence for the subject, e.g. audito Machanidam refugisse, seems a different use. Cf. c. 25 § 5.

4 pacem] ‘favour,’ an attitude of peace on the part of the gods towards the human being, cf. c. 1 § 12.

adorasset] stronger form of orasset.
5 ad] of the occasion, propositum signum being = to an abstract substantive with genitive depending, cf. ix. 2. 5 ne Apulia omnis ad praeuentem terrem deficeret, xxiv. 30. 5 ad munition tam atrocem.

signum] the red flag, cf. c. 7 § 5.

7 § 8. si quid &c.] 'if...can see into the future,' lit. 'see anything (reaching) into the future,' an unusual combination; Weissenb. considers it to be modelled on the phrase in caelum conspicere, found in Plautus.

obnixos] cf. viii. 38. 11 in suo quisque gradu obnixi; the ob in obnixi as in obtinere = 'against any opposition,' so practically 'firmly.' stabili gradu 'immovable,' lit. 'in stable stride.' Cf. ii. 10. 10 ingenti pontem obtineret gradu. 'I would have you stand planted firm and immovable.'

12 § 9. vana] proleptic, 'uselessly.'

14 deos esse qui] not 'there are gods who,' but 'it is the gods who,' the subjunctive is due to the oblique narration.

16 § 10. primum initium] a pleonasm, but a common one; moti certaminis is also repetition of initium, meaning the beginning of the fight, 'at the first beginning of the onset.'

intentus] 'ready for action,' 'on the alert.'

tene] 'hold back,' 'keep in hand.'

17 haerere] 'brought to a standstill.' aciem the enemy's line.

18 labore] see note on Text.

20 § 11. nec...ducem] i.e. the result was what C. expected and what he had led his troops to expect.

Chapter XIII.

26 rei] Livy uses the dative as well as the ablative after fretus, other prose writers the ablative only, cf. c. 31. 6, iv. 37. 6.

27 utramque] theirs and the Romans. oculis with the eyes only, that is, by the size.

tenere] 'hastily.'


31 § 3. frons prima] 'the first line was driven in, and the supports became unsteady.' frons prima is what would have been the antesignani in the Roman army.

p. 18. 1 omnia] cf. c. 3 § 5 'the disturbance became general.'

fluctuanti similis] would generally mean 'looked like wavering,' implying what was most likely to happen, cf. Verg. Aen. vi. 602
NOTES.

cadentique imminet assimilis; but here seems to be simply a euphonious way of saying fluctuans; the line must have been waverling by this time; 'showed every appearance of waverling.' Luterbacher translates as if it were fluctuanti mari, but the word seems hardly more a conscious metaphor than our 'waver,' cf. c. 24 § 10 in fluctuante acie.

§ 4. et] with and without quidem introduces the first member of an antithesis, the second being introduced with an adversative particle, or asyndeton, cf. II. 2. 9 et ceteri quidem movebant minus, postquam Sp. Lucretius &c.

signo] properly an order inscribed on a tessera, but used generally of a verbal order passed to the troops, 'the word being passed.'

§ 5. obequitando] frequent in Livy, but not found before, 'riding at them.'

iusta] as in iustum proelium, insta victoria &c. 'full,' 'regular,' 'complete,' so here 'business-like.'

§ 6. libera corpora] these would be sold into slavery and the price of them paid into the treasury, cf. v. 22. 1.

omnium] 'and those not all plebeian prisoners,' in sense is really in apposition to pars maxima captivorum, though it agrees only with the last word.

de] of the body to which a person belongs, cf. c. 19 § 7.

ut &c.] included with omnium de plebe in the negation; they were not men of a kind which made it possible to believe &c.

fides] 'proof,' in apposition to the sentence principes inventi (sunt).

§ 8. defectionem] in apposition to eadem quae dictatori quisque, in accordance with the idiomatic usage, rather than cuisque.

haud perplexe] 'in no ambiguous terms,' cf. XXX. 20. 2 iam non perplexe inquit sed palam revocant.

Chapter XIV.

iussuros] cf. c. 25 § 5; for the construction, cf. c. 12 § 2.

mole] 'a more serious difficulty.'

seditione] 'civil disturbance.'

§ 2. orationes] sc. erant, 'M. no longer confined himself to speeches.'

popularia &c.] 'ostensibly only the acts of a friend to the people, but at the same time tending to riot.'
indirect question depending on intuenti; mente, 'spirit.'

intuenti] for this impersonal use of the active participle cf. vii. 10. 6, ix. 17. 4.

§ 3. nobilem] 'distinguished,' cf. ix. 1. 1.

indicatum] cf. c. 11 § 8.

p. 19. 1 pecuniae] the genitive used after verbs of accusing, condemning and acquitting, signifying that in respect of which the person is accused &c.; probably due to an ellipse of crimen, the genitive usually describing the offence, but sometimes by a not unnatural transition the penalty, e.g. indicative pecuniae = 'to give sentence against one on a charge involving money,' so 'to condemn to pay money, a debt, or (as in xxvi. 14. 3) a fine.'

duci] sc. in servitutem cf. § 4.

manum iniecit] sc. ei, in token that he meant to stay the arrest by paying the debt, cf. c. 11 § 8; the man was not only indicatus, but also addictus.

faceratorum] means the same people as patrum.

§ 4. tum vero] anticipate si...videam, 'it would indeed be of no use for me to have &c.'

tanquam Gallis victoribus] 'as he might have been had the Gauls conquered us;' tanquam with the abl. absol. = tanquam si with subjunctive, cf. iv. 9. 10 velut contacta civitate. This use of relative conjunctions with participles (victoribus here = a participle) is rare before Livy. Cicero can only be said with certainty to have used three in this way, quamvis, ut, quasi.

§ 5. palam] the only case in Livy of palam used as a preposition, the use is poetical.

libraque et aere] the form of conveyance of property held in full ownership (res mancipi). The buyer laying hold of the property (or a representation of it) declared it to be his in a set form of words, and thereupon struck a balance with a piece of copper, which he handed to the seller as symbol of the price paid. This form was called mancipatio. The centurion being now his creditor's slave would be bought as a res mancipi in order to be set free.

§ 7. eversos] by the Gallic invasion.

multiplici &c.] 'having paid the amount of the capital many times over' (in interest).
mergentibus] 'as the original capital was drowned in (buried under) accumulations of interest;' what is meant apparently is that the man in order to pay the interest due contracted fresh loans, so that the original capital borrowed became a mere 'drop in the bucket' of the whole debt.

18 § 8. quodcumque] 'all the lawful bonds that had bound him to &c., now bound him to one individual man.' All the claims of country &c. upon him, were now transferred to Manlius, who was everything to him, cf. Soph. Ajax, 518.

20 § 9. unius hominis] 'in the power of, devoted to one man,' a phase of the possessive genitive, probably in imitation of Greek, e.g. ἐὰν ἔστι τοῦ λέγοντος ἦν φόβους λέγγ, most common with totus, cf. III. 36. 7 hominum non causarum toti erant. Cicero has totus noster, vester, but this use of the genitive begins with Livy.

21 commodioris] 'more nicely adapted,' see note on Text.


ne quem &c.] his motive expressed in his own words.

24 duci] as this followed only on addictio, it is a question whether que should not be read instead of ve; in c. 12 § 8 the Mss. vary between vatesque and vatesve; if ve is right it is probably due to the negative form of the sentence.


28 vera an vana iacerit] indirect question dependent on the sense of omissa discrimine.

29 possidendiis] the use of the ablative of the gerundive as complement of an adjective is rare even in Livy, who prefers the gerund for that purpose.

30 avertiant] 'embezzle,' a regular pregnant use of the word; the full expression is avertere alio 'to divert into a different direction from the proper one.'

31 palam] is practically an adjective in this expression, 'if light were thrown on this matter.'

32 § 12. enimvero] 'of course,' 'as can easily be understood,' assumes that the statement is self-evident, cf. II. 22. 6, XXVII. 16. 14.

videri] historic infinitive.

33 cum conferendum...ident] antithetic asyndeta, μὲν and δὲ would be used in Greek, 'that a tax was imposed to raise the money, when &c., and now the same gold &c.'

p. 20. 2 in praelatum] cedere in, 'to pass into,' 'become,' not found in
Cicero, shows how \textit{in} with accus. obtained a consecutive meaning, a use not found before Vergil.

3 § 13. \textit{quaerendo} modal gerund with \textit{exsequor}, cf. IX. 16. 4; \textit{exsequor} is most commonly so used with the gerund of a verb meaning ‘to inquire;’ ‘they pressed him with enquiries,’ \textit{lit.} ‘they followed up in the way of enquiring.’

4 \textit{differenti} ‘the dative instead of \textit{ab} (with ablative),’ Luterbacher. But the construction seems hardly possible, therefore probably Weissenb. is right, who takes it as the rarer form of the ablative, used to avoid the objectionable form \textit{differenti}e\textit{que}.

6 \textit{mediam} = \textit{mediocrem}, agrees with both \textit{gratiam} and \textit{offensionem}.

\textbf{Chapter XV.}

10 \textit{ita suspensis rebus} ‘in this unsettled state of affairs.’

13 § 2. \textit{sella} sc. \textit{curuli} the official seat of the higher magistrates.

16 § 3. \textit{quisque} is not, as Luterbacher following Kühnast says, equivalent to \textit{atrique}, but simply distributes both \textit{senatus} and \textit{plebs} into the individuals of whom they were composed, so II. 30. II \textit{medio inter castra campo} (the two armies) \textit{ante suum quisque vallum infestis signis constitere}; here ‘looking every man to the leader of his own side.’

19 § 4. \textit{quemadmodum} \&c.] ‘as I am pretty sure we shall agree as far as regards you and the matter on which I am about to examine (interrogate) you.’

20 \textit{quod...rem} = \textit{de te eaque re.}

\textit{quaesiturus}, judicial use.

21 \textit{conventurum esse} sc. \textit{mihi patribusque cum plebe}.

22 § 5. \textit{fide incolendi} this is really part of the main proposition, but expressed as an adjunct of it, for the sense is, ‘that all loans might be repaid and confidence (or credit) so preserved.’

23 \textit{creditum} sc. \textit{aes}.

25 \textit{liberes} dependent jussive subjunctive without \textit{ut}.

26 § 6. \textit{quod nisi facis} ‘and if you refuse to do this either in order &c.’

27 \textit{in parte} = \textit{particeps}, the use of \textit{in} is local, ‘within sharing,’ as in the expressions \textit{in bonis ducere &c.}, cf. c. 37 § 4.

30 § 7. \textit{fsefllisse} ‘it had not escaped his notice,’ ‘he was well aware.’

32 \textit{criminibus} cf. c. 10 § 6.

p. 21. 6 § 9. \textit{quin} ‘why do you not &c.?’ shows how \textit{quin} with indicative comes to express a command.

7 \textit{intercedendo} commercial use, ‘by becoming security for them,’ cf.
NOTES.

Cic. Phil. II. 18 tantum enim se pro te intercessisse (= soluturum esse promississe) dicebat.

9 *ex eo quod asuit* ‘of the overflowings of your abundance,’ *asfu* is a rare word. See note on Text.

10 § 10. *sortem reliquam*] Mg’s conjecture for *aliquam* of the mss., see note on Text; ‘bear with (be content to receive) the remainder of your (original) capital; deduct from the original loan the amount paid in interest.’

13 § 11. *at enim*] the regular rhetorical use of these words, anticipating an objection.

*ita*] qualifies *solus*, ‘alone, as I am doing,’ it implies a certain amount of reprehension on the part of his adversaries, compare III. 40. 10 where no adjective is combined with it.

16 § 12. *nam*] And I am in the same position as regards the answer to your question about the Gallic gold. The matter is plain and simple enough, it is only your questioning on it that imports a difficulty into it. *nam* gives the reason for something not actually expressed. It will probably be best rendered ‘and so.’

19 *in sinu*] the expression is figurative, derived from the custom of carrying money in the fold of the toga, which served as a pocket.

*quam ponatis*] the use of *quam* with the simple subjunctive = *quam ut*, in direct as well as indirect speech, belongs to all periods of Latin writing, cf. Cic. Tusc. II. 22 *perpessus est omnia potius quam conscios iudicaret*; *quam ut* occurs c. 28. 8 and elsewhere. *ponatis* = in sense *in medium proferatis* below, ‘produce,’ so *praemia &c. ponere*, but the use here would be difficult to parallel exactly.

21 § 13. *abstuleritis*] the perfect indicates the rapid completion of the action and so intensifies the feeling expressed in *vereor*, cf. XXII. 14. 10, XXI. 33. 9 *periculume esse ne exurum impedimentis exercitum nequi quam incolunem traduxisset*. When a conjurer asks his audience to find out his trick, he is most certain of being able to deceive them.

23 *id*] the accusative of the thing enforced on a person after *cogo* is confined to neuter pronouns, cf. IV. 26. 10 *si quidem cogi aliquid... consules... possent*.

Chapter XVI.

31 *peragere*] cf. *sententiam peragere* III. 40. 5, ‘to go through with,’ ‘complete in due form.’

p. 22. 1 *oblatae*] ‘and assailing it with the invidious charge of an unsubstantiated theft,’ cf. I. 51 *oblato faiso crimine insontem oppressit*. 
vani is applied by hypallage to furti, whereas it was the odious charge that was groundless, not the theft.

4 § 2. [ceteri] Weissenb. quotes Servius on Verg. Georg. 1. 21 per pontifices in omnibus sacrificis post specialis deos quos ad ipsum sacrum quod fiebat necesse erat invocari, generaliter omnia numina invocabantur.

5 Capitolium arcemque] the two summits of the Capitoline hill, the former S.W., the latter N.E. On the former was the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

sicine] the c of sic is shortened from ce, which is retained in the weakened form ci, when sic is combined with ne.

6 praesidem] ‘protector’ or ‘champion,’ cf. Cic. pro Sestio, senatum rei publicae custodem praesidem propugnatorem conlocaverunt.

8 § 3. nec...neic] do not cancel but repeat the preceding negative, ‘his unworthy treatment shocked the eyes and ears of all,’ lit. ‘of none could either the eyes or ears bear his unworthy treatment,’ for the use of indignitas cf. l. 34. 5 ferre indignitatem non potuit.

9 invicta quaedam] ‘had created in itself (developed) some indomitable instincts.’

10 dictatoriam vim] Weissenb. compares VIII. 34. 2 dictatoris dictum semper pro numine observatum.

11 hiscere] a rather favorite word with Livy, generally used with non posse, or non audere.

13 § 4. vestem mutasse] i.e. ‘put on mourning,’ the mourning dress among the Romans was an uncleaned, unwhitened toga, cf. sordidatus.

capillum ac barbam] This is an anachronism on Livy’s part, for long beards were regularly worn at this time, v. 41. 9, Marquardt vii. 582 n. Luterbacher says that they let them grow longer than usual at this time in sign of mourning!

15 § 5. triumphavit] the dictator must have been in the city some time before he triumphed, which would be very exceptional.

He triumphed over the Volscians only, because they only were enemies properly so called, the Latins and Hernici were not.

invidiaeque] que is practically equivalent to ‘but,’ cf. c. 4 § 10.

invidiae...gloriae] a sort of descriptive genitives apparently, ‘an odium-triumph’ meaning ‘a triumph attended with odium,’ but the case would be hard to parallel.

16 quippe] ‘‘why, you see,’ they murmured” &c. quippe introduces the people’s reason for frowning on the triumph. quippe gives an obvious reason for what precedes, but generally with emotion of some kind expressed, hence the indignant and ironical use of it.
18 *tantum* 'only.'

19 § 6. *seditione* the use of the simple ablative after *procul* begins with Livy in prose.

20 *largitor* cf. c. 2 § 12.

21 *Satricum* cf. c. 8.

23 *assignati* agrees in grammar with *semisses* only, but applies in sense to the whole quantity.

§ 7. *parvum* it was almost the minimum (2 *iugera*) ever assigned; compare the distribution of Veientine land v. 30. 8. The plebs were expecting a distribution of the Pomptine land, c. 5 § 2. *dicent* or *frement* must be supplied to *parvum* and *datum esse* from interpretation.

25 *seditione* is used very loosely in senses ranging from actual rioting or revolt to factious disturbance.

26 § 8. *sordibus* cf. § 4, corresponds to *vestem mutasse, facie* to *capillum &c., reorum the iudicati* who constituted the clientele of Manlius, cf. c. 15 § 10. They were more conspicuous now than before M's arrest on account of the mourning they had assumed.

**Chapter XVII.**

p. 23. 4 *itaque* cf. c. 4 § 8.

5 *in praecipitem locum* 'on to the edge of the precipice.'

6 *deinde* corresponds to a *primum* implied in the preceding, 'they were always lifting &c. and then deserting them in the hour of danger (at the critical moment).'

*discrimine periculi* lit. 'the decisive point of the danger,' i.e. 'when the danger became critical.'


11 § 3. *populares* see note on Text.

12 *hocine* cf. c. 16 § 2 *sicine.*

*patiendum, si &c.*] the offence seems to be expressed as a condition of the punishment, 'had this (viz. being thrown into prison) been the thing to suffer, if &c.,' i.e. 'was this the proper (or 'tolerable') treatment, for an ex-consul refusing,' or, 'when an ex-consul refused.' Weissenborn's note is not very clear. He apparently takes *hocine* to mean the imprisonment of Manlius, but understands *si=quod,* as after *miror, gaudeo &c.* Luterbacher apparently understands *hocine* to be anticipatory of *si &c.,* and the whole question to be spoken *ex sententia*
patrum, fingerent &c. in some way or other containing the answer of the plebeian defenders.

12 ad nutum] 'at the arbitrary command'.

13 responderit] 'made answer', M's offence being that he refused to answer, c. 16 § 1.

fingere] 'assume,' 'suppose,' oratio obliqua of the imperative fingite.

18 § 4. per rupem] cf. v. 46. 9.

ipsius] sc. speciem, obversatam is of course to be repeated as predicate to all these three sentences.

21 selibris] cf. v. 47. 8.

22 § 5. Capitolino] a Manlius Capitolinus is mentioned iv. 42. 2, so that this derivation of the cognomen is very dubious.

23 cum] = cumne pati cos, the infinitive according to regular rule in a question in reported speech.

obnoxiam] 'at the mercy of;' from the original meaning of 'liable to punishment' obnoxius comes to mean generally 'liable to,' 'in the power of.'

24 adeo] the illustrative or explanatory use of adeo qualifying the whole chiastic antithesis in two clauses, 'it was so true then that...?' The use is common from Livy onwards, but not in an interrogative sentence. It is a question whether the mark of interrogation here ought not to be omitted.

26 § 6. refracturos] sc. se.

27 remisso, quod &c.] see note on Text.

32 § 7. a Velitris] equivalent to an adjective, cf. XXXII. 1. 9 legati ab Ardea.


p. 24. 2 cives Romani] is not to be pressed to mean that these were actual Roman citizens now, for these colonies seem to have been Latin colonies, but as rhetorical description founded on their origin.

3 § 8. itaque] cf. c. 4 § 8; the sense is itaque colonis non solum negatum est (a negative answer was given) de captivis sed &c.; what follows sed explains the comparative tristiora.

in quo] anticipates deinuntiatum &c. 'an indignity which after all (at least) they had spared the allies,' lit. 'a thing, in which nevertheless (i.e. though they refused their request) they had spared (refrained from) the allies;' the construction is altogether unusual; as Weissenb. says, we should expect a quo in sociis temperaverant; the subject to temperaverant is patres supplied from the context.
Chapter XVIII.

13 recredente] metaphor from a wound.  
   seditione] 'factious agitation.'
21 § 2. expugnandi] cf. IX. 26. 15, 'to carry the usury question by
   storm.'  
ne] the reason why the peace was opportune for the patricians is
   expressed as the purpose of its being given. Livy doubtless thought
   that the gods had special regard for the patricians.
25 § 3. novandarum] cf. c. 2 § 1.
26 animorum] cf. c. 7 § 5.
28 § 4. inexperto] not found before Livy; with ad II. 16. 14: so
   inmodicus ad, insuetus ad &c.
   quod &c.] cf. iv. 14. 6. Quinctius. This order of the names is not
   uncommon in Livy, when the praenomen is omitted.

p. 25.
3 voluit] 'willed,' 'ordained,' the same sense as in the philosophical
   use 'to lay down,' 'define.'
4 § 6. si singuli] that is, 'if your numbers were only equal.'
6 quotem] see note on Text.
8 modo] with an imperative, which is a more vivid way of expressing
   the protasis of a conditional sentence, 'only show war and you will
   have peace,' cf. IX. 3. 12; for the imperative without modo cf. III. 68. 7
   haerete affixi contionibus et in foro vivite; sequetur vos necessitas militandi
   quam fugitis.
9 § 7. ius] 'their legal claims.'
10 aut] 'or else,' a previous aut is implied, cf. Horace Odes, III. 12. 2.
   § 8. circumspectabitis] intended apparently to be a more effective
   way of expressing intueor, it means 'to look about for,' as in III. 38. 9;
   here the idea is that the people could do nothing for themselves, but in
   any difficulty looked about for Manlius to come and help them.
12 desit] sc. mihi.
   videte] 'take care lest my fortune desert me' = 'you may perhaps
   find my fortune deserting me,' cf. Cic. Philipp. II. vide, quaeo, ne
   haeresc.
13 nullus fui] 'disappeared,' 'was nowhere,' cf. XXXII. 35. 2 Philippus
   nullus usquam.
16 § 9. di prohibebunt haec] Manlius repeats the formula of deprecation,
   supposed to have been just uttered by the people, naturally adapting
   the pronoun to himself; they would say ista; for the sense, cf. IX. 9. 6
§ 10. *satis sit*] 'that you are content to be assisted against your enemies, and recognise no other point at issue between you and the patricians, except the limits to be placed to their domination over you;' *auxilium* is an allusion to the tribunes; *imperari*, impersonal passive.

§ 11. *tentare...tuere*] 'to be constantly assailing...to maintain;' the metaphor is from a fortress; the people, instead of gaining their liberty by one united effort and then only having to maintain it, preferred to be constantly making feeble efforts after it.

§ 12. *obtinuisistis*] 'secured,' not simply 'obtained.'

§ 13. *expertum* passive, 'tried,' 'tested'; for the repetition *experimini...expertum* cf. v. 54. 6.

*p. 26.* 3 § 14. *patronum*] Livy has not before mentioned this as a title conferred by the plebs on Manlius, *induit* therefore is probably present not perfect. Manlius seems to be investing himself now with the title.

§ 15. *insigni magis*] Livy uses the comparative *insignior*, but rarely, and more frequently as a substitute, *insignitior*.

§ 16. *ortum initium*] a common pleonasm, cf. c. 12 § 10 *primum initium*.

§ 17. *pervenirent*] zeugma; the verb only suits the second clause, *habita sint* or something equivalent must be supplied to the first.

**Chapter XIX.**

§ 3. *in parte altera*] cf. c. 18 § 3 *pars utraque*.

§ 4. *forte*] 'which, as it so happened too, lay on the citadel hill.'

§ 5. *mole*] 'a grave danger.' *moles* anything massive, requiring great effort to deal with.

*libertati* governed by *imminenti* which agrees with *mole*, the latter being governed by *de*.

§ 6. *decurriritur*] 'recourse was had.'

§ 7. *ut vidcant*] the formula by which the senate invested the chief magistrates with dictatorial power for a special emergency.

§ 8. *et*] strengthens *cundem*, 'that the end of general liberty would
at the same time be the end of their authority also,' lit. 'that the end of their authority also would be the same as that of the general liberty.'

23 auctoritati] compare the phrase in auctoritate senatus esse III. 21. 1, and elsewhere.

26 § 5. diminutionis] descriptive genitive, signifying here the result of vim of which eam is the pronoun, 'would lead to a fearful struggle.'

28 § 6. civitatis] sc. certamen.

29 cum plebe] qualify eum, 'him with the plebs at his back.'

30 ipse] more idiomatic than ipsius.

31 § 7. dicere] the first step in instituting a indicium publicum or trial before the people, so= 'to impeach for high treason,' such offences being the only ones at this early period which came under the cognizance of the sovereign people as the supreme court of judicature.

32 simul] conj. 'as soon as,' on which viderint and intuebuntur both depend.

p. 27. 1 ex advocatis] ex of transition from one condition to another, cf. nihil enim est tam miserabile quam ex beato miser (Cicero).

2 accusatores] accusative after intuebuntur.

de plebe, patricium] chiasmus, 'plebeians prosecuting, at the bar a patrician.'

de plebe] de of the body to which a person belongs, cf. Cic. pro Leg. 5. 15 quam multi enim essent de victoribus qui te crudelem esse vellent cum etiam de victis reperiantur (qui te crudelem esse velint)!

3 in medio] 'before them,' 'exposed to view,' lit. 'in the space between' the prosecutors, defendant and judges, as the subject of trial.

nulli] masculine, regularly used for nemini.

Chapter XX.

14 utique] 'anyhow,' 'in any case,' here= praesertim, 'especially;' in Cicero utique is generally used with subjunctive, or imperative.

15 § 2. non modo]= non modo non, as regularly, when it is followed by sed ne...quidem, and both clauses contain a common predicate.

18 ut] depends on usu venisset; quod strictly has ut...mutarent in apposition to it, but practically is an adversative particle as in quod ubi c. 7 § 2. et= quoque.

19 § 3. Claudio] the decemvir, III. 58.

21 fuisse] oratio obliqua expressing the thoughts of the people; the oratio obliqua begins with the subordinate clause quod...venisset.
consensu] absolute, 'by a conspiracy,' 'it was a conspiracy to crush &c.' cf. III. 36. 6.

24 § 4. propri] 'specially bearing upon;' pertinere ad is more than attinere ad, not simply 'to pertain to,' but 'to be important to,' 'to be pertinent to.'

26 § 5. nec] 'and yet...not,' for this adversative force of nec, cf. II. 22. 3; XXI. 44. 5 includit nos terminis...neque eos quos statuit terminos observat. So &c. 'and yet,' II. 28. 8.

27 in loco] explained in § 10.

29 ingrata] a sort of passive, or rather middle use of the word equal to our 'thankless,' in such an expression as 'a thankless task,' i.e. a task for which one gets no thanks; 'not only robbed of all their charm, but even rendered odious.'

31 § 6. quibus...quorum...quos] the different classes of beneficiaries making up the 400.

expensas] ferre expensum 'to debit' is the converse of referre acceptum, 'to credit.'

32 § 7. ad...belli]=ad haec decora belli quoque decora.

p. 28. 1 conspicienda] 'for all to see.'

2 in quibus] without a verb is exceptional, so inter quos below.

3 murales] a crown of metal, battlemented, bestowed on the man who first scaled the wall of a besieged town.

civicas] made of oak leaves (? imitated in metal or wood, otherwise the wreath would be perishable) for saving the life of a citizen in battle.

§ 8. ad hoc &c.] commemorasse must be supplied from § 7 to these two clauses. See note on Text. On the fact cf. Plin. N. H. vii. 103 P. Servilium magistrum equitum servaverat ipse vulneratus umerum, femur.

6 pro fastigio] 'doing full justice to their high merit,' lit. 'in proportion to the high level of the things.'

7 aequando] modal abl. gerund in apposition to oratione, in sense practically equivalent to aequans; dictis ablative.

9 § 9. spectans...precatus] all the infinitives here depend on the personal dicitur § 6.

15 § 10. in campo Martio &c.] These words do not necessarily imply that the previous proceedings had taken place elsewhere. The place as well as the fact that the voting was a long process, allowing facilities for appealing more individually to the people, are emphasized here to account for what follows. Plutarch, Camillus c. 27, represents the whole proceedings as taking place in the forum; 'with the people voting as
they were summoned century by century in the Campus Martius, while the accused &c.'

18 *oculos quoque* in addition to the impression made on their minds by the accusation of afflicting royalty.

19 *vero* cf. § 5 *non in causa sed in loco.*

20 § 11. *prodicta die* ‘an adjournment was announced,’ the phrase is generally used of the postponement of a trial from one day to another, here it seems to be loosely used of an adjournment, when the trial was on the point of being concluded, for the purpose simply of altering the place.

*Petelinum lucum* mentioned here (as well as by Plutarch in his account of the same matter) and in VII. 41. 3 only.

21 *Flumentanam* This was near the *porta Carmentalis* in the wall running down from the S.W. end of the Capitoline to the Tiber. The wood probably obstructed the view of the Capitolium.

22 *concilium populi* no change of *comitia* can be implied, as only the *comitia centuriata* had power to try a charge of high treason. The theory that *concilium populi* = *comitia curiata* (assumed to be an exclusively patrician assembly) has been disproved by Mommsen.

24 § 12. *sunt, qui &c.* = *sunt qui auctores sint eum damnatum esse, auctor esse,* as frequently, taking the accusative and infinitive after it.

26. 6. The process ceased when the tribunes very early in the Republic acquired the right of impeaching before the *comitia centuriata.*

28 § 13. *notae* ‘two marks of infamy were attached to his name, one by the people...one by his gens;’ the expression is borrowed from the language of the censors, who affixed marks to the names of citizens disgraced by them in the registers.

29 *aedes* dedicated B.C. 344, VII. 28. 4—6; later the mint was connected with it. Cicero, *de domo* c. 38, gives a different account, *ergo eius (Manlii) domum eas eversam duobus lucis convestitam videtis.*

31 § 14. *gentilicia* The *gentes* had power to pass resolutions affecting their own members; cf. Cic. *Philipp.* i. 13. 32.

p. 29. 5 § 16. *Capitoliuni* of which the Tarpeian rock was a part.

6 *cordi* either a locative, or predicative dative, ‘that which a thing serves as, or occasions;’ in the latter case *cor must = cura* ‘a thing of the heart or mind,’ so Riemann, *Syntaxe Latine,* and Roby ii. xxxix. and 66. Livy generally uses the phrase with *dis.*
Chapter XXI.

16 *exceptit* ['was followed by,' cf. iv. 52. 1, but the verb implies to a certain extent that the subject is the result of the object.

20 § 2. *sortis* ['by a kind of divine dispensation.'

22 *Latium* cf. cc. 10 § 6, 13 § 7, 17 § 7.

23 *Lanuvini*] possibly injured by the Roman occupation of the *ager Pomptinus*, which bounded them on the S.E.

25 § 3. *primo quoque* cf. c. 3 § 2.

27 § 4. *quinqueviros*] commissions for this purpose varied in the number of the commissioners from three to twenty; the most usual number, especially in early times, was three.

28 *Nepete*] accus. of place to which the colony was to be led.

31 § 5. *tribus*] this is probably a mistake of Livy’s, the declaration of war was always voted in the centuriate assembly.


3 § 7. *inclinabat* *ni*] the vivid construction used by historians (esp. Tacitus) in describing what would certainly have happened, but for some preventing cause; *inclinabat* of course implies that they would have inclined that way to some effect.

4 *ab Romanis*] qualify *defectionis*.

metu] ablative of the motive, used also, but not frequently, by Cicero and Caesar; the use of the single ablative as equivalent to a participle or to *cum* and the subjunctive is Livian.

6 § 8. *senatu*] of the colony.

9 *exturbavit*] ‘annihilated,’ lit. ‘turned out,’ ‘dislodged,’ a rather favorite word with Cicero, very rare in Livy.

§ 9. *Praenestinorum*] this state had joined the Romans B.C. 500, II. 19. 2; for the power of it at this time see c. 29 § 6.

11 *arguentibusque*] cf. c. 4 § 10.

13 *minus quia nollent*] seems here almost equivalent to *eo minus quo minus velleunt*.

Chapter XXII.

24 *omnia*] cf. c. 3 § 5.

25 § 2. *maiora*] an awkward way of expressing ‘against an army in which Praenestine auxiliaries were almost in excess of the colonists themselves.’
NOTES.

30 § 3. *in pennisoniem*] final use of *in* with accus. (of an intended result), rare before Livy, though found in Cicero.

32 *acriiores*] 'more severe.'

p. 31. 3 § 4. *Satricum* cf. c. 16 § 6.

14 § 6. *extra ordinem*] See c. 30 § 3, where the three modes of assigning spheres of military command (*provinciae*), lot (*sors*), mutual arrangement (*conparatio*), and special arrangement by the senate (*extra ordinem*), are all mentioned together.

16 *e re publica*] 'to the advantage of the State,' a frequent phrase in Cicero and Livy. This use of *e* (*ex*) with the ablative seems to come from the use of it to express the model from which something is derived, as in Cic. *de Orat.* III. 12. 47 *quae autem sunt aut tua plane, aut imitatione ex alioque expressa*; so it comes to denote accordance, proportion, as in the common phrases *ex more, consuetudine &c.* and *ex animal, ex animi sententia*; so also *status ex dignitate nostra*, and here *e re publica*, 'in accordance with the interest (res) of the people.'

*ut*] with the subjunctive is a mixture of final and consecutive, a result for which the senate were responsible.

*materia ad*] cf. i. 46. 6; more usually with the genitive as in c. 7 § 3; 'as to be the means of procuring for his colleague,' or 'by which his colleague should win:' the metaphor is from fuel for a fire.

18 *restituit*] sc. Camillus, an abrupt change of subject.

20 § 7. *iurare in verba*] to repeat a dictated form of oath, *lit.* 'to swear into words, word by word;' 'to take the oath usual' &c.; it seems that a man pleading infirm health as an excuse for declining office could be required to swear to the truth of his plea; compare for examples of such pleas xxii. 40. 6, xxiii. 8. 7, xxvi. 22. 5.

21 *excusandaes*] the dative gerundive after *solitus* instead of prepositional phrase (*in* with ablative here) is Livian, so ii. 5. 4 he has *firmus tempit susitemendis for firmus ad t. s.*

22 *vegetum &c.*] the alliteration is very noticeable, esp. as an example of the fondness for alliterating *v.*

23 *haud magnopere*] 'and though he was beginning now to take but little part in civil life, wars would bring him out.'

25 § 8. *indicto*] 'the army was ordered to be ready on the following day at the E. gate;' *indicere, lit.* 'to proclaim the army for the following day &c.' in with the accus. of the limit of time fixed for an action (our 'against') is common in all writers.

30 § 9. *quin*] after the sense of 'not refraining' implied in *non dilaturi,* Roby ii. 274; but *quin* may be used after any negative or quasi-negative
predicate as a modal subordinate conjunction, in other words, wherever the sense can be expressed by translating quin 'how not.'

periculum &c.] 'to hazard a decisive battle;' lit. 'make trial of the sum total of their fortunes:' so X. 14. 9 discrimen summae rerum.

ita' [in that case,' 'if that were done.'

Chapter XXIII.

p. 32. 2 fortunam] 'the hazard;' a battle the result of which would depend a good deal on chance.

4 ratione] 'generalship.'

6 § 2. vallo &c.] i.e. inferendo signa prope vallo (dat. after inferendo signa) hostium.

10 § 3. multitudinis] the common soldiers.

ex incertissimo] Livy constantly substantives the neuter of adjectives of any declension in the positive degree, not very often in the superlative, cf. I. 9. 3 urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci.

12 § 4. aetate] 'by the argument of age,' not that of Camillus only, but of both of them.


17 quid] participial interrogative sentence, a Graecism rarely used, cf.

Cic. de Fin. III. 11. 37; de Nat. Deor. I. 30. 84 quibus fruentem voluptatibus? Livy XXI. 30. 6; Livy is peculiar in using the accusative and infinitive construction with the interrogative dependent on the participle.

19 § 6. frigere] 'are lifeless,' the metaphor is used by Cicero.

20 § 7. quid attinere] 'what purpose did it serve?' 'What use was it?' only used in this sense in negative or rhetorical interrogative sentences.

28 § 9. quae bella...in eis]=in eis bellis, quae.

29 neque...neque] repeat the negative in negare, so that in sense it = dicere.

32 § 10. se...collegae] antithetical coordinate sentences instead of concessive and principal: 'therefore whereas he &c. still &c.'

p. 33. 8 § 12. opponit] sc. hostibus, 'faced the enemy with a strong guarding force in front of the (Roman) camp.'

spectator] cf. c. 2 § 12.

9 in eventum] depends on intentus.

Chapter XXIV.

NOTES.

§ 2. *quod suppeditabat* 'because they had numbers enough and to spare;' this verb is always intransitive in Livy.

§ 3. *opportunus* 'afforded an excellent opportunity for such a sortie,' lit. 'were fit, suitable, advantageous (to the enemy) for,' more than simply 'liable' or 'exposed to.'

* novo hoste*] the real subject of the sentence is expressed as a circumstance, 'with a fresh enemy in front of them, and the downward slope of a valley behind them.'

§ 4. *integrant*] the classical word is *redintegrō*.

* non recipiebat se*] used in a pregnant sense of orderly retreat as opposed to headlong flight.

§ 5. *subiectus*] 'mounting his horse with the assistance of those who stood by,' lit. 'thrown up on to his horse by &c.' cf. xxxi. 37. 10 *salutī fuit eques qui raptim ipse desiluit pavidiunqtie regem in equum subiecit*, cf. *άναβολέως*, the attendant on a general who helped him on to his horse, *Lat. strator*; mounting in armour was a different matter from ordinary mounting.

* oppositis*] i.e. to the flying Romans.

* vestra*] emphatic, they had no one to blame but themselves, 'the recklessness before, the cowardice now is all your own.'

§ 6. *secuti*] you have followed another leader; now follow Camillus.

p. 34. i § 7. *signa*] 'the troops wheeling round,' a military movement is expressed (as frequently) as a movement of the standards, the latter being the most conspicuous feature in such a movement, cf. *signa convellere, conferre &c.*

* praeterquam quod*] without a verb is unusual, cf. xxix. 18. 3.

* quisque*] in apposition to *singuli*, but really thrown in on account of its natural and familiar association with *se*, which it helps to individualise.

* in vicem*] cf. c. 6 § 9.

§ 8. *auctorem*] cf. c. 2 § 12, 'for his participation in their fault would take all the force out of his reproof if he tried it,' lit. 'for which purpose his participation &c. made him an insignificant authority.'

* totus*] adverbial use, cf. Horace, Sat. 1. 9. 2.

* fortunae*] genitive after both *reum* and *crimine*.

§ 10. *in fluctuante*] 'considering the unsteadiness of the line.'

* tradī*] 'given up' to the slaves (*calones*), a certain number of whom must probably have attended on the Roman armies from an early period. Weissenb. speaks of grooms who attended the cavalry soldiers, but gives no authority for such attendants. But see note on Text.
tradi...invadere] for the change of construction cf. v. 20. 8 satis esse reconciliari eo dono plebis animos, exhaustis atque exinanitis tributo tot annorum succurrri et sentire praedae fructum &c.

19 certamine animi] 'emulation' Weissenb., rather, 'effort of courage.'
20 § 11. eventus] the personification is rather remarkable.

enixae] 'most strenuous,' an adjectival use of the participle not found before Livy and rare in him, cf. xlii. 3. i.
qua...ca] 'in the direction in which.'

Chapter XXV.

29 ubi] 'and here' in the enemies' camp.
31 fassii] sc. sunt.

p. 35. 2 § 2. si videatur] simply an addition of politeness, 'you will, if you please.'
3 § 3. documento] 'a warning.'
4 tamen] 'still,' though Furius had taken the lesson to heart, no one expected that Camillus was going to do what he actually did do, absolutely ignore his colleague's folly.
6 data] cf. xxvii. 27. 11 rem publicam in praeceps dederat, 'had been brought into such a precarious position;' for the sense of do in these phrases compare the sense of it in the compounds abdo, condo, 'to put away, together' &c.
12 § 5. patres] here, as in c. 14 § 1, war seems to have been declared by the act of the senate only; the full process was for the senate to submit a resolution on the subject to the people in the Centuriate (see c. 21) assembly for their approval. But it is intelligible that in cases where the other state had practically begun war, this latter part of the process should be dispensed with; in this case the senate would have to be prepared to justify their action to the people, for the right of declaring war lay with the comitia centuriata.
13 permisso] abl. absolute, the clause ut...vellet being the substantive; cf. c. 12 § 7.
16 § 6. nec] 'but...not,' cf. c. 20 § 5.
20 § 7. togati] instead of armati, showing their determined peacefulness.
26 § 9. in medio] for all to see, cf. c. 19 § 7.
27 strepere] a governing verb must be supplied from vidit.
28 plerorum] genitive after repletas which is used as an adj. = plenas.
§ 10. ubinam] 'what in the world had become of the war,' lit. 'where ever the war had been (which was no longer);' the enclitic nam after interrogatives has its original sense 'to wit,' 'indeed,' and gives a sense of wonder and incredulity to the interrogative.

§ 11. adeo] cf. c. 17 § 5.

ad tempus] 'temporarily,' 'for the moment,' to impose upon the Romans.

p. 36. 1 tranquilla] sc. erant.

Chapter XXVI.

11 § 2. praccipiam] 'I will not secure by anticipating others.' Camillus as commander of the army could have granted peace to the Tusculans, but chose to leave it to the senate.

13 quem] sc. dare ei videbitur (impersonal).

16 § 3. iam tum] even before they had listened to their excuses.

19 § 4. ita armati &c.] 'armed and prepared as we are,' i.e. not armed or prepared for war at all.

21 § 5. noster] of the nobility, or patricians.

22 nisi si quando] nisi is adverb, si quando conjunction, 'whenever;' 'except whenever.'

25 ne...quidem]=obōē, 'they have not on their part either,' negative of et ipsi; rendered positively 'as we have committed no hostilities, so they too have imagined none;' cf. IX. 3. 4 ne Samnitibus quidem consilium suppeditar.

26 § 6. eo, sicubi] 'to wherever it exists' =sicubi est, eo avertatis.

29 tam felix &c.]=ut tam felix sit quam pia est.

31 § 7. nihil attinet] 'it is not to the purpose,' cf. c. 23 § 7.

tamen] the sentence is faultily constructed; there is no contrast between the uselessness of refutation and the safety of acknowledgement; tamen seems to imply that what was said before amounted to 'though we could refute the charges, if necessary.'

p. 37. 2 ita] by straightforward acknowledgement without fear of incurring punishment: 'You may be sinned against, so long as you are worthy to command such reparation as we are making,' that is, 'so long as your clemency is equal to your power.'

3 § 8. civitatem] cf. c. 33 § 6. This seems to be represented by Livy (as also by the Greek historians) as a benefit; but it was a very questionable one. The state thus incorporated in the Roman citizen community, as Marquardt, Rom. Staats Verwalt. i. 29 has shown (comp. Mommsen
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R. H. i. 356), was obliged to renounce its alliance with the other Latin cities, and though it retained a certain independence, and self-government on the Roman model, practically became a dependency of Rome.

Chapter XXVII.

17 § 3. *aggravantibus*] 'exaggerating,' the opposite of *elevaretur*.
18 *quibus* &c.] 'to whose interest it was to have it believed that investments (the money market) were suffering rather from want of honesty on the part of the debtors than from want of means.'

*fide...fortuna] res pro rei defectu*, cf. II. 19. 6 *viribus gravior*, Weissenb. But the fact is *fides* and *fortuna* are open words, meaning the extent to which the people were trustworthy or had property, though we are obliged to translate by 'want of honesty' &c., really because we have nothing that will exactly render the ablative of respect in such cases.

19 *creditum*] an abstract noun formed in Greek fashion of the neut. participle, 'the entrusted' = 'the system of entrusting, (what we call) investing;' or, *aes* may be understood, if *aes* can be said *laborare*.

22 § 4. *religio erat*] was (a subject of) religious scruple, abstract for concrete. For the fact see v. 31. 6, ix. 34. 17, 20.

23 § 5. *vitiatis*] 'faultily,' i.e., their creation was vitiated by some irregularity in the ceremony of appointment.

26 § 6. *vero*] 'this was sheer trifling and not to be borne,' *eam* attracted to agree with *ludicationem*, as regularly; *vero* throws a strong and somewhat contemptuous emphasis on *eam*, cf. iv. 1. 3 *id vero si fieret* &c. the force is best expressed in English by emphasising the complement.

27 *tabulas*] the censorial registers in which the actual means of each citizen was entered as given by him on oath.

29 *partem* &c.] = *alteram partem civitatis ab altera parte*.

*cum...obiectare] a verb may be supplied to *cum* from the previous clause, but practically it is used as a coordinate conjunction; perhaps it is an imitation of the Greek use of the infinitive in subordinate sentences in *oratio obliqua*.

*interim*] is literal here, not like *cum interim* c. xi § 4.

31 § 7. *ab Antio*] Livy as a rule uses the preposition with names of towns, cf. § 10. Augustus probably set the fashion. Here however it may be employed in accordance with the older usage, meaning 'from the neighbourhood of.' The tribunes do not observe strict chronology; cf. c.c. 2 § 13, 8 § 10, 22 § 2.

p. 38. 5 *agentem*] in the parliamentary sense derived from *agere cum*
NOTES.

populo, 'haranguing,' hence the use of actio, in the frequent phrase actiones tribuniciae.

6 § 8. se] the tribunes, who would do what follows if the plebs would support them.

9 sui] 'what of his own there was,' another writer would probably have written suum, but Livy is particularly fond of these partitive genitives, compare IX. 11. 9, XVII. 14. 5, 20. 4 &c.

10 supersit] utrum is omitted before this, as often.

11 nervo] cf. c. 11 § 8.

15 § 10. nam] the explanation of the previous sentence is really given in the relative sentence quae utraque &c.

17 pecuniae] depends on iuris, 'the duty of vindicating the legal claims on the borrowed money (of the creditors).'

18 quippe] cf. c. 6 § 6.

20 § 11. interim] there is an approach here to the purely adversative sense of interim which it has in cum interim c. 11 § 4.

irritaverat ad] one rather expects a gerundive after this; 'made them keener for the fight they had begun.'

Chapter XXVIII.

29 certum] 'fixed,' cf. III. 50. 16 nullo dum certo duce. See note on Text.

30 § 2. occasionem] pregnant use, 'a good opportunity.'

31 agmine acto] 'set their troops in motion,' agmen agere is a case of a proleptic object, like iungere pontem, 'to lead a marching body' = 'to form a marching body to lead.'

32 Collinam] they must have marched across country to the via Nomentana; the via Praenestina would have brought them to the Esquiline Gate.

p. 39. 3 creaveré] this would be actually done of course by one of the military tribunes, but, as the subject of the sentence is apparently the plebeians (cf. ab seditione ad bellum versi), the writing is loose, Livy apparently meaning that the dictator was appointed without any objection on the part of the plebeians.

8 § 5. procul] cf. c. 16 § 4.

Alia] from this it would seem that the enemy had fallen back into the neighbourhood of the via Salaria.

11 § 6. ac...ac] are noticeable used so close together in different senses,
the second _ac_ being after _similem_ meaning ‘as,’ and used simply as a subordinate conjunction.

12 _diem_ &c. cf. c. 1 § 11.

_religione_ 'religious terrors.'

17 § 7. _delegaverant_] an affected expression for _in fortuna loci posuerant._

20 _obnoxia_] ‘servile,’ ‘abject,’ by hypallage agreeing with _pace,_ instead of with _quem._

_obnoxius,_ originally ‘liable to punishment,’ acquired the sense of ‘under obligation to, in the power of a person’ (in the dative), and so further the absolute sense of ‘servile,’ ‘slavish,’ ‘abject,’ cf. ix. 104.

22 § 8. _quam ut_] cf. c. 15 § 12.

_nefasta_] ‘inauspicious for,’ ‘banned against,’ in the later sense of _dies nefastus,_ not simply a day forbidden for business, but a day under a divine curse, on which no undertaking could succeed, so Horace, _Odes_ II. 13. 1.

23 § 9. _quin_] as in the combination _quin _etiam_, an adversative particle; the use is derived from the interrogative use, _quin facitis?_ ‘why do ye not do,’ i.e. ‘rather do,’ extended further to the use with an imperative, simply giving an adversative sense, ‘nay do.’

24 _Romae_ v. 49. 3.

25 _tunc_] brings _postero die_ into relief, to add the circumstance _cum _&c._ to it, so _is _qui is used, Cic. _de Amic._ § 49 _animante virtute praedito, eo qui amare possit _&c._

**Chapter XXIX.**

31 _animis_ abl. of circumstance.

32 _crant_] Sallust and Livy both use _postquam_ with the imperf. frequently, a use very rare in earlier writers. In Livy the imperfect so used either expresses in sense something completed, or is used conatively.

p. 40. i _loci_] cf. c. 28 § 7.

3 _quod sit_] ‘anything which may be (fit to be) of greater assistance to them,’ _maioris quod sit auxilii_ corresponds to _certioris quicquam fiduciae._

4 _dederint_ future-perfect.

7 § 2. _vobis_] see Appendix.

_per_ ‘by the use of’ in an oath.

10 § 3. _constabat_] ‘had ceased to make a stand anywhere.’

12 _praerati_] ‘carried forward;’ we should almost expect _praeerati,_ which occurs, but rarely.
NOTES.

13 § 4. *ex*] 'rallying, collecting themselves from.'

*dissipata* applied to *fuga*, from the sense of scattered men implied in it. See note on Text.


26 § 8. *Praeneste*] here without the preposition; cf. c. 27 §§ 7, 10.

*signum*] Cicero in *Verr. iv*. 58. 129 mentions a statue of Jupiter Imperator on the Capitol brought to Rome by T. Quinctius Flamininus from Macedonia. If this is really the statue here mentioned by Livy, and he has confused between T. Quinctius Flamininus and T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, it is a curious instance of his circumstantial inaccuracy; *ferme* looks very suspicious; Livy probably knew nothing of his own knowledge about this votive tablet.

28 § 9. *cellam*] cf. c. 4 § 3. *inter cellam &c.* = *inter cellam Iovis ac cellam Minervae*; the statue would seem to have been placed in a niche in the space between the two *cellae*.

31 § 10. *quam*] *post* is implied in the numeral adj., cf. iv. 47. 6 &c.

Chapter XXX.

p. 41. 11 § 3. *extra ordinem &c.*] cf. c. 22 § 6.


*quibus*] depends on *ut praesidio essent*.

14 *velut*] 'as they supposed,' like *as* with a participle, transfers the statement from the region of fact to that of thought.

15 *ne auctore quidem*] 'not even keeping their informant in custody.'

16 *pro milite*] 'representing himself as.'

18 § 5. *restantes*] 'encouraged to hold out by valour alone.' *resto* in this sense (= *resisto*) is not used by Cicero or Caesar, and not often by Livy.

21 § 6. *fortunae*] may be dative after *superfuit*, but it seems more natural to take it as partitive genitive after *quickuid*.


§ 8. *otiumque inde*] *inde* may be either temporal here or local, but is probably the latter, 'in (lit. from) that quarter.'

27 *quantum a Volscis*] 'as far as the Volscians were concerned,' lit. 'as far as (could be) from the Volscians.'

28 *tumultuatum*] sc. *est*, the impersonal passive of the deponent is noticeable.

42. 4, VIII. 1. 1) first founded B.C. 382; the founding of it is not mentioned by Livy.

30 rebus] dat. after solatium.

Chapter XXXI.

p. 42. 12 § 2. noscendi] ‘for the purpose of learning the extent of it,’ cf. c. 27 § 6.
14 § 3. fuga] cf. c. 29 § 4.
18 § 4. violentior] ‘more violently or forcibly exerted.’
   impediendo] modal ablative.
21 diceretur] see note on Text.
23 § 5. legionibus divisis] ‘formed by (equal ?) division of the legions ;’ but the sentence is a clumsy one.
25 ad montes] ‘marched towards the Volscian hills on Ecetra.’
28 discordiae] cf. c. 13 § 1.
32 extrema finium] the substantived adjective with a partitive genitive, common in Lucretius, but rare in prose before Livy, is frequently used by him in the singular and the plural, in the nominative and oblique cases and after prepositions, e.g. per obliqua campi, per adversa montium &c.

p. 43. 2 § 8. agrorum] partitive genitive as in oppidum Boeotiae &c.
3 satis] abl. of sata = segetibus.
5 utrinque exercitus] means little, if anything, different from uterque exercitus.

Chapter XXXII.

8 celebrari] ‘began to be frequent,’ the simplest sense of the word, ‘began to be carried on again briskly.’
9 abesse spec &c.] a very unusual variation of the idiom tantum abest ut...ut, in which abest is always impersonal.
10 in murum] qualify tributo, ‘a tax levied for.’
11 factiundum] depends on locatum, ‘which the censors contracted to have made of &c.’
21 § 3. Aemilium] if the same man is meant as in cc. 1, 5, 22, it was his fifth time of office.
NOTES.

25 § 4. *sacramento adigere aliquem* is, to administer the military oath to a man; according to the grammatical authorities *sacramento* is a modal ablative, not as the various forms *ad insiurandum, insiurandum adigere* might lead us to suppose dative.

27 § 5. *subita bellis* 'emergencies,' cf. c. 31 § 7.

30 § 6. *ut...sic* used as *ut...ita*, cf. c. 6 § 10.

31 *certam*] see note on Text.

p. 44. 3 § 7. *restabant*] cf. c. 30 § 5.

5 § 8. *gradu* 'position,' properly used of the 'stride,' or 'firm posture' of individual men, cf. II. 10. 10 *ingenti pontem obtineret gradu*, and c. 12 § 8 above *stabili gradu*, and then of the 'position' of a whole army, cf. VII. 8. 3 *primum gradu moverunt hostem, deinde pepulerunt.*

31 *certam*] see note on Text.

p. 44. 3 § 7. *restabant*] cf. c. 30 § 5.

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10 § 10. *vestigiis*] the ablative is local, signifying the space within which the course is limited, so practically the direction it takes, so *Appia via venire, porta introire.*


Chapter XXXIII.

22 *seditio*] 'a division.'

23 *nati...consensuerant*] an exaggeration, as the Antiatian war had only been going on for 13 years.


*diutina*] cf. c. 7 § 1.

27 *quominus per aliquem stat,* 'a standstill is caused by some one,' implies prevention or hindrance, hence the use of *quominus,* 'as soon as each people saw that the other would put no obstacle in the way of their carrying out their own purposes.'

30 § 3. *urbem*] Weissenb. understands Satricum to be meant, but the next sentence seems hardly to admit of this. Livy is very indistinct here.

p. 45. 2 § 4. *pugnae*] descriptive genitive qualifying *receptaculum,* 'place of refuge after.'

*Matita* = *Matutinae,* an old Italian deity of the morning, and of birth.
§ 5. inde] = ab ea, cf. c. 9 § 4.

su[a] 'its own,' 'the inherent sanctity of the shrine.'
dcum] objective gen., 'respect for the gods.'

ni] depends on cum tristibus minis = tristia minans.

§ 6. impetus] their violence.

incensos] 'whetted,' according to the Latin metaphor, 'heated.'
ob iram] the special reason why Tusculum felt their wild thirst for vengeance.

concilio] the diet of the Latin States.
civitatem] cf. c. 26 § 8.


mutaverat] the plpf. indicates the rapidity of the change effected, cf. xxvii. 32. 8, iv. 20. 3.


Chapter XXXIV.

p. 46. 4 quanto magis] go with tranquilla, prosperis bellis is an abl. of cause explaining tranquilla.

eo ipso quod] 'by the mere fact, that &c.;' the necessity for immediate payment gave the debtors no time to make any provision to meet their engagements; Livy probably leaves it to be understood that the occupation of the debtors in the late military service increased the difficulty of immediate payment.

§ 2. fama] 'their good name,' that is they became ignominiosi as reduced to slavery.

iudicati &c.] cf. c. 14 § 10.

cesserat in &c.] 'served the turn of credit.'

§ 3. obnoxios] cf. c. 32 § 3.

summisrerant animos] 'had allowed themselves to sink into such an abject state of humiliation.'

non modo] cf. c. 20 § 2.

§ 4. capessendos petendosque] 'undertaking or (even) standing for.'

honoris] that is, the consular tribunate. As regards the plebeian magistracies Livy means apparently only that the best men were unable to stand for them, possibly implying that the only men who could were underlings of the patricians.

§ 5. parva &c.] 'a trifling circumstance, as usual, furnishing the immediate cause of a very great movement interfered to prevent &c.'

inter id genus] 'among that class,' i.e., the plebs; eius, i.e. plebis. For the use of genus and corpus, cf. xxii. 34. 2 quem sui generis
NOTES.

hominem vulgus extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, 1. 17. 2 sui corporis creari regem volebant.

26 § 6. ut fil] 'as is usually the case,' 'as women do do.'

30 parvis mobili rebus] 'sensitive to the influence of trifles.'

32 § 7. num quid velit] num quid vis? 'anything I can do for you?' was a polite way of taking leave of a man, cf. Hor. Sat. 1. ix. 6; here however it seems to have implied as well a real enquiry, whether the magistrate had any orders to give; the ablative frequentia gives the cause of the younger Fabia's envy of her sister.

p. 47. 1 visum] sc. esse.

malo arbitrio] abl. of cause, 'the false estimate of things.'

2 § 8. confusam] 'disturbed,' 'vexed,' 'out of humour.'

3 morsu] 'sting,' a common metaphorical use of mordere and morsus.

satin' salve?] sc. res se habent, otherwise satin salvae sc. res sunt, "'I hope all is well with you,' a form of polite and friendly enquiry." Wagner on Plautus Trinum. v. ii. 53, but used apparently always when there is some ground for supposing that something may be wrong, cf. Livy I. 58. 7, iii. 26. 9, x. 18. 11.

4 avertentem] 'disguising,' 'trying to conceal.'

quippe piam] = quippe quae pia esset, as Livy uses quippe with a participle, cf. xxvii. 39. 14, a Graecism which begins with him.

piam] 'kind,' showing natural affection.

6 § 9. elicuit] with the accusative of a person as we talk of 'drawing a person out' cf. xxxviii. 43. 7.

12 § 11. et cuius] an adjective sentence describing Sextius, coupled to strenuo.

Chapter XXXV.

21 nisi suis &c.] ablative of circumstance after nisi 'except,' expressing the conditions under which something is possible, as usually after a negative, cf. c. 37 § 4.

22 § 2. accingendum] neuter impersonal in the reflexive sense 'there must be a girding themselves for,' 'they must address themselves to this design.'

23 gradum fecisse] especially in obtaining the election of consular tribunes instead of consuls.

26 § 3. placuit] 'They (Licinius and Sextius) determined.'

31 § 4. pernumeratum] probably a colloquial term as it is used by Plautus, but not by prose writers before Livy.
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p. 48. 2 § 5. *utique*] shows that both *might* be plebeians.

3 *crearetur*] governed by *ut* to be supplied from *ne*; the construction is condensed, instead of saying *but of consuls of whom &c.*, he has, *while of the consuls (who must in that case be elected) at least one &c.*

*[cuncta]*] in apposition to the three accusatives.

4 *possent*] generic subjunctive.

6 § 6. *discrimine*] *a critical contest for,* so practically *the danger of losing.*

9 *intercessio*] the *veto* of other tribunes would be the more easily procurable, if, as seems to have been the case, some of the richer among the plebeians were tenants of the domain land, cf. Mommsen *R. H.* i. 276.

13 § 7. *plebi*] depends on *sciscendum* *nor anything else customary in* (for) resolving by the *plebs,* i.e., *any other of the regular preliminaries to a resolution of the plebeian assembly.*

14 § 8. *concilio*] sc. *plebis,* the plebeian assembly, the resolutions of which, according to Mommsen’s almost certain hypothesis, were binding on the whole people, if previously sanctioned by the senate. If Livy’s account of the matter is correct, the senate preferred this way of opposing this measure to refusing their sanction, which is quite intelligible. In c. 20 § 11 *concilio populi* is used in a general sense for the *comitia centuriata.*

*pro antiquatis*] *as good as rejected,* because they could not get proposed; *antiquo* the verb formed from the phrase *antiqua volo,* short A. V., written on the voting tablets used to vote against a bill, the opposite being *uti rogas,* V. R.

15 *bene habet*=*bene est,* a colloquialism found once in Cicero, several times in Livy.

16 *telō*] cf. iv. 28. 4 *necessitate,* quae *ultimum ac maximum telum est,* *superiores estis.*

17 § 9. *dum*] the enclitic use, just equivalent to *δῆ,* after an imperative; it properly means *‘a while,’* but like our *‘now’* simply serves to add liveliness to the imperative.

18 *faxo*] also a colloquial form, in which an old form of the future survived, common in the comedians, especially in emphasizing a threat *‘I’ll see that,’* *‘I’ll warrant.’*

*iuvet*] *‘please.’*

*quam*] see note on Text.

28 *tenuit*] *‘held the city’* = *‘prevailed or continued in the city’;* compare
the use of διάγω, Dem. de Cor. p. 255 ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστὰς πόλεμος ἐν πᾶσι
tois κατὰ τὸν βλον ἄφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐφυνῶτέροις διηγαγεν ὑμᾶς τὴν νῦν

Chapter XXXVI.

29 alia] anticipatory of Veliterni &c.
p. 49. 1 § 2. verecundia movit] ‘appealed to the honour,’ lit. ‘moved
with a feeling that made them ashamed (not to help their allies).’
9 § 4. contentione] abl. of circumstance best expressed in English
here by ‘after.’
28 § 8. cum] ‘whereas there had been.’
30 capit] sc. mente (cf. captus oculis &c.), as stupentes shows; they were
maimed in mind, because they could not speak what they thought;
‘hampered in mind and embarrassed.’
31 animis &c.] see note on Text.
p. 50. 5 § 10. artifices tractandi] ‘masters of the art of &c.’
7 productos] in a contio, see the fuller phrase producti ad populum, III.
64. 7.
8 § 11. audentem] subjunctive because the question is in the second
person.
12 § 12. an] is not a continuation in a second member of the question
beginning audentem, but an independent question on another point, and
the use of an is the rhetorical use, by which a speaker suggests as the
only possible alternative to his own view one which is obviously
untenable, and so tries to refute his opponent by a reductio ad ab-
surdum. This wholesale imprisonment is put as the only alternative to
passing the rogations; an does not mean ‘or (passing to another subject)
&c.,’ that would be quid?

Chapter XXXVII.

18 indignatione] abl. of circumstance, like meo periculo; cum might be
prefixed with no alteration of meaning, cf. xxvii. 13. 2 cum tanto
pavore incidentibus, Verg. Aen. 1. 55 magno cum murmure montis.
19 § 2. atqui] introduces the statement which is the object of affirma-
bant, as if the sentence had run thus: cum...increpuissent; atqui,
inquitunt, nec agros...ullus unquam erit &c. compare Cato ap. Plin.
N. H. xv. 18. 20 cum inter omnes (pomum) esse recentem constaret:
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atqui tertium, inquit, ante diem scitote decertam Carthaginem; 'well, we may be sure' they declared 'that &c.' I doubt if the use in an object clause can be paralleled.

23 § 3. potestas] 'that office,' abstract for concrete.

25 § 4. auxilium] the power of the tribunes was confined to interference with the exercise of imperium by magistrates, they were not magistrates with imperium themselves.

26 in parte partis = participes aegiro iure, cf. c. 15 § 6.

nee esse quod] 'nor was there any reason for any one to think it sufficient (to be content).'</n
27 ratio habetur] rationem habere in election sense is to allow a man's candidature.

29 neminem] sc. ex plebe.

§ 5. a] cf. c. 36 § 12.

32 quattuor et quadraginta] the consular tribunate began in B.C. 444 and according to Livy the first plebeian elected to the office was P. Licinius Calvus in B.C. 400, v. 18. 5.

p. 51. 1 § 6. octona] the number seems never to have exceeded six.

For the year B.C. 403 Livy gives eight consular tribunes, but in that number includes apparently the two censors. Diodorus also in B.C. 380 gives eight, but amongst them appear the names of the censors given separately by Livy.

4 § 7. per gratiam] 'thanks to personal influence,' viz. of the patricians; the use of per is like that in per me licet.

6 in certamine] 'in dispute,' 'open to competition.'

13 § 9. quin] cf. c. 28 § 9; here strengthened by contra.

patricios] sc. tribunos.

damnatos] cf. iv. 41, v. 11.

14 post tribunatum] after their year of office.

quaestores] cf. iv. 54. 3.

17 § 10. consultatum] the attainment of the consulship.

22 § 11. genus] 'family,' 'birth;' by securing one of the consulships as their own the plebeians would gain regular access to the right of taking the auspices, which would put them on a level with the patrician gentes (cf. iv. 6. 2), and to the ius imaginum, so that any one of their number might become auctor generis 'the founder of a noble family.' At present a plebeian's chance of these distinctions depended on the precarious chance of getting elected to a curule office against patrician influence.

magna &c.] 'great boons to enjoy themselves and to bequeath as still
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greater boons to their children,' *ipsis* is the dative of the subject to the gerundive *fruenda, liberis* dat. of the object after *velinquenda*; the use of the gerundive is the simplest use of it, the infinitive of the verb as an adjective (as we use it, e.g. ‘a house to let’) with the subject in the dative, ‘great things for themselves to enjoy, and to leave greater to their children.’

24 § 12. *duumviris &c.*] the keepers of the Sibylline books. The importance of the custody of these lay in the religious authority of them, which could be used for political purposes. Hitherto the commissioners had been patricians only.

25 *pars*] ‘half.’

Chapter XXXVIII.

p. 52. 5 § 3. *statim*] qualifies and strengthens *principio*.

11 § 4. *cooptat*] an exceptional use of the word, which is generally used of a body filling its own vacancies.

12 *causam armant*] a vivid way of saying *se armant ad causam plebis tuendam*.

17 § 5. *iure*] the intercession of a tribune was absolute, and to disregard it entirely unconstitutional; compare the case in later history of Tib. Gracchus and Octavius: on the present occasion the *veto* was overruled by the majority of the tribunes as the action of a minority.

25 § 6. *auxilium*] the *ius auxilii* the original right of the tribunes to ‘assist’ a plebeian against ill-treatment by a patrician magistrate, was the foundation on which the extensive powers of the *veto* were gradually built up.

26 § 7. *patricium magistratum*] that is, himself; no patrician had any right in the *concilium plebis*.

27 *adversus*] ‘in spite of.’

28 *imponere*] the infin. after *tendo* is a poetic construction, not used by Cicero or Caesar, though the former uses it after *tendo*.

31 § 8. *de medio*] ‘from the public thoroughfare.’


2 *certamine*] ‘fighting spirit.’

3 *re neutro incinitata*] ‘while the contest was still evenly balanced,’ cf. c. 9 § 8.

4 *vitio*] cf. c. 27 § 4.

6 *pro dictatore*] ‘in his capacity as dictator,’ cf. *pro magistratu* ix.

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quinaentum millium] 500,000 asses or pounds of copper, five times the minimum census of the first class.

§ 10. auspiciis] refers to vitio creatus.

novi exempli] descriptive genitive = an adj., 'unprecedented.'

deterritum] sc. esse.

ut credam] after facit.

quod...suffectus est] 'the fact that &c.,' a noun sentence coupled to ingenium.

§ 11. id...quo...esse] the subjunctive because of the oratio obliqua, ad id certamen implying the thought or purpose of the patres in appointing the dictator.

c] 'further,' the third ground.

in se] 'in his person,' lit. 'in the case of him.'

repititum] = qui repetiturus fuisset 'for he could not with honour have &c.'

§ 12. simul] 'again,' 'moreover,' the fourth ground.

et huic] 'this also,' corresponded to by ne illas quidem, 'not those either,' cf. c. 26 § 13.

in ordinem cogi] a phrase meaning to hinder a magistrate from exercising his magisterial powers, derived apparently from the army, 'to reduce to the ranks,' cf. III. 35. 6 where se in ordinem cogere is used of Appius Claudius' sinking his official character in order to ingratiate himself with the electors, and is further explained by vulgari cum privatis; cf. also III. 52. 13.

§ 13. et quod] the fifth ground; the two sentences introduced by quod are antithetic asyndeta, 'whereas tribunician and consular powers have contended (on equal terms) the dictatorship has always stood on a higher level.'

certatum] lit. 'it has been vied with one another by tribunician &c.'

Chapter XXXIX.

tribunis] sc. plebis.

velut] implying that the authority of the consular tribunes was disregarded altogether.

§ 2. inebant] in the comitial sense; conative imperfect, 'desired to pass,' cf. xxvii. 38. 3 itaque colonos maritimos...dare milites cogeant.

utraque res] the passing, and the rejection.

p. 54. 1 in omnia] in here expresses the extent of the action of the verb consulere, which is equivalent to rogare. The ordinary phrase would be consulere de.
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§3. *inclinavit*] 'lent weight to the plebeian cause.'

§4. *negantem*] meaning that he had given no more power to Licinius than the people had done when they elected him consular tribune.

§6. *privatim...publice*] cf. c. 6 §9.

§9. *forum*] because the tribunal before which the debtors were tried was in the Comitium.

§10. *tandem*] the rhetorical use, 'he wondered.'

§11. *apud animos*] not a common phrase, but used elsewhere by Livy and by Sallust.

p. 55. 5 *praee*] before Livy in this causal sense is only used with negatives, that is of a cause which hinders some action.

§3. *unum*] 'specially,' compare the use with superlatives 'above others.'

9 *iam inde &c.*) lit. 'already from that point, namely, from the beginning,' 'even from the very first.'

11 *antiquius*] 'so highly considered as,' the simple use of *antiquus*, the adjective of *ante*.

14 §4. *infittias eo*] used by Plautus and Livy, probably therefore colloquial.
§ 5. *quīs* indefinite, unusually placed so far from the conjunction to which it is generally enclitic, *nequīs, si quīs* &c.


§ 7. *si diēs placet*] a colloquial formula like the old ‘God bless the mark!’ and our ‘if you please,’ implying the wish on the speaker’s part that it may not please the gods, and expressing ironical indignation, cf. iv. 3. 8.

§ 8. *non...non*] cf. c. 16 § 2.

§ 9. *alīud*] ‘what else (if not this) is to say’ = ‘this is as much as to say.’

p. 56. § 10. *Tarquinii*] ‘you tyrant tribunes.’

§ 11. *non, inquit &c.*] the supposed answer of the tribunes but describing their election to the consulship in accordance with the feelings of Appius Claudius. But see note on Text.

§ 12. *esse*] the tense implies that it was not free on account of the despotic authority of the tribunes.

§ 13. *quid?*] another argument against the way in which the tribunes were proceeding; it assumed that they were the only people in the state capable of legislating for the benefit of the plebs.

§ 15. *at hercule*] at (= at enim) represents sermo &c. as coming from one of the plebeian audience; *hercule = certe* with a concessive force; ‘well (you will say) it is certainly not a citizen-like way of talking;’ then confuting by anticipation the apodosis of the concession, ‘but the rogation itself is citizen-like,’ Claudius breaks in with, ‘yes! and what is the proposal like &c.? why exactly like the language of their speech.’

§ 16. *an*] cf. c. 36 § 12.

§ 17. *haec*] deictic, ‘all that we see around us.’

p. 57. § 18. *vocare*] this figurative use of *vocare in* = to bring into a certain state or condition is very common, e.g. *vocare in odium, suspicionem, partem hereditatis* &c. &c.

§ 19. *quaenam*] ‘where, pray, is the ‘joint partnership,’ where is the ‘equal participation’ in that?” Livy probably means to refer to the words he puts into the mouth of Canuleius iv. 5. 5 (where the form *consortium* is used): on the force of *nam* cf. c. 25 § 10.
parum est] 'is it a little thing...but,' 'is it not enough...without,' a regular rhetorical form of beginning an attack on an opponent for presumption or encroachment, cf. xxI. 44. 7.

9 § 19. *quid est aliud*] cf. § 8.

12 § 20. *debeat*] sc. *plebeius consul.* The plebeian consul under these circumstances would feel himself under no obligation to the people because in electing him they could not help themselves, and this would remove a motive for wholesome self-restraint in the discharge of his office. The *beneficium* of state office is often emphasized by Cicero in his public speeches, e.g. *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* c. i.

**Chapter XLI.**

15 *ne pro minimis quidem*] is a very awkward insertion intended to heighten the force of *nihil* by an antithesis to *maxima,* it should naturally mean 'in return for the least things,' but that would be nonsense; it means apparently 'in proportion to, on the scale of the least,' so that practically it is equivalent to 'such as would be due for the least benefits.'

16 *occasionibus*] 'by opportunity,' i.e. seizing the opportunity of two patricians standing, to stand as the only plebeian candidate, and so secure the office without trouble or canvassing.

17 § 2. *est aliquid* = *non deerit qui,* 'there are plenty.'

*inspici,...aestimari*] the scrutiny involved in competition which would be avoided by the means mentioned above.

*qui,...eximat*] 'ready to escape from.'

20 *serva*] the adjectival use of the word is found in Plautus and in the Augustan writers. It is not frequent in Livy.

22 § 3. *regum*] the years of the reigns of the kings were inscribed on the pedestals of their statues which stood on the Capitolium.

27 § 4. *at enim*] 'but, it may be said,' an objection set up by the speaker as a means of passing to another aspect of the matter. See note on Text. *ad homines*] 'is of human importance only.'

28 *auspicis*] explained in §§ 5, 7. Compare iv. 2. 5. It is difficult however to believe that the consular tribunes did not possess the power of auspice-taking. Practically the plebeian tribunes may have been excluded from the duty of taking auspices, but what would have been done if (a possible case) all the tribunes had been plebeians? Compare Mommsen *R. II.* 1. 297 n.

32 § 5. *nempe*] implies that what follows is obviously the correct way
of stating something, hence it is naturally used in an obvious answer to a question, 'why...of course.'

33 *auspicato* cf. c. 12 § 7. This was true of the regular plebeian magistrates, but could hardly be so of plebeian consular tribunes.

p. 58. 1 § 6. *ut non solum &c.* 'how completely the *auspicia* are in the possession of the patricians is shown by the fact that not only no patrician magistrates can be elected by the people without the auspices being previously taken for them, but the patricians even as private individuals have the right of taking the auspices for the purpose of naming an *interrex*, whereas the plebeians have no such right even as magistrates;' cf. c. 5 § 6.

5 *in magistratibus* abstract, 'invested with office.' This, if pressed, distinctly denies the right of *auspicia* to plebeian consular tribunes.

§ 7. *quid aliud quam?* rhetorical interrogative for *nihil aliud quam* which as *ovôëv ἄλλα ἡ...*=one adverb, 'simply.' When Cicero uses this phrase he always has a verb with the *nihil*, e.g., *agitur enim nihil aliud in hac causa quam ut &c.* He sometimes uses *nihil aliud nisi* as Livy here uses *nihil aliud quam*.

8 § 8. *esse*] reported question; the speaker is putting what people will say about the auspices.

9 *pulli*] the regular mode of auspice-taking by a general on campaign. If the chickens, carried for the purpose, refused to leave their cage, when food was offered them, or to feed, the omen was bad. If they ate greedily so that the food fell on the ground, causing what was technically called the *tripudium*, it was very good.

The other omen mentioned is one of those taken from the cry of one of the birds classed as *oscines*, which are supposed to bode good or ill by their cries. The subject is very well treated in Ramsay's Antiquities.

*occecinerit*] an unusual form, perhaps borrowed by Livy from the Annalist he drew from; the word is used of a favourable omen in x.

40. 14.

13 § 9. *vulgare* 'without distinction' of patrician or plebeian.

14 *creentur* 'are...to be elected?' the so-called deliberative subjunctive.

*apicem*] 'the flamen dialis' seems to have been the most completely sacerdotal character in Rome...He never appeared but in his official dress, the *albogalerus* with the *apex* (a peak on the top of the cap made of olive wood wreathed with wool), the *laena*, the *seccspita* and the *commatacula.* Prof. Seeley on i. 20. 2.

15 *ancilia*] cf. i. 20. 4, they were in the charge of the Salii.
NOTES.

penetralia] with special reference possibly to the temple of Vesta where the Palladium was preserved and the fire kept ever alight by the Vestal Virgins.

18 § 10. auctores] 'is the patrum auctoritas (the patrician sanction) in regard to the curiate and centuriate assemblies to be abolished?' This was the phrase in which the sanction of (probably) the patrician portion of the senate was given to the resolutions of the comitia, without which they could not become law. This became subsequently purely a matter of form, being given before the business of the comitia began, cf. viii. 12. 15. For a full discussion of the subject see Prof. Seeley's Livy i. p. 61 fol.

22 § 11. dominos] begs the question, the possessores were not owners.

23 cum qua] 'together with which' = in sense qua sublata, the one cannot be destroyed without the other.

25 § 12. faxitis] cf. c. 35. 9 this is evidently an old form of prayer. This old form of the fut. perf. appears elsewhere in formulas, cf. xxii. 10. 4 &c., in faxo above the old form had become fixed in a conversational formula.

Chapter XLII.

27 proferretur] how the speech had this effect, is not at all obvious.

28 § 2. sacrorum] more fully decemviris sacris faciundis; cf. c. 37 § 12.

30 graduque] sc. facto, cf. c. 35 § 2.

31 § 3. cessit, ut] the ut clause serves as accusative after cessit in the sense of yielding a thing to a person; the construction is not common, cf. Tac. Ann. xii. 41 Caesar adulationibus senatus cessit, ut vicesimo aetatis anno consulatum Nero iniret.


13 § 5. Claudius] Quadrigarius, about contemporary with Sulla; his history began from the Gallic capture.

17 § 6. haud minus] cf. xxviii. 1. 5 cum decem haud plus millibus militum, 2. 11 duo haud amplius milia peditum; the words seem to be used simply as an adverb qualifying the numeral = circiter, μᾶκα, 'at least,' 'at most;' the position of the words is against explaining by omission of quam. decem post annos = decem annis post according to the well known idiom.

20 § 7. memoria] what is really the subject of the sentence expressed as a causal adjunct of the predicate.
§ 8. *cum...tum*] 'both...and.'

*fuga...quod distulerant*] two reasons, expressed by ablative and *quod* clause, why they succeeded in saving themselves.

*fuga longinqua*] 'distant flight' = 'flight into distant parts,' cf. xxii. 21. 5 *longinqua* *a domo militia*; in iv. 18. 1 (quoted by Weissenb. and Laterb.) *militia longinqua* apparently means rather 'protracted service.'

§ 10. *auctores futuros*] the *patrum auctoritas* required to ratify the acts of the *comitia centuriata* at which the consuls were elected; *patricii* in this phrase is unusual instead of *patres*, but so far as it goes lends support to the view that the *auctoritas* was that of the patrician part of the senate.

*prope*] prep.

p. 60. 1 *res*] nominative; as the least important word in the sentence, it is placed out of the way in the middle of it.

§ 12. *deum immortalium*] depend on *merito*, 'that it would be in accordance with the deserts of the gods,' i.e., 'that the gods, if ever, now deserved (could claim) &c.'

§ 13. *id*] anticipates *ut...fierent*.

§ 14. *rogaret*] in the comitial sense of asking the opinion of the people on a proposal, so = 'propose to.'

This account of the institution of curule aediles seems to be pure invention.
NOTES ON THE TEXT.

P = Cod. Parisiensis.
Mg = Madvig Emendations, and edition of the text (Madvig and Ussing).
Weissenb. = 5th Edition of Weissenborn's Livy, revised by H. J. Muller.

C. 1 § 6. *legatus* is not wanted and is probably spurious.
§ 8. After *Camillus* the MSS have *iterum*. As Weissenb. says, it was not usual to state how many times a man had been *interrex*, and as a matter of fact Camillus had held the office twice before this, cf. v. 17. 4. 31. 8. Luterbacher suggests *proditus* which he prints in his text, but it is more probable that the word was inserted by mistake owing to the *iterum* in the next line.

§ 11. *insignem rei nulli*] the reading of P retained by Mg, ‘marked for doing nothing’ = ‘marked as a day on which nothing should be done.’ The other MSS have *rei nullius* retained by Weissenb.; H. J. Muller and Luterbacher, objecting to the gerundive after *insignem*, adopt the conjecture of Freudenberg *insignem religione rei ullius* ‘marked by religious feeling against doing &c.’

2 § 11. *militibus munitum*] V, not in the other MSS.
3 § 7. *portas*] before *inveniunt* retained by Mg in his text; in the Emend. Liv. he approves of omitting it.
4 § 8. *relinquere*] V has *relinquere*.
5 § 3. *habuerint*] Mg for MSS *habuerunt*, one of the cases in which Mg says the indicative has been wrongly written for the subjunctive by the change of a single letter; such instances do not occur where more change would be necessary, cf. IX. 25.

§ 5. *codem*] the reading of the MSS retained by Mg; Weissenb. conjectures *eandem*; if *codem* is right, it is the adverb after *impensis*, and = *in eandem rem* (factis).
6 § 5. *voluntarios* bracketed by Mg as useless repetition of *ubi vellent*, and probably a gloss.

§ 7. *in animo* so all the MSS except V *id animo*. Livy uses the simple abl. of *animus* with *destino*, and generally in the plural.

§ 8. *dictatorem* bracketed by Mg. As Weissenb. says, the people did not elect the dictator, and there was no question of electing Camillus dictator on this occasion. The Senate no doubt had said that if he were not in office as tribune, it would have been necessary to appoint him dictator, but that could not be called 'appointing him dictator' by anyone, least of all by Camillus himself. The *quartum* must refer to the consular tribuneship, cf. c. 18 § 1.

§ 12. *L. Valerius* is probably a slip on Livy's part for *P. Valeri*. Luterb. alters it in his text.

7 § 2. *resistentes* conj. of Gronovius for the MSS *resistentes*. The former verb, used elsewhere by Livy, seems to suit the sense here much better.

9 § 9. *tanta* *non tam a* has been conjectured as the true reading, but without necessity.

10 § 8. *iis* the MSS have *his* which is possibly right, as *hic* does occur in *oratio obliqua*.

11 § 1. *C. Sergio iterum* inserted by all editors in accordance with an old conjecture. Another tribune is wanted and *C. Sergius tertium* is mentioned c. 27 § 2.

§ 3. *esse* Mg, who contends that *apud exercitum solum esse* could not be said with any meaning of a magistrate in Camillus' position. Luterb. condemns the emendation on the ground that *habeat* could only be used for *haberet in einer oratio obliqua*, which is not very intelligible.

§ 5. *socium esse* the MSS reading, retained by Mg, other editors insert *constet* a conjectural emendation.

12 § 10. *labore* Mg on the authority of some MSS, the other MSS *pavore*.

13 § 7. *ominium* an emendation adopted by Mg; but it is a question after all whether the MSS *hominum* is not preferable, 'the mass of the prisoners were from the Hernici and Latins, and not (consisting) of men of the plebs, but &c.'

14 § 9. * commodioris* the conjecture of Aldus for the MSS *commotioris* which Mg retains. In defence of the MSS reading Weissenb. says that *commotus* as an adjective = 'in a state of, full of agitation,' may like *consideratus, copulatus &c. acquire a quasi-active sense, 'exciting.'
NOTES ON THE TEXT.

15 § 10. reliquam] Mg for the MSS aliquam, which gives no sense. Another conjecture is et aequum.

17 § 3. [populares suos] Mg brackets populares as a gloss to explain suos. Weissenb. adopts the conjecture of Krafft viros instead of suos.

§ 6. remisso] the MSS have id before quod, which Mg omits on the same ground, viz. that it is a gloss added by some one to explain the construction. Weissenb. changes id to eo.

18 § 6. quoteni] Mg for the MSS quot enim; enim is quite out of place as quot...eritis gives no reason for the previous statement. For quoteni he compares Cic. ad Attic. XII. 33.

19 § 4. et et] the MSS have et only, but the pronoun is wanted, as also the et, which however Weissenb. omits. Mg suggests that the true reading may be nam ei quoque quia and that quoque fell out before quia.

20 § 8. [produxit] the MSS reading bracketed by Mg as spurious. Luterb. (who seems to consider it his mission to emend Madvig) retains the emendation of Rhenanus prodixisse, and rejecting Mg’s excellent emendation, nominatim for the MSS nominatum below, reads nominatvisse on the authority of Luterbacher.

21 § 6. dissipatd] Mg’s emendation of MSS dissipati. ‘dissipati ex fuga can only mean that after their first flight they were scattered still further, and cannot be said of men (as here) collecting themselves from or after flight. VIII. 24. io and Caesar B. G. vi. 35 are not in point.’

22 § 4. diceretur] Mg’s emendation of the MSS diceret. He says that diceret implies that the two actions belong to the same person (or class of persons).


24 § 9. quam] the reading of the later MSS, the better ones have qua, but concino with ablative is to ‘harmonise with,’ which is hardly in place here.

25 § 8. animis a voce alienis] Mg’s emendation of the previously
received reading animi, vocibus alienis. 'Those who speak embarrassed by what they have been told by others to say, do not speak in other people's words, but express other people's sentiments in their own words. Moreover the MSS vary between vocalienis, vocum alienis and vocem alienis.'

38 § 3. [ad] Weissenb.5 removes ad to before summum.

40 § 11. licebit ut] Mg for MSS licebit; tu; with the latter reading we must suppose that Claudius, in suggesting the answer to his supposed question, exactly reverses the answer actually made by the tribunes to the attempt of the plebs to carry part of the rogations.

41 § 4. at enim] Mg for MSS etenim, which seems quite out of place here.

42 § 11. tandem] an old conjecture for the MSS tamen adopted by Mg and most editors.

§ 12. deum immortalium] The MSS add here the words causa libenter facturos, evidently inserted by mistake from § 13, where they are in place. Mg omits them.
APPENDIX.

c. i § 1.

SUBSTANTIVE WITH PERFECT PASSIVE PARTICIPLE = GENITIVE AFTER AN ABSTRACT SUBSTANTIVE.

The use of the perfect participle passive with a concrete substantive, equivalent in sense to the use of an abstract substantive with a genitive after it, or to a noun-sentence (‘the fact &c. that’) is more or less common to all periods of Latin.

In older Latin it is used only with the two words opus and usus, e.g., quid istis usus est conscriptis?; cum cinere eruto opus erit.

By Cicero’s time the use had become pretty fully developed, although instances of it are not numerous in him. Still he uses the idiom not only in the ablative with opus est, but also in the nominative, accusative and genitive cases. He even uses it after prepositions, though only the prepositions de and post; e.g., post civitatem a Bruto liberatam.

It does not appear in Caesar. Sallust uses it rarely, but almost always after prepositions, in the variety of which he advances on Cicero (cum, ante, inter, ob).

It is in Livy that the idiom becomes most frequent, and most free and various in its usage. He uses it in any case and practically after any preposition. And he shows perhaps more clearly than Cicero does how distinctly the combination produced the effect of an abstract substantive (1) by using it as subject with an abstract noun for predicate, e.g., ut cuius familiae decus eicti reges erant, eiusdem interfecit forent ii. 20. 2, (2) by using it after impersonal verbs, e.g., cuius (pacis) impetratae poenituit ii. 49. 12, (3) by using it in the genitive after an abstract noun, e.g., militis non dati causam vi. 10. 8 (one similar example occurs in Cicero with the word culpa), (4) by the meaning of the predicate which in so many cases absolutely requires an
abstract rendering of the combination, e.g. in c. 2 § 9 of this book, *Camillus auditus* &c., *Camillus* cannot possibly be rendered by the nominative in English. This is the case perhaps in a few of the examples from Cicero, particularly after prepositions, but the abstract signification was clearly not so definitely fixed in Cicero's usage as in Livy's.

The case in which Livy most rarely uses the combination is the dative, an instance of which probably occurs in this book, c. 29 § 2, where *nobis* &c. appear to be the dative after *debitas*, though the construction may possibly be the ablative absolute.

**Livy's Use of Copulative Conjunctions.**

According to the regular usage of prose writers before Livy, (1) when a member of a sentence joined to another by a copulative conjunction is divided into members of its own, these secondary members are connected by a copulative conjunction different from that which connects the original members, e.g., *in morbum incidit ac satis vehementer dixque aegrotavit*. (2) When on the other hand terms of equal value are connected as members of a sentence, the same copulative conjunction is used between all, e.g., *Apollinem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam*. This latter rule is disregarded by Livy. In some instances it may be possible to bring his usage within the rule by grouping the terms, but in many it is not; e.g., *modestiam, aequitatemque et altitudinem animi* iv. 6. 12; so also in this book c. 1 § 1 there seems no reason to regard the different offices mentioned as other than equal members of the sentence; to group them thus: *consilibus, dictatoribus decennvirisque, tribunis consularibus* would be meaningless, nor can dictators be said to be specially connected with consuls more than with consular tribunes; in c. 22 § 5 the same must probably be said of *additi collegae A. et L. Postumii Regillenses ac L. Furius cum L. Lucretio* &c., though in this case the two Postumii may be said to form a group by themselves.

**Adjectives or Participles Used to Extend the Predication, and Requiring to be Translated in Many Cases by an Adverb in English.**

M. Riemann (*Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite-Live*, p. 80 fol.) has classified this use of the adjective, noticed by Kühnast,
Nagelsbach, Draeger and others, under two main heads: (1) where the adjective extending the predication expresses a condition, feeling, state of mind &c. of the subject during the action expressed by the predicate, e.g. I. 58. 6 Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo, VI. 18. 3 cum pars utraque acrior aliquanto coorta est, IX. 24. 10 excurrentibus in publicum pavidis, (2) where the action expressed by the predicate is itself modified by the adjective, much as it might be by a modal adverb, e.g. Pref. § 11 nee in quam tam serae avaritia luxuriaque migraverint, VI. 9. 3 rem Antiatem diuturniorem manere, 12. 9. It is in this use that Livy seems to have advanced on his predecessors. This classification seems in the main correct, though as M. Riemann says there are instances which might be assigned to either category according to the point of view from which they are regarded.

Livy sometimes uses such an adjective or adjectival participle and an adverb side by side, e.g. alii trepidi cedunt alii segniter subeunt, where the adjective expresses the state of mind of the retreaters, segniter simply the manner in which the others advance.

As a rule, the adjective so used is not separated by the substantive it agrees with from the predicate, e.g. subitum oritur monstrum not subitum monstrum oritur.
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