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IN MEMORIAM
Isaac Flagg, 1843-1931
LIVY,

BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.
LIVY

BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.

HANNIBAL'S FIRST CAMPAIGN
IN ITALY.

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, APPENDICES,
AND MAPS,

BY THE
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In Remembrance
Isaac Hay
1842 - 1931
PREFACE.

The text of Livy which is here adopted is a reprint of Madvig's, whose *Emendationes Livianae* discuss most of the important variations from the common text. To that work therefore reference is made when Madvig's authority or arguments are mentioned in the notes.

In matters of Latinity the commentary of Fabri, as enlarged by Heerwagen, has been found most useful, especially the illustrations drawn from Latin authors. Weissenborn's notes for German schools are quoted only (as W) when they contain information which is not to be found in earlier commentators.

In questions of etymology most stress is laid upon the views of Corssen in his *Aussprache, Vocalismus, u. Betonung der Lateinischen Sprache.*
PREFACE.

For the subjects treated specially in the Introductions and Appendices the chief authorities are in each case mentioned; others have often been referred to, but it has not been thought desirable to crowd the notes with names.

Bramshott,
August, 1878.
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ADDENDA.

Page 154, line 4 from the end, after 'comitia' add Cic. Mur. 18. 38, tanta illis comitiiis religio est ut adhuc semper omen valuerit prærogativum.

,, 156, line 34, after 'good will' add or, 'his likeness to his father was but the least influence'; &c., i.e. was only the least among many influences.

,, 176, line 27, after 'Greek' add (opt. with &r), and after 'Latin' add cf. use of crediderim, ausim.

,, 186, line 4 from the end, add a note ad Mutinam, ad = to the neighbourhood of, cf. above § 8 Mutinam confugerint, i.e. inside of.

,, 191, line 24, for 'Nor could S.' read 'S. could not' and after &c. add 'and H. was' &c.

,, 211, line 7 from the end, add note § 4 indignitas, perhaps 'a sense of the heinousness'.

,, 226, line 14, after 'endurance' add cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 4. 6, quantum illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quies.


,, 243, line 31, add note cohibentem = cohibendi causa, an imitation of a Greek idiom, cf. use of circumspectans 23. 10.

,, 246, line 8 from end, add after accepta and the more probable recepserat (= withdrawn).

,, 251, line 5 from end, add Verg. Aen. 1. 38, tantæ molis erat, &c.

,, 259, line 22, add after videam cf. use of ρεποπᾶν.

,, 270, line 12, for 'was not' read 'would probably not have been'.

,, 285, line 11 from end, add note demum = 'only when' or 'not till'.

The thanks of the editor are due to S. Bloxsidge, Esq., for suggestions on these and other points.
INTRODUCTION. I.


In the earliest times of which history can take account we find the traces of an active trade in the Mediterranean waters which was mainly in the hands of the Phœnician merchants. The enterprising race which peopled the narrow strip of Canaan hemmed in between the mountains and the sea, soon found out its vocation in the carrying trade of the prehistoric world. Its colonists pushed their way along the coast of Asia Minor, and through the isles of the Ægean, planting their factories on every favoured spot, and opening up the mineral wealth or purple fisheries of the countries on their way; their interchange of national products gave the first stimulus to the energy of many a backward race, while their merchant navy probably supplied the wants of the great land

* Compare especially Polybius, Book 1.; Heeren, Carthaginians; Movers, Phœnizier; Lenormant, Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne.

C. L. b
INTRODUCTION.

power of Egypt, bringing together the scattered elements of tin and copper to be combined by the industrial arts of the early age of bronze. The course of these Phœnician adventurers was directed almost wholly by the interests of trade, but on the Northern coast of Africa their colonies assumed another character. There were indeed some early settlements from Sidon on the shore, as at Hippo and at Cambe, but these were probably of little note, till larger streams of immigrants appeared, who, unlike the rest, betook themselves to the interior, and lived an agricultural life. There is reason to believe that they were Canaanites from the inland, dispossessed perhaps by Israel under Joshua from the country on the North of Palestine, and guided from the ports of Sidon to their new homes by pilots already familiar with the country. Here they may have found some kindred races, peoples of the Hittite stock, who had spread from Egypt in the period known as that of the invasion of the Shepherd dynasties. The new comers mingled with the native Libyans, and from their union in the course of ages grew the numerous populations found in later times in Zeugitana and Byzacene, and known as a mixed race by the name of Liby-phœニックians.

When Sidon fell before a sudden onset of the Philistines in B.C. 1209, Tyre stepped into her place, as the chief power of the Phœnician league, which took up henceforth a more decided policy in the far West.
INTRODUCTION. I.

In the neighbourhood of the Ægean the Carian pirates and the Ionian traders were as enterprising as themselves, and one after another their factories had to be deserted, or fell into their rivals’ hands, but in the West they came only into contact with less civilised races, who had no navy on their seas, and felt little jealousy of the modest settlements upon their coasts. First they planted the important town of Utica, and coasting thence they pushed across to Gades, where, attracted by the mines and other wealth of Southern Spain—the Tarsis of traditional fancy—they made a chain of factories and forts along the shores up to and even beyond the Pyrenees, not forgetting to gain a foothold upon the neighbouring islands, and Sardinia above all. But rapid as was the progress of these colonies, they were all of them eclipsed by the brilliant fortunes of a younger sister. Some noble refugees from Tyre, flying under the guidance of Elissar, Vergil’s Dido, settled on the almost deserted site of the old Sidouian Cambe, near the centre of the great basin formed by the gulf of Tunis. There they resolved to make a home, and built themselves a stronghold which they called ‘a new city,’ Kirjath-Hadéshath, known to the Latins as Carthago (B.C. 872). The energy, and wealth, and powerful connections of the emigrants secured for the new settlement a rapid start in social progress; its happy site between the rich corn lands of the Bagradas, and the splendid anchorage of its
natural harbours, seemed to mark out for it a career of supremacy in trade; while there were many possible allies and friends in the kindred communities upon the neighbouring coasts, or in the Liby-Phœnicians of the main land. With such consciousness of growing strength they could not long maintain the humble attitude towards the native races, which is typified in the tradition of the tribute paid for the ground on which the city had been built. Forced therefore before long into collision with the Libyan peoples, they forsook the old Phœnician policy which shrank from territorial conquests, save on islands or projecting headlands; step by step they pushed their way into the interior, annexing wide tracts of cultivated soil, and driving back the Nomad tribes into their deserts.

Other causes also tended to force them into a career of imperial ambition. When Tyre was ruined by Nabuchodorossor, her colonies in the far West, in Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, and Spain, were thrown unprepared upon their own resources. The native races rose against them, the jealous Greeks seized the moment of their rivals' weakness, and there was nothing for it but to look round for timely aid or perish. They turned in their despair to Carthage, their vigorous and wealthy sister: she in her turn took up the legacy bequeathed by Tyre, and found a colonial empire ready made. But she had to fight hard to maintain it. War-navies were needed to
keep her hold upon the distant islands: Liby-phœnicians were drilled and armed and sent as colonists to secure the mines of Southern Spain, endangered by the native tribes. Their old enemies, the Greeks, meanwhile were making steady progress. Much of the coast line of Sicily was in their hands, Phocæan colonies were planted on the shores of Gaul, as at Massilia, and on the North-East of Spain, and nearer home in Africa, the prosperous Cyrene was soon to trouble them with rivalry and war; Carthage accepted the defiance, and engaged as in a duel that must be fought out to the bitter end. After a hard-fought struggle she checked the advance of the Phocæan colonists, destroyed one after another of their towns, and swept their navies from the sea, even forcing humbled Massilia to submit to see a Punic factory rise within sight of its port, some trace of which was found a few years since in a tariff of the sacrifices to be used in Baal's temple, as sanctioned by the magistrates of Carthage. With Cyrene she disputed merely the paramount lordship over the Libyan races, but after long hostilities they found that in that wide continent there was room enough for a separate career for each, and agreed upon a frontier line, to which tradition gave the name of the altars of the Philæni, from a romantic legend of the self-devotion of the arbitrators sent from Carthage.

But on the other hand the Greeks of Sicily stood
resolutely at bay; time after time great armaments from Carthage landed in the island, enough as it might seem to sweep away all before them, and many of the old cities were ruined in the course of the long struggle, but Syracuse, weakened as she was, was able to the last to make head against her ancient enemy, driving her back sometimes to a little corner of the North-West, once even carrying the war to the very doors of Carthage, and at last only dropping it when Rome was there to take it up with greater might.

Meanwhile the power of Carthage was growing to the fulness of its stature. Though unable to conquer Sicily entirely, she had tightened her grasp upon the islands near it. Sardinia was wholly hers, and she ruled it with such skill and wise economy that after three centuries of tenure she left large parts of it a fair and fruitful garden, to become afterwards, in the hands of other masters, waste and wild.

The Balearic isles formed convenient stepping stones across the sea to Spain, whose coasting trade she now possessed without a rival. Along the continent of Africa she stretched her arms, making or strengthening on the fringe of Mauretania a long line of forts, known as the Metagonitae; her surplus population was drafted off in numerous colonies, which spread the civilized arts of peace in the interior, and drove further back the clouds of Nomad savagery. At home she opened up the resources of her fertile
country, making husbandry and irrigation matters of scientific study, so that even the Roman senate in a later age thought her books on agriculture worthy of translation. Abroad, she guided the streams of trade to every quarter, now opening up relations with the heart of Africa by means of caravans, now turning to account in Spain the old Phœnician skill in mining, now with daring enterprise exploring regions hitherto unknown.

Of two such attempts especially we have some detailed accounts. One called the Periplus of Hanno was a long coasting voyage along the South-West of Africa to about the 8th degree of latitude, conducted by the order of the State with a fleet of 60 vessels. On his return the admiral drew up a report officially, which was consigned to the archives in the temple of Baal, and part of it is still extant in a Greek translation. We may still perhaps distinguish in his narrative the crocodiles of Senegal, the sweet-scented forests of Cape Verde, the lofty mountains of Sierra Leone, and the fantastic forms of the Gorillas, so called from a faulty reading of a passage in the Periplus. The second enterprise under Himilco was directed along the coast of Portugal and Gaul, and thence across to the Cassiterides or Scilly Isles, at which Phœnician adventure in olden times had stopped in its quest for tin, but from which the Carthaginians pushed on to the neighbouring shores of Cornwall and of Ireland.
It is time perhaps to turn from such romantic tales of early navigation to inquire what was the nature of the first relations, between this Queen of Western Trade and Rome. The earliest historic datum is furnished by the treaty in Polybius (iii. 22), which was concluded in the year after the expulsion of the Tarquins (b.c. 509), and the archaic terms of which in the original Latin were scarcely intelligible in the days of the historian. The Carthaginians on their side pledged themselves not to disturb any of the subjects or allies of Rome, not to hold any fortress or attack a town in Latium, while Rome covenanted for herself and her allies not to sail or trade in Africa beyond the headland to the West of Carthage. Sicily was to be a neutral ground for commerce, in which both were to enjoy like rights.

The treaty points to the increasing enterprise of the Italian traders which stirred so soon the jealousy of Carthage, and to the corsairs of the latter power whose visits were dreaded even then in the Tyrrhenian waters, as when they combined with the Etruscans to crush the Phocæans of Alalia.

A century afterwards a second treaty (b.c. 347) opened the markets of Rome and Carthage to each other, but the former was not to trade in Libya or Sardinia, the latter was to spare the subject-soil of Rome from piracy and damage. Carthage spoke in this case in the name of Utica and of the free Tyrian peoples. This treaty closed to Roman traders many
of the ports which the former had left open, and therefore marked the jealous policy of Carthage, which hoped to monopolize the sources of her wealth.

A third treaty in the time of Pyrrhus (b.c. 279) provided for an alliance of an offensive and defensive nature in which Carthage was to lend its fleet, but maintained the restrictions on free trade. So far it has been seen that Sicily was regarded as commercially a neutral ground between the powers, but it was soon to be their battle field. The long struggle for the possession of the island had greatly weakened Syracuse and ruined most of the Greek cities. One of the few that were still left standing, Messana, was seized by a lawless band of Campanian soldiers turned freebooters, who followed a course that had been popular of late at Rhegium and elsewhere. There they were soon attacked by Hiero, who, first as general, then as king, had lately trained to order the turbulent populace of Syracuse, and revived the dignity of the Sicilian Greeks. Hard pressed by the besiegers the Mamertini, 'men of Mars,' as the free lances called themselves, could only baffle Hiero by turning to Carthage or to Rome, and rival parties in the city made overtures to each. The former was first upon the scene, and her soldiers in the citadel. But Rome who had sternly punished a like act of Campanian treachery at Rhegium, and was besides in league with Hiero the avenger, could not turn her back on the temptation of gaining a footing on the soil of Sicily, with a safe
passage in the straits. She enrolled the Mamertines as her allies, and sent a general to the rescue, who by dexterous use of wiles and force ousted the Carthaginians from Messana. So began the first Punic war (B.C. 264), the first act in a long tragedy of bloodshed.

The steady infantry of the Romans swept before it the motley gatherings of mercenaries brought against them in the field, and Hiero, who had little to hope except a choice of masters, changed sides after a campaign or two, and joined the stronger, whose success he dreaded least. But the war in Sicily could not be decided by hard fighting on the open field. A period of slow sieges followed, and Rome's success was more than balanced by the fleets of privateers which ravaged the coasts of Italy and ruined all its trade, while Carthage was mistress of the seas. Then Rome decided to create a navy. She could not raise at once skilled sailors to manœuvre with precision, and more than one great fleet was lost by the rashness or inexperience of her captains; but she could so build as to enable them to grapple and board each ship that came alongside, and to decide the battle by sheer weight of discipline and numbers. Her navy so constructed swept the seas, and landed her legions under Regulus almost within sight of Carthage, but the rash confidence of general and senate while dictating haughty terms of peace kept the weakened army long inactive, to be crushed at length by overpowering numbers. The well-aimed blow failed utterly, and fresh disasters
followed, as fleet after fleet was wrecked by storms, or sunk, or taken by the enemy, till Rome sullenly withdrew from her adventurous policy upon the sea, and confined herself to drawing closer the besieging lines round Drepane and Lilybœum, and the little corner of the North-West of Sicily in which the Carthaginians lay entrenched. But now her fortune seemed to fail her even there, for a commander of genius confronted her. Hamilcar Barca (Barak, lightning) drilled his crowd of fighting-men into an army worthy of its leader; trained them in a war of outposts to withstand the onset of the legions; found natural strongholds first at Ercte then at Eryx, where safe within his lines he could defy attack, so long as the approach by sea was in his grasp.

So years passed away and victory seemed no nearer, while the trade of Italy was ruined and the treasury was exhausted.

But the spirit of the citizens rose higher as the star of Rome's fortunes seemed to sink. Wealthy volunteers came forward with the offer of a fleet, built and equipped at their expense, to make one more bold stroke for possession of the seas. Rome was once more a naval power. The Carthaginians, unprepared for energy so great, had neglected to keep up their navy; the convoys and the transports hastily despatched with the supplies for the Sicilian forts, scantily equipped and badly handled, made a poor show of resistance to the admiral Lutatius, whose victory off
Ægusa crushed for the present all the naval power of Carthage (B.C. 241). The blow was quite decisive. Hamilcar with all his brilliant genius could not hold his highland fortress without access to the sea, and the door had been abruptly closed. At home there were no ships in the arsenals to send him, there was no army except his, there were no levies to meet the legions who might land within sight of Carthage.

They had suffered probably far less than their enemy, to whom the war had caused a fearful loss of men and money: but they were in no heroic mood, and Hamilcar was forced to offer submission in their name. The terms of peace were moderate enough. Sicily had to be surrendered, and a war-contribution to be paid, which was raised from 2000 to 3200 talents, when commissioners were sent from Rome to supersede Lutatius and to conclude a definitive treaty. Carthage was left a sovereign power, though bound as was Rome itself by the condition, that neither should deal separately with the dependent allies of the other.

It may be well to gather up some of the lessons of the war. It had been proved first that Carthage was no match for Rome in calm and pertinacious vigour. Her resolution was thrown into the shade by the energy with which Rome first created a war navy, and struggled on while fleet after fleet perished by untoward fate, and hostile privateers swept her coasts of merchant shipping. Phænician enterprise was overmatched on its own element; first it failed in
power of speedy adaptation to the new conditions of
the times; next it neglected to put forth all its strength
to keep the advantage it had gained.

For Carthage was essentially a trading power, as
such it hankered after a policy of peace, and only
fitfully encouraged its dreams of imperial ambition.

Secondly, there was a difference in the position
of the general in chief of the two states. The com-
mander of the legions was a statesman or a party
leader-transferred suddenly into the camp: like every
Roman, he had had a soldier's training, but when
his wealth, or birth, or civil services, or powerful
connections had raised him to the highest rank of
consul, he had yet to prove his fitness for supreme
command. He might leave his mark on history in
one short campaign, but the brave rank and file had
often cause to rue his inexperience or rash ambition.
The single year of office was far too short for a good
general, and too long for a bad one. At Carthage the
profession of a soldier was often special and life-long.
The able man, once found, continued long in office,
and could carry out a policy of patient genius like
that of Hamilcar, though unlucky blunderers pro-
voked sometimes a burst of fury, and were crucified as
a warning to the rest.

But this was balanced by a difference still more
marked. The armies of Rome were at once citizens
and soldiers, were drilled and trained from early
years, called out on active service to fight for their
homes and fatherland. Carthage relied upon her wealth to buy the raw material of her armies. Her people were too busy at their work of agriculture, industry, or commerce, to be spared for the soldier's unproductive trade; but there was no lack of markets in ruder and less civilized countries where men might be had for money's worth. Their recruiting officers went far afield, and the motley host thus gathered to their banners must have presented a strange spectacle indeed, as Heeren pictures to our fancy. "Hordes of half-naked Gauls were ranged next to companies of white-clothed Iberians, and savage Ligurians next to the far-travelled Nasamones and Lotophagi; Carthaginians and Liby-phœnicians formed the centre, the former of whom were a sort of separate corps, dignified by the title of the sacred legion; while innumerable troops of Numidian horsemen, taken from all the tribes of the desert, swarmed around upon unsaddled horses, and formed the wings; the van was composed of Balearic slingers, and a line of colossal elephants, with their Ethiopian guides, formed as it were a chain of moving fortresses before the whole army."

Multitudinous gatherings like these took time to raise, still more to hold well in hand and turn to good account; pestilence often hovered in their train, and they were commonly soon shattered by the onset of steady infantry like that of Rome. There was yet another danger in their use, which was now to be brought home to them in an appalling shape.
INTRODUCTION. I.

The war once over, it remained to pay the arrears and to disband the army. But the funds were long in coming, and the men shipped cautiously in small detachments were allowed to meet once more in Africa, to fan each other's discontent, invent wild stories of the plans hatched for their destruction, and break out at last in open mutiny. So began the disastrous Mercenary war.

The hardy veterans found daring leaders who swept the open country with their arms and carried all before them for a time. Nor was that the only danger to the state. The subject populations all around had little love for the proud city who had been so imperious a mistress. Except a favoured few who had preserved their independence as Phoenician colonies upon the coast, the rest had been governed with a rod of iron, and taxed oppressively in men and money to support the imperial policy of Carthage. In the background rolled the threatening clouds of Nomads, who had never ceased to hate her for her stern repression of their licence. Among all these a smouldering fire of disaffection burnt, which was now to burst into a flame. On every side they made common cause with the insurgent army, and raised the banner of revolt. So Carthage stood upon the very brink of ruin. Besides the enemies thus leagued against her, she suffered from the spirit of faction which crippled her policy and checked her arms. Her foremost leaders, Hamilcar and Hanno, wasted in their mutual jealousy the
strength which should have been turned against the common enemy: each was singly tried a while, and each failed in turn to close the war, till no course was left but to plead with them in their country's name, to drop their rivalries in the sense of overwhelming danger. That done the prospect brightened, and the terrible insurrection was trampled out at last.

But friends and enemies alike had learnt two lessons from the war.

1. It had revealed the chronic danger of all mercenary troops, who might at any moment turn against their own paymasters, and ruin the State while off its guard.

2. It had laid bare the weakest point in the home-rule of Carthage. Her failure to win the loyalty of her allies near home was very fatal. She would not let their towns be walled in her jealous fears of disaffection. An invader might therefore march at his will through open country, and look to find thousands rally to his standard. The Syracusan Agathocles, the Roman Regulus, had each tried in this way to close the war by a decisive blow: a surer hand would one day succeed where they had failed.

What was the attitude of Rome meanwhile, when her late enemy was fighting thus for very life? At first she was entirely neutral; there was indeed some diplomatic talk of the complaints of the Italian traders whose interests were wounded by the blockade of the insurgent towns, but for a time she was ashamed to
take advantage of a rival's weakness. As the war went on however, and the mutinous garrison of Sardinia offered the island and themselves to Rome, the temptation was too strong, and the offer was accepted. The protests of Carthage were cynically met with threats of war, and the complainant sullenly retired to brood over her wrongs and hopes of vengeance. It was this wrong that rankled in her memory, and made the peace only a short breathing space in a duel of life and death.

Hamilcar above all felt the ignominy keenly, dogged as he was by factious spirits which taunted him with all the losses of the war, or even formally impeached him. To hold his own he had to find or organize a party, and possibly to tamper with the spirit of the constitution. Our authorities, familiar chiefly with the civil strife of Greece and Rome, speak as if he became the head of the democratic party, of which Hasdrubal, his future son-in-law, was a marked leader. This may lead us to inquire what were the distinctive forms of the government of Carthage.

The noble emigrants who fled from Tyre seem to have given a bias to the infant State which lasted on in the stable aristocracy of later ages. A few ruling families held the chief power in their hands, not by established right of an hereditary peerage, but by the wealth and merit and the proud traditions which won them the affections of the people. For some sort of popular assembly, though how arranged we are not
told, held the elections of the magistrates, and debated state affairs of high importance, but it was not above suspicion in its choice, for Aristotle says expressly, that the highest offices were bought and sold. Above it stood the senate, which is constantly referred to in our authors as the working machinery of government, through which all questions of foreign policy must pass, as well as all the business of legislation. It was a numerous body, with settled aims and definite traditions, with probably a lengthy, if not a lifelong tenure of their office. Within the circle of this senate or synkletons we hear of a more select and smaller body (concilium, γεροντία) which was held, as Livy says, in highest reverence, and had a paramount control over the senate (id sanctius apud illos concilium, maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis, Livy xxx. 16. 3). Its origin is thus explained by Justin (xix. 2 ap. Heeren p. 122) as due to the jealousy with which an aristocracy regards the paramount power of any of its body: "As the house of Mago became dangerous to a free state, an hundred judges were chosen from among the senators, who upon the return of generals from the war, should demand an account of the things transacted by them, that they being thereby kept in awe, should so bear themselves in their command, as to have regard to the laws and judicature at home." As the highest state tribunal and guardian of the constitution, doing its duty without reward or fee, it gained a moral influence and power which it may have sometimes
harshly used in the interest of the established order, or even tended to become a sort of social inquisition.

The choice of this inner council rested with the pentarchies, or boards of five, who seem to have discharged many of the executive functions of the state. It is probable that they corresponded to the chief departments of the Civil Service, and their long tenure of their office commonly secured a stable and coherent system of administration.

At the head of the whole Republic stood suffetes (schophetim in Hebrew) who were called by the Greek writers kings. These were appointed by election from the chief families of state, and were probably two in number, as Polybius compares them with the Roman consuls, though Cicero (de Republica ii. 23) specially contrasts them with the magistrates who were annually changed, and implies therefore a longer term of power. The Roman consuls, up to the Punic wars at least, were commanders of the legions, but Carthage kept distinct the civil and the military power. The general came next in order to the suffetes, and in his election regard was also had to rank and wealth. The nomination rested with the council (γερουσία), but the sanction of the senate and the people was required.

On the whole it was an aristocracy of wealth and talent. The governing families were careful to observe the constitutional forms. They asked, or bought, the votes of the electors; they referred grave questions to the popular assembly; by colonial grants
they consulted the material interests of the poorer classes, at the same time respecting their pride of self-respect even while ruling in their name.

Of the people itself we know not much, but we may do their memory a wrong if we repeat without misgiving the comments of the Greeks or Romans. It is idle to say they were effeminate because they mostly did not care to fight themselves in foreign wars. The Phoenicians, of whose race they came, were no soldiers, but they were no cowards. It needed courage and the spirit of adventure to make their way among wild races, to brave the dangers of the unknown waters, and be the pioneers of civilized progress. It is true that they had not, like the Romans, the barbaric pride which thought that war was noble, but industry was mean: they had little mind to fight for imperial interests which did not move them greatly, and were well content to see their rulers buy soldiers in a cheaper market. It is rash to say they had no sense of honour, because Aristotle tells us that offices of state were bought and sold. It may be true to own that in their race the political instincts were less strong than other motives, but we shall do well to remember that the French monarchy with all its talk of honour sold public offices by thousands, and if it be a question simply of bribery at elections, Englishmen had, till lately, little right to condemn others.

Dynastic feuds, or quarrels among leading houses,
have often proved a fatal weakness to ruling aristocracies. Carthage had suffered from it keenly in the Mercenary war, and she felt it even when the war was over. Of the two great party leaders Hamilcar and Hanno, the former was the most popular among the people, by virtue of his signal merits as a soldier, if not by the factious help of Hasdrubal. He was made general by their votes, to secure their hold on Southern Spain, and he was glad to go, for he breathed more freely in the camp than in the city, and had far-reaching projects to secure. No better scene of action could easily be found than Spain. The mines which had tempted Phoenician enterprise in early days were unexhausted still, and might give him the command of untold wealth. The native tribes might be won by fair words or show of force, and their homes would then be recruiting grounds for hardy soldiers. The scene was far enough away to be out of sight of jealous rivals, and conquests made upon it were no immediate defiance of Rome's power. If such were his aims, they were successful. He pushed on with slow and patient steps till the South of Spain was in his hands; he organized a powerful army which was disciplined by constant warfare and maintained with little help from home, while he kept up almost royal state, not forgetting to find funds for his partisans at Carthage, the so-called Barcine faction.

When death abruptly closed the career of his am-
bition, Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, was ready to step into his place and carry on his work with equal skill, and when he too was hurried off by an assassin's knife, the army felt such sense of strength and personal will as to choose a general for itself, asking the state only to approve its choice. Hannibal, with all his father's bitterness of hate, and more than his father's genius, was ready to carry on the struggle against Rome. His army, composite as was its structure, was welded into a mighty thunderbolt of war; secure of its loyalty, and relying on his party organized at home, he might hope to overrule the scruples of warier statesmen or opponents.

Rome meanwhile looked on quietly at first at the progress of the Punic arms in Spain, but with growing uneasiness as time went on. At last she forced on Hasdrubal a treaty to respect the line of the Hiberus as the boundary of the influence of the two great empires, but showed scant respect for it herself when she accepted an ally in Saguntum, which lay across the river. She would perhaps have pushed matters to extremes at once, had not her attention been distracted by the war with the Cisalpine Gauls. That enemy was conquered, but not crushed; the colonies of Placentia and Cremona, whose walls were being built to overawe them, were soon to provoke another outburst, and they were ready to welcome any antagonist of Rome. Now that she was mistress of the seas, there could be no better base of operations for
a war against her than the country of these Gauls, who were of race akin to the Spanish Celts who fought for Hannibal. The way indeed by land was long and rough, and Punic armies had seldom faced the legions except to be defeated, but Hannibal relied on his own genius, and was impatient to begin the struggle anew. He flung defiance in the teeth of Rome by striking down Saguntum her ally, and then in early spring pushed rapidly along the road which was at last to lead him through the Alps to Italy, where for fifteen years he was to spend all the unparalleled resources of his military skill in the vain effort to destroy the power of Rome.
INTRODUCTION. II.

THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

The authorities for the history of the Second Punic war consist not only of the third decade of Livy (book xxI—xxx), but of the third book of Polybius, together with fragments of some later books, of the war of Hannibal by Appian, of some passages of Dion Cassius, preserved or summarized by Zonaras, and also of a long and tedious poem by Silius Italicus.

Of these the history of Polybius is much the earliest in date. Its author, though a Greek, lived long at Rome in intimate relations with the circle of the Scipios, and other ruling families, whose memories of the great struggle were likely to be fresh and vivid; he travelled, as he tells us, to

gain a special knowledge of the scenes of the campaigns, and he possessed, in a high degree, many of the qualifications for the work of an historian. It is important therefore to compare his narrative with that of Livy.

Upon careful scrutiny it may be seen that in many passages of the two writers there is very close resemblance in the language used, more especially in dealing with the first part of the war. The agreement is too minute and circumstantial to be ascribed to chance, or to faithful rendering only of the facts.

At first therefore it was thought, as by Lachmann and by others, that the later author Livy must have copied freely from Polybius, though without acknowledging his debts, or even mentioning him by name until the end (XXX. 45. 4). We can lay little stress indeed upon this silence, for ancient writers had no scruples in using the materials which they found ready to their hands; they borrowed often largely from each other, and had no delicacy of feeling about such debts of honour. But there is good reason for believing that the view just stated is not an adequate explanation of the facts.

1. Even in the passages where Livy seems at first sight to copy Polybius most closely, we may find commonly some incidents, some names of persons or of things, some notices of causes or effects, which form distinct additions to the story of the earlier writer, and which point to some other literary source,
as they would not come within the range of Livy's own thought or observation.

2. It is still more noteworthy that in one place (xxii. 24. 4) we find surprise expressed at a course of action on the part of Hannibal which is sufficiently explained in the corresponding passage of Polybius.

3. At other times we find that Livy gives details without apparent misgivings or defence, although Polybius had already protested or complained of them as silly absurdities and exaggerated tales. Examples of this kind may be found in xxii. 22 and 36.

4. It would seem natural to urge that Livy might have had several authorities before him, and have seen reasons for preferring first one and then another, as he worked up their materials into the course of his own narrative. But before accepting this conclusion, it may be well to turn to the fourth and fifth decades of his work, where by general consent it is admitted that he followed Polybius most closely in all matters which related to Greece or to the East. We may study with advantage his method of procedure in such cases. Careful observation seems to show that in all these he uses Polybius without acknowledgment, translating and abridging lengthy passages, without collating other sources at the time, or changing to any great extent the order and method of the narrative, though he often makes mistakes and alterations from ignorance, or haste, or patriotic
pride. The classical historians of later date, we know, followed the same course, and still more certainly, the chroniclers of the middle ages. For the most part it would seem that they were quite content in each part of their work with following one authority alone, and that they transcribed freely from it for a time, with little effort to balance or correct from other sources, till at length another was taken in its place, to be used for a while with equal freedom. But in the third decade of Livy the elements of the mosaic are much smaller than in the fourth or fifth; the passages are shorter where the agreement with Polybius is most marked, and yet in them the variations are often too minute and numerous to be consistent with such a method of procedure as that which has been stated. If Livy had had the pages of Polybius before him, he would probably have followed him more closely, as the differences are often not improvements.

5. The reasons given, as well as others which arise from a detailed comparison between the two, point to a common use of the same sources, rather than to a direct borrowing of the one historian from the other. But they must have dealt with these in different fashion, Livy keeping close to the early narrative in its fuller form, while the edition which Polybius gives is a summary and corrected one. It remains then to ascertain, if possible, the nature of these common sources.
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6. The passages of the two writers in which the features of resemblance are most marked, are those in which Hannibal is throughout the moving spirit of the scenes, and the fortunes of his soldiers are described in most detail.

They deal with the march of the invading army, with the fields of battle, and the vicissitudes of the campaigns. The touches here are often very delicate and minute, and the narrative is that of an eyewitness, or of one whose information could be drawn from Carthaginian sources.

One such especially is known to us by name, the Greek Silenus, who is said to have served from first to last in Hannibal's campaigns (Corn. Nepos, Hann. 13) and to have written with great care the history of his wars (Cic. de Divin. i. 24), and as such is quoted as an authority by Livy (xxvi. 49. 3). Contemporary evidence of so high an order, which is referred to by writers of two centuries later, could hardly fail to be consulted by a painstaking author like Polybius, and his silence on the subject goes for little, as it was not the practice of those times to mention earlier authorities except when the data were specially conflicting. Silenus was certainly consulted by the Roman writers on the Punic wars, and there is good reason for believing that part of Livy's narrative takes from this source much of its colour and contents. But it does not therefore follow that Silenus was directly used by Livy, as the
materials collected by him may have been worked up by other hands into something like the form in which we have them in their Latin dress. In dealing with this question we may do best to consider first the other parts of Livy's story, where Rome itself is the centre of the scene, and the information must have come from Roman sources. What were the authorities which could be consulted here, and in what way do they seem to have been used? It is needful perhaps here to enter into more details.

7. In early ages it had been the practice to put out an official register of the names of the magistrates elected, with some sort of scanty calendar of general news. The priests were in Rome, as often elsewhere, the earliest chroniclers, and the meagre notices which the chief Pontiff (*Pontifex summus*) posted on a whitened board, grew lengthier as time went on, and the practice of registration became more complete. The materials thus collected year by year were the groundwork of a national chronicle, which was kept in the Archives of the Pontiffs, and formed at the period of the last revision a series of some eighty books. In form it was a sort of diary on which were noted the results of the elections, and the chief events of national importance. In the interests of the priesthood it was natural to find room for all the matters which especially concerned them; the august ceremonial of the state religion: the eclipses of the sun and moon: the fasts and feasts
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and days of evil omen to be noted on the calendar: the prodigies and freaks of nature which in stirring times excited the fancy of a superstitious people—these were set down with an exceeding fulness of detail—as facts which deserved careful study in the present, and were likely to be of interest to after generations.

8. The early writers in their history of the past freely used the outlines which were thus ready to their hand, and adopted a like order in the narrative of their own times. Here and there indeed complaints were made of such meagre chronicles of petty and disjointed facts, and it was urged that there could be no national order or historical perspective in a continuous diary where no attempt was made to trace the connection between causes and effects, but the memory was overloaded with ill-digested food. A narrative so written, said Semprenius Asellio, can hardly rise above the dignity of nursery tales (Aul. Gell. v. 18). But still from first to last the prevailing practice with the historians of Rome was to set down year by year the order of events, mentioning first the results of the elections, the division of the Provinces and Legions, the prodigies which stirred the public mind, the starting of the Generals for the scenes of war, and the doings of the armies on the field of battle. In these respects the difference between the earlier and later writers consisted chiefly in the qualities of style and
literary treatment, for which the first chroniclers cared little, but which seemed of paramount importance as the taste for rhetoric increased. Thus Cicero speaks contemptuously of the meagre and graceless annals, rough hewn, as he implies, by prentice hands which had as yet no experience or skill of literary craft (De Orat. ii. 12).

The earlier chroniclers, he adds, seem to have chiefly aimed at brevity, and to have told their story simply, without a thought of grace or diction (non exornatores sed narratores). Of those included in this sweeping criticism the first recorded were contemporaries of the First Punic war. Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus both bore a part in the great struggle, and are referred to as authorities by Livy, as men who helped to make history as well as write it. Of those who followed some like M. Porcius Cato and L. Calpurnius Piso took a high rank in the world of politics, but are included in Cicero’s sweeping censure as historians without a style. The first who aimed at dignity of language was Cælius Antipater, who lived in the period of the Gracchi, a century later than the first chroniclers just mentioned. There was little elegance indeed, adds Cicero (de leg. i. 2), in the rough vigour of his style, but at least we may see in him the first beginning of something like literary care (paolo inflavit vehementius habuitque vires agrestes ille quidem atque horridas, sine nitore ac palæstra: sed tamen admonere reliquos potuit, ut accuratius scri-
berent). In later times indeed the caprice of fashion fondly recur red to the old models of archaic diction, and the accomplished Emperor Hadrian, who set up for a literary critic, avowed his preference of Cælius Antipater to Sallust (Spartian. Hadr. 16). His writings were evidently in good repute at the end of the Republic, for Brutus took the trouble to compress them into shorter form, and Cicero asks Atticus to send him the Epitome of which he had just heard (Epitomen Bruti Cælianorum, Cic. ad Att. xiii. 8). His history of the Punic war was singled out for special mention (in proemio belli Punici, Cic. Or. 69), and in this we are told that he followed Silenus very closely (Cic. de divin. i. 24). In the third decade Livy mentions him more often than any other writer, and in terms which show that his evidence ranked very high, and should be weighed in any conflict of authorities. There is reason to believe that he was often used when not explicitly referred to. The dream of Hannibal at Onusa, as found in Livy xxl. 22. 5, agrees with the description, somewhat more fully given, in a fragment of Cælius which Cicero has preserved for us (de divin. i. 24), and which as we are told was first drawn from Silenus. So too of the omens before the disaster at Lake Trasimene (Liv. xxii. 3), which Cicero (de div. i. 35) quotes to like effect from Cælius, as also in the account of the earthquake which passed unnoticed by the combatants in the same battle. There are a few words quoted from
him by Priscian (xiii. 96), antequam Barca perie-
rat, alii rei causa in Africam missus est, which seem
to point to the recall of Hannibal to Africa after some
years of stay in Carthage, to which he had returned in
early life,—a residence required to reconcile the ex-
pressions used by Livy, though he has neglected expli-
citly to state it. There are also verbal similarities
which point in the same direction, as in the passage of
Cælius preserved by A. Gellius (x. 24. 6), si vis mihi
equitatum dare, et ipse cum cetero exercitu me sequi,
die quinti Romæ in Capitolium curabo tibi cena sit
costa, compared with that of Livy xxii. 51. 2: as also
another which we find in Priscian iii. 607, dextimos
in dextris, scuta jubes habere, to which we may trace
a likeness in Livy xxii. 50. 11. It is not unlikely
therefore that a writer in good repute like Cælius,
whose style had more force and colour in it than the
bare and rugged annalists' of earlier days, should have
been freely used by Livy with little effort to hunt up
his authorities, or to compare the various sources
fused into the current narrative. Occasional discrep-
ancies noted by the former were probably reported
also by the latter, who sometimes exercised his judg-
ment on them, but did not always, as we may suppose,
carry the criticism further, or look for fresh evidence
to decide the question. The manual effort of collating
many authors, of unfolding the long rolls in which
their histories were written, and poring over their
archaic style, was sure to be distasteful to a man of

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Livy's tastes; the critical standard of the age did not require such labour at his hands; the reading public had not such severe historic canons, and much preferred a piece of fine writing to proof of antiquarian research, and Livy naturally enough catered for the literary appetites which he found around him. The work which he had set himself to do seemed great enough, and left him little leisure to sift and to compare; the history of seven centuries stretched out before him, and he hurried on to rear his noble monument to the memory of the Great Republic.

In this way may be probably explained both the features of agreement and of difference between Polybios and Livy, by supposing that some of the same sources may be traced in both, from which the former drew directly, while the latter used them as he found them worked up already in the narrative of one who was almost a contemporary of the Greek writer. The theory itself is worthy of acceptance, even if we do not lay much stress upon the evidence which seems to point to Silenus as the common authority of both alike, and to Cælius as the compiler of the Roman version of the story. It is chiefly in the earlier books that the probability of this is strongest; later in the decade other influences seem to have come prominently forward, among which may be mentioned memoirs current in the Scipionic circle, native traditions or chronicles of Africa, such as those consulted by King Juba, and works of a later and diffuser style like those of Valerius Antias.
From what has been already said it will be seen that some at least of the qualifications of an historian will not be found in any high degree in Livy. He draws his narrative too readily at second hand from earlier writers, and fills in the meagre outlines with rhetorical details, which are often the common-places of the schools, more than the results of independent study. He is too little on his guard against the patriotic bias of the Roman chroniclers, and the party spirit of patrician informants, and so treats unfairly both the statesmanship of Flaminius and the policy of Carthage. There was monumental evidence ready to his hand on every side in the inscriptions to be found in every place of national resort, but there are scanty signs to show that he recognized their value. A few weeks of travel would have given him a personal knowledge of the scenes of the campaigns, which combined with his undoubted powers of description, would have left few questions still unsettled in connection with the battlefields and movements of the armies. The archives of the Priestly Colleges, whose formularies he sometimes copied, would have told him much about the characteristic features of the old religion, which he leaves almost unexplained, as if it were still unaltered in his own days. His language tends often to confuse the customs of Italy with those of other races. Thus he ascribes to Carthage the distinctive name of the Jupiter of Rome, as well as those of the political and military systems of her rival. The lengthy speeches inserted by him in

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the narrative are convenient vehicles for his theories of political causation, but have often little semblance of reality; while the annalistic form, suggested as it was by the yearly change of consuls, fatigues the memory and disturbs the judgment in tracing the natural connection of events. But these defects belong in a great measure to the literary standards of his age and country, and we should not fail to recognize the merits which are peculiarly his own, his high moral tone and honesty of purpose, the eloquence and pathos of his speeches, the vivid powers of portraiture, and the varied beauties of his style, which have given his history so high a place among the works of classical antiquity.
INTRODUCTION. III.

ON THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF LIVY.

In order to illustrate the peculiarities of Livy's style, a list is now given of those forms of expression which, though for the most part found elsewhere, recur more often in his pages than in those of earlier writers such as Cicero and Caesar.

**Substantive.** Concrete for collective, e.g. *eques, pedes, Paeonius*; abstract for concr.: in sing. *levi armatura, remigium*; plur. *servitia, dignitates, robora legionum*. Large number of verbals in *us*: *trajectus, saltatus, effectus*; and in *tor*: *concitor, ostentator*; the same used adjectively, *domitor ille exercitus*.

**Adjectives** used substantively: in sing. acc. or abl. neut.: *in medium, in publico, in immensum altitudinis, in majus vero, in multum diei, per Europæ plerumque, hoc tantum licentia*; plur. neut.: *per aversa urbis, per patentia ruinis, per cetera pacata, tædio præsentium*; plur. masc. less frequent: *potiores,*

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docti, mortales, cum expeditis militum; forms in osus frequent: procellosus, facinorosus; and in bundus: contionabundus, tentabundus; predicative adj. used adverbially: repens nuntiatur clades, conferti pugnabant.

PRONOUN. Alius = ὁ άλλος: alia acies, alius exercitus; alter for alteruter xxI. 8. 7; nullus for nemo; quicunque, qualsiscunque, quantuscunque, &c., without a verb.

ADVERB instead of attributive adj.: omnibus circa solo aequatis, postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus; use of ceterum for sed, ferme for fere, juxta for pariter, adhuc for past time; unde, ibi, inde for persons; admodum with numerals; large number of forms in im, e.g. caesim, generatim.

VERB. Affection for frequentatives, often in sense of simple verb: frequent recurrence of vadere, currere, trahere; form of perf. pass. with fui and pluperf. with fueram; forem in place of essem; use of pres. and perf. subj. in Or. obliqua, to give vivid colour to description.

PREPOSITION. Common use of circa, not only for space, but for time and mode.

IN CONSTRUCTION Frequent forms of σχῆμα κατὰ σῶνεσυν: pars magna...nantes, millia...eosdem, R. legiones...ultii, civitas...oriundi, Senatus populusque voluit, Gallia...iis xxI. 20. 1, equestre praetium...qua partes copiarum 41. 4, scriba pontificis...quos vocant 57. 3; in pregnant sense: blandientem ut ducere-
tur, in orbem pugnantes, in prælium reuinit; irregularities in the use of pronouns: remisso id quod erepturi erant, id de quo ambigebatur...eventus belli...victoriam dedit, quod quidam auctores sunt, quibus si videretur denuntiarent; quicquid used adverbially = quo longius; interrog. within a final sentence: quid ut a vobis sperent; or participial: quid credentes; suus referring to an oblique case of a subordinate sentence.

Genitive. Of possession extensively used: plebs Hannibalis erat, alterius totus exercitus erat, dicionis facere, H. annorum novem erat. Of object with relative adj. like imprxvidus, nimius, æger; or without, ancipitis certaminis victoria, moris sui carmine.

Ablative. Large use of instrumental, modal and local abl. without prepos., but Livy constantly has prepos. with abl. for motion from a town; frequency of comparatio compendiaria, as spe celerius, solito magis.

Dative. In predicative sense: caput Italix, auctor rebellionis Sardis, quibusdam volentibus erat bellum.

Accusative. With adj. or partic. pass.: cetera tereti, sollicitus omnia, paratus omnia, ictus femur, longam indutæ vestem, assueti devia; omission of object with verbs used absolutely: transmettere, movere, superare, jungere, incolere, fallere, &c.

Adjective. Expressing the object of subst. with which it agrees: dictatoria invidia, consularia impedimenta; with infin.: dignus, obstinatus, dubius.

Indicative. In hypothetical construction, fames quam pestilentia gravior erat ni.
INTRODUCTION. III.

Subjunctive. With ut after causa, cum eo, pro eo, ab eo.

Gerundive. Frequently used in abl. abs. or instrumental abl.: quærrendis pedentium vadis evasere; insertion of ipse, quisque in abl. gerund. phrases. Cf. note on xxii. 45. 9.

Participle. Substantival use of past part. pass.: for an abstract subst., as Sicilia amissa, ex dictatorio imperio concusso; for a concrete subst., as ridentis speciem, strepantium pavores; as object to the verb, id male commissum ignavia in bonum vertit; as subject to the verb, diu non perlitatum dictatorem tenuit; absolute use in nom.: habitantes Lilybœi; absolute use in abl.: inexplorato, edicto, auspicate; hypothetically: invicta si æquo dimicaretur campo; future part. to express intention, or assumption: ita transmissurus si; omission of participle, cursus per urbem, pugna ad Trebiam, rude ad artes; asyndeton in use of part.: pulsa plebs armata profecta; in comparative and superl. forms: conjunctius, conspectior; Greek idiom with fallo: sefellere instructi; large number of deponent part. in passive sense: pactus, emensus; neuter verbs impersonally in part. pass.: concursum est, tumultuum.

Pleonasm. Of frequent occurrence: legati retro donum unde venerant redierunt, novus rursus de integro labor, ante præoccupare.

Brachylogy. Quo ad conveniendum diem edixerat, ad fidem promissorum obsides accipere, neutros pugnam
incipientes timor tenuit; carried to an awkward ex-
treme in in eos versa peditum acies...haud dubium
fecit quin... XXI. 34. §7, cf. 52. 1, 55. 8, and XXII.
18. 7.

ELLIPSE. T'antum ne, modo ne, at enim, retinere
conati sunt ni summovissent.

CHIASMUS is a marked feature of his style: animus
ad pugnam ad fugam spes, in urbem Romani Paeni in
castra.

ANAPHORA. Hic vobis terminum...fortuna dedit:
hic dignam mercedem e. s. dabit; often combined with
iteratio, as totiens petita fædera totiens rupta.

PARONOMASIA. Hospitem non hostem, hostis pro
hospite.

INVERSION in order of familiar expressions: pro
parte virili, belli domique, nocte dieque, inferos super-
osque.

ANASTROPHE of PREPOSITION. Capuam propius,
Fæsulas inter Arretiumque.

In general we may notice the growing tendency to
copy Greek forms of expression, which the want of
the article as also of the participle of the substantive
verb often render less natural in Latin.
INTRODUCTION. IV.

THE TEXT AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF LIVY.

The oldest MS. of the third decade of Livy is that which is preserved in the National Library at Paris, under the name of the Codex Puteanus (P), dating probably from the beginning of the eighth century. In the earlier edition (1860) of the Emendationes Liviana, Madvig came to the conclusion that this was the source of all the extant MSS., which he believed to differ from it only in the various errors due to the carelessness of later copyists. But the researches of Mommsen and Studemund have thrown light on the influence of another Codex called Sipreensis (S), from which a number of readings were noted down long ago by Beatus Rhenanus, but which has since disappeared with the exception of a single leaf discovered a few years back (C. Halm in Act.

1 Compare Madvig, Emendationes Liviana; Mommsen and Studemund, Analecta Liviana; Brambach, Neugestaltung d. Lat. Orthographie; Corssen, Aussprache d. Lat. Sprache.
Monac. 1869). This, or its unknown original, is not entirely represented by any extant MS.; it seems to have come to light at a later time than P, and all of the copies made from it, or derived indirectly from it, show distinct traces of the influence of P, which was referred to probably in obscure or doubtful passages, so that readings from P are found in the margin, or the text even, of the MSS. that can best be traced to S.

Further enquiry may possibly succeed in distinguishing still further the two families of MSS. That of P is admitted to be the earliest and best; it abounds however in obvious errors and omissions, which various editors have gradually corrected. It would be quite hopeless to adhere even to the best MS. authority, and bold as some of the suggestions of Madvig may appear, we must remember that the text has been thrown into its present shape by many critics who have been forced to go to work with equal freedom. We may take one specimen as given by him to prove in his own words 'quantum ubique sordium et robiginis detergendum sit.' It is the beginning of B. xxii, as it appears in P. Jam vero adpetebatque Hannibal ex hibernis metuit et neque eo qui iam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Gallis, quos praeda populationumque conscientia spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent acgerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse pra-
miique utriusque partis exercitusum hibernis viderent, verterunt retro Hannibalem odia. So faulty a MS. can be little trusted in nice questions of orthography, and Madvig accordingly has not attempted to reproduce the forms of Livy's age, or to give us the spelling of the historian himself, but has fallen back upon the orthography of Quintilian's age, which was fixed by the authority of critics and grammarians, and which is known to have differed in material points from that of Livy's time, when it was still shifting and unsettled. It may be convenient however to formulate some of the chief points of difference between the spelling most in vogue at the end of the Republic, and that of a century later, though with the caution that we cannot tell exactly when the change in each case took place, or how far personal taste may have modified the general fashion.

O. V. vo was at first usual, as in servos, volnus. The change to vu took a century to effect, from Augustus to Vespasian, cf. Quintilian i. 7. § 26.

O. E. The change from vortex to vertex began with Scipio Africanus, but some forms adversus, controversia, voster lasted till the Empire, when there was doubt between faenoris, faeneris, &c.

V. E. We have the later form of the gerundive of the third and fourth conj. as early as B.C. 185, but the older form, as faciundus, appears much later, especially in archaic formularies.

V. I. Maxumus, optumus were common before
J. Cæsar, who set the fashion of writing maximus, &c. Quintil. r. 7. § 21.

E. I. Livy wrote sibc, quase, and many in the first century did likewise, Quint. r. 7. § 24. So the abl. of words like agilis, Viminalis was written at the end of the Republic with a final a. The elder Pliny proposed to write agile of persons, agili of things. J. Cæsar decided for the i, to distinguish abl. from neut. nom., but it did not definitely prevail till the end of the century.

The form of the acc. plur. gave critics much trouble in the varieties of eis, is, es. It seems to have been settled that is was the commoner ending in words whose sing. nom. and gen. ended in -is, like omnis, navis, or of nominatives in -er with abl. in i, as acer, in words in ns, re, like fons, pars; while words in as, x more frequently assumed a plur. in es. The account of the grammarians that the gen. plurals in ium were followed by acc. plur. in is requires correction in this respect.

In the acc. sing. there was also a wavering between im and em, and the i prevailed only in Greek words, and a very few feminines.

I (pingue). The broad i sound was under the Republic commonly written ei, which ceased in the Augustan age, though grammarians recognized it much later.

II. The doubling of i between two vowels was preferred by Cicero, as in aiiio, Maiia, and inscriptions
of the early Empire show this spelling; but nouns of the second decl. in ius, ium were written in the Republic with one i only in the gen. as imperi; adjectives assumed the double i earlier, and gradually a like rule spread to the nouns.

K. C. Originally the letter C corresponded to our G sound, as in the C which stands for Gaius, till Spurius Carvilius introduced the letter G, and C then took the place of the tenuis K.

CI, TI, were often confused in common speech, inscriptions, and MSS., but in the following words the right reading seems quite established: condicio, contio, convitium, dicio, induitae, nuntius, otium, setius, solacium, suspicio (Fleckceisen, Fünfzig Art.).

QVO. CV. QVV. The old form quom became cum in the time of J. Cæsar, there being little evidence for quum in the first century. So quoi passed into cui and quare into cur. Secundus is early found for sequondus. Aequom became oecum, then later on æquum.

N in old Latin was often omitted before i and s, as in conjunct, cosol, cesor, Megalesia; but in the final ens of the numerals it was retained till the end of the Augustan era, though afterwards confined to totiens, quotiens, and the like.

S S, frequent at the end of the Republic, was changed to s; thus Cicero used causae, divisioines, but later inscriptions after the Monumentum Ancyranum have a single s.
XS was common, not only in compounds like exspecto, but in others like saevisum, proxsumus, and inscriptions prove this in spite of the protests of the old grammarians, who regarded the s as needless.

Assimilation of the last letter of the preposition to the first of the verb with which it is compounded began early, but the inscriptions of the end of the Republic have forms like adclamaro, adlectus, adrideo, conlega, industris, varied by more modern forms. The grammarians favoured the general assimilation, and the process went forward steadily, though modified by personal caprice.
CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

B.C.

229. Death of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general in Spain; Hasdrubal succeeds to his place.

228. Roman treaty with Hasdrubal.

221. Death of Hasdrubal. Hannibal takes the command in Spain.

219. Saguntum taken by Hannibal.

218. Hannibal marches through Spain, crosses the Rhone and passes the Alps.
    Battles of Ticinus and Trebia.
    Successes of Cn. Scipio in Spain.

217. Defeat and death of C. Flaminius at L. Trasimene.
    Hannibal marches through Central Italy.
    The cautious policy of Q. Fabius Maximus.
    Hannibal winters in Apulia.

216. Battle of Cannae.
    Revolt of Italian allies.
LIBER XXI.

In parte operis mei licet mihi præfari, quod in principio summæ totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quæ unquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginensiæ cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullæ inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese, sed expertas primo Punico conserebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancesque Mars fuit, ut proprius periculum fuerint, qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Pœnis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. Fama est etiam, Hannibalem annorum ferme novem, pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, quum, perfecto Africo bello, exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum, tactis sacrâs, iure iurando adactum, se, quum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Ange-
hant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amisse:

... et Sicilia nimirum desperacione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africæ fraude Romanorum, stipendio etiam insuper imposito, intercep-

... tam. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio sessit, ut appareret, maius eum, quam quod geret, agitare in animo bel-

... lum, et, si dintius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Pænos arma Italiae illaturos fuisse, quæ Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.

... Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hanni-
balis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit,

... flore ætatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcar conciliatus,

genere inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adsictus

... et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modice erant, haud sane

... voluntate principum, in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens, hospitiiis magis regulorum con-

ciliandisque per amicitiam principum nou-

... vis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihil ei

... pax tutor fuit; barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo domini obturcat; comprenusque ab cir-

cumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasisset, vultu, tor-

... mentis quoque quam laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris,

... ut superante lastitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem

... praebuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia miræ artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat,

... foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque...
imperii esset amnis Hiberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin prærogativa militaris, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in prætorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque assensu appellatus erat, * * favor plebis sequabatur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat, actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nentibus, ut assuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in patternas succederet opes, Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, "Et sequum postulare videtur" inquit "Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo, quod petit, tribuendum." Quum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in se omnes convertisset, "Florem ætatis" inquit "Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum præbuit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decent iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento assuefacere libidini prætorum. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relictii exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus? Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum sub legibus, sub magistratibus, docendum vivere sequi iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet." Pauci, ac ferme optimus quisque, Hannoni assentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit.

Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit; Hannibal's popularity and character. teres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque 1—2

Liber XXI.
in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit, ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Nunquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatoris an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam præficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vincere poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora; id, quod gerendis rebus superesset, quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi sepe militari sagulo opertum humi iaicentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in prælium ibat, ultimus conserto prælio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant, inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit, nulla re, quæ agenda viden- daque magno futuro duci esset, prætermissa.

Ceterum, ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem,
deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus op 3 pugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines (ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat) induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus, iungendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam, urbem 4 opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu perculsa minores civitates stipendio imposito imperium accepero. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo prædam stipendioque præterito 5 cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis, vere primo in Vacceos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum urbes, vi 6 captae; Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica profugi ex 7 sulibus Olcadum, priore æstate domita gentis, quam se inuxissent, concitant Carpetanos, adortique Hannibalem regressum ex Vacceis haud procul Tago flu- mine, agmen grave praeda turbavero. Hannibal prælio abstinuit, castrisque super ripam positis, quam prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, annem vado tra- iectit, valloque ita producto, ut locum ad transgredien- dum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeunte statuit. Equitibus præcepit, ut, quom ingressos aquam vide- rent, adorirentur impeditum agmen; in ripa elephantos (quadranginta autem erant) disponit. Carpetanorum 11 cum appendicibus Olcadum Vacceorum- que centum millia fuerer, invicta acies, si sequo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et ingenio feraces et 15
multitudine freti et, quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati, quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine ullius imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera ripa vis ingens equitum in flumen immissa, medio-que alveo haudquaquam pari certamine concursum, quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab inermi equite, equo temere acto, perverti posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili, cominus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in hostes ab elephantis obtiri sunt. Postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione quum in unum colligerentur, priusquam a tanto pavore recuperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit, vastatisque agris, intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in ditionem accepit; et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum iam belli causa. Certamina cum finitimis sere-bantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus quum adset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen iuris, sed vim quaerī appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxiliōn ad bellum iam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romæ erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui quum, legatis in senatum introductis, de re publica retulissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent, ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in
Africam traiicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent, hac legatione decreta but before ambas-sadors can be sent to warm Hannibal to respect the al-lies of Rome necdum missa, omnium spe celerius Sa-guntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc re-lata de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias con-sulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in His-paniam Hannibalemque intendebant bellum; erant, qui non temere movendam rem tantam exspectandos-que ex Hispania legatos censerent. Hae sententiae, quæ tutissima videbatur, vicit, legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Bœbius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam fœderis rupti deposcendum.

Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Sagun-tum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea the siege of Sa-longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, guntum is begun sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum in tantas brevi creverant 3 opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus seu mul-titudinis incremento seu disciplinae sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, pervastatis passim agris, urbem tripertito aggregitur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque, quam cetera circa, vallem vergens; adversus eum vineas agere in-stituit, per quas aries mœnibus ad moveri posset. Sed et locus procul muro satis æquus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, cœptis succedebat. Et turris in-
gens imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et inuentus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus sum-movere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro mœnibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuaris certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Pœni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit, ut non multum abesset, quin opera ac vineæ desererentur. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulner ducis curaretur; per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acerius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineæ captae agi admoverique aries. Abundabant multitudine hominum Pœnus; (ad centum quinquaginta millia habuisse in armis satis creditur;) oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam distineri capita sunt; non sufficiebant itaque. Iam feriebantur arietibus muri quassatæque multæ partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem; tres deinceps turres, quantumque inter eas muri erat, cum fragore ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Pœni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrinque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuaris pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugna-tionibus urbiun per occasionem partis alterius con-
seri solent, sed iustæ acies, velut patenti campo, inter
ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo
constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos irritat, 3
Pœno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum annitatur, cre-
dente, Saguntinis pro nudata mœnibus patria corpora
opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum
a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et 9
conferti magis utrinque pugnabant, eo plures vulner-
abantur, nullo inter arma corporaque vano interci-
dente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum 10
hastili abiegnò et cetera tereti præterquam ad extre-
mum, unde ferrum extabat; id, sicut in pilo, quad-
ratum stupoa circumligabant lineabantque pice; ferrum 11
autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis trans-
figere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiamsi hæsisset
in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat,
quod, quam medium accensum mitteretur conceptum-
que ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma
omittit cogerat nudumque militem ad sequentes ictus
præbebat. Quom diu ances puisset certamen, et Sa-
guntinis, quia præter spem resisterent, crevissent animi,
Pœnus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem 2
repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri ex-
pellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant,
postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; 3
quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hanni-
bale, qui dicerent, nec tuto eos adituros
inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma,
nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operæ esse
legationes audire. Apparebat, non admissos protinus 4
Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad
principes factionis Barcinae præmittit, ut prepararent
suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari populo
Romano posset. Itaque, præterquam quod admissi
auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque ir-
rita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus
senatum causam fœderis magno silentio
propter auctoritatem suam, non cum assensu audien-
tium egit, per deos fœderum arbitros ac testes sena-
tum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino susci-
tarent bellum; monuisse, prædixisse se, ne Hamilcaris
progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non
stirpem eius conqueriscere viri, nec unquam, donec
sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quie-
tura Romana fœdera. "Iuvenem flagrantem cupidine
regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis
bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut
materiam igni præbentes, ad exercitus misistas. Alu-
istis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum
vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur fœdere;
mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanæ legiones,
ducibus iisdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta fœdera
sunt uli. Uturum hostem an vos an fortunam utrius-
que populi ignoratis? Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis
venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non ad-
misit; ius gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hos-
tium quidem legati arcentur, pulsi, ad nos venerunt;
res ex fœdere repetunt; ut publica fraus absit, auc-
torem culpæ et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius
agunt, segnius incipient, eo, quum coeperint, vereor,
ne perseverantius sæviant. Ægates insulas Erycem-
que ante oculos proponite, quæ terra marique per
squattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nec puer hic
dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinuera-
mus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus; vicerunt ergo dii homines et, id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli velut aequus iudex, unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal vines turresque admovet; Carthaginis mœnia quotat ariete. Sagunti ruinae (falsus utinam vates sim) nostris capitisbus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliiquis. Scio neam levem esse in eo auctoritatem prop-
ter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse lætatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum iam habe-
remus cum Romanis, et hunc iuvenem tanquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac detestor; nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposcat, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque eius accidere neque ille sollicitare quiete civitatis statum possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatu satisfaciant; alios, qui Hannibali nument, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno." Quum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo nescsse fuit; adeo prope om-
nis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flac-
cum Valerium, legatum Romanum. Re-
sponsum inde legatis Romanis est, bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Ro-
manum iniuste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati praeponat.

3 Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mitten-
dis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem praeliiis
operibusque habebat, paucorum iis die-
rum quietem dedit, stationibus ad custodiam vinearum
aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eo-
rum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe prae mio-
rum accendit; ut vero pro contione praedam captae
urbis edxit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt,
ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti
videretur posse. Saguntini ut a praeliiis quietem ha-
buerant nec lacesentes nec lassitii per aliquot dies,
ita non nocte, non die unquam cessaverant ab opere,
ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum op-
pidum ruinis erat, reificerent. Inde oppugnatio eos
aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec, qua
primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, quum
omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis scire pote-
rant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis, omnia mu-
nimenta urbis superans altitudine, agebatur, hortator
aderat. Quae quum admoda, catapultis ballistisque
per omnia tabulata dispositis, muros defensoribus
nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus, quingentos
ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo
murum mittit; nec erat difficile opus, quod cæmenta
non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto, structuræ
antiquae genere. Itaque latius, quam qua cæderetur,
ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in
urbem vadebant. Locus quoque editum capiunt,
collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in
ipsa urbe velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro
circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab non-
dum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utrinque summa vi et muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo mino-
rem in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione et minuitur expecta-
tatio externae opia, quam tam procul Romani, unica
spes, circa omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen affectos animos recreavit repentina profectionis Hanni-
balis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, re-
tentis conquistoribus, metum defectionis quum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omi-
serunt mota arma. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio sequior erat, Maharbale Himilconis filio (eum prescerat Hanni-
bal) ita impigre rem agentis, ut ducem absese nec
cribes nec hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot se-
cunda fecit et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri dis-
cussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti
Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque praelium cum multorum
utrinque cæde initum et pars arcis capta est.

Tentata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum His-
panum. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus, aliquid moturum ratus, quum ad Hannibalem noctu
transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae moven-
bant condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud
hostem mansit, moriturum affirmans, qui sub con-
dicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem,
redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habi-
tarent, ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente
Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, Vinci animos,
ubi alia vincantur, affirmans, se pacis eius interpretem
fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles Hannibalis,
ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tra-
dito palam telo custodibus hostium, transgressus mu-
nimenta ad prætorem Saguntinum (et ipse ita iubebat)
est deductus. Quo quum extemplo concursus omnis
generis hominum esset factus, summota cetera multi-
tudine, senatus Alorco datu est, cuius talis oratio
fuit. "Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem peten-
dam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab
Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervaca-
neum hoc mihi fuisse iter, quo nec
orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos veni; sed
quum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud
hostem (sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum
est apud vos vera referentibus), ego, ne ignoraretis,
esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro
vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni.
Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui, quæ
loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque, dum
vestris viribus restitistis, neque, dum auxilia ab Ro-
manis sperastis, pacis unquam apud vos mentionem
feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ualla est spes
nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut mœnia satis de-
fendunt, pacem affero ad vos magis necessariam quam
æquam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quemad-
modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi au-
dietis, et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, quam omnia
victoris sint, sed, quicquid reliquitur, pro munere
habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte
dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum assignaturus, in quo novum oppidum sedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne, publicum privatumque, ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. Hae victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, quem omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid ex his rebus remissurum; sed vel haec patienda, censeo ex potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapidissime ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belii iure sinatis."

Ad hae audienda quum circumfusa paulatim mul-titudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores, secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum collatum in ignem ad id raptim factum conicientes, eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Quum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata procederat, perque ruinam eius cohors Pœnorum impetu facto quem signum imperatoris dedisset, nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis viribus aggressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudel, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu est; cui enim parci potuit ex iis, qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac libris domos super se ipsos concremaverunt aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam mori-
15 entes fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti præda. Quanquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in cædibus vix ullum discrimen statis ira fecerat, et captivi militum præda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

3 Octavo mense, quam cœptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthagine Novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto dieinde mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse.

Quæ si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P. Cornelius, Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in sue magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius, Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non cœptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servillii et C. Flaminii non potest, quia C. Flaminius Ariminì consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam quum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna reedit.

16 Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt, omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul mæror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indignè et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summæ rerum cepit,
velut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore
motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consu-
lerent: nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque
secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem
unquam fuisset atque imbellem. Sardos Corsosque et
Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse
Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius
quam belligeratum; Pœnum hostem veteranum, trium
et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas
gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo assuetum, re-
centem ab excidio opulentissimæ urbis, Hiberum trans-
ire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos;
concitum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes;
cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro
mœnibus Romanis esse.

Nominatæ iam antea consulibus provinciæ erant; 17
tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sem-
pronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in
Levias and prepara-
war. 2
eum annum decretæ legiones et socium, quantum ipsis
videretur, et classis, quanta parari posset. Quattuor
et viginti peditum Romanorum millia scripta et mille
octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta millia pedi-
tum, quattuor millia et quadringenti equites; naves
ducentæ viginti quinqueremes, celeres viginti de-
ducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iuberen
4
populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici; eiusque belli
causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati dii,
ut bene ac feliciter eveniret, quod bellum populus
Romanus iussisset. Inter consules ita copiæ divisæ:
Sempronio datæ legiones due (ea quaterna millia erant
peditum et treceni equites) et sociorum sedecim millia
peditum, equites mille octingenti; naves longæ centum

His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fierent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Aemilium, C. Licinium, Q. Baebium, in Africam mittunt ad percontandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et, si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defendentur publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, quem senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percontatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: "Præceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, quem Hannibalem tanquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnamentem deposcebatis; ceterum hæc legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et inspulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpæ exprimitur et ut a confessis res extemplo repetatur. Ego autem non, privato publicone consilio
Saguntum oppugnatum sit, querendum censeam, sed utrum iure an injuria; nostra enim haec quæstio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per foedsus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedsus est a C. Lutatio consule iictum, in quo quam caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis (necelem enim erant socii vestri) cautum est. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale iictum est, Saguntini excipiantur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedsus icit, quia neque auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu iictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri; itaque aliud de integro foedsus publico consilio iictum est. Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedsus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu parturit animus vester, aliquando pariat.” Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto, “Hic” inquit, “vobis bellum et pacem portamus; utrum placet, sumite.” Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, dare, utrum vellet, suclamatum est; et quum is iterum, sinu effuso, bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

Hæc directa percontatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare, quum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum 2

2.—2
disceptationis res esset, quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore foedere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat, quum in Lutatii foedere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur? Quanquam, etsi foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis; nam neque additum erat "iiis, qui tunc essent," nec, "ne qui postea assumarentur." Et quem assumere novos liceret socios, quis æquum censeret, aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut receptos in fideinem non defendi, tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte descessentur?

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iiis Romæ imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates et in societatem pellicerent aut averterent a Pœnis, traiecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus beneigne excepti, quia tædebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novæ fortunæ erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio respondit: "Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiam præponamus, quum, qui id fecerunt, crudelius, quam Pœnus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quæratis socios censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre, ita insigne documentum
LIBER XXI.

Sagunti ruinas erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.” Inde extemplo abire finibus Volciano per territerium iussi, ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequicquam peragrat per Hispaniam, in Galliam transeunt. In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt. Quum verbis extollentes gloriad virtuteque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Pœno bellum Italicae inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantum cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus, ut vix a magistratibus maiori busque natu iuventus sedaretur; adeo stolida impudensque postulatio visa est censere, ne in Italian transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis populatinge obiicere. Sedato tandem fremitu, responsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensem iniuriam, ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adversus Pœnos sumant arma; contra ea audire sese, gentis suæ homines agro finibusque Italicae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaeque, nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum, quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab excepta Massilia sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita: praec optedo iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore (adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse), ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum animi conciliantur. Ita peragrat per Hispaniae et Galliae populus, legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo post, quam con sules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem
exspectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama, iam Hiberum Pœnos transmisset.


8 Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patientia; vere primo ad edictum convenere.

9 Hannibal quam recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades proiectus Herculii vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospera evenissent. Indepartiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere
LIVII

5 Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit; atque inde profectus præter Onusam urbem ad Hiberum maritima ora ducit.

6 Ibi fama est in quie corvisum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequetur neque usquam a se deflectet oculos. Pavidum primo, nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani quum, quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; tum visisse post sese serpentinum mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri, ac post sequi cum fragore caeli nimbun. Tum, quæ moles ea quidve prodigii esset, querentem audisse, vastitatem Italiam esse; pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.

23 Hoc visu lætus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit, præmissis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta millia peditum, duodecim millia equitum Hiberum traduxit.

2 subduing the Spanish tribes on his way, Ilergetas inde Bargusiosque et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quæ subjecta Pyrenæis montibus est, subegit, oræque huic omni præfexit Hannonom, ut fauces, quæ Hispanias Galliis iungunt, in potestate essent. Decem millia peditum Hannoni ad præsidium obtinendæ regionis data et mille equites.

3 Postquam per Pyrenæum saltum traduci exercitus est cæptus, rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria millia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat, non tam bello motus quam longinquitate vise inesuperabile Alpium transitu.
Hannibal, quia revocare aut re timere eos ances 5 
erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroci horumi 
irritarentur, supra septem milia homi-
num domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia sense-
rat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans. Inde, ne 24 
mors atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis 
Pyrenæum transgreditur et ad oppidum 
Iliberri castra locat. Galli quamquam 
Italise bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos 
trans Pyrenæum Hispanos fama erat præsidiaque valida 
imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati Rusci-
onem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hanni- 3 
bali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metu-
ens, oratores ad regulos eorum misit, colloqui semet 
ipsum cum iis velle; [et] vel illi propius Iliberri 
accederent, vel sse Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex pro-
pinquo congressus facillior esset; nam et accepturum 4 
eos in castra sua se laetum nec cunctanter 
se ipsum ad eos venturum; hospitem enim 
se Galliae, non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante 
gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset. 
Et per nuntios quidem hæc; ut vero reguli Gallorum 
castris ad Iliberri extemplo motis haud gravanter ad 
Pœnum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exerci-
tum per fines suos præter Ruscinonem oppidum trans-
miserunt.

In Italian interin nihil ultra, quam Hiberum 25 
transisse Hannibalem, a Massiliensiurium 
legatis Romam perlatum erat, quum, per-
dinde ac si Alpes iam transisset, Boii solli-
citatis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob 
veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper
circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas ægre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis, in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto, tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt, ut non agrestis modo multitudo, sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant assignandum, diffisi Placentiae mœnibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, M. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asiam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinæ quum obsiderentur et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis assideret muris, simulari ceptum de pace agi; avocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad colloquium non contra ius modo gentium, sed violata etiam, quæ data in id tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi rederentur, eos dimissuros. Quum hæc de legatis nuntiata essent et Mutina præsidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius pretor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant, plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipitat, multaque cum cæde suorum ægre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra communita et, quia Gallis ad tentanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quingentos cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro ceptum, nec, dum per patentia loca ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum

Et P. Cornelius, in locum eius, quæ missa cum prætore erat, scripta legione nova, profector ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus præter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Salyum montes pervenit Massiliam, et ad proximum ostium Rhodani (pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit) castra locat, vixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenæos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus, quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis resectis ab iactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes præmittit. Hannibal, ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis, iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validæ. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffusi, citeriore agro arceri Pœnum posse, ut flumen pro muni-
mento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. 7 Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suæ tenuerant, simul pellicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgence turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites, simul copia materiæ, simul facilitate operis inducti, alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquæ et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus 27 who forces the passage of the Rhone in spite of the opposition of the natives, se suaque transveherent, faciebant. Iam que omnibus satis comparatis ad traiciendum, terrebant ex adverso hostes, omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine ire iter unius diei iubet et, ubi primum pos- sit, quam occultissime traiecto amni, circumducere agmen, ut, quum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostem. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde millia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim caesæ ma- teria ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi virique et alia onera traiciarentur. Hispani sine ullæ mole, in utres vestimentis coniectis, ipsi castris superpositis incuban- tes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei
reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo significant, transisse, et haud procul abesse; quod ubi accept Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad traiciendum. Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos naves. Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traiciendentibus lintribus praebebat; equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur, præter eos, quos instratostos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in naves. Galli occurrant in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui, quattintes scuta super capita vibrantesque dextris tela, quanquam et ex adverso terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum militumque, et qui nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera ripa traiciennent suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor, castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, anicepsque terror circumstatabat, et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in terram evadente et ab tergo improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere visum maxime iter, perrumpunt, trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal, ceteris copiis per otium traiectis, spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consiliauisse credo; certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephants tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, quum refugientem in aquam and of the difficulty of getting the elephants across, which is variously described in our authorities.
[nantem] sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque ti-
mentem altitudinem destituerit vadum, impetu ipso
fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis
constat, ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante
rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem prunius est. Ratem
unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam a
terra in annem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua
derretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore
ripæ religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constra-
verunt, ut beluse audacter velut per solum ingrederen-
tur. Altera ratis seque lata, longa pedes centum, ad
traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum ele-
phanti per stabilem ratem tanquam viam, prægedien-
tibus feminis, acti ubi in minorem applicatam trans-
gressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter annexa
erat, vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram
ripam pertrahitur; ita primis expositis, alii deinde
repetiti ac traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec
continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor,
quum, soluta ab ceteris rate, in altum raperentur. Ibi
urgentes inter se, cedentibus extremis ab aqua, trepi-
dationis aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor
circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam
sævientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere ipso stabiles,
deiectis rectoribus, quærendis pedetentim vadis in
terram evasere.

Dum elephanti traïciuntur, interim Hannibal Num-
idas equites quingentes ad castra Ro-
mana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantæ
copias essent et quid pararent. Huic aliæ
equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab
ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt.
Liber XXI.

Praelium atrocissium quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrinque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriis dedid. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque bellus ut summa rerum prosperum eventum, ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriis Romanis portendit.

Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliiis cœptisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem incertum, utrum cœptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a præsentii certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore affirmantes, integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam aggregiandam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem, nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat. Itaque Hannibal resolvit to push on, leaving Scipio in his rear. He encourages his army.

contione, varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: Mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentes eös stipendia facere neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplexantur, Carthaginensioni essent. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus,
Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, quem ab occasu solis ad exortus intendit iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferociissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot millibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi, traiectum, in conspectu Alpes ha-beant, quorum alterum latus Italise sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere, quid Alpes aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingant altiores Pyrenae iugis; nullas profecto terras cælum contingere nec inesuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere animantes; pervias fauces esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italise cultores has ipsas Alpes ingentibus ssepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus, migrantium modo, tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato, nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti, quid invium aut inesuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse?

Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse Pœnus desperet; proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies toties ab se victæ, aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac møenibus Romania.

His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa
ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rector ad Alpes via esset, sed, quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. 

Ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi confluent in unum; mediis campis Insulae nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior. Tum discors erat. Regni certamine ambigebant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitaret, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et cætu iuniorum, qui iure minus vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio quum ad Hannibalem reiecta esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maioris restituit. Ob id meritorium commenatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigorisibus Alpes preparari cogeant. Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum quum iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter institut, sed ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam impedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est; nam, quum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites (et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est), ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens, nihil stabile nec

C. L. 3
tutum ingredienti præbet; et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgressentibus tumultum fecit, quum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post, quam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram facturus; ceterum ubi desertura munimenta nec facile se tantum progressos assecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit, non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit eo, qui circa Padum erat exercitus, Italiam defensurus.

Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes cum bona pace incolementium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in maius vero ferri solent, præcepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitude nivesque cælo prope immixtæ, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iumentaque torrida frigore, homines intinsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu fœdiora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen olivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam
stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa ius- 

sit; Gallisque ad visenda loca prēmissis, postquam 
comperit, transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia prēruptaque, quam extentissima potest valle, locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, quam se immiscuissent colloquiis montanorum, edoctus, interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud, quam quod parabatur, consumpto, quum eodem, quo constiterant, loco castra communissent, ubi primum degressos tumulis montanos laxa- tasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit. Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reli- quum incedere oēpit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, quum repente conspiciunt alios, arce occupata sua, super caput iminentes, alios via transire hostes. Utraque simul obiecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in augastiis suoque ipsum tumultu miseri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quicquid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, transversis rupibus per iuxta invia ac devia assueti decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus, simul ab iniquitate locorum Pæni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente, ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat.
LIVII

6 Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamori-
bus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussæque valles
augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulne-
rati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul
hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent; mul-
tosque turba, quem præcipites deruptæque utrinque
angustiæ essent, in immensum altitudinis deiecit, quos-
dam et armatos; sed ruinæ maxime modo iumenta
sum oneribus devolvebantur. Quæ quanquam fœda
visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos
continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret; de-
deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque
esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequicquam
incolunem traduxisset, decurrut ex superiore loco et,
quum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumul-
tum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, post-
quam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur,
nec per otium modo, sed prope silentio mox omnes
traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput eius regionis
erat, viculosque circumiectos capit, et captivo cibo ac
pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et, quia nec
montanis primo percursis nec loco magno opere impe-
diebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viæ confecit.

34 Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium,
or ambuscades.

ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non
bello aperto, sed suis artibus, fraude et
insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magno natu princi-
cipes castellorum oratores ad Pœnum veniunt, alienis
malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam
malle quam vim experiri Pœorum: itaque obedierunt
imperata facturos: commatum itinerisque duces et
ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal
nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fieren, benigno quum respon-
disset, obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis et commenatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant, usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post 5 cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitus omnia incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte altera 6 subiectam iugo insuper imminenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari, a fronte, ab tergo coorti, cominus, eminus petunt, sara ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa 7 peditum acies hau dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata ex-
trema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac 8 prope pernicem ventum est; nam, dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus prœsidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxiliii reliquerat, occursantes per obliqua mon-
tani, interrupto medio agmine, viam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est. Postero die, iam seignius intercursantibus bar-
baris, iunctae copiae, saltusque hauj sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum pernicie, supera-
tus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant, modo in primum, modo 2 in novissimum agmen, utcunque aut locus opportuni-
tatem dare aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti sicut per artas prœcipitesque vias 3 magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacun-
que incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen prœbebant.
Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per in-
via pleraque et errores, quos aut ducent-
tium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, te-
mere initæ valles a coniectantibus iter
faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita,
fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iu-
mentaque aliquot, quæ prolapsa in rupibus erant, se-
quendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenero. Fessis
tædio tot malorum nivos etiam casus, occidente iam
sidere Vergiliarium, ingentem terrem adiecit. Per
omnia nive oppleta quum, signis prima luce motis, seg-
niter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in
omnium vultu eminen, prægressus signa Hannibal in
promuntorio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus
erat, consistere iussis militibus Italianum ostentat sub-
jectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, me-
niaque eos tum transcenderet non Italie modo, sed etiam
urbis Romanæ; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut
summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiam in manu
ac potestate habituosa. Procedere inde agmen cœpit,
iam nihil ne hostibus quidem præter parva furta per
occasionem tentantibus. Ceterum iter multo, quam
in ascensu fuerat (ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut
breviora, ita arrectiora sunt), difficilios fuit; omnis
enim ferme via præceps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut ne-
que sustinere se a lapsu possent nec, qui paulum titu-
bassent, hærere affixi vestigio suo, alique super alios
et iumenta et homines succiderent.

Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rumem atque
ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles
tentabundus manibusque retinens virgulta
ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese
posset. Natura locus iam ante praeceps recenti lapsu
terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus
erat. Ibi quum velut ad finem visa equites
constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quæ res
moraretur agmen, nuntiatur, rupem in-
viam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad loc-
cum visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia
circa nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circum-
duceret agmen. Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit; nam
quum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicæ alti-
tudinis esset, molli nec praesaltæ facile pedes ingredien-
tium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque
incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentem-
que tabem liquecentis nivis ingrediebantur. Tætra
ibi luctatio erat, [ut a] lubrica glacie non recipiente
vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu
manibus in assurgendo seu genu se adiuvisser, ipsis
adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes
circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti
posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque uive
volutabantur. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam in-
firmam ingredientiam, nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius
in connitendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut ple-
raque velut pedica capta hærerent in dura et alte con-
creta glacie. Tandem, nequicquam iumentis atque
hominibus fatigatis, castra in iugo posita,
segregime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tan-
tum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum
fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via
esse poterat, milites ducti, quum cæendum esset sax-
um, arboribus circa immanibus deiectis detruncatisque
struem ingentem ligorum faciunt, eamque, quum et
vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt,
ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putresciant. Ita tor-
ridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque an-
fractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum, sed ele-
phanti etiam deduci possent. Quatriduum circa rupem
consumptum, iumentis prope fame absumptis; nulla
enim fere cacumina sunt et, si quid est
pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora valles
apricosquae etiam colles habent rivosque
et prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi
iumenta in pabulum missa et quies muniendo fessis
hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum,
iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniiis.

38 Hoc maxime modo in Italianam perventum est, quinto
mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt,
quent decimo die Alpibus superatis.

2 Hannibal's army Quantae copiae transgresso in Italianam Han-
nibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui
plurimum, centum millia peditum, viginti equitum
fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti millia peditum,
sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab
Hannibale scribit, maxime me auctor moveret, nisi
confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis;
cum his octoginta millia peditum, decem equitum ad-
ducta; (in Italia magis affluxisse veri simile est, et
ita quidam auctores sunt;) ex ipso autem audisse Hann-
nibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex
millia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et
aliorum iumentorum amississe. Taurini Semigalli prox-
ima gens erat in Italian degresso. Id
quum inter omnes constet, eo magis mi-
ror ambigi, quanam Alpes transierit, et
vulgo credere, Pænino (atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium inditum) transgressum, Cælium per Cremonis iugum dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, sed per alios montanos ad Libuonos Gallos deduxissent. Nec veri simile est, ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique, quæ ad Pænimum ferunt, obsæpta gentibus Semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Pænorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen ferunt inditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Pænimum montani appellant.

Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximè genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum Hannibal rests to recruit his army, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat; oitium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex illuvie tabequa squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, quem Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum recto manus consoreret. Sed quum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat: et iunxisset sibi non metu solum, sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quæ pars sequenda esset, Gallos presentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus convenerantque duces sici inter se
nondum satis noti, ita iam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, præstantem virum credebat; et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod, relictus in Gallia, obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traiiciendarum Alpium et effectu. Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traiicere, et ad Ticinum annum motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus.

"Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui?

Nunc quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamin obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pausa verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli preemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is
vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse so-
let. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necessae est, 7
pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi
pugnam detectavere, eos, duabus partibus peditum
equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis, [quum plures
pæne perierint quam supersint;] plus spei nactos esse.
At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes 8
animis corporibusque, quorum robora ac
vi res vix sustinere vis ulla possit. Ef-
figies immo, umbrae hominum, fame, frigore, illuvie,
squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa ru-
pesque; ad hoc præusti artus, nive rigentes nervi,
membra torrida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi
ac debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pug-
naturi estis; reliquias extre mas hostium, non hostem
habebitis; ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, quum vos
pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. Sed 10
ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo
deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profili-
gare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus,
commissum ac profigatum conficere. Non vereor, ne 41
quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui
existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse. Licuit
in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam prefectus
eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii
participem ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdruba-
lem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud
dubie molem belli; tamen, quum præterveherer navi-
bus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram
egressus, præmisso equitatu, ad Rhodanum movi castra.
Equestri prælio, qua parte copiarum consor rendi ma-
um fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen,
quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia as-
sequi terra non poteram, regressus ad naves, quanta
maxima potui celeritate, tanto maris terrarumque cir-
çuitu, in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti
obvius fui. Utrum, quum declinarem certamen, im-
provisus incidisse videor an occurrere in vestigiis eius,
lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat,
tracer alias repente Carthaginiones per

who had before
humbly sued for

the peace

viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint,
qui ad Ægates pugnaverunt insulas et
quos ab Eryce duodevicensis denariis æstimatos emi-
sistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit æmulus itinerum Her-
culis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et
servus populi Romani a patre relictus. Quem, nisi
Saguntinum scelus agitaret, respiceret profecto, si non
patriam victam, domum certe patremque et fædera
Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro
præsidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves impositas
victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens mærensque ac-
ceptit, qui decedere Sicilia, qui stipendium populo Ro-
mano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo
solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pug-
nare velim, sed cum indignatione quadam atque ira,
velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra
vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo sup-
plicio humanorum, fame interficere; licuit victricem
classem in Africam traiicere atque intra paucos dies
sine ullo certamine Carthaginem delere;
veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus
ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus,
tutelæ deinde nostræ duximus, quem Africo bello ur-

gentur. Pro his impertitis furiosum iuvenem se-
Liber XXI.

quentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decorre tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sar- diniae, de quibus quondam agobatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova possint praesidia; hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Unusquisque se non corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitetur curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum: qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.”

Hæc apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdatu ad spectaculum exercitu, captivos montanos vincatos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum proiectis, interro-gare interpretém iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Quam ad unum omnes ferrum pugnan-que poscerent et dejecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, et, ut cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer, inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans, cum sui moris tripudiis arna raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiuodem modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur. Quum sic aliquot spectatistis paribus affectos dimi-
sisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus furtur.

"Si, quem animum in alienæ sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in æstimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque

and tells his sol-
diers that their
only chance of
safety lies in vic-
tory,

nim spectaculum modo illud, sed quæ-
dam veluti imago vestræ condicionis erat.

Ac nescio, an maiora vincula maioresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna cir-
cumdederit. Dextra lævaque duo maria claudunt, nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentes; circa Padus amnis, maior [Padus] ac violentior Rhodano, ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus

transitæ. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quæ necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, præmia vobis ea vic-
toribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab diis

quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tan-
tum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra
virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pre-
tia essent; quicquid Romani tot triumphis partum
congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis

dominis futurum est; in hanc tam optimam mercedem,

agite dum, diis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis

adhuc in vastis Lusitanisæ Celtiberiæque montibus
pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum

periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam

opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operæ
pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes flumina-
que et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis termi-

num laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam

mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit. Nec,
quam magni nominis bellum est, tam difficilem existimaritis victoriam fore; sumpse et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incliti populi regesque perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno fulgore nominis Romani, quid est, cur illi vobis comparandi sint? Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot fero-cissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso, victo, circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe educatum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium, sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semestri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui? cui si quis demptis signis Poenos Romanos hodie ostendat, ignoratum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cius non ante oculos ispe sepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spector ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me milles donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantessque. Quocunque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, quum pro patria, tum ob iram iustissimam pugnatus.
Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accedid præterea et stimulat animos dolor, iniuria, indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes, qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus affecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit; cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere sequum censeat. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque eos, quos statuit, terminos observat. Ne transieris Hiberum; ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis. At non ad Hiberum est Saguntum. Nusquam te vestigio moveris. Parum est, quod veterrimas provincias meas, Sicilianm ac Sardiniam, admis? Etiam in Hispanias et, si indecessero, in Africam transcendes? Transcendes autem? Transcendisse dico. Duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis vindicatis. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet, qui respectum habent, quos sua terra, suus aiger per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient: vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et, omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis, aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in prælio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus [destinatum] in animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis; nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est."
His adhortationibus quum utrinque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt, tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper imponent; Poenus, hostibus opere occupatis, Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet, principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque millia passuum ab Ictumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, quem instare certamen cerneret, nihil unquam satis dictum premonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contentionem certa præmia pronuntiat, in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque vellet immortalipsum ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argentum satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallet, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit, binaque pro iis mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum læva manu, dextera silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterisque precatus deos, ita se maactarent, quemadmodum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id moræ, quod nonndum pugnarent, ad

C. L.
potienda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

46 Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat,
super cetera recentibus etiam territos
omens prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra
laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen
apum in arbore praetorio imminente consederat. Quibus
procuratis, Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque
expeditis prefectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo
copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas,
obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad ex-
ploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo
cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equo-
rumque oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium
fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen, et ad proelium sese
expediebant. Scipio iaculatoris et Gallos equites in
fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris
fuit, in subsidii. Hannibal frenatos equites in me-
dium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore
sublato, iaculatoris fugerunt inter subsidia ad secun-
dam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu
anceps; dein quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti,
multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos
premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad
pedes pugna venerant, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus
erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt.

Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem con-
sulis vulneris periculumque, intercursu tum primum
pubescentis filii impulsatum. Hic erat
iuvennis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli
laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam

de Hannibale Pcnisque appellatus. Fuga tamen
LIBER XXI.

effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidæ
invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in
medium acceptum, non armis modo, sed etiam cor-
poribus suis protegens, in castra nusquam trepide
neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus
Cælius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim
equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere
auctores et fama obtinuit.

Hoc primum cum Hannibale prælium fuit; quo facile apparuit, [et] equitatu meliorem Pœnum esse,
et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo
Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte, iussis militibus vasa silentio colligere, castra ab Ticino moto
festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iunx-
erat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque
insectatione hostis copias traicere. Prius Placen-
tiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino
profectos; tamen ad sexcentos moratorum in citeriore
ripa Padi, segniter ratem solventes, cepit. Transire
pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota
rate in secundam aquam labente. Cælius auctor est,
Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen
extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora
Padi vada exercitum traduxisse, elephantis in ordinem
ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea pe-
ritis amnis eius vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites
armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse
veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati tra-
xerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi
vada petenda fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis impedi-
mentis traduci possset. Potiores apud me auctores 6
sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites Hispanorum expeditos præmissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit gra- vius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex millia a Placentia castra communivit, et postero die in conspectu hostium acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

Insequenti nocte cædes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est. Ad duo millia peditum et ducenti equites, vigilibus ad portas trucidatis, ad Hannibal transfiguient; quos Pænus benigne allocutus et spe ingentium donorum accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popu- larium animos dimisit. Scipio cædem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contactosque eo scelere velut inicta rabie ad arma ituros, quan- quam gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis inequentis tacito agmine profectus, ad Trebiam fluviun iam in loca altiora collesque impediotres equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; mis- sisque Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equi- tatu, turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate prædæ in vacua Romana castra Numidæ devertissent.

Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno moræ pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus; et quum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio,
nec vexationem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et collegam (iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat) ratus expectandum, locum qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal quum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem, nusquam præparatis commeatibus, maior in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congeressent Romani, mittit. Ibi quum vim pararent, spes facta prodigionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino préfecto præsidii corrupto, traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Pœnis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito præsidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil sævitur est.

Quum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, in terim circa Siciliam insulasque inminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandamoram Italieà Carthaginiensibus missæ; novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missæ, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis, præter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybæi occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere, eadem tem-
pestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem ad Ægates insulas deiectam. Hæc, sicut audita erant, rex M. Æmilio prætori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit, monetque, ut Lilybæum firme teneret præsidio. Extemplo et a prætori circa civitates missi legati tribunique, qui suos ad curam custodiæ intenderent, et ante omnia Lilybæum teneri apparatu belli, edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent, ut, ubi signum datum esset, ne quid moram conceptione faceret, perque omnem oram, qui ex speculis prospererent adventantem hostium classem, missis. Itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginiensis, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybæum, presensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant. Extemplo signum datum e speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum; pars militum in muris portarumque stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptan- daque ad pugnam classe absumpso. Ubi illuxit, recepere classem in altum, ut spatium pugnæ esset exitumque liberum et portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam, et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudo batvi ac virtute. Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conservere pugnam et ex propinquo vires conferre velle; contra eludere Pœnus et arte, non vi rem gerere, naviumque quam virorum aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus affatim instructam classem, ita inopem milite
habeabant, et, sicubi conserta navis esset, haudquaquam
par numeros armatorum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi
animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxi
animum et paucitas illis minuit. Extemplo septem
naves Punicea circumventae; fugam ceterae ceperunt.
Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis militis
nautaeque, in his tres nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis
Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi, sed ea
quoque ipsa reduce, in portum redit.

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius, qui
Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul
Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti
rex Hiero classem instructam orna
taque obviam duxit, transgressusque ex regia in
praetoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu
et navibus advenisse, precatusque prosperum ac felicem
in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulae et Car-
thaginiensium conata exposit, pollicitusque est, quo
animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvens adiu
visset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vestimentaque
sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis pra
biturum; grande periculum Lilybæo maritimisque civi
tatibus esse, et quibusdam voluntibus novas res fore.
Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum visum, quin Lily
bœum classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una pro
fecti. Navigantes inde, pugnatum ad Lilybœum fusas
que et captas hostium naves, accepere. A Lilybœo 51
consul, Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque
prætore ad tuendum Siciliæ oram, ipse in insulam Meli
tam, quæ a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traecit. Ad
venienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, praefectus presidii,
cum paulo minus duobus millibus militum oppidumque
cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum
Lilybœum, captivique et a consule et a prætore, præter
insignes nobilitate viros, sub corona venierunt. Post-
quam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul,
ad insulas Vulcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam
classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas in-
sulas inventus; nam forte transmiserant ad vastandam
Italiam oram, depopulatoque Viboniensi
agro, urbem etiam terrebant. Repetenti
Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum
Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteræque
ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut
primo quoque tempore collegæ ferret auxilium, misæ
traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum ex-
templo in naves impositum Ariminum mari supero
misit, Sex. Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque
longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque
oram Italiam tuendam attribuit. M. Æmilio prætori
quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse, com-
positis Sicilæ rebus, decem navibus oram Italæ legens
Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus
ad Trebiam flumen collegæ coniungitur.

Iam ambo consules et quicquid Romanarum virium
erat, Hannibali oppositum, aut illis copiis defendi
posse Romanum imperium aut spem nul-
لام aliam esse, satis declarabat. Tamen
consul alter, equestri prælio uno et vul-
nere suo †minutus, trahi rem malebat; recentis animi
alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur.
Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est, Galli tum
incoebant, in duorum præpotentium populorum cer-
tamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam
victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid move- rent, sequo satis, Paeus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda militem alaret, duo millia 5 peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, quam 6 ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus injuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatissque ad consules missis, auxilium Romanorum terre ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelioc 7 nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat quam ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis 8 maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguisserant ope, defensos censebat. Collega cunctante, equitatum suum, 9 mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis, ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos 10 et incompositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerosque quum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrem cedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio suorum praelium restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes 11 dentesque quum ad extremum sequassent certamen, maior tamen hostium cedes, pene Romanos fama victoriae fuit. Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarem alter consul victus foret, ea se vioisse: restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse preter collegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet;

Hannibal quum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat, temere atque improvise quicquam consules acturos; quum alterius ingenium, fama prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendæ rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cuius ne quod prætermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inuteilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius securam, quanto longius ab
domo traherentur. Quum ob haec taliaque speraret 
propinquum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, 
speculatorisque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quæ vellet, 
tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos 
pugnae esse Romanos retulissent, locum insidiis cir- 
cumspectare Poenus cepit. Erat in medio rivus praë-
altis utrinque clausus ripis et circa obsitus who had prepared 
palustribus herbis et quibus inculta ferme an ambush 
vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites 
quoque tegendo satís latebrosum locum circumvectus 
ipse oculis perlustravit, "Hic erit locus" Magoni fratri 
ait, "quam teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni 
pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima 
venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est." Ita praë-
torium missum. Mox cum deflectis Mago aderat. "Ro-
bora virorum cerno" inquit Hannibal; "sed uti 
umero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singulis 
vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similcs 
eligite. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis; 
hostem cæcum ad has belli artes habetis." Ita cum 
mille equitibus Mgone, mille peditibus dimitto, Han-
nibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam 
flumen obsequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque 
in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde 
certamine, cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. 
Hæc mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus and kept his sol-
peditum equitumque præceptum, ut pran-
dere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis 
signum exspectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex 
millia peditum, postremo omnes copias, a destinato.
LIVII

iam ante consilio avidus certaminis, eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus, while the Romans waded through the swollen Trebla in pursuit of his skirmishers, Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum prægelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcedum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quicquid aure fluminis appropinquabat, afflavit acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt (et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno imbri), tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia essent, et simul lassitudine et, procedente iam die, fame etiam deficere. Hannibalis interim miles, ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Balaiores locat ante signa ac levem armaturam, octo ferme millia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elephantes statuit. Consul effuse sequentes equites, quam ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti millia Romanæ erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est. Prælium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus quum maiore robores legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua levis armatura est, quæ res effecit, ut equitatus Romanus
exemplo urgeretur. Nam quom vix iam per se re-6
sisterent decem millibus equitum quattuor millia et
fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube
iaculorum a Baltiariibus coniecta. Ad hoc elephanti 7
eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non
visu modo, sed odore insolito territis, fugam late face-
bant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus 8
erat, quas recentes Pœnus, paulo ante curatis corpo-
ribus, in prœlium attulerat; contra ieiuna, fessaque
corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpe-
bant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum
till exhausted by
lunger and cold
and attacked on
all sides
pedite solum foret pugnatum; sed et
9
Baliarres, pulso equite, iaculabantur in latera, et ele-
phanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant,
et Mago Numidæque, simul latebras eorum improvida
præterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumu-
tum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstanti-
bus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime
præter spem omnium adversus elephanto. Eos ve-
lites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere
et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute
vulnera accipiant, fodiebant. Trepidantesque et prope 56
iam in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam
ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi-
iussit Hannibal. Ibi exemplo laud dubiam fecere
fugam novusque additus terror Romanis, ut fusa
auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque quam iam in orbem 2
pugnarent decem millia ferme hominum, they were routed
quum alia evadere nequisse, media
with great
slaughter.
Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum
ingenti cæde hostium perrupere, et, quum neque in 3
castra reditus esset flumine interclusis neque pra
LIVII

imbri satis decernere possent, qua suis opem ferrent,  
4 Placentiam recto itinere perrexere. Plures deinde in  
omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere,  
aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem  
ingrediendi ab hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros  
fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis  
Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam  
ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra per-  
venerunt. Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis  
frigoris et homines multos et iumenta et elephantes  
7 prope omnes absumpsit. Finis inequenti hostis  
Pænis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in  
castra rediere, ut vix laetitiam victoriam sentirent.  
8 Itaque nocte inequenti, quam præsidium castrorum  
et quod reliquum sauciorum ex magna parte militum  
erat, ratibus Trebiam traiicerent, aut nihil sensere  
obstrepite pluvia aut, quia iam moveri nequiban  
præ lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimu-  
larunt, quietisque Pænis tacito agmine  
ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus Cremo-  
nam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia  
premeretur.

57 Romam tautus terror ex hac clade perlatus est,  
ut iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis sig-  
nis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilli  
Sempronius Rome to hold the  
2 ares, quo a portis moenibusque vim ar-  
cerent: uno consule ad Ticinum victo,  
alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulibus, duo-  
bus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces,  
3 quas alias legiones esse, quæ arcessantur? Ita territis  
Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per ef-
fusos passim ad prædandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falleret, transgressus. Id quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis, in hiberna re启迪. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

via concurrerunt, et quum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta quinque millia hominum a paece fusa. Postero die deditione facta præsidium intra mœnia acceper ; iussaque arma tradere quum dicto paruiissent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem diriperent, neque ulla, quæ in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet, prætermissa clades est ; adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanæ superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hœ fuere hibernæ expeditiones Hannibalis.

58 Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora erant, quies militi data est, et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope fœditaratem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber quem ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra enitentes vertice intorti affligebantur, constitere ; dein quem iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sinister, aversi a vento parumper concedere. Tum vero ingenti sono cælum strepere et inter horrendos frages micare ignes ; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere ; tandem effuso imbre, quum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo depresi erant, loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit ; nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant nec, quod statutum esset, manebat,
omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento quam super gelida montium inga concreta esset, tantum nivosse grandinis deiecit, ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines, tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est, ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage quum se quisque extollere ac levare vellet, diu nequit ret, quia torpentibus rigore nervis, vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est ceptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere; multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui praelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit, et ad decem millia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim millia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul (iam enim ruderat ab Roma) detrectavit certamen. Atque eo die tria millia passuum inter bina castra fuere; postero die ingentibus animis, vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit, ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal, paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis, ceteros confertos in media castra receptit, intendosque signum ad erumpendum exspectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, quum Romanus, nequequam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit,
extemplo equitibus dextra lævaque emissis in hostem, 7 ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla** aut utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset; 8 nox accensum ingentibus animis prælium diremit. Ita- que acrior concursus fuit quam cædes, et, sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sexcentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius 9 equitum cecidit; sed maior Romanis quam pro nu- mero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tri- buni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Li- gures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo questores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quin- que equestris ordinis, senatumque ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque cre- deret, traduntur.

60 Dum hæc in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio
in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu mis-
sus, quam ab ostio Rhodaii profectus
Pyrenæosque montes circumvectus Em-
poris appellisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a
Læetanis omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen par-
tim renovandis societatibus, partim novis instituendis
Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae
fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferocios iam gentes
valuit; nec pax modo apud eos, sed societas etiam
armorum parta est, validæque aliquot auxiliorum co-
hortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum
provincia erat; eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus, castris in conspectu hostium positis, in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differentium visum, quippe qui sciret, cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse, malletque adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex millia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis, propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac villium mancipiorum; castra militem ditavere, non eius modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et eius, qui cum Hannibale in Italia militia bat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta furentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo millibus peditum, mille equitum, tanquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occurrur, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracoae classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit, ut secundae res negligentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede, maiore fuga ad naves compellit; nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimetur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, quum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio
Tarracone modico relictio, Emporias cum classe redivit. 5 Vixdum digresso eo, Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni déderat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. 6 Excito deinde Scipione hibernis, toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem quum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum, urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsedit, intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam multatos in ius dicionemque receptit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Pœnonorum procedit, atque urbe eorum obsessa, Laetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte, haud procul iam urbe, quum intrare vellent, exceptit insidiis. Cæsa ad duodecim millia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere; nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua op- pugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro unquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit, adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola, ignibus aliquoties coniectis ab hoste, etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo quem Amusicus præcés eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argentii talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconom in hiberna redivum est.

62 Rome aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt, in quis, ingenuum infanatem semestrem in foro olitorio trium-
Liber XXI.


Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eæ legiones, quæ Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulum misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiis

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Legiones quae Placentiae hibernabant, sortes evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiis

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Flaminius the consul designate who was peculiarly obnoxious to the patricians.
Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat memoriae veterum constaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat, invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adverso senatu atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator, cuive senator pater fuisset, maritimam naven, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos; quae tuest omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob hec ratus, auspiciis ementiendis Latinorumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo, sed iam cum diis immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere.

Consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret Iovique Latari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne auspicato proiectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda, paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus proiectum clam, furtim, haud alter quam si
exilii causa solum vertisset. Magis pro maiestate vi-
10 delicet imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum ini-
turum et in deversorio hospitali quam apud penates
suos prætextam sumpturum. Revocan-
dum universi retrahendumque censuerunt
et cogendum omnibus prius præsentem
in deos hominesque fungi officii, quam ad exercitum
et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem (legatos
12 enim mitti placuit) Q. Terentius et M. Antistius pro-
fecit nihil magis eum moverunt, quam priore consu-
latu litteræ moverant ab senatu missæ. Paucos post
dies magistratum iniit, immolantique ei vitulus iam
ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese quam proripuisse,
multos circumstantes cruore respersit; fugā procul
14 etiam maior apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et con-
cursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen magni terroris
acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Semprionio prioris
15 anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis, in
Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus ducit est
acceptus.
Liber XXII.

Iam ver appetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequicquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigorisibus et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos prædæ populationumque conciderat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieo agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis videre, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque sæpe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua consenserant, consensus indiciarum, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis, errore etiam sese ab insidiis munerat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit matu­rius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romanæ idibus Martii magistratum iniit. Ibi quum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feris actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capi­tolio nuncupatis, secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia
men aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, et Iunoni Minervæque ex argento dona darentur, et Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronæque pecunia col-
lata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque
fieret, et ut libertinæ et ipsæ, unde Feroniae donum
daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent.

Hæc ubi facta, decemviri Ardeæ in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad
sædem Saturni Romæ immolatum est, lectisterniumque
imperatum ([et] eum lectum senatores straverunt) et
convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac
noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere
ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

Dum consul placandis Romæ dis habendoque di-
lectu dat operam, Hannibal prefectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium cons-
sulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat,
quum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostende-
retur iter, propiorum viae per paludem petit, quo
fluvius Arnes per eos dies solito magis inundaverat.

Hispanos et Afros (id omne veterani erat robur exerci-
citus) admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi con-
sistere coactus necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire
iussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; no-
vissimos ire equites; Magonem inde cum expeditis
Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si tædio laboris
longæque viæ, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur
aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, qua modo pre-
irent duces, per presaltas fluvii ac profundas voragine,
hausti pæne limo immergentesque se, tamen signa se-
quebantur. Galli neque sustinerent se prolapsi neque assurgere ex voraginisibus poterant, nec aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa segre; trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis tædio animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes; maximeque omnium vigilisæ conficiébant per quadrivium iam et tres noctes toleratae. Quum, omnia obtinentibus aquis, nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insuper incumbebant, aut iumentorum itinere, toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod extaret aqua, quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal séger oculis ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua extaret, vectus, vigiliiis tamen et nocturno humore palustrique sælo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis quum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per præmissos exploratores habuit, exercitum Romanum circa Arretii ãœnia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad commenatus expediéndos et cetera, quæ cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiæ fertillis, Etrusci campi, qui Fæsulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti æc pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti; consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis
metuens; hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluevit. Itaque satis apparebat, nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum; quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Pænus parat, et læva relictum hoste Fæsulas petens, medio Etruriae agro prædatum profectus, quantum maximam vastitatem potest, cædibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto qui dem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per medium iam Italiam vagari Pœnum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana mœnia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus: collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa prædandi licentia hostem cohibendum, iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnæque quum proposuisset, "Immo Arretii ante mœnia sedeamus," inquit; "hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana mœnia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus, quam, sicut olim Ca millum ab Veii, C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acci verint." Hæc simul increpans quum oeius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut foedo omne incipiundæ rei, insuper nuntiatur, signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli ne-
quire. Conversus ad nuntium "Num litteras quoque" inquit "ab senatu afferes, quae me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuntia, effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus præ metu obtorpuerunt." Incedere inde agmen cœpit, primoribus, superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus læto feroxia ducia, quum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennunque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat; et ian pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interesse perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relictio spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanicque consideret; Balaures ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, objecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen cœpit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super capit deceptæ insidiae. Pœnus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis
Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, aegminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent. Consul, perculsis omnibus, ipse satis, ut in re trepida, impavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et quacunque adire audire potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse; per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulneratorum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati hæreabant; alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequiquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque, nul- lam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata
per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut cohorte aut manipulo esset; fors conglobatbat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat, tantusque fuit ardur animorum, adeo intentus pugnae [animus], ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbiurn Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus in- vexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque consul himself falls fighting bravely to the last, bantur, et ipse, quacunque in parte premi ac laborare sensorat suos, impigre ferebat opem, insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insiber eques (Ducario nomen erat) facie quoque nos- citans consulem, "En" inquit "hic est" popularibus suis, "qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus; iam ego hanc victimam manibus per- emptorum fede civium dabo." Subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum cepit; et iam nec latus nec montes pavori obstabant; per omniam arta præruptaque velut cæci evadunt, armaque et viri super alium alii precipitabant. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam pro- gressi, quoad capitibus humerisque exstare possunt, sese immergent; fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam
7 capessere fugam impulerit; quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgiti-bus aut nequiquam fessi vada retro segermine repete-bant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme primi agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium, quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et quum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset, neque scire nec perspicere praè caligine poterant. Inclinita denique re, quum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere fœde Ro-manam aciem. Itaque ne in conspectos procul inmit-teretur eques, sublatis raptim signis, quam citatissimo poterant agmine, sese abriputerunt. Postero die, quum super cetera extrema famis etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quae Punicæ religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

7 Hæc est nobilis ad Trasumenum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim millia Romanorum in acie cæsa; decem millia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem petiere; duo millia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea [utrinque] ex vulneribus periérè. Multiplex cædes utrinque facta traditur ab aliis; ego præterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium, æqualem temporis-bus huiusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hanni-
bal, captivorum qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio
dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium
coadervatorum cumulis corpora suorum quum sepeliri
iusisset, Flaminii quoque corpus funeris causa magna
cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

Rome ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti 6
terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum The tiding fill
populi est factus. Matronae vagae per Rome with grief
vias, quae repens clades allata quaeque fortuna exercitus
esse, obvios percontantur; et quam frequentis con-
tionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magis-
tratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum
M. Pomponius praetor "Pugna" inquit "magna victi 8
sumus." Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum
est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos re-
ferunt, consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum;
supersesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos
aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, 10
tot in curas dispersiti animi eorum erant, quorum pro-
pinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorant-
tium, quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam
satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero 11
ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mu-
lierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum
aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfunde-
banturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab
notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant.
Inde varios vultus digestantium ab nuntiis cerneres, 12
ut cuique lecta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque
aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Fem-
narum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus.

Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in

C. L. 6
complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falsa nuntiata erat, mæstam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum prætores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Pœnis posset.

8 Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades, quattuor millia equitum cum C. Centenio prætore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam avertanter iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei fæma varie homines affectit. Pars, occupatis maiore agradudine animis, levem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id, quod acciderat, per se æstimare, sed, ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam in valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum ægræ et affectæ civitati quodcunque adversi incideret, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quæ nihil, quod aggravaret, pati possent, æstimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit; et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italian facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti, nec dictatorem populo non consulto senatus creare poterat, quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; hisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et præsidia dis ponerent, quibus locis vide-
retur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri ne-quissent.

Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spole-}

Hannibal after a fruitless attack on Spoleto, ravages Picenum and the neighbourhood as far as Luceria

letium venit. Inde, quem perpopulato agro urbe oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna cæde suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniæ haud maxime minime prospere tentatæ viribus, quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter, non copia solum omnis genera frugum abundantem, sed refertum præda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via prælieque magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili affectus. Ubi satis quietis datum præda ac populationibus magis quam otiu aut quæque gaudentibus, profectus Prætutianum Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos devastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. Cn. Servilius consul, levibus while the consul Servilius retires to Rome. proeliiis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegæ exercitusque cæde audivit, iam mœnibus patris metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum, quo die magis-tratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, Fabius begins with the observances of religion; cærimoniarum auspiciorumque quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quæque piacula ìre deum esset ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi quum ì tætra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyl-
linos adire iuberentur. Qui, inspectis fatalibus libris, rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aestes Veneri Erycineae ac Menti vendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum vovendum, si bellatum pros pere esset resque publica in eodem, quo ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Æmilium prætorem ex collegii pontificum sententia, omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare iubet. His senatus consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus, consulente collegium prætore, omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censebat: iniussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in hæc verba populus: "Velitis iubeatisne hæc sic fieri? Si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim voveamque, salva servata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quæque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cís Alpes sunt, tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quæque profana erunt, Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populosque iusserit. Qui faciet, quando volet quæque lege volet, facito; quo modo faxit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraud esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, sive servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea,
Liber XXII.

ac senatus populusque iussisset fieri, faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto." Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni, voti æris trecentis triginta tribus millibus trecentis triginta tribus triente, præterea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio edicta; and other solemn supplicatumque iere cum coniugibus ac ordinances.

liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vesta, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum sedes votæ. Veneri Erycinae sedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vocavit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti sedem T. Otacilius praetor vocavit.

Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque [de] 11 publica dictator rettulit, quibus quoque legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio, consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet præterea ex civibus sociisque, quantum equitum ac peditum vide-retur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque, ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edictoque proposito, ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demi-
grarent omnes regionis eius, qua itur us Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse via Flaminia prefectus obviam consuli exercituque, quem ad Tiberim circa Ocuriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progre dentem, viatorem misit, qui consuli nutiaret, ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui quum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturæ apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litteræ ab urbe allatae sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci iussus, navibusque, quæ ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiæ essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi hostium classem ac litora Italìæ tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romæ erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et ætas militaris, in verba iura-verant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naves impositi, alii, ut urbi præsiderent, relictì.

12 Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Prænestae ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde, itineribus summa cum cura exploratis, ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunæ se commissuram. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin Pœnus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi
faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem [quos] Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra redit; ceterum tacita cura animum incessit, quod cum duce haudquaquam Flaminii Semproniique similisutura sibi res esset ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quasissent. Et prudentiam quidem novi dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam hauddum expertus, agitare ac tentare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum cepit, et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abi bat, modo repente in aliquo flexu visē, si excipere degressum in aquum posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congregeretur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturae statione, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus præebat; neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto cœptorum, finitimo receptu, assuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ pænitere suæ. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud, quam quod impar erat imperio, moræ ad rem publicam præcipitandam habebat, ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua immodicus. Primo inter paucos, dein
propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum affectionis vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat, premandoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

13 Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capitis irritat etiam de industria ducem, si forte accensum tot indignitatisbus ac cladibus sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumenum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum illecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capua potiendae copiam fore, quem res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alterisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut Canamnos ex Samnio pateret, moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam, ut promissa rebus affirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum; sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum pronuntiatione os, Casilinium pro Casino dux ut acciperet, fecit, aversusque ab suo itineri per Allifanum Callifanuque et Calenum agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi quam montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatus ducem percontatur, ubi terrarum esset. Quum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum
cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem, in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum praedatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas popullatio ea pervenit. In gentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, quum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae aeger villaeque passim incendiis fuma- bant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro sedito accensa; quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, quum calerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema iuga Massici montis ventum, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colono rumque Sinuessa tecta uren tes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, "Spectatum huc" inquit Minucius, "ut ad rem fruendum oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia venimus? nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc progressus? Tantum, pro, degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut, prae ter quam oram illi Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque
ac Maurorum iam factam videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum, sed federa et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanæ coloniæ Hannibalem lenti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, sæpius nostram quam deorum invocantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per æstivos saltus deviasque calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis quæsitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne, sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Poenis toties servaverint maiores nostri.

Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, quem esset satis altum Ianiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in sequum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? post multos annos quum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samniti hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit? Mode C. Lutatio quæ alia res quam celeritas victoram dedit, quod postero die, quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque apparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse. Arma capias oportet
et descendas in sequum et vir cum viro congregiarius. Audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quæ timidi cauta vocant." Hæc velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolventur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant, Minucium Fabio duci prælaturos.

Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quanquam probe scit, non in castris modo suis, sed iam etiam Romæ infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum æstatis reliquum extraxit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio presentis erat copiæ, non perpetuae,arbusta vineæque et consita omnia magis amœnis quam necessariis fructibus. Hæc per exploratores relata Fabio. Quum satis sciret, per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis præsidiiis, quæ urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse iugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex turba iuvens audientium sæpe ferciter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit et per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque præ-
cepta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese iussaret, quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numideae aliis atque alii occurserant refugientesque ad castra prope ipsa cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertracteret. Inde Carthalo penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatus equis invectus, quum prius, quam ad coniectum telum veniret, avertisset hostes, quinque ferme millia continentis cursu seclusus est fugientes. Mancinus postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in praelium redit, omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso [rursus] cursu Cales primum, inde prope invisi callibus ad dictatoris perfugerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coercitus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Pœnus Appii limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitus dictor ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat; duo inde millia hostes aberant. Postero die Pœni, quod vise inter bina castra erat, agmine complevere. Quum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo, haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Pœnus cum expeditis equitibusque ad lacessemmum hostem. Carp[tim Pœni et procursando recipien-

doque sese pugnave; restitit suo loco Romana acies; lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.
Liber XXII.

Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, via ad Casilinum, obsessa, quum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo. divitum sociorum Romanis commeatius subveheret, Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagnaque et per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset; nec Hannibalem fessillit, suis se artibus peti. Itaque quum per Casilinum evadere non posset petendiique montes et ingum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen aggregaretur, ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit. Faces undique ex agris, collectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti prelignantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. Ad duo millia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; 17 boves aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes; et metus ipse reлуcentis flammæ ex capite calorque iam ad vivum ad imaque cornuum adveniens velut stimulatos fure ad agebat boves. Quo repente discursu, haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis, omnia circa virgulta visa ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem præebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circum-
ventos se esse rati præsidio excessere. Qua minime
densè micabant flammæ, velut tutissimum iter petentes
summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos
5 a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo quum procul
cernerent, veluti flammæ spirantium miraculo attoniti
6 constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum
vero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant
se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturæ hostium incur-
rere; ceterum nox æquato timore neutros pugnam in-
cipientes ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Han-
nibal traducto per saltum, et quibusdam in ipso saltu
hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.
18 Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius: ceterum et insidias
esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhor-
reos certamine, suos munimentis tenuit.
2 Luce prima sub iugo montis prælium
fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile
(etenim numero aliquantum præstabant) Romani su-
perassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa
3 ab Hannibale supervenisset. Ea assuetior montibus et
ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior
quum velocitate corporum, tum armorum habitu, cam-
pestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnæ
4 genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine
digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani ali-
quot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.
5 Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum
Both armies move
through Samni-
um into Apulia.
6 Tum per Samnium Romam se petere
simulans Hannibal usque in Pelignos populabundus
rediit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque
Romam iugis ducebat, nec absistens nec congregiens.
Ex Pelignis Pœnus flexit iter, retroque Apuliâm re-7 petens Geronium pervenit, urbem metu, quia collapsa ruinis pars mœnium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator 8. in Larinate agro castra communívit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio 9 quam fortunae confidat et se potius ducem quam Sem- pronium Flaminiumque imitetur: ne nihil actum cen-seret extracta prope æstate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere; haud parvam rem esse ab toties 10 victore hoste vinci desisse et ab continuís cladibus respírasse,—hæc nequicquam præmonito magistro equitum Romam est prefectus.

Principio æstatis, qua hæc gerebantur, in Hispania 19 quoque terra marique cœptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque ac- ceperat, decem adiecit; quadrugiota navium classem 3 Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthaginum prefectus naves prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus conﬁgurare, quacunque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audi-4 vit, primo idem consiliï fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem ﬁamam novorum auxiliarum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito, quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tar-5 racone die ad stationem decem millia passuum dis-tantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duæ Massiliensium speculatorise præmissæ rettulere, classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita.
Itaque ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis anchoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaulis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus, datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem promuntorii, quem repente eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut praelium eo die exspectantes, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam iam haud procul portu esse. Hec equites dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat, varioque omnia tumultu strepunt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque, fugientium magis et terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, quum alii resolutis oris in anchoras evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt; raptimque omnia ac præpropere agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria impeduntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus non appropinquabat modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et praelio magis Pæni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, tentata verius pugna quam inita, in fugam averterunt classem, et quum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis, alii sicco litore excepti, partim armati, partim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum per-
LIBER XXII.

fugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem toto prae- and wholly captured or destroyed.
tentam [in] litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti tremadam hostium classem naves omnes, quae non aut perfrergerant proras litori illas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere; ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere.

Neque id pulcherrimum eius victoriam fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto eius ore mari potitii The Roman fleet sweeps the coast and islands. erant. Itaque ad Onusam classe profecti; escensio ab navibus in terram facta. Quum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque inunecta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam præda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti erat, ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit, sublato, ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quæ caput insulae est, biduum nequicquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agric versi, direptis aliquid incensisque vicis, maiore quam ex continentis præda parta quum in naves se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui Hiberum accolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrent; sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint obsidibus datis, populi amplius fuerunt

C. L. 7
centum viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus; Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac proprius Oceanum concessit.

Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum aestatis tempus, quiaissetque per Pœnum hostem; sed præterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avideaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui ante pilergetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos tribuni militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere omnes, occisis quibusdam captisque magnaque parte armis eutta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punicia in agro Ilervavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam classem erant, quem fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suse legatos miserant obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt. Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus preliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim millia hostium occiderunt, quattuor millia cum multis militariis signis capiunt.

Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus, cum triginta longis navibus et octo millibus militum magnaque
commeatu advento. Ea classis ingens agmine onearia-
rum procul visa cum magna laetitia civium sociorum-
que portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite 3
exposito, praefectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde
communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occu-
patis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello, haud
unctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur, nec ullo viso
hoste, Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius
Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in
arce custodiri præsidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad 5
Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum
animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa
defectionis luaretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus 6
sollerti magis quam fidelis consilio exsolvit. Abelux
erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante
Poenis; tum, qualia plerumque sunt bar-
barorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat
fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnæ
rei prodigione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam
unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat,
ut quam maximum emolumentum novis sociis esset
Circumspectis igitur omnibus, qua fortuna potestatis 8
eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis
animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus con-
ciliaturam Romanum principum Hispaniae amicitiam.
Sed quum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil 9
obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte
aggregatur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat 10
Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romania. Ibi
eum in secretum abductum, velut ignorantem, monet,
quo statu sit res: metum continuasse ad eam diem 11
Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent;
nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque, quos metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse.  
12 Miranti Bostari percontantique, quodnam id subitum tante rei donum posset esse, "Obsides" inquit "in civitatis remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum maximum momentum in civitatis est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. Vult sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet de posco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiu vem meum et rei suapte natura grate, quantam in super gratiam possim, adiiciam." Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid afferret expromit, et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dismissus, quam se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisse, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in præparatas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundum ordinem, quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illus enim graves superbosque in rebus secundis expertos fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo adventu, incognitus ante, ab
re clementi liberalique initium. fecerat, et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse: Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit intervenisset.

Hæc in Hispania [quoque] secunda aestate Punici belli gesta, quam in Italia paulum intervall cladibus Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset; quæ ut Hannibalem non mediocris sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortuna gereret, ita contempta erat inter cives armatos pariter togatosque, utique postquam absentem eo temeritate magistri equitum leto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duas res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, quam a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo æquatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostium abstineri iussit, ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces videri posset, altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso. In permutandis captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Pœnumque, ut, quæ pars plus recipierat quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret. Ducentis quadraginta septem quum plures Romanus quam Pœnus recepisset argentumque pro eis debitum, sepe iactata in senatu re, quoniam non consulisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inviolatum ab
hoste agrum, missa Romam Quinto filio, vendidit, 
Hannibal pro Gereonii mœnibus, cuius urbis captœ 
atque incensæ ab se in usum horreorum 
pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis erat. 
Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes 
mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in 
statione erat, simul castris præsidio et circumspectans, 

necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret. Romanus 
tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat; praerat Minu- 
cius magister equitum, prefecto, sicut ante dictum est, 
ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, que in monte 
alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum defe- 
runtur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia ca- 

didiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in 
castra relictâ cum levi præsidio fieret. Nec Hanni- 
balem fessellit, cum duce mutatum esse belli rationem 
et ferocious quam consultius rem hostes gesturos; ipse 
autem quod minime quis crederet, quem hostis pro- 
pius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum, dua-
bus in castris retentis, dimisit; dein castra ipsa pro-
pius hostem movit, duo ferme a Gereonio millia, in 
tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum sciret esse 
ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Prop-
pior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris 
tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam 
iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via præven- 
turus erat, nocte clam missi Numidæ ceperunt. Quos 
tenentes locum contempta paucitate Romani postero 
die quam deiecssent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. [Tum 
ut] itaque exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id 
ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies. Simul
et per aversa a castris Hannibalis equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late cædem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta pars exercitus aberat et iam ea paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat; iamque artibus Fabii sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra, quæ pro Gereonii mœnibus erant. Iusta quoque acie et collatis signis dicitatem, quidam auctores sunt; primo concursu Pœnum usque ad castra fusum; inde eruptione facta repente versum terrem in Romanos; Numerii Decimii Samnitis deinde interventu prælium restitutum. Hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo millia peditum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab tergo quem apparuisset Hannibal, speciem partì utrique prebuisse novi presidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem, insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem, recepisse suos; Romanum insequum adiuvante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex millia hostium cæsa, quinque admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade vanam famam egregiae victoriae cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

De his rebus persepe et in senatu et in contione actum est. Quum, laeta civitate, dictator unus nihil nec famæ nec litteris crederet et, ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret, tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id enim vero ferendum esse negat, non præsentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendæ, sed absentem etiam gestæ obstare, et in ducendo bello sedulo
tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque
et Romæ et in exercitu imperii habeat. Quippe
consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie
classis Punicæ perseguendæ procul ab Italia ablega-
tum; duos prætores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos,
quarum neutra hoc tempore provincia prætore egeat;
M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret,
ne quid rei bellicæ gereret, prope in custodia habitum.
Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tanquam
trans Hiberum agro Pœbris concessum sit, sed Cam-
panum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos
esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi
Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem
pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra
vallum retentos; tanquam hostibus captivis arma
adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut
obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos fusisse ac
fugasse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei
Romanæ esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse
de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio; nunc
modicam rogationem promulgaturum de
æquando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec
tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendam ad exercitum
Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flaminii
suffecisset.

Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime
populari. Ne in senatu quidem satis æquis auribus
audiebatur [tunc], quum hostem verbis extolleret bien-
nique clades per temenitatem atque inscientiam ducum
acceptas referret et magistro equitum, quod contra dic-
tum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse.
Si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, propediem
effecturum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum, quam multa millia hostium occidisse, maiorum gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis, et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset, nox et ex exercitum abiit. Luce orta quum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam vulgo placebat, prodire, et favore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suusor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno prae tor fuerat, loco non humili solum, sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium suisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum. Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quæstus pecunia a patre relictæ animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit, quæsturaque et duabus ædilitatiibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et præitura perfunctus, iam ad consulatus spem quum attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popolaris ex dictatoris invidia petiit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit.

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romæ quique in exercitu erant, æqui atque iniqui, præter ipsum dictatorem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt. Ipse, qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem
inimicos tulerat, eadem et populi in se saevientis iniu- 
7 riam tulit; acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus 
de æquato imperio, satis fidens, haudquaquam cum im- 
perii iure artem imperandi æquatam, cum invicto a 
27 civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit. Mi- 
nucius vero quem iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset se- 
3 cundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique 
immodice immodesteque non Hannibale 
4 magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari. Illum in 
rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quæsitum Han- 
nibali, maiorum minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, 
quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi 
æquatum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum 
virgas ac secures dictoris tremere atque horrere soliti 
4 sint; tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enuitisse. 
Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cun- 
tatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque iudicio dam- 
nata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est 
cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, 
6 quemadmodum imperio æquato utantur: se optimum 
ducere, aut diebus alternis aut, si maiora intervalla 
placenter, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius 
7 imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio, sed 
viribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendæ 
8 habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia 
fortunam eam habitura, quamcunque temeritas collegæ 
habuisset; sibi communicatum cum illo, non ademp- 
tum imperium esse; itaque se nunquam volentem 
parte, qua posset, rerum consilio gerendarum cessu- 
rum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exer- 
citum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non 
10 liceret, quæ posset, servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legi-
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ones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se and takes sole command of half the army in a separate camp.
dividerent. Prima et quarta Minucio, equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis aux-
secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item iliavilli diviserunt. Castris quoque se separati magister
equitum voluit.

Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit; neque enim 28 quicquam eorum, quae apud hostes agerentur, eum
fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suas explorantem: nam et liberam
Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum, et sol-
ertise Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus
erat inter castra Minucii et Poenorum, quem qui occu-
passet, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus.
Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, 4
quanquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam cer-
taminis cum Minucio, quem procursurum ad obsis-
tendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius
erat prima specie inutilis insidiatorii, quia non modo
silvestre quicquam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum
habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod 6
in nuda valle nulla talis fraudi timeri poterat; et erant
in anfractibus caveae rupes, ut quaedam earum ducenos
armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quem-
que locum aperit insidere poterant, quinque millia con-
duntur peditem equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus 8
alciuus temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in
valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad
capiendum, quem ante diximus, tumulum avertit oculos
hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, 9
ac sibi quisque deponere pellendos inde hostes ac locum
capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque
ad arma vocat et vanis minis increpat hostem. Prin-
cipio levem armaturam [dimittit], deinde conferto ag-
mine mittit equites; postremo, quam hostibus quoque
subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit.
Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia incre-
cente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque
iam iustam explererat aciem, ac totis utrinque viribus
certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, præoc-
cupatum ex inferiore loco sucedens tumulum, pulsa
detrusaque terrorem in sucedentem intulit equitem
et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter per-
culsos impavida sola erat videbaturque, si iusta ac
directa pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura; tan-
tum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res
gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum
terremque in latera utrinque ab tergoque incursantes
fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam
29 spes cuiquam superesset. Tum Fabius, primo clamore
paventium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie,
"Ita est" inquit; "non celerius, quam timui, depren-
dit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio æquatus imperio Han-
nibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed
alii iurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa
extra vallum proferte; victoriam hosti extorqueamus,
confessionem erroris civibus." Iam magna ex parte
cœsis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam,
and is only saved
by the timely succour of the legions
of Fabius.
4
5 Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo demisssa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque pri-
usquam ad coniunctum teli veniret aut manum consere-
ret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis ferci pugna
hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordines vage dissipati-
erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui
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Plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volentesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, inferebantque signa in hostem, quam Penum receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale, ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.

Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta, quem in castra reditum esset, Minucius, convocatis militibus, "Sedpe ego" inquit, "audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit, secundum eum, qui bene momenti obediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremiti ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secundam ac medium teneamus et, dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio iungamus. Ad praetorium eius signa quum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma ac dextera tesserunt, patronos salutatis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriis dies hic dederit."

Signo dato concililatur inde, ut colligantur vasa. Præfecti et agmine incidentes ad dictoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes, qui circa erant, converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum, quum patrem Fabium appellasset, circumfusosque militum eius totum agmen patronos consalutasset, "Parentibus" inquit, "meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod fando possum, æquavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi quum meam salutem, tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeiscitum,
quo oneratus sum magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihique [quod] exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa hae legionesque restitu. Tu, queso, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere iubeas." Tum dextræ interiunctæ militesque, contione dimissa, ab notis ignotisque benignque atque hospitaliter invitatæ, letusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope exsecrabili factus. Romæ, ut est perlata fama rei gestæ, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad cælum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Pœnos erat; ac tum demum sentire, cum Romanis atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent, cuius terribilem famam a patribus acceptissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, que sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

31 Dum hæc geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram, et obsidibus utrinque acceptis, in Africam transmisit, et priusquam in continentem escensionem faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripere turque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad litora Africæ accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populantum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta
effusi, ac si in insulis cultorum egentibus prædarentur.
Itaque in insidias temere illati, quem a frequentibus
palantes, ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur,
cum multa cæde ac foeda fuga retro ad naves com-
pulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio
Bæso questore amisso, classis ab litoribus hostium
plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, tradi-
taque Lilybæi T. Otacilio prætori, ut ab legato eius
P. Sura Romam reduceretur. Ipse per
Siciliam pedibus prefectus freto in Ita-
liam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et
ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se, ex-
acto iam prope semestri imperio, acciperent.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adver-
sus Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt;
Cælius etiam eum primum a populo crea-
tum dictatorem scribit. Sed et Cælius
et ceteros fugit, uni consulii Cn. Ser-
vilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius
fuisset dicendi dictorinis; quam moram quia exspec-
tare territa iam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum
esse, ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset;
res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes
titulum imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore fuisset
dictator crederetur, facile obtinuisset.

Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Mi-
nuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, quod reliquum au-
tumni erat, Fabii artibus cum summa
inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum
exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant,
carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum uni-
versae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat
3 hostis, non veniebant, eoque inopiae est redactus Hanni-bal, ut, nisi cum fugae specie abeundum ei fuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit, nulla relictæ spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentés consules eisdem
artibus bellum gererent.

4 Quum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediente con-
Neapoli sends stitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam
of loyal help. venere. Ab iis quadraginta pateræ au-
res magni ponderis in curiam illatæ atque ita verba
5 facta, ut dicerent, scire sese, populi Romani særarium
bello exhauriri, et, quum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque
sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italici, urbe Romana,
atque imperio geratur, æquum censuisse Neapolitanos,
quod auri sibi quum ad templorum ornatum, tum ad
subsidium fortunæ a maioribus relictum foret, eo iu-
vare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese cre-
derent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturos. Gratum sibi
patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res
6 Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicaverint,
ab quibus donum animo ac voluntate eorum, qui li-
bentes darent, quam re maius ampliusque acciperent.

9 Legatis gratiae actæ pro munificentia curaque; patera,
que ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

33 Per eisdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui
per biennium fefellerat, Romæ deprensus
precisisque manibus dimissus, et servi
quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod
in campo Martio coniurassent; indici
data libertas et æris gravis viginti millia.

3 Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad
deposendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello victus
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ad eum fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Pœnum opibus auxiliisque suis iuvissent, simul ad visendum ex propinquo, quæ in Boiis atque Insubribus gerentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Ilyrios, legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem preferri vellet, obsides accipientes. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquæ quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit, sedem Concordiæ, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius prætor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Æmilio prætore urbano, C. Pupius et Cæso Quintius Flamininus, sedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem prætore ex senatus consulto litteræ ad consules missæ, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret; se in eam diem, quam iussisset, comitia edicturum. Ad hæc a consulis rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicæ abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam consul alter a bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est, dictatórem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M'. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum res redivit. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges profiti sunt a patribus C. Claudius App. filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac

C. L.
plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, vulgus extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi sevari assuescerent homines. Q. Bæbius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non senatum modo, sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat: Ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum querentibus, Hannibalem in Italian adductum; ab iisdem, quem debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Quum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisset eo, quod M. Minucius absente Fabio pros pere pugnasset, duas legiones, hosti ad cædem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa cæde ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, quem debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id fœdus inter omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est, hominem novum fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni a patribus desierint, cœpisse. Cui non apparere, id actum et quæsitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quæsisse; id postea, quia invititis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum
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certe plebis Romanæ esse; populum liberum habitatrum ac daturum ei, qui mature vincere quam diu imperare malit.

Quum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda, L. Manlio Vulsone, M. Æmilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus iam familiarem plebei, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Ælio Pæto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae. Tum experta nobilitas, parum fuisse virium in competitoribus eius, L. Æmilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat et damnatione collegae et sua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitiali die, concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverat, par magis in adversandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde praetorium comitia habita. Creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus; Philo Romæ iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et peregrinos evenit; additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt, nec cuiquam eorum, praeter Terentium consulem, mandatus honos, quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copise peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et generi copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis

8—2
certum affirmare ausus sim. Decem millia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas, millibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina millia peditum, trecenti equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent, septem et octoginta millia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis fuisse, quam pugnatum ad Cannas est, quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem, posse Vinci hostem, dictator praeberat.

Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigis. Nam et Romae in Aventino et Ariscae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis sudasse et aquas fonte calido gelidas manasse; id quidem etiam, quod sepiaius acciderat, magis terrebatur; et in via fornicata, quae ad campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti examinatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Pastro pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno commate monti accessit. Legati in se-natum introducti nuntiariunt, eodem C. Flaminii consulis exercitusque allatam adeo aegræ tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua pro-pria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Ita-
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que, quamquam probe sciat, magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuvari soleant, misisse; que ne accipere abnuant, magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti afferre sese. Acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta millia medium 6 triticici, ducenta hordei, ne commatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvecturos. Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latiniique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac fundorun, aptam manum adversus Balaiores ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona, consilium quoque addebat, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu ita responsum regi est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidelem luisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuvisse. Id perinde, ac deberet, gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam allatum, gratia rei accepta, non accepisse populum Romanum; Victoriamomenque accipere, sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi maximi. In ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano.
13 Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad centum viginti navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio prœpœrente in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est, ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traïiceret.

38 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, 

The levies are quod nunquam ante factum erat, iure 
raised with unus- iurando ab tribunis militum adacti mil- 
usual solemnities;ites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum conventuros neque iniussu abituros, et ubi ad decuriam aut centuriandum convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati 
equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant, sese fugae atque 
formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi [et] aut hostis ferendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi 
dactionem translatum.

6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroce fuere, 

The parting words denuntiantis, bellum arcessitum in Ita- 
of Varro are full 
liam ab nobilibus mansurumque in visce- 
obstalif arro-

7 ribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, 

Paulus is in a diffe-

8 se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfectum. Collegae eius 
rent mood 

carceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior 
populo, qua nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum 

9 nisi id modo, mirari se, [quod ne] qui dux, priusquam 

Paul a una, pridie quam ex urbe proficisci- aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, 
populeretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior 

naturam; regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe 

"sciret, quae sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque
prædicere posset, qua cum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus; se, quæ consilia magis res dent homini- bus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non præcepturum; optare, ut, quæ caute ac consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, præterquam quod stulta sit, infeliciem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Et sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consilliis præpositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem allocutus fertur.

"Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, 39 L. Æmili, haberes aut tu collegeri tu esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente, omnia e re publica fideque vestra face-retis et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequicquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si, altera parte claudente re publica, malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Te- rentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te. Cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus certaturus es; adversus Hannibalem le-gionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi erit, Varro dux tuis militibus te est oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flaminii memoria. 6 Tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exerci-tum cepit furere; hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul,
priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui
tantas iam nunc procellas praelia atque acies iactando
inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuventutem
censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur?
Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo
pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus,
hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno
locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus ad-
versus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam
appetendo gloriam modum exsesserim; sed ita res se
habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem
est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet
(stultorum iste magister est), sed eadem ratio, quae
fuit futuraque, donec res eadem manebunt, immuta-
bilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo
nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt;
armis, viris, equis, commeatibus iuvant iuvabantque:
id iam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris
dederunt; meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos
temps diesque facit. Hannibal contra in aliena, in
hostili est terra inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul
ab domo, ab patria; neque illi terra neque mari est
pax; nullae eum urbes accipiant, nulla monia; nihil
usquam sui viderit, in diem rapto vivit; partem vix
tertiam exercitus eius habet, quem Hiberum amnem
traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti; nec his
paucis iam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo, quin se-
dendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, non
commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat?
Quamdiu pro Gereonii, castelli Apuliæ inopis, tan-
quam pro Carthaginis mennibus sedet? Sed ne ad-
versus te quidem de me gloriabor. Cn. Scrivilius atque

Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane læta fuit, 40 magis fatentis ea, quæ diceret, vera quam facilis factu esse. Dictatoris magistrum 23 equitum intolerabilem fuisset; quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Si populare incendium priore consulatu 3 semustum effugisse; optare, ut omnia prospere eveni- rent; sed si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiec- turum.

Ab hoc sermone prefectum Paulum tradunt, pro-
sequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, quem dignitas deesset. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium, etatem excusantem, Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legionis Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus millibus præficiunt. Hannibal quanquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere.

41 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac præproprero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in pro-

especially after they had gained some successes in skirmishing.

hibendis prædatoribus tumultuario prêcio ac procursu magis militum quam ex præ-

parato aut iussu imperatorum orto háudquaquam par

Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti casii, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die (nam alternis im-

peritabant) imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante, emissum hostem e manibus debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnnum haud ëgerrime pati; quin potius credere, velut ines-
catam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima, nihil preter arma ferente secum milite, castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquuit, transque proximos montes læva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem medium traducit, ut diriendi velut desertis fuga dominorum castrum occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictii in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fugam precipiceret, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse. Ubi illuxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Iam satis comperta solitudine in castris, concursus fit ad præstoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri iubereint, ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus turbæ militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum praecavendumque esse; postremo, quum alter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis, ipse cum duobus equibus
vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura re-
6 nuntiat, insidias profecto esse; ignes in parte castro-
rum, quae vergat ad hostem, relictos; tabernacula
aperta et omnia cara in promptu relictâ; argentum
quibusdam locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad
7 prædam vidisse. Quæ ad deterrendos a cupiditate
animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto
a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haud-
quaquam dux defuit; nam extemplo Varro signum
8 dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, quem ei sua sponte cunc-
tanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari
9 iam efferenti porta signa collegae iussit. Quod quan-
quam Varro aegre est passus, Flaminii tamen recens
casus Claudiique consulis primo Punico bello memo-
10 rata navalis clades religionem animo incussit. Di
prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere
imminetem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita evenit,
ut, quem referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites
11 non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini
equitis, qui Servilio atque Attilio consulibus inter
pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerunt
eo die ad dominos; deductique ad consules nuntiant,
onnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes
12 sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus con-
sules imperii potentes fecit, quem ambitio alterius
suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem
solvisset.

43 Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Ro-
manos quam ad ultimum temere evectos
13 Want of supplies forces him to retire to Cannes, vidit, nequicquam detecta fraude in cas-
stra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti
14 fumere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud
milites solum mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriabantur. Nam quem initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset ex poscentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annum primo, postremo famem, et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut, relictum peditatum omni, cum equitibus se proriperet. Quum hæc consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingenii essent. Prefectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eun dem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, quum relatum esset, visum procul hostium agmen, tum de inequento eo consilia agitari cepta. Quum utriusque consulis eadem, quæ ante semper, fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo præter Serviliun, prioris anni consulem, assentiretur, maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urge fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicem Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Vulturno vento, qui campis torridis siccatitae nubes pulveris vehit. Id quum ipsis castris percommunicum fuit, tum salutare præcipue futurum erat, quum aciem dirigereat, ipsi aversi, terga tantum afflante vento, in occæcatum pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes Poe num, ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspecta
Pœnum habebant, bina castra communiunt, eodem
ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut
ante, copis divisis. Aufidus amnis, utrís-
que castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus
ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine
dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quæ posita trans
Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa
ulterior nullum habebat hostium præsidium. Hanni-
bal spem nactus, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam,
qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pug-
nandi consules, dirigat aciem lacessitque Numidarum
procursatione hostes. Inde rursus solicitaric seditione
militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, quam
Paulus Semproniiique et Flaminii temeritatem Varro-
ni, Varro Paulo speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus
exemplum Fabium obiiceret, testareturque deos homi-
nesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hanni-
bal iam velut usu cepisset Italianis; se constrictum a
collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare
cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac
proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam
legionibus accideret, se omnis culpæ exsortem, omnis
eventus participem fore diceret; videret, ut, quibus
lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, æque in pugna
vigerent manus.

Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus
teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad mul-
tum diei tenuerat instructam, quem in
castra ceteras recipierit copias, Numidas ad invadendos
ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flu-
men mittit. Quam inconditam turbam quem vixdum
in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in
stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque ipsas prope portas everti sunt. Id vero adeo indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirem flumen dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adivare consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque, quas in castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dextro cornu (id erat flumini propius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; lævum cornu extremit equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatorum cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliiis prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenuere, Terentius lævum, Æmilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuisenda data.

Hannibal luce prima, Balaribus levique alia arma- tura præmissa, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanicosque equites prope ripam lævo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numi- dis equitibus datum, media acie peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afras Romanam magna, ex parte crederes aciem; ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennnum captis. Gallis Hispanicisque scuta eisdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis prælongi ac

47 Clamore sublato, procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque lævum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrirt, minime equestris 2 more pugnae; frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relictu spatio, 3 hinc amnis hinc peditum acies claudebant. In directum utrinque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acerius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulisque Romani equites 4 terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, 5 dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac sæpe connisi, obliqua fronte acieque dense impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque
parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institeres ac tenore uno per præceps pavore fugientium agmen in medium primum aciem illati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrinque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominentem acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus sequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas; mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequicquam prælio, uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga secularit, adversus Afros integrum pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabat.

Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consortum prœlium erat, segne primo et a Punica sectum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, præter solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum quum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequantissent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis, in medium aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum prœlium ab omni parte conscritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quæ passim inter acervos cessorum corporum strata erant, aversam adorintur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites sedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac
tumultum fecerunt. Quum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe praelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte præserat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad per- sequendos passim fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis cæde magis quam pugna adiungit.

Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim prælio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit sœpe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis praelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiabant. Tum renuntiandi cuidam, iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: "Quam mallem, vincit mihi traderet." Equitum pedestre praelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, quum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantes et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam, qui poterant, repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum quum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo crure oppletum consulem vidisset, "L. Æmili" inquit, "quem unum insontem culpæ cladis hodiernæ dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est." Ad ea consul: "Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave, frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium

Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate 50 par, ceterum ut illis, quæ post pugnam accidere, levior, 2

9—2
quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior
3 foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem pro-
didit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem
consulem vix quinquaginta securi sunt, alterius mori-
entis prope totus exercitus fuit.
4 Binis in castris quam multitudo semieri mis sine
ducibus esset, nuntium, qui in maioribus
erant, mittunt, dum praelio, deinde ex
laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret,
ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros
essa. Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari; cur enim
illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, quem aequi
coniungi possent? quia videlicet plena hostium omnia
in medio essent, et aliorum quam suarum corpora tanto
periculo mallent obiiicere. Aliis non tam sententia
displusere quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tud-
tanus tribunus militum "Capi ergo mavultis" inquit
"ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique
capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Ro-
manus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contu-
7 melia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur? Non tu, si
quidem L. Aemiliis consulis, qui se bene mori quam
turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum,
8 qui circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis. Sed ante-
quam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsae-
piunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi
9 obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia
via fit quamvis per confertos hostes. Cuneo quidem
hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet,
disiciias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et
10 rem publicam salvam vultis." Hae ubi dicta dedit,
stringit gladium, cuneoque facto per medios vadit hos-
tes, et, quum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis, in maiora castra ad sexcentos evaserunt, atque inde protinus, alio magno agmine adiuncto, Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Hae apud victos magis impetu animorum, quem ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

Hannibali victori quum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur suaderentque, ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reliquum esset noctisque incessantibus quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal praefectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus, "Immo ut, quid hac pugna sit actum, scias, die quinto," inquit "victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisses quam venturum sciant, praecedam." Hannibali nimis leta res est visa maiorque, quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: "Non omnia nimium eodem di dedere. Vincere scis, Hannibal; victoria uti nescis." Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die, ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda faedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem exeunt. Iacebant tot Romanorum millia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iuxerat aut fuga; assurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et iacentes vivos succisis, feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantes cervicem iugulumque et reliquum sanguinem iubentes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram.
capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentesque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat.

52 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum brachio obiecto flumine eos exclusit; ceterum ab omnibus labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam fossilis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos tradent, in capita Romana trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios duces, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperrunt, traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea quam ex maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor millia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione, qua altera, tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti (quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit; ad octo millia fuisset dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque, quidam auctores sunt.

7 Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula
nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenisbus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam invit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habitis sunt. Cete-53 rum quam ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia App. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime ædilis fuerat, omnium consenso ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem et ad App. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus 4 consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequicquam eos perditam spem fovere; desperatam comploratamque rem esse publicam; nobiles iuvenes quosdam, quorum principem L. Cæcilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, præterquam atrox, super 6 tot clades etiam novum, quem stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilli rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli. Audendum atque 7 agendum, non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse. Irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem publicam sal-vam vellent; nulla verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in 9 hospitium Metelli et, quum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus allatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, “Ex mei animi sententia” inquit, “ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non dese-ram neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si 11
sciens fallo, tum me, Iuppiter optime maxime, domum, 
12 familiam remque meam pessimo leto afficias. In hae 
verba, L. Cœcili, iures postulo ceterique, qui adestia. 
Qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse 
13 sciat.” Haud secus pavidi, quam si victorem Hanni-
balem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet 
ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

54 Eo tempore, quo hæc Canusii agebantur, Venusiam 
Varro and the 
stragglers at Ve-

nusia rejoin their 
comrades at Ca-
nusium.
ad consulem ad quattuor millia et quin-
genti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga 
per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes 
Venusini per familias beneigne accipiendos curandosque 
quum divisissent, in singulós equites togas et tunicas 
et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos, et pediti denos, 
et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt, ceteraque publice 
ae privatim hospitaliter facta certatunque, ne a mu-
liere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. 
Sed gravius onus Busse multitudo faciebat; et iam ad 
decem millia hominum erant, Appiusque et Scipio 
postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem accep-
runt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantè secum pedi-
tum equitumque copiae essent, sciscitatumque simul, 
utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere iuberet 
Canusii. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit; et 
iam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat mœnibus-
que se certe, si non armis, ab hoste videbantur defen-
suri.

7 Romam ne has quidem reliquias su persesse civium 
ThepanicatRome 
was unexampled.
sociorumque, sed occidione oocium cum 
duobus consulibus exercitum deletasque 
omnes copias allatum fuerat. Nuncquam salva urbe 
tantum pavoris tumultusque intra mœnia Romana
fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque aggrediar narrare, quae edissertando minora vero faciam. Consule exercituque ad Trasumenum priore anno amissi, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulisibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse; Hannibalis Apulum, Samnium ac iam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Comparès scilicet cladem ad Ægates insulas Carthaginiensium praelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere et vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit; nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod minore animo latæ sunt.

P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius prætores senatu tum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consularent; neque enim dubitatabant, deletis exercitibus hos- tem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Quum in malis sicuti ingenti, ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum et, nondum palamfacto, vivi mortuique per omnes pæne domos promiscue complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit, equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percontando (aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore) referant, quæ fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit et, si quid dii immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romanis nominis fecerint, ubi eæ copiæ sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Hæc
exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, comploratus familiarum coercerant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent, suas quisque fortunae domi auctorem exspectent, custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, summotaque foro per magistratus turba, patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus dessissent, tum demum litterae a C. Terentio consule allatae sunt: L. Æmilium consulem exercitumque cessum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem; ad decem millia militum ferme esse incompositorum inordinatorumque; Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretios praedaeque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatae quoque per domos clades vulgatæ sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Ceres internissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum quum, sedato urbis tumultu, revocati in curiam patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia
litteræ allatæ sunt ab T. Otacilio proprætore, regnum Hieronis classe Punicæ vastari; cui quum opem im-
pleranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse, aliam classem
ad Ægates insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut,
ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Pœni in
sensissent, Lilybæum extemplo provinciamque aliam
Romanam aggregerentur; itaque classe opus esse, si
regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

Litteris consulis prætorisque lectis, censuerunt pra-
torem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti præesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli, ut, quum prætori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicæ fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades quum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duas Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertæ et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat; L. Ca-
Cantilius scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio cæsus erat, ut inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas quum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oracu-
num missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciis-que deos possent placare, et quæam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquid extraordinaria facta, inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca in foro boario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consœptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.
Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Mar-
M. Claudius Mar-
cellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites,
cellus takes com-
quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam,
mand at Canus-
um; ut urbi præsidio essent, mittit; ipse,
8 legione classica (ea legio tertia erat) cum tribunis mili-
tum Teanum Sidicinum præmissa, classe tradita P.
Furio Philo collegæ, paucos post dies Canusium magnis
itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctoritate pa-
9 tram dictus M. Iunius et T. Sempronius magister equi-
tum, diletctu edicto, iuniores ab annis sep-
tendecim et quosdam prætextatos scri-
bunt; quattuor ex his legiones et mille
equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen
eq dicator raies
fresh levies, in-
cluing in them
even slaves.
ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt. Armæ, tela,
10 alia parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt
templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi diletctus
inopia liberorum caputum ac necessitas dedit; octo mil-
lia iuvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantales
singulos, vellentne militare, empta publice armaverunt.
12 Hic miles magis placuit, quum pretio minore redimendi
captivos copia fieret.

Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad
1 Hannibal offers
terms of ransom
cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bel-
lum gerentis intentus curis, quum, cap-
tivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut ante ad Tre-
biam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne allocutus sine
pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos, quod nun-
3 quam alias antea, satis miti sermone alloquitur: non
internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dign-
nitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Ro-
manæ cessisse et se id anniti, ut suas in vicem simul
4 felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se cap-
tivis copiam facere; pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo centenos. Quanquam aliquantum adiicebatur equitibus, ad id pretium, quo pepigerant dedentes se, leti tamen quamcumque condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. Pla 6 cuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus funds, aliuq fidei, quam ut iurarent se redivus, acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, conditiones ferret. Quum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Ro 8 mani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi solvendi causa quum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites assequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthalonii obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis. Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datu est, quorum princeps M. Iunius "Patres conscripti" inquit, "nemo nostrum ignorat, nulli unquam civitati viiores fuisses captivos quam nostræ; ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto 9 nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus negligenti vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed, quum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis cesorum corporum prælium extraxissemus, in castra recipimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac 4 vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati; postero die, quum 5 circumcessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur, nec ulla iam per certertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta millibibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna
Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium, quo redempti dimitteremur, arma in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse. Atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis et ad Heraclæam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnæ, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui ne in acie quidem fuerunt, sed præsidio castris relictì, quum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunæ aut condicione invideo, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim: ne illi quidem, nisi perniciatis pedum et cursus aliquod præmium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusii constiterunt, se nobis merito prætulerint gloriatique sint, in se plus quam in nobisnet præsidii rei publicæ esse. Sed et illis bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni sætate et fortuna habetis; octo millia servorum audio armati. Non minor numerus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi possumus, quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, iniu- riam nominì Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet,
qui hospitum numero captivos habuit? An barbaro
ac Pæno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix exis-
timari potest? Si videatis catenas, squalorem, defor-
mitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea
species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas
Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis
sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curie stantium
cognatorum nostrorum expectantiumque responsum
vestrum. Quum ii pro nobis proque iis, qui absent,
itas suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ip-
sorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est?
Si, mediusfidiis, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra na-
turam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse
censeamus, quum indigni ut redimeremur [a] vobis
visi simus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho
sine pretio capti; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus
civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in
patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? Suum
quisque habet animum, patres conscripti. Scio, in dis-
cremine esse vitam corpusque meum; magis me famæ pe-
riculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsī abeamus;
neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quæ in 60
comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque
ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres,
cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac neces-
sitas in foro turbæ virorum immiscuerat. Senatus sum-
motis arbitris consuli cœptus. Ibi quum sententiis
variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam
publice impensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex pri-
vato redimi; si quibus argentum in præsentia deesset, 4
dandam ex ærario pecuniam mutuam prædibusque ac
praediam populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscæ ac nimis dure, ut plerisque videbatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus furtur: Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam pergissem; quid enim aliud quam adimonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, quum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, præferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli sepsum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quæ illice acta sunt, ignorare patiar.

Atque utinam hæc, quæ apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviæ cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hoc die in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed quum, fessus pugnando hostibus, tum victoria lætis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem millia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire in tutâ loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si, ut nobis adoles-
centibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, quam ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit 'Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones,' si hoo P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem, si nemo tantæ virtutis exstitisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad parentes, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus: quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta millia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil unquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis! sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienato iure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non auditis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hannibalem post paulo auditis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. Quanquam ego ignaviam istorum accuso, quam scelus possim accusare. Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene momentem, sed obsistere ac re-tinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes summovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret, quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet? Ex millibus septem armataorum sexcenti exstiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his sex-

C. L.
centis hostes obstitere; quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti millia armatorum Canusii fortia, fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque (nam ‘fortos’ ne ipsi quidem dixerint) cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest, aut favisce erumpentibus, qui, ne erumpereut, obsistere conati sunt, aut non invidere eos quam incolumitati, tum gloriae illorum per virtutem partae, quem sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosae causam esse sciant.

Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare, quem silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. At ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, quam omnia subsidia vitae deessent affectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos. Hae vobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. Quum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, tum in castra refugerunt; quum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redimam? Quum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; quum manere et castra tutari armis necessum est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patris restituerunt."
Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerisque captivi cognoscente attingebant, præter exemptum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit, quia nec serarium exhaure, magna iam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem, maxime huiusce rei, ut sfa erat, egentem, locupletari volebant. Quum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem lactus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reeditu in castre iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehen-dendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primos venisse; de eis quam dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissoss esse, ne tamen iis senatus daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvissent; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis, qui dedendos censuerint; ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis 10—2
ignominiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac publico caruerint.

10 Mirari magis, adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam, quid veri sit, discernere queas.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus clades superioribus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare cepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Pœnos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites præter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, præter hos Uzentini, et Græcorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eæ clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptæ cladi; quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actæ, quod de re publica non desperasset; qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.
NOTES.

BOOK XXI.

P. 1, c. i. § 1. In parte operis. Livy’s work in nearly 150 books covered the whole history of Republican Rome; books xxx.—xxx. dealt with the Second Punic War.

summae totius = τῆς δλης νυμάξεως of Polybius. Cf. Lucr. i. 983, spatium summae totius omne. Cic. Qu. fr. iii. 5. 5, in omni summa. Summa is often used substantively in Livy, and with a genitive as summa rerum, imperii, spei, rei bellicae, rei publicae. Cf. Vita summa brevis, Hor. Carm. i. 4. 15, and hodierna summae, iv. 7. 17.

rerum scriptores. For the historians who wrote specially on this war see the Introduction on the Authorities, but cf. also the beginning of Thucydides, who calls the Peloponnesian War μέγαν τε καὶ ἄξιομαγώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων.

unquam, though properly used in negative sentences, is employed at times with si to increase the indefiniteness of the statement, and even absolutely when the indefiniteness is to be made still more emphatic. Cf. use of quisquam Seneca de tranquil. 11, cuvis potest accidere quod cuiquam potest.

Hannibalae. The name meant in Punic ‘favour of Baal,’ Schröder Phœn. Sprache p. 87. The 2nd a was long in Ennius and in the speech of the earlier Romans (Anl. Gell. iv. 7) as in Hasdrubal, Hamilcar, but became shortened in familiar use, just as the aspirate which had at first the Punic sound of ch, was softened, and often dropped completely, as in the Greek, ‘Αννίβας. Corssen Aussprache der Lat. Spr. i. 99.

§ 2. virium aut roboris, ‘resources or endurance.’ Polyb. ii. 24 estimates the armies which Rome could raise with the
Italian contingents as 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse. He asks the question i. 64 why in later days of empire she could no longer put such forces on the field.

inter sese, sed. Heerwagen notes that the alliteration was in such cases less displeasing to Roman than to modern ears, cf. Cie. opt. gen. or. 2. 6, nec generibus inter sese sed facultati- bus differunt.

artes conserebant is formed on the analogy of pugnam or manus conserere. The reading conferebant found in some MSS. is approved by Ruperti and by Madvig as a more natural expression.

expertas primo Punico, i.e. each of the combatants had learnt its rival’s skill by the experience of the first war. Yet the naval skill of Carthage was comparatively little used in the 2nd war, probably because the Barcine party had neglected the fleet. But Hamilcar had given proof of a genius like that of Hannibal in his power of welding into unity a motley host of various nationalities.

propius p. ... q. vicerunt. Rome, though victorious, was brought to the brink of ruin by the early successes of Hannibal. Muretus notes that Silius Italicus in the corresponding passage writes propiusque fuere periculo | queis superare datum. Livy elsewhere often uses the acc. as xxi. 40. 5, propius Hannibalem, iv. 17. 3, propius fide, xiii. 12. 4, quo propius spem. vicerunt here used absolutely, cf. xiii. 13. 4, quam (pacem) quum vincimus, dat nemo.

§ 3. ulter inferrent a. ‘should presume to attack.’ Cf. i. 5. 2, ulter accusantes; of the robbers who accused Romulus of theft.

superbe, in threatening war and taking Sardinia; aware in raising the war indemnity by 1200 talents. Polyb. iii. 10.

crederebant does not properly balance inferrent, as it rather repeats than justifies the idea of the word indignantis, and the subj. is due to a looseness of style as in Cie. Phil. ii. 4, at etiam literas, quas me sibi misisses dicere, recitavit homo.

imperitatum. Livy has a special affection for frequenta- tive forms, and often uses this one.

§ 4. Fama est. Polyb. iii. 11 says that H. himself told this story to Antiochus in later days. Cf. Livy, xxxv. 19.

annorum novem. The gen. of the quality is here imme- diately connected with a proper name as in iii. 27. 1, L. Tarquinium patricia gentis; xii. 60. 5, Torquatus priscæ se- verilatis. Fabri.
NOTES. XXI. c. I. § 4—C. II. § 1. 151

blandientem, used in pregnant sense with ut, 'coaxingly entreating.' Blandus is connected by Bopp and Curtius with μελαχρα and μελα, mla passing into blia, cf. the like change in the formation of βηλευρ, βιορις.

Hamilcar, a name meaning 'friend of Melcart.' Schröder, p. 87.

altaribus, a word used almost exclusively in the plural, though of a single altar (ara).

P. 2, § 5. amissa, 'the loss of Sicily and S.' Cf. 16. 2, pudor non laeti auxili, and xxi. 84. 2, ex dictatorio imperio concusso. It is a form not used by Cicero, but very common in Tacitus, as Ann. i. 8, Occisus Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus visum.

Sardinia, said by Polybius to be ἡ πόλη τοῦ μεγέθει καὶ πολυ-


nam et Sicilliam 'for he felt that S.' For the acc. in connex- 

exion with angebant Fabri compares i. 46. 6, angebatur ferox 

Tullia, nihil materia in vitro...esse. His successes seemed to 

justify unwillingness to accept the terms of peace, yet Polyb. 

i. 62 says that Hamilcar felt the need of submission and con-

ducted the negotiations.

desperatione r. It is common with Latin writers to 

add rerum where no equivalent is wanted in English, thus, 

exitus, motus, inopia, ignoratio rerum.

inter motum Afr. These are weak words for the for-

midable war of mercenaries which nearly ruined Carthage.

stipendio, the indemnity, cf. 3. 3. Stipendium seems to be 

put for stipi-pendium (stips), like pauper for pauciper, anceps 

for ambiceps, cf. amputare, amplecti, selibra (semi), prudens 

(providens).

insuper imposito, a poetic form; so 45. 1, castellum insuper 
imponunt, Verg. Æn. i. 61, montes insuper altos imposuit. Cf. 

Livy's use of compounds such as superincubare, superinsterne.

c. II. § 1. anxius, as explained by the angebant of i. 5.

sub recentem. Sub is used with the accus. for 'just after,' 

cf. vii. 81. 4, sub hae dicta omnes—procubuerunt. So sub 
vocem. But sub galli cantum, sub vesperum, and sub idem 
tempus are less definite, and may be 'just before.' The passage 
in Verg. Georg. ii. 211, usque sub extremum brumæ intractabilis
imbrem, is decisive for 'just before.' The mercenary war 'which followed closely on the treaty with Rome,' lasted three years and four months, Pol. i. 88. The five years of Livy probably cover the warlike movements against the Numidians mentioned by Diodorus.

novem annis, from 238 to 227 B.C. Note the change to the abl. after quinque annos.

in Hispania. The Phœnicians had in remote ages planted colonies on the coast of Spain, which fell in time under the influence of Carthage. The wealth of the mines tempted her to push her way further inland, but no great progress had been made till Hamilcar annexed much of the South, and changed the imperial policy of Carthage. The vast revenues of the mines and the hardy material for soldiers were the chief objects in view; like Cæsar, he went to conquer a province, and organize an army for future uses. It is curious to contrast the speedy conquests made by these generals with the slow progress of Rome in finally subduing Spain. In a later age the Arabs, of Semitic race possibly akin to that of Carthage, possessed themselves of Southern Spain, and attained to a high degree of power and culture, in the Moorish kingdoms of Cordova and Granada.

§ 2. quæ. Weissenborn and Fabri adopt the qui of the MSS. but it is a less probable reading.

ductu. The modal abl. of one of the verbal forms in the 4th decl. which are of frequent use in Livy. It is here employed to vary the H. duce of the line before.

§ 3. Mors H. He died in war with the Spanish tribes. Pol. ii. 1.

peropportuna. Cf. vi. 1. 5, mors adeo opportuna ut voluntarim magna pars crederet.

distulerunt. For the use of this word Fabri compares xiii. 1. 12, metus de consule atque exercitu distulit munienda Aquileia curam.

Hasdrubal means 'help of Baal,' Schröder, p. 100.

floris statis. Scandalous gossip probably circulated among the partisans of Hanno, the rival faction to that of the Barca family, so styled from the personal name, meaning lightning, of the great Hamilcar.

conciliatus, for this use cf. xxii. 34. 2, hominem plebi insextatione principum conciliatum.
§ 4. *plus quam modice.* Fabius Pictor (ap. Polyb. iii. 8) stated that Hasdrubal returned to Carthage from Spain, with the design of making himself despot, but being opposed by the *άξιολογοι ἄνθρωποι*, he returned to Spain, disregarding henceforth the authority of the senate, as did his successor Hannibal. This Polyb. regards as an idle effort of faction to throw all the odium of the war on the Barcine faction, which later history reflecting such jealousies of party calls an *έταιρες τῶν τομητών ἄνθρωπων*.

plebem...principum. See the Introduction for a sketch of the government of Carthage. Livy here, as elsewhere, employs technical Roman terms, as if the constitutional usages were the same.

*hand sane.* Cf. xxii. 19. 12. Livy does not seem to use *non sano.* Fabri.

§ 5. hospitium. Formal contracts of friendly alliance were often entered into in the old world between persons, families and tribes, pledges of which were interchanged as *ξύμβολα* or *tesseræ*. Documents are still preserved in the inscriptions in which engagements of this kind are entered into or formally renewed, as in one where two Spanish clans (*gentilitates*) of the same tribe *hospitium vetustum antiquum renovaverunt eique munier alis alium in fidem clientelamque suam suorumque liberorum posteriorumque recepti*. One form lasted on in Greece in the *πορεία* which was largely used in commercial and religious intercourse. Corssen i. 796 explains *hospes* as a shortened form of *hosti-pe(t)s* = stranger-protecting from root *patis* = *πάσος*. As to the root *ghas-* from which he derives *hostis*, Mommsen, R. F. 326, regards it as simply = ‘to eat.’ Corssen says it is to ‘tear’ or ‘wound.’

conciliationis. Hadr. according to Diodorus, 25. 17, married himself the daughter of one of the Sp. chieftains; *principes* may be distinguished from *reguli* as nobles from kings, as Weissenborn suggests.

§ 6. nihilq; tutor. For the form of the phrase Fabri compares *nihil accuratior* v. 87. 1, *nihil quietior*, ix. 37. 1, *nihil facilior*, xxxi. 26. 5.

ridingis speciem. Here as often Livy employs a partic. absolutely, where we should use a subst. Compare the Stoic firmness of some uncivilized races with the sensibilities of the Greeks of Homer.

praebuerit. The frequency of the subjunct. perf. in depend. sentences after *ut* is a peculiarity of Livy’s style, as realizing more vividly the completed result.
NOTES. XXI. c. II. § 7—c. III. § 1.

§ 7. Cum hoc Hasd. To imply his practical independence of the government at Carthage.

solicitandis. Connected with Oscan solitus = totus, ἅλος and salvis, so solistimus, sollemnis, &c. Corssen, l. 486.

Faedus renov. Polyb. ii. 13 gives details of the disquietude at Rome, and of the wish to attack the growing power in Spain, which was delayed only by the pressure of the Gallic war. As the Romans had no possessions in Spain, to define the limit of the Hiberus, and to stipulate for Saguntum, was in fact an insult to the sovereign power of Carthage. Faedus = fidīus is connected with fides, like πέρουδα with πίστις. Curtius, Gr. Etym. p. 236, rejects Mommsen's explanation from fundere, like στροφή, spondeo.

ut, 'on condition that' = ἐφ' ἐν, cf. Polyb., as it was a new stipulation added to the treaty of 241 B.C., but Pol. does not mention any provision for Saguntum.

P. 3, c. III. § 1. In Hasdrubalis locum. There is nothing in the sentence to correspond to these words. Something may have dropped out which referred to them, but more probably it is one of those cases of which Madvig speaks in his Kleine Phil. Schr. p. 359, where there is a want of balance and connexion in Livy's artificial periods. He specifies as examples i. 7. 7 and i. 46. 1. Fabri quotes as an example of Livy's anacolutha, xxviii. 81. 1, Latius...auditis qua acta Gadibus erant.....munitis ad L. Marciem missis...redeundum ad imperatorem esse, adsentiente Marcio paucos post dies ambo Carthaginem rediēre.

quin...sequebatur. The MS. reading is here quite corrupt, especially in quam, where only qua is possible, and in the omission of the apodosis after erat. Drakenborch's reading prærogat ivam...sequeretur makes fair sense, but lays great stress on the popularity of Hannibal, who could hardly have been much known by the plebs, although the wealth of Spain may have been used to secure adherents at home, and Polybius says, ὁ δὴ μᾶς γνώμη κυρλαν ἐκολοθε τήν τῶν στρατονέων αἵρεσιν, iii. 13.

prærogativa. A metaphor taken from the usage of the Roman comitia. The tribe on which the lot fell to vote first often influenced the vote of the wavering, and so the term carried associations of authority. Cf. iii. 51. 5, ne comitiorum militarium prærogat ivam sequerentur urbana comitia, add Cic. Mur. 18. 38, tanta illis comitis religio est ut adhuc semper omen valuerit prærogat ivum.

prætorium. The tent of the Roman general, and so the head-quarters of the legion; hence applied to the palace of a governor, Ev. Matt. xxvii. 27, as also to the quarters of the
pratorian cohorts, Ep. ad Philipp. l. 13. _prætor_ = _prætor_, 'first in rank,' is the oldest title of the chief magistrate of the republic. Cf. Ascon. in Cic. Verr. i. 14, _veteres omnem magistratum, cui pareret exercitus, prætorem appellaverunt_. Unde et _prætorium tabernaculum ejus dicitur, et in castris porta prætoria, et hodie quoque _Prefectus Prætorio_. The term is here extended to Punic usage.

_favor_ is said by Quintilian to have been thought a new word by Cicero, _favorem et urbanum Cicero nova credit, ii. 20. 10_, though it was used by Lucretius, vi. 47. It was first probably applied to applause in the theatre, and Cicero speaks apologetically of his use of it. Or. pro Sestio 54, _qui rumore et, ut ipsi loquentur, favore populi tenetur._

§ 2. _vixdum puberem_. He was however about 23 years old, for he was nine when his father went to Spain for nine years, and he joined Hasdrubal after five of his eight years of rule were over. Cf. 2. 3 and 4. 10.

_ad se accers_. Yet 1. 4 implies that he went to Spain with Hamilcar. Probably here, as elsewhere, Livy reproduces distinct traditions. Cælius Antipater, in a passage quoted by Priscian, viii. 960, seems to refer to H., _antequam Barca perierat alti rei causa in Africam est missus_. Yet Livy xxx. 37. 9 makes him say, _novem annorum a vobis prefectus post sextum et tricesimum redit_. In that case he would have had little chance of learning statesmanship at home.

§ 3. _Hanno_. Probably the chief rival of Hamilcar after the 1st war, the feud and reconciliation between whom were so important in the struggle with the mercenaries. It was however, like other Punic names, a common one with leading men at different periods.

§ 4. _admiratione...convertisset_. For the form of the phrase cf. xxii. 30. 1, _profecti...in admirationem...converterunt._

_pro...rudimento_. For this use of _pro_ = 'as if that were' Fabri compares xxiii. 33. 6, _hostes pro hospitibus comiter accepi_. xxiv. 25. 3, _quum...pro domino possederit._

§ 5. _regnī paternī sp_. 'The show of monarchy which his father assumed.' Cf. the charges of Fabius in Polyb. iii. 8 against Hasdrubal, _ἐναρχῆς εἰς μοναρχίαν περιστήνατο πολίτευμα._

_hereditarii_. Cf. the power of associations, coupled with a name, over the veterans of Cæsar and the countrymen of Napoleon.

_Quandoque_ is commonly used by Livy in the sense of "since," or "whenever." Here the indefinite meaning "at some time or other" grows out of the elliptical use "whenever it may be," following _ne_ as it follows _quoad_ in Cic. Fam. 6. 19 _quoad tile quandoque veniat_. Tacitus however, Ann. vi. 20, uses it in this indefinite sense by itself, _et tu Galba quandoque degustabis imperium._

_c. iv. § 1. major pars._ Note the admission that the partisans of H. were the majority in the senate. It was not therefore merely a popular party, supported by the army, which dragged the country against its will into a war with Rome, according to the theory maintained by Fabius Pictor, and refuted by Polyb. iii. 8, though in later days H. may have been accused by his political opponents as responsible for all the losses of the war, and Livy puts this charge into the mouth of the ambassadors of Carthage, xxx. 22. 1, *eum injussu senatus non Alpes modo sed Hiberum quoque transgressum._

In _optimus, meliorem_, we have traces of the old confusion so common in classical literature, by which moral terms are used to distinguish political parties. Cf. the use of ἐπιεικεῖς, βέλτιστοι, σοφός, πολιτεύων σωφρονεστέρον in Thucydides, who speaks of the unscrupulous Antiphon as ἄρετῆς ὀνειδίως ὄστερος.

§ 2. **Hamilc. tuvenem.** Hamilcar was very young in the 1st Punic war, and died in the prime of life. Cf. Soph. Philoct. καὶ ἐθύμε ἐν κόκλω στρατὸς ἐκβάντα πᾶς ἄσπαζετ ὤμωντες βλέπειν | τόν οὔκ ἐτ' ἐντα Ἀχιλλῆς τᾶλην.

_cedere...intueri._ The historic infinitives here give vigour and liveliness to the passage.

_P. 4. lineamenta._ Linea is connected with _littera, lino,_ from a root _sli = smear_, found in our _slime, Corssen_ i. 383.

_pater in se..._ "His father's memory was but little needed to gain the popular good will," or, "his likeness to his father was but the least influence," &c., _i.e._ was only the least among many influences. For use of _momentum_ cf. i. 47. 4, _ipsa regio semine orta nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret._ From the early meaning of the "weight which turned the scale," _movimentum,_ came secondary meanings, as in the parallel cases of _gravis, serius,_ both of which first denoted physical weight, and then moral.

§ 3. **discerneres,** a use of the _imperf. subj., frequent in_ Livy, where the _pluperf._ would seem more natural to us, as _ii. 43. 9, crederes victos._ The earlier part of this description seems too enthusiastic to have come from a Roman annalist;
probably it may be traced to Philinus, who wrote in the Punic interest. Here again Livy seems to have combined two distinct accounts, for the latter part is purely Roman. It has been thought that Sallust's description of Catiline suggested some of the language here used, but the resemblance is not very close. The early part of it is repeated by Livy xxxvi. 41. 25, of the young Scipio Africanus.

§ 4. praecere is used absolutely, a common feature of Livy's style.

fortiter ac strenue, epithets frequently combined. Fabri quotes Cic. Phil. ii. 32, si minus fortum, attamen strenuum. Strenueus is probably connected with στρεφός, στρήφης, sterilis, starr, Curtius 193.

§ 7. id, i.e. temporis. The use of superesse with the dative of the gerundive is unusual. 'Leisure from active work.'

custodias, sentinels on guard on the ramparts of the camp.

stationes, 'outposts' or pickets at outlying points.

§ 9. Polyb. ix. 24 says that the Romans thought cruelty the special vice of H., but that his namesake, Monomachus, was the real author of much that was complained of. In any case, the sufferings imposed on Italy by so desperate and long a struggle, the requisitions for the troops, and the outrages of camp followers, must have associated the name of H. in popular memory with deeds of terrible oppression. Polyb. regards the charge of avarice as best supported by the evidence of the Carthaginians themselves, and of Masinissa, who knew him well.

perfidia...Punica. Cf. xxii. 6. 12, Punica religionem servata fides ab Hannibale est. On this popular sentiment, cf. Horace, Carm. iv. 4. 45, dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal, and 43, impio | vastata Panorum tumultu | fana. As to the Punic character, cf. Cic. de leg. agr., Carthaginienses fraudulenti et mendaces, non genere sed natura loci, quod propter portus suos, multis et variis mercatorum et advenarum sermonibus, ad studium fallendi studio quaestus vocabantur. It was like the 'perfidious Albion' as used of England. The Romans had little right to make such a charge. Their treatment of Carthage had been strangely wanting in good faith, and the foreign policy of the Roman Senate was too often a course of unscrupulous craft and egotism, for the religious reverence for which Polybius praises them so highly was little shown in international dealings.

nihil ... The Latin writers have recourse to nihil with the
partitive genitive, or to *nullus*, to express ideas for which no abstract negatives existed, such as ‘irreverence,’ ‘irreligious.’ See Nügelsbach, Stilistik, p. 61.

religio is the sense of the unseen world as a binding or constraining force (whether from *religare*, as in Lucretius, *religionum nodis exsolvere*, or from *relegere*, as Cicero N. D. ii. 28). It is wider than *deum metus*, which refers only to the fear of divine punishment. Fabri quotes as a limitation of this Pliny, Nat. H. xvi. 40, *ex templo* *pepercit religione* *inductus* *Hannibal*. But it is needless to discuss seriously the extreme language of national antipathy.

§ 10. *meruit*, used properly with *stipendia*, then absolutely = ‘served.’

agenda ..., ‘which one who hoped to be some day a great general could do for himself or learn from others.’

*provinciae decreta*. A metaphor taken from the Roman usage by which special departments were assigned to the consuls and *praetor*. Cf. 17. 1.

§ 2. *ne se quoque*. But the time may have seemed auspicious while Rome had the Gauls upon her hands.

P. 5. *cunctantem*. Notwithstanding the similarity in form the root of *cunctor* (connected with *κυκτή*) is probably distinct from that of *cunctus* (= *covinctus* or *cojunctus*), or *percutor* (from *contus*, a punt-pole). Cf. Curtius, 638.

§ 3. *Quibus oppugnandis...* ‘as by an attack on them Rome was sure to be provoked to war.’

Olcadum, a people to the S. W. of Saguntum, mentioned also in Polyb. iii. 13, in connexion with this campaign, but otherwise unknown.

ultra, i.e. from the point of view of Livy or a Roman reader.

*in parte magis*, i.e. on the side of the Hiberus which was left to Carthage by the treaty with Hasdrubal, though not as yet conquered.

rerum serie... ‘by the course of events, the conquest that is of neighbouring tribes, and the annexation of their territory.’ The absolute use of *jungendo* seems very awkward, and Usener suggests *aliud agendo quasi tractus*, but Fabri illustrates this use of *junge* from Pliny, Ep. iii. 19, *Prædia agris meis vicina atque etiam inserta venalia sunt...solicitium primum ipsa pulchritudo jungendi*. For the combination of subst. and
gerund. in appos. serie... jungendo, cf. iii. 40. 1, nec ira nec ignoscendi modum, vi. 18. 6, fuga sequendique finis.

§ 4. Cartala, called 'Alatha by Polyb. iii. 18. The first syllable is probably Carth or Kiriath as in Carthago, Carteia.

Carthaginem Novam. Note the pleonasm in the name, for Carthage itself = Carthada a shortened form of Carth-had-as = new town, so Serv. En. i. 866, Carthago est lingua Paeonorum nova civitas, ut docet Livius. Schröder, p. 85. Cf. like formations in Hampton-wick, Wansbeck-water.

Carth. Nova had been built by Hasdrubal with regal splendour, and chosen as a naval base for aggressive operations, having a spacious harbour sheltered by an island at the mouth, and being protected by marshes. Strabo speaks of its great natural strength, and the revenue from its mines, fisheries and commerce (iii. 4. 6). Pliny (33. 6) mentions a single mine which brought in to Hannibal 800 pounds of silver daily. A full description of the site is given in Polyb. x. 10, an eyewitness, in connexion with its memorable capture by Scipio.

§ 5. particendo... Note the awkwardness of so many abl. forms in this sentence. It is one of the peculiarities of Livy's style to employ the abl. so often without a prepos.

praeda for pra-henda. Cf. praedium (praehendium), praebere (praehibere), debere (dehibere). Corssen, i. 108.

§ 6. Hermandica. Polyb. 'Elmacrus, possibly the Salamanca of later days, W.

§ 7. Carpetanos. Καρπόν, described by Polyb., iii. 14, as one of the strongest tribes in the neighbourhood of the Tagus, where Madrid and Toledo afterwards were built.

§ 9. ab hostibus, 'on the side of.' Cf. xxii. 16. 3, and l. 50. 6, ne id quidem ab Turvo tulisse tacitum ferunt.

ita, 'only so far,' Fabri; but perhaps not necessarily 'only,' as Hannibal may have thrown his camp forward beyond the crossing place.

§ 10. impeditum, the acute suggestion of Heerwagen for peditum.

§ 11. appendicibus, 'contingents.'

invicta contains elliptically the protasis to si = 'which would have been unconquerable.'

P. 6, § 12. id morari... 'that their victory was delayed only by the river which flowed between them.'
§ 14. *instabilitis ac vix vado f.* i.e. could hardly be sure of his footing even where the stream was fordable.

§ 16. *a tanto pavor.* To justify insertion of *a* cf. ii. 50. 7, recipiendi *a pavor* tanto animum.

*agmine quadrato,* properly formed in square, so as to show a line of battle on every side, afterwards more generally of an army in fighting order, cf. ii. 6. 8. Sen. Ep. 59, in *quadrato agmine exercitum, ubi hostis ab omni parte suspectus est, pugnae paratum.* Tibull. iv. 1. 101, *seu sit up, quadratum acies consistat in agmen rectus ut aquatis decurrat frontibus ordo.*

*fugam ex r.* f. 'drove them in flight from the bank.'

c. vi. § 1. "War with S. was not yet declared, but there were already grounds for war. The neighbouring tribes were made to pick a quarrel with them, especially the Turdetani. As he who had stirred them to arms also espoused their cause, and it was clear that the intention was to appeal, not to arbitration, but the sword," &c. Fabri and W. leave out the stop after causa, and make it an abl. explanatory of *serebantur.*

*Turdetani.* These, according to Strabo iii. 2, lay on the Bétis near Gades; the Edetani may be meant, for they were on the coast between Carthago Nova and the Hiberos, Str. iii. 4. 1.

§ 3. *Consules tunc.* Yet see the doubts expressed by Livy 15. 4.

de re publ. rettul. The position of the consul who presided in the Senate was unlike that of Speaker or of Leader in a modern Parliament. He did not commonly keep order merely in debate, or move a distinct resolution, but stated the subjects for discussion, and appealed to the senators to speak *de re publica.* As to this expression Fabri quotes from Gall. xiv. 7 Varro's description of the customary usage, *de rebus quoque divinis prius quam humanis ad senatum referendum esse, tum porro referri oportere aut infinite de republica aut de singulis rebus finite.*

*Legatus* is used for a commissioner entrusted with a special function, and is not a definite name for official rank, and hence it retains its participial meaning, as 'bound,' or 'despatched.' (Cf. *lex, collega, ligare,* Corssen, ii. 444.) The *fetiales* in early days had been the *regii muniti* to discharge formalities of international intercourse. This was however a priestly corporation, and filled by co-optation: its duties were
NOTES. XXI. c. vi. § 3—c. vii. § 1. 161

gradually narrowed to ceremonial details when war was actually declared. For previous negotiations the Senate decided in each case to have commissioners (legati), leaving their choice commonly to the Executive, but fixing their number and qualifications, and giving them definite instructions. In later days for foreign wars the commander-in-chief was allowed to nominate legati, who should represent the Senate in his council of war, and undertake any functions, military or administrative, to which he might depute them. Like praefectus, the name implied only delegated functions, and required other adjuncts to make it definite.

ad res inspic. A usual phrase in Livy for the duties of special commissioners. Cf. iv. 36. 2, xxvi. 35. 8.

§ 4. quibus si v., for qui si videretur iis...according to a frequent usage of attraction.

denuntiarent. To be written with a t like all compounds of nuntius, which = noventius, from novus, like nundinae from novem, contio from conventio. So the inscriptions and best MSS. Corssen, i. 51.

P. 7, § 5. haec legatione...resumes the whole series of clauses which form the protasis of the sentence.

neodem missa. This is hardly consistent with the account of Polyb. iii. 14, who makes the Roman envoys treat with H. at Carth. Nova, and spreads the whole over a longer time. The conjunction dum, which is also found as an affix of many words, as in nedum, visidum, nihildum, interdum, &c., seems to proceed from -dium, the accus. form of -dium, -diu, found in perdium, interdiu, and to mean 'the day through,' 'the while.' Corssen, ii. 856.

spe celerius. Cf. dicto citius, spe serius, solito magis. Spe is constantly used for 'expectation,' rather than 'hope.'

§ 6. alti prov. 'Some were for assigning at once to the consuls the departments of, &c. Cf. 17. 1. As Fabri remarks, decerno is often used for decerni volo. Cf. 10. 13, ii. 29. 8.

alti totum. 'Others were for limiting the range of war to... Fabri and Weiss. read intenderant with most of the MSS., i.e. 'they had already at the first discourse,' &c. This is an awkward change of tense, but not unexampled in Livy.

c. vii. § 1. Saguntum lay in the midst of a rich and fertile country, Polyb. iii. 17. It was afterwards rebuilt, and famous for its red pottery, the calices Saguntini of Martial, and though Moor and Goth have built with the materials of the
past, its muri vetere have given it the modern name of Murvidro, as the urbs vetus of central Italy became Orvieto. The old castle, crowned by Moorish walls and towers, is still a fortress which is the key of Valencia.

§ 2. passus mille. The sea has since retired to three times this distance from the site of the old town.

Orlundi. For the constr. ad synesium, civitas...oriundi, cf. xxvi.19.11, Emporiiis urbe Graeca (oriundi et ipsi a Phoceae sunt) copias exposuit. With the participial use of oriundi compare that of volvendus as used by Lucr. v. 514, 1276 with sidera, etas, the volvenda dies of Vergil, and volvendus clamor of Ennius.

a Zacyntho. The identity of the names becomes apparent if we remember that in early Latin there was no distinction of C and G, and that Z, T and Θ were all letters of late introduction. The termination um may be paralleled by Epidamnum, Ilium, Pergamum, formed from Greek words in -os. Early coins clearly point to the fact of Greek inhabitants, and are very like those of Massilia. Cf. C. I. L. ii. p. 511.

§ 3. tantas. There is no relative to balance this, but it may refer to the proofs drawn from the siege.

fidem socialm. This is a bit of false sentiment, as Saguntum fought for itself, though it asked help from Rome.

§ 4. infesto. A word constantly used with exercitu, signis, agmine, &c., of any aggressive movement.

§ 5. Polybius omits all details of the siege, but he states the motives of H., his wish to strike terror into Spain, and to leave no elements of danger behind him in his march for Italy, as also his need of funds to secure adherents at Carthage.

cetera circa. This use of the adverb for the adj. or ell. for quae circa erant, where the Greeks would put an article before the adverb, is common in Livy, especially in the case of circa. Cf. xxii. 23. 4, omnibus circa solo aquatis, i. 58. 2, postquam satis tuta circa...videbantur.

vineas. These were an important part of a Roman siege train, covering as they did the men who were trenching, undermining, or bringing up the battering rams. They are described by Vegetius rv. 15 as eight feet high, seven broad, and sixteen long, covered above with planks and hurdles, and at the sides with a screen of osiers, coated with raw hides at
NOTES. XXI. c. vii. § 5—c. viii. § 2. 163

the surface. They were then locked together to form one continuous defence, under which the assailants could work.

§ 6. ut..., 'although... yet little progress was made when they came to press the siege in earnest.'

effectum is one of Livy's favourite verbals in us, of which he uses more than most writers, and in cases elsewhere less familiar, as spe effectus for Cicero's spe efficiendi.

succedebat, often used impersonally by Livy. Fabri quotes xxiv. 38. 3, cui (fraudi) quomiam parum succedit; xxv. 37. 19, si successisset captis.

P. 8, § 7. ut in suspecto, i.e. as was natural in. Cf. 12. 4, ut ab irato victore, and viii. 30. 7, multis potitus spoliis ut ex tanta cæde, where the Greeks might use οła εξός. At other times the ut is used in a restrictive sense, as vir ut inter Ætolos facundus, xxxii. 39. 9.

ceterae alt., briefly put for the height of the wall in other places, constr. prægn.

obstebant. The plural verb with iuventus is common in Livy, cf. iv. 56. 6, omnium populorum iuventus Antiun contracta, ibi castris positis hostem opperiebantur, so vii. 2. 5.

§ 8. nec quoquam..., 'did not allow the besiegers to approach anywhere in safety,' a favourite form of Sallust. Jug. 66, nihil intactum neque quietum pati; also 88. Fabri.

§ 9. tumultuaris, often used by L., as 8. 7 of pugna, and extended even to miles i. 37. 6, castra xxviii. 16. 7, and opus xliii. 63. 4.

§ 10. tragula, so xxiv. 42. 2, femur tragula conxium, and Cæsar, Bell. Gall. v. 35. 6, utrumque femur tragula trahcitur. Varro, L. Lat. iv. 24, derives it from trahicere. The construction of the acc. of the part affected is more frequent in poetry than prose.

c. viii. § 1. curaretur. The subj. expresses the purpose of the delay.

§ 2. pluribus p., a local abl. constantly used by Livy without a prepos.

captæ agr. Livy varies in his use of the word capti. Often as here he says, like Cæcero, agi captum, impediri captia res, and nearly always with fieri, using a double passive, but at
times he has phrases like *templum adificari cepit*. Cf. Madvig Kleine Phil. Schr. p. 364.


§ 4. *itaque* is generally taken with the next sentence, but the asyndeton of *ceupt sunt, non sufficiebant* would be very abrupt. W. proposes to omit *sunt*, and thinks the passage unfinished or corrupt. It is not satisfactory as it stands. *Sufficere* is used by Livy both with a case, as x. 18. 7, *quam bello tuo forsitan vix sufficias*, and absolutely as xxxvi. 45. 2, *quoad remiges sufficere potuerunt*.

§ 5. *una...*., “one side (pars), where a wide breach was made, had exposed the city to assault.” The form of the sentence is somewhat bold, for ‘the city was exposed on one side by,’ &c.

*deinceps*, ‘one after the other,’ explanatory of the foregoing clause. It seems to be an old nominative form, used adverbially, such as *princeps, manceps, terticeps, anceps, inceps* (Festus), so ‘taking the place from there,’ *de-in-ceps*. Corssen, n. 591.

§ 6. *velut si*, i.e. besiegers and besieged showed equal readiness in their advance, as if the wall had been before a screen to both alike.

§ 7. *tumultuarius pugna*, explained in xxv. 84. 9 by *agmina magis quam acies pugnabat...ut in tumultuaria pugna...* per occasionem, i.e. when either side gave or seized a chance of attack.

*alterius* is here, as elsewhere, nearly equivalent to *alterius utrius*. Heerwagen compares xxiv. 3. 17, *inter eos levia pralia ex occasione aut opportunitate hujus aut illius partis oriebantur*.

*conscrii*, a more graphic phrase for a number of petty conflicts than *concirii*, adopted by Heerwagen for the *concirii* of most MSS.


*ecetera*. Heerwagen notes that Cicero does not use this neut. plur. absolutely as Livy and Horace often do.
§ 12. conceptumque..., 'and the flame which it carried was fanned by the mere motion to a fiercer heat.'

nudum, often used like γυμνός, of anyone unarmed or defenceless. Cf. iii. 19. 6, arma vobis ademit nudosque servis vestris... objecti.

c. ix. § 1. Saguntinis...Pennis. The change in number is abrupt, but the latter word is used of the army, and not as sometimes of the general, cf. xxxv. 40. 6.

quae resisterent is properly in the conj., as the thought of the S., and ground of their confidence: unlike the quod cre-derent of 1. 3, which is irregular.

§ 2. in ruinas muri. The battle had taken place in the clear ground between the walls and the houses inside, answering probably to the pomarium of Roman towns, or to the space left for the way which ran inside the walls, by which the garrison could pass to any point.

§ 3. tot tam. For the asyndeton Fabri compares v. 54. 3, tot tam valida oppida, xxxv. 24. 14, tot tam opulentii tyranni.

Hannibali... 'H. had no leisure for negotiations at so critical a moment,' cf. in ipso discrimine perculit, vi. 17. 1; and on the use of rerum 1. 5. Polyb. iii. 15 says that the envoys were admitted, but answered scornfully. Note the hexa-meter, arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum. On the tendency to let such verses slip into prose style, Cia. in Orat. lvi. Versus sepe in oratione per imprudentiam dicimus: quod vehementer est vitiosum...senarios vero et hippocacteos effugere vix possimus; magnam enim partem ex iambis nostra constat oratio...inculcamus autem...sepe etiam minus usitatos. Quintillian notices, Inst. ix. 4, T. Livius hexametri exordio copit, 'factu-rum opera pretium sim.' So Tacitus Ann. i. 1, Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere. Livy vii. 11, Pugnam hau dicavit | Porta Collina est totius viribus urbis, and xxi. 50. 10, haec ubi dicta dedit stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios vadit. In Greek writers also the same tendency may be noted at times, as in Thuc. p. 49, φλυκταραις μικράς καὶ ἔλκεσιν ἀξιάδικος. And Ep. Iacob. i. 17, πάνα δόθη ἀγαθή καὶ τὰν δώ-ρημα τέλειον. Cf. Drakenburch, Livy, Pref. i.

P. 10, § 4. ne quid... 'That the rival party might take no steps in deference to Rome,' this is the reading of Perizoni us for pro R., which is opposed to the common construction of gratificari.

c. x. § 1. præterquam qualifies vana atque irrita, and is not related to quoque as usually in sentences of this form. W.
§ 2. adversus senatum. The reading of most MSS. is
adverso senatu 'contrary to the wishes of the senate,' in which
H. had a majority, as adversa nobilitate, vi. 42. 6. The non
is omitted in the MSS. before cum adsensu, but is required
by the facts of the case, and there will be no repetition if we
take adversus in the sense of 'urged before the senate.'

causam...egit, 'pleaded for the maintenance of the treaty.'

§ 3. monuisset, præd. For this asyndeton Fabri compares
iii. 10. 1, itaque monere prædicere, ut pontem...interrumpant.

manus means properly the 'good folk,' opposed to immanis.
Corssen, i. 48, connects both with manus, metari, mensura,
from the root ma= measure.

quietura, 'would rest...undisputed,' for this negative sense
of q. cf. xxx. 18. 9, medicos plus quiete quam movendo proficere.

§ 4. flagrantem cup. r. This was a charge frequently
used with dangerous effect in the civil struggles of Rome.
The examples of J. Cæsar would be fresh in the minds of Livy
and his readers.

ex bellis bella serendo. Cf. ii. 18. 10 and xxxi. 6. 4.

legio, properly 'a gathering' from legere, like legumen,
spicilegium, sacrilegus, &c.

§ 5. rupta fædera. Cf. § 8. ultí agrees with Romani
understood in R. legiones by a constr. ad synesim.

§ 6. ius gentium sust., 'made light of international law,'
this insisted on respectful treatment of ambassadors, but H.
was justified in referring them to his own government.
Cf. jure gentium agunt, i. 14. 1.

res repetunt, 'demand compensation,' answers to res red-
dendas of § 18. Cf. iv. 58. 1, per legatos fictialesque res repeti
captæ.

ut publica, i.e. as a proof that, or assuming that the state
was not at fault they demand the surrender of the guilty cause
of the offence. For this sense of publica fraus cf. xxx. 25. 4,
seu Hasdrubale...sine publica fraude auso facinus. Cf. v. 36. 7,
postulatum ut pro jure gentium violato Fabii dederton.
Most MSS. omit the ut which Perizonius inserted.

§ 7. Egates. The decisive defeat of Carthage off these
islands brought the first war to a close, B.C. 241. They were in
front of Lilybaeum.
NOTES. XXI. c. x. § 7—c. xi. § 1. 167

Erycium, now Monte di San Giuliano, the scene of Hamilcar's gallant stand for years against the Roman forces.


istī, i.e. the Barcine party; īste is often used of an opponent in a lawsuit, and with implied disliike.

Tarento. The appearance of a Punic fleet off Tarentum had been urged as a ground for the first war, cf. Epit. Liv. xiv., but Polyb. iii. 26 gives at length the early treaties between Rome and Carthage, and exposes the error of those writers who hold that R. was bound to abstain from Sicily, and C. from Italy.

§ 9. homines. Madvig omits the que usually added to this word in order to emphasize the divine intervention, and makes vicerunt used absolutely; but dī hominesque is a very common phrase, and the change seems needless.

id de quo is used absolutely, not in appos. to a following sentence. It may be explained as referring to judex, as if it were cfus de quo = 'the subject of debate.'

unde, for 'on whose side,' as above, § 6, unde ne hostium q. l. Cf. iv. 43. 9, unde (i.e. ab Aquis) si quid increparet terroris.

§ 11. in eo, 'in the case of,' H. eo...quod 'for this reason.' eo...unde, 'thither.' Note the different senses in which eo is used in following lines.

§ 12. dedendum. We must supply censeo from the next sentence.

ad placulum... 'to stone for...' as xlv. 10, ad placulum noxae. Some MSS. have id p., and placulum is often used by Livy as 'victim,' cf. vi. 21. 7, ne placula dederentur.

accidere. Cf. 61. 1. So in L. vox, clamor, strepitus aecidit; the common reading was accedere.

quieta civ. st. Hypallage for quietem civitatis statum, as 11. 8, structurae antiquae genere for antiquo.

c. xi. § 1. perorasset. The peroratio which brought a speech to a close was of special rhetorical importance.

adeo prope omnis. Cf. 57. 14 the still stronger form adeo omnis.

omnis...Hannibalis erat. Cf. iii. 36. 10, hominum non causarum toti erant.

Flaccus Valerius. Fabri notes that the usual order of prænomen, nomen and cognomen, is often neglected by Livy, sometimes in putting the prænomen last as Fabius Quintus,
more often in putting nomen after cognomen as Crassus Licinius, Antias Valerius.

§ 2. *ortum ab s.* Polyb. iii. 15 refers to a despatch from H. to Carthage complaining of aggressions of the Saguntines on the Carthaginian subjects. *Saguntinos short for Saguntinorum societatem.* Cf. ix. 10. 1, *Postumium...devotione P. Deciti aquabant, and many like examples in Livy.*

P. 12. *vetustissime.* The earliest treaty of R. with C. dated from 508 B.C.


tra...stimulando. The abl. accompanied by the gerund is awkward. The MSS. do not vary, though Gronovius reads *stimulanda*, but Fabri observes that Livy does not use *stimulare iram*, but *st. atiquem or animum*, in other places. Usener supposes *promittendo* to have slipped out of the second half of the sentence, in which there is a want of balance.

§ 4. *contio* for *conventio* is used for an assembly in the city, or the camp, as also for an harangue pronounced on such occasions, so *pro contione* = 'publicly.'

*extemplo.* Adverb formed of prepos. and noun like *inprimis, perviam, illico, obviam,* &c. *Templo* connected with *tempus* and *tēwēr.*

§ 7. *turrīs.* The moveable tower (*t. ambulatoria*) of later times is described by Vegetius, iv. 17, as 30 to 50 feet square, and so high as to overtop, not the walls only, but the towers of the besieged city. It was covered with raw hides to be screened from fire, and was moved along on rollers to the point of attack. In the lowest story was contained a battering ram, in the middle was a drawbridge, which might suddenly be lowered and secured with grappling irons to the walls for a boarding party, while the higher stories were filled with men who poured a shower of missiles of every kind upon the enemy.

*catapultis.* Latinized form of *κατατέλεγας* from *πυλα. With it we may possibly connect *pilum.* Corssen, ii. 157.

*ballistās.* See the description in Vegetius iv. 22, *Ballista funibus nervinis tenditur, quam quanto prolixiora brachiola habuerit, hoc est, quanto major fuerit, tanto spicula longius mittit.*
NOTES. XXI. c. xi. § 8—c. xii. § 4. 169

§ 8. cœmenta. The small stones used in rambling work, or for foundations, or piers. Cf. Hor. Od. iii. 1. 94, cœmenta demittit redemptor. Corsen connects it with cæpes, lapicida, scindo, and the root skid = cut.

interita luto, 'with layers of mud between the courses.'

§ 9. patentia ruinis, 'the breach.' L. often uses neut. participles substantively, like aversa urbis, extrema agminis, but the constr. with an abl. is still bolder.

P. 13, § 10. murum interiorem ducunt. A wall crossing the other at points where the old work was firm. This was sometimes called brachium. Cf. iv. 9. 14, consil muro Ardea brachium injunxerat, xxx. 52, brachio objecto flumine eos excludit.

§ 13. affectos. Frequently used by L. in the sense of 'morbid,' affecta vires, v. 106, corpus, xxx. 8. 3.

Oretanos. Described by Strabo iii. 1 as South of the Carpétani, and on the mountain range now called the Sierra Morena.

dillectus. This is the proper form of the word, not delectus, as the Roman idea was not so much that of choosing from the mass (de), as of distributing (di) among the 4 legions the conscripts of each tribe, as described by Polyb. vi. 20.

consternati. Here used for excitement, rather than fear. Cf. vii. 42. 1, ad arma consternari, xxviii. 25. 1, causa iræ consternationisque.

c. xii. § 1. civies. The term could strictly be applied to only few in H.'s army, which was mainly composed of the subject races.

§ 2. arietibus. In the 16th century large fragments of a battering ram were still shown at Saguntum (Murviedro) in the castle, which were of great antiquity, and traditionally described as part of the siege train of H., and as such copied in the works of early travellers. Cf. Hermes ii. 450.

§ 4. Tentata. 'Slight as was the hope of peace, efforts were made to gain it.' Cf. xxviii. 38. 4, tentata est spes triumphi. On the spelling of tentare Ritschl says in his Prolegomena, nec de temptare forma post Bentleium hodie fere dubitatur, referring to Bentley's remark, Hoc in omne genus MSS. animadverteri, tam veterrimis mille et ducentorum annorum, quam recentioribus, vel temptare scribi, vel rarius tentare; nunquam quod hodie obtinet, tentare. Some of the best inscriptions also give temptare. It was however an etymolo-
gical blunder, by which the *tentare from tentus, tendere was assimilated to the *temptus from temnere, in which the *p was inserted for euphony between *m and *n.

**Hispanum.** Either generally, or in distinction to the Saguntines who were said to be of foreign race.

**movebant.** Fabri remarks on the frequent use of the imperf. with *postquam*, in cases where the action is supposed still to continue. Cf. iii. 60. 8, *postquam jam multa dies erat, neque movebatur quicquam.*

**condiciones.** "Harsh conditions were named as might be expected from an implacable enemy." This spelling of *condicio* is almost invariably found in the best MSS. and inscriptions; the derivation from *condere* must therefore be given up in favour of that which connects it with *dicio, judicare, δικη*, and the root *dik.* On the use of *ut*, cf. 7. 7.

**transfuga ex or.** "Turned deserter instead of advocate."

**sub condic.** The *sub* is very rarely used in this connexion, as *condicio* is used absolutely in the abl. Heerwagen thinks that it emphasizes the dependent condition of the Saguntines.

P. 14, § 6. **interpretem.** For the use of the word cf. ii. 33. 14, *huc interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium.* Curtius connects *interpres* with S. *prat,* and φραδ, φράσω.

**publice S.** "Recognized by the State of Saguntum as," &c.

§ 8. **senatus datu**. "Audience was given in the senate to." This sense suits most of the passages in which the phrase is used in Livy, but in some it can only refer to a special meeting convened for the purpose, as in xxvi. 21. 1, where the prator calls the senate together to discuss the claims of an applicant for a triumph. So too of the corresponding expressions, xxiii. 7. 11, *senatum extemplo postulat,* where the demand is for a special meeting.

c. xiii. § 1. *veni.* The subj. *venissem* of the MSS. here seems out of place in reference to the definite *hoc iter,* and Madvig reads *veni. sed,* thinking that this was written *veni set,* then changed to *venisset,* and afterwards as a mistake in the person to *venissem.*

§ 2. **pro.** "In the name of," "out of regard for."

§ 3. **loqui, quae loquor.** A sort of repetition constantly occurring in Latin writers. Fabri compares Quintil. ix. 3. 80, *accedit et ex illa figura gratia, qua nomina dixi mutatis casibus repeti 'non minus cederet quam cessit."

vel ea fides sit. "Evidence may be found in the fact that."
NOTES. XXI. c. xiii. § 4—c. xiv. § 3. 171

§ 4. Postquam...est. ‘Now that there is.’ A rare sequence of tense, as the est is not the historical present. It should be postquam eo ventum est ut. Heerwagen compares 30. 6, postquam multo majorem partem itineris emendum cernant.

§ 5. Cuins ita. ‘Some slight hope of which is left provided that you accept its terms as conquered men, seeing that H. dictates them as a conqueror, and do not think of what you forfeit as a loss, but of what you are allowed to keep as a free gift, seeing that all you have is at your conqueror’s mercy.’ The change of mood from the audiatas of the MSS. which most editors retain, to habituri estis, can hardly be explained on any principle, so Madvig reads audietis after Gronovius.

P. 15, § 6. captam habet. A strong form of the perfect for a completed act, as fessum militem habebat, 11. 8.

§ 7. singulis. Why this instead of singulis, 12. 5, we do not know, and Lipsius therefore suggested privis as privis tunicis donati, vii. 37. 2.

§ 8. Equidem. The e seems to be an intensifying particle as in edepol (e. deu. Pollux), equine, ecastor, edius Fidius, another form of medius Fidius. Corssen, ii. 857.

§ 9. patienza...sinatis. Note the change of construction, patiamini being understood in patienda.

trucdari. Derived by Corssen from truncum cadere, as if shortened from truci-cidare like stipendium for stipi-pendium, ii. 581.

c. xiv. § 1. paulatim. Like raptim, confessim, this adverb seems to be an accusative form of an abstract substantive otherwise lost. Corssen ii. 582 explains paulus, or paulius the older form, as a diminutive pauros from a root pauro, preserved in raptos, like miselius, teneilus, &c. for miserulus, tenerulus. So the name Paulus means ‘the little man’ as Crassus ‘the fat man.’

argentum aurumque omne. Livy seems in this chapter to combine two accounts of the event, one of which emphasized the tragic despair of the S., while another reported ingens praeda and captivi. Polybius iii. 17 after a very short account of the siege dwells on the booty gained. Like stories of the self-destruction of the inhabitants were told in the case of other Spanish towns in later times. Cf. xxviii. 28, Juv. xv. 98. Compare also the sieges of Numantia and Zaragoza.

§ 8. momento. More frequently with temporis, or horæ, not absolutely, as here and in iii. 63. 1, xxiv. 22. 9.

crudele. Requires fuit to balance cognitum est, but Livy often omits in like cases.
§ 4. *nullum ante finem.* The long delay and heavy losses of the siege may well have disgusted Hannibal with operations which gave so little scope for his genius for strategy. We find therefore that in Italy he rarely persevered in the siege of any of the fortresses by which he passed in his campaigns. He marched too rapidly through hostile country to carry with him the heavy materials of a siege train.

P. 16, c. xv. § 2. *supellectilem.* We may explain *supellex* as a contracted form of *superlectus*, though we read Labdeo ait originem fuisse supellectilis quod olim his qui in legionibus proficiscerentur locari solerent quae sub pellibus usui forent. Dig. 33. 10. 7. 1.

§ 3. *Octavo mense.* Rome had therefore ample time to send the needful succour to Saguntum, and by her long delay she not only deserted an ally, but brought invasion upon Italy.

*Octavo...quam.* The *post* is here omitted before *quam*, as in iv. 47. 5, *die octavo quam creatus erat*, and other places.

*coaptum.* Note the omission of *sit* after this word, and of *esse* after *captum*.

*quidam scriptore*, as Polyb. iii. 17.

§ 4. *meri non p.* The chronological difficulty existed only in the authorities which Livy followed. The account of Polybius is clear and consistent, agreeing only with L. in the eight months for the siege, and the five for the march to Italy. He makes the Roman envoys reach H. at Carthago Nova before the siege begins, and throws back the embassy of Saguntum to the year before the consulship of Scipio and Sempronius.

§ 5. *coaptum.* Weissenborn remarks that Livy forgets that the consuls entered office on the 15th of March, and that the army which took Sag. could not then be returning in *hiberna*.

§ 6. *excessisse.* 'The battle on the T. cannot have fallen so late.' As for the phrase Fabri compares xxx. 26. 1, *insequentia excedunt in eum annum quo*.

*pugna ad Trebiam.* So xxxi. 7. 1, *ad Trasumennum pugna, 54. 11, ciades ad Ægates insulas*.

C. *Flaminius Ar.* Cf. 63. 1.

*creatus a T.* The magistrate presiding at the elections must be of like or higher rank, i.e. dictator, consul, or interrex. He was said *creare*, that is, to declare the candidate elected, though the phrase *populus creat* is also used.

C. xvi. § 1. *Sub idem tempus*,'about the same time.' Cf. 2. 1.
NOTES. XXI. c. xvi. §§ 1—6. 173

qui redierant. The delay of the envoys seems unreasonable according to Livy's dates, still more so if we accept those of Polybius.

§ 2. pudor non iati aux., 'shame at the neglect to send,' cf. on 1. 5.

summa r., 'the safety of the state,' cf. xxii. 12. 10, and note on 1. 1.

P. 17, § 3. nam neque hostem, thrown into the acc. of the oblique narration, giving the reason of metus. Cf. 'nam et Siciliam,' r. 5.

§ 4. Sardos. These hostilities took place just after the 1st, and before the 2nd Punic war. Sardinia, which Rome had wrested from Carthage at the end of the 1st Punic war, rebelled shortly afterwards and made common cause with the Corsicans, whose indignation had been roused by the refusal of the Roman government to recognize the treaty of peace just concluded without its sanction, nor would they accept the person of M. Claudius Gl incon, the author of the obnoxious treaty. The unhealthy climate stayed awhile the progress of the Roman arms, but both islands were finally subdued by Sp. Carvilius, b.c. 234.

The Illyrians, b.c. 230, under the queen-regent Teuta provoked hostilities by their piracies on Italian traders and murder of the R. envoys, but they were speedily defeated, as were also the Histrions who followed their example.

tumultuatunat. These passive forms of neuter verbs are especially frequent in historical writers, e.g. discursum, procursum, consensus, desperatum, introitum, transcensum. The term is justified by the old phrase often used of Gallicus tumultus which Cicero thus explains, tumultum majores nostri Italici quod erat domesticus tumultus, Gallicum quod erat Italia finitus, præterea nullum tumultum nominabant. Phil. 8. 1.

But the alarm at Rome as described by Polybius, n. 24, and the care with which the musters-rolls of the Italian contingents were reviewed, show how real the danger was then thought to be, though the great victory at Telamon soon put an end to it. As to form of the sentence cf. n. 26. 1, tumultus fuit verius quam bellum.

§ 5. trium et vig. includes the whole period between the two Punic wars, 241—218 b.c., though the conquest of Spain was not begun so early.

§ 6. bellum in Italia. Pol. iii. 15 states that the Romans did not expect to wage war in Italy but in Spain, and
there is no reason to suppose that the plans of Hannibal could have been foreseen.

c. xvi. § 1. The term *provincia* is strictly used only in connection with the *imperium* of a Roman magistrate, that is with military and judicial functions. For this reason, as for others, we must reject the derivation from *provindencia* which is often given for it, together with that from *proventus* of Niebuhr, and accept the old derivation from *provincere* ("to be the mightiest") of Festus, though his words *vinciam dicesdant continentem,... provincia quaod eae pop. Rom. provicit* seem wrongly to restrict the use of the term to land beyond the seas, and to point to the conquest rather than the rule. The Annalists employed it early for the limits of each consul's sphere of military action. Thus Livy ii. 40. 14, *Aquilio Hernici provincia event*; for some such division of functions must have been needful from the first, though not constitutionally binding. As the senate's influence increased, it claimed more right to define the work of the executive from year to year, or *nominae provincias*, or in less appropriate terms *decernere* (c. 6. 6); but the several departments were decided by lot (*sortiri*) or by agreement (*comparare inter se provincias,... extra sortem concedente collega*).

The principle of division was extended to the praetorship when two forms of jurisdiction were distinguished, and with the conquest of Sicily a precedent was set for the new system of departments locally distinct from the executive centralized at Rome. Each of these provinces in the latter sense was ruled by a governor invested with an *imperium* which covered military and judicial functions.

§ 2. *socium, quantum i. v.* Such discretionary power was not commonly vested in the consuls, unless by special commission as in this case. The policy of Rome was to throw more and more of the military burdens upon the allies, who had been gradually brought closer to R., and severed from each other by distinct ties of relationship to the central city.

Note the contracted form of the gen. plur. which is frequently used in this word as in *deum, modium, jugerum, denarium*. Cf. Cic. Orat. 157, *alias ita loquor ut concessum est, ut hoc vel 'pro deum' dico vel 'pro deorum', alias ut necesse est, cum 'trium virum' non viorum, cum 'sestertium nummum' non nummorum, quod in his consuetudo varia non est.*

*ipsas, i.e. consulibus.*

§ 3. *scripta*, enrolled. The verbal copula is omitted throughout the chapter.

*celouces = κελάγης or light galleys, commonly feminine. A large fleet was ready in consequence of recent operations in Illyria.*
NOTES. XXI. c. xvii. §§ 3—9. 175

deducti. The fuller form is given xii. 9. 1, naves si deducere ex navalis vellet. Gr. καθίκευ.

§ 4. Latum. 'The question was brought before the commons (i.e. the Com. Centuriata to which all questions of war were constitutionally referred) whether it was their will and pleasure.' populus is used of the general assembly of the whole people, as distinct from the plebs; the asyndeton is especially common in technical phrases like these terms for the resolution on which the vote was taken.

supplicatio. V. Excursus on Roman religion.

bellum is here inserted in the relative sentence, though the subject of the principal clause. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 4. 2, alii quorum comedia prisca virorum est.

§ 5. quaterna militia. Polyb. ii. 24 gives the full strength of the legion as 5200 foot with 300 horse attached.

naves longæ = μαξρδ πλοῖα of Polyb. These were triremes or quinqueremes, or rostratae as distinct from the onerariae which carried only the supplies.

P. 18, § 6. Sempronius...ita...st. Polyb. iii. 41 speaks of the preparations of S. in Sicily, and of his confidence of taking Carthage as it were by a coup de main.

transmissurus. The future participle implies the commission given conditionally. Livy uses this participle with more shades of meaning than earlier writers, not merely to imply a future act, a determination or destiny, but hypothetical statements such as vi. 38. 10, haud sine pudore fractum priore anno in se imperium repetiturum. Cf. Nägelsbach, Stil. 314.

§ 7. et ipse. This combination is very rare in Cicero, who used et for etiam sparingly.

§ 8. cum suo justo, 'with their proper complement of,' i.e. 300 in each, yet suo seems enough by itself, as Cic. Ver. v. 51, Si suum numerum naves haberent. Usener suggests that justo may have slipped in from the beginning of the next chapter.

§ 9. Duas legiones. This sentence explains the haud invalido presidio of § 7, W. Polyb. iii. 40 implies that only one legion was sent.

eodem versa. The reading, if genuine, is harsh; versa must be taken to agree with militia or be understood absolutely of all the forces specified.

eodem is further explained by in Pun. bellum, i.e. the province had forces sent with the same object (or in the same
direction) to meet the coming war with Carthage. But as a matter of fact they were sent mainly to keep the Gauls in check. The old reading is *eodem anno*, which has little MS. authority. It would seem as if some word had dropped out, like *missa*, after *eodem*, and that Livy meant that the forces sent to keep watch over the Gauls were diverted to the war with Hannibal (*verea habuit*).

*c. xviii. § 1. omnia insta. So ix. 8. 5, nec prius ingredi hostium fines quam omnia justa...perfecta erunt.* It was characteristic of the Romans to observe scrupulously the diplomatic forms preceding war, and it was the special duty of the *fetiales* to watch over them that it might be a *pium justumque bellum*. On the use of the term *justus* cf. i. 4. 4 ad justi cursum annmis; xxiv. 14. 4 *justus miles* as opposed to volunteers, *justa arma* of the legionaries compared with those of the skirmishers.

*mittunt ad perc....ut ind.* Note the change of constr. from *ad* to *ut*. On derivation of *percantor*, see note on 5. 2; it is sometimes spelt *percuncor* from a mistaken analogy. Corssen, i. 36.

§ 2. *publico consilio, 'with the sanction of the state,' cf. 9. 6 publica fraus.*

§ 4. *Preceps... 'The language of your earlier embassy was peremptory enough... but your present ultimatum &c.'* *adhuc 'so far' (at least) Polybius had mentioned an earlier embassy to Carthage, but had said nothing of so improbable a demand as the surrender of H. before the siege of S.*

P. 19, § 6. *censeam. The use of the subj. in courtesy, or irony as here, is more common in Greek (opt. with ἀν) than Latin; cf. use of crediderim, ausim.*

§ 7. *una discept. 'With you there is one question only for debate.'*

§ 8. *quoniam...placet....nobis...est.* In the apodosis there is an ellipse of 'we say,' 'answer,' as frequently in Livy.

C. *Lutatio.* The consul who drew up the terms of peace at the end of the 1st Punic war.

*quum caveretur. 'Though the interests of allies on both sides were stipulated for.'*

§ 9. *At enim. Only used in the speeches as a reply to a supposed objection 'but that matters not, you will say, for,' so sed enim, verum enim, immo enim, and sometimes without another particle as quid enim, id enim.*

§ 10. *atit, the old preterite of ictum, of very rare use. The MSS. read tecit, possibly as W. suggests, for fecit. The form*
NOTES. XXI. c. XVIII. § 10—c. XIX. § 3. 177

fædus iictum or ferire is to be explained perhaps from the ancient custom of slaughtering an animal (porcus) as an impressive symbol.

auctoritate patrum. This phrase is here used in its most general sense as the sanction of the senate, as the great governing power in the state. But it has also more specific senses. (1) In early times possibly the patrician members of the senate had the right of veto on any popular vote of the comitia; their sanction or patrum auctoritas was expressed by the formula patres auctores fiunt. Their action was gradually confined to questions of procedure and ceremonial usage, and by the Publician law 338 B.C., their assent was required before the result of the voting was known, i. 17. 9, in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores fiunt, vii. 12. 16, ante initium suffragium. (2) The action of the senate was subject to the veto of the tribunes, but in such case of interference, the resolution came to, though it could not technically rank as a senatus consultum, was protocolled, and quoted as a patrum auctoritas, as the old sense of the term patres became fainter. Cf. Mommsen, Römische Forschungen, 233—249.


§ 13. sinu facto. This kind of symbolic act was of frequent occurrence in the ceremonial usage of Roman law and diplomacy, as in the contracts of marriage and sale. Compare its use also by the Hebrew Prophets. Sinus, a fold in the dress which might serve as a pocket.

§ 14. iterum 'in reply,' not qualifying sinu effuso, but the whole sentence.

c. xix. § 1. ante...Sagunto. We should naturally expect post Saguntum excissam to balance the ante. The feminine participle seems used per synesim of urbem understood with Saguntum as Mela ii. 6. 92 S. fide incitam and an Inscr. C. I. L. ii. 3836, ob restitutam Saguntum. The feminine form Saguntus is only known in later writers Juv. xv. 114, Florus i. 22. Disciputare varies the form of the phrase for discipatio, which would correspond to percontatio.

§ 2. Nam si. There is here an ellipse 'though the Romans had arguments to urge, for &c.' Fabri.

P. 20. quid. 'To what purpose,' 'in what respect.'

§ 3. diserte additum. 'It had been expressly provided that it was to be binding only subject to the approval of the commons.' Polyb. iii. 29 inserts a full account of the various treaties between Rome and Carthage, as copied by him from

C. L. 12
old documents at Rome, the very language of which had become obsolete, and as such they were probably distasteful to Livy, who had little love for monumental evidence, and seldom consults it. For diserte Cicero uses dilucide, aperte, plane, definite, nominativum, v. Nägelsbach, p. 285.

ita...si, as 17. 6 and 19. 4 ‘on condition that.’

censuisset, a word not commonly used of the commons. Fabri quotes xxxi. 7. 14, quae patres censuerunt vos jubete.

tot annorum... i.e. 8 or 9 years.

§ 5. receptos in fidem, i.e. where the honour of the state was pledged to them. It may be convenient to quote from Nägelsbach p. 165 the analysis of the different shades of meaning of fides. It seems to pass through an active, neuter, and passive sense, both as (1) a state of mind, and (2) a quality of things.

(1) a. ‘trust’ cf. ea peritis amnis vix fidem fecerint, xxi. 47. 5.
b. ‘trustworthiness.’ dubia fidei videbatur, i. 54. 5.
c. ‘credit.’ fides nuniantibus fuit, iii. 48. 6.

(2) a. ‘guarantee.’ vestra causa me...loqui vel ea fides sit, xxx. 13. 3.
b. ‘certainty.’ plus fama habiturum quam fidei, ii. 10. 11.
g. ‘pledged troth.’ receptos in fide.

tantum ne. An elliptical expression, in which we may supply aequum censaret from above, or ‘on the understanding that.’ Fabri quotes Ovid Rem. 714 nec solum faciem, mores quoque confer et artes, tantum judicio ne tuus obsit amor. Cf. 52. 4 modo ne quid moverent.

§ 6. ut adirent et... The MSS. have ut repeated, in which case the second ut would explain the object of the visit (adirent), but it is awkward in form, and Madvig's correction is probably right.

§ 7. Bargusii. Perh. to be identified with the Bergistani of xxxiv. 21. 6.

qua teadebat. This cannot refer to the Bargusii, as they lived too far north to be subject to Carthage. The clause must refer to the trans Hiberum pop. W.

§ 8. Volctani. The exact position of this people is unknown.

§ 9. Quae verecundia. ‘What a modest request this is.’ postulare is in appos. with verecundia like xxi. 14. 14 stultitia est sedendo aut votis debelliari credere posse. All the MSS. have Saguntini after fecerunt instead of Saguntinos which some
NOTES. XXI. c. xix. § 9—c. xx. § 6. 179

editors prefer. In 17, 4 bellum the subject of the chief clause is inserted in the relative sentence, but it is much bolder to turn the object of the verb into a nominative attracted to the relative. Madvig regards the word as a gloss which has slipped into the text from the margin.

§ 10. documentum, 'warning.' Cf. v. 51. 7, tantum pana- rum dedimus ut terrarum orbi documento essemus, and Præf. 7, omnis exempli documenta.

P. 21, c. xx. § 1. gentis. The early commentators noticed that some tribal name had probably dropped out, as venerunt implies a definite subject, and in ceteris conciliis, of § 7, implies a definite locality. Dion Cassius says Ναποβορνοὺς 'P. ἐκδόντες. Gronovius suggested Ruscinone for in his, Hausinger proposed Arverni before armati. For the usage, cf. Caesar, Bell. Gall. v. 54, Armatum concilium indicit. Hoc more Gallorum est initium bellí, quo leges communi omnes puderes armati convenire coguntur.

§ 2. Pomo b. inf. Here, as elsewhere, Livy implies that the Romans were fully aware of Hannibal's intended march, yet their own inadequate preparations show that they had not realized the danger.

§ 3. cum fremitu. 'Noisy.' It is put instead of another adjective after tantus.

§ 4. stolidus. 'Absurd,' another form of stultus, from which it was commonly distinguished in sense as 'rude,' 'boorish,' e.g. stolidum genus Æacidarum | Bellipotentissim que max igitur sapientipotentissim, and also suis stolidis in Ennius. Corssen derives from star, cf. στρεπτός, steriles, stare, still, ii. 156.

censere. This is an awkward pleonasm if it is explanatory of postulatio 'request which proposed that' &c., like the Greek δύον. It might be taken, though less probably, with ipsos 'that the Gauls should vote' &c.

avertere is most common, though the reading of the MSS. is advertere, which W. adopts.

§ 6. agro pelli. Refers to the R. colonies in Cisalpine Gaul which roused such resentment at Cremona and Placentia.

stipendium. Here the ordinary taxes or tribute, not as i. 5.

cetera ind. 'The other indignities' practised by a dominant race.
§ 7. Massilia. Rome had long since formed alliance with this colony of the Phœcians, whose rising power had of old excited the jealousy of her neighbours on the mainland, and of her Phœnician rivals in the trade of those waters. Her alliance with Rome brought advantage to both sides, and was long honourably maintained.

§ 8. inquisita cum cura ac fide is the subject and cognita the predicate of the sentence; the relative is omitted with the former, as often by Livy.

prœoccupatos iam ante. This pleonasm is in Livy’s style. Cf. xiii. 47. 2, ut omnia opportuna loca prœoccupari ante ab eo potuerint, xxxvi. 17. 12, satis undique provisum, antequæ prœcautum est. So xxi. 32. 7, prius præcipere, x. 41. 5, ex ante preparato.

cutus...est must be taken parenthetically as a remark of the writer. Otherwise it should be in the subj., as part of an orat, oblig.

§ 9. haud ita. Fabri observes that Livy prefers this to the non ita, used exclusively by Cicero.

P. 22. transmississe. The verb is often used absolutely of the crossing of the sea, and here of a river. Cf. 17. 6, 51. 4.

c. xxi. § 1. seque non ducem. This sentence is made to follow auditis, as the news from Carthage included the demand for his surrender, hence causam belli. Cf. i. 13. 1, nos causa belli.

§ 3. socii, the term applied in Roman usage to the Italian races, is here employed of the conquered dependents of Carthage.

pacatis. ‘Reduced to submission,’ in the sense in which pax Romana was spoken of.

§ 8. ad edictum, i.e. diem or locum. Cf. diem edicere ad conventiendum.

§ 9. gentium. The Spanish tribes.

Hercul. Gades was an early colony of the Phœcians, which had fallen into the hands of Carthage after the capture of Tyre. Here was a famous shrine of the Hercules, or Malearth, whose fabled wanderings reflected the enterprising spirit of the Phœnician traders. Like the Hague=’sGravenhage, the name meant ‘a fence.’ Cf. Avien. O. M. 267, Punicorum lingua conseptum locum Gaddir vocabat.

§ 10. partiens curas. Cf. xxii. 7. 10, tot in curas dispersiti eorum animi erant.

P. 23, § 11. ab Sicilia. ‘From the side of Sicily.’ See the instructions of Sempronius, 17. 6. On the form of the
NOTES. XXI. c. xxi. § 11—c. xxii. § 2. 181

phrase cf. xxvii. 6, 9, oppidum ab terra munitum, viii. 17, 7, escensionem a Paeo facientem.

mutuis pignoribus. This has been ever the military policy of empires doubtful of the loyalty of their various nationalities. Pignus connected with panger, pacit, pacisci, pax.

stipendia facere for mereri. Stipendia passed from the sense of ‘pay’ to that of ‘service,’ somewhat as ‘campaign’ was transferred from the ‘open field’ to ‘service in the field.’

§ 12. castrato. Nearly equivalent to the πέλταστα of Greek writers. The castra was a leathern buckler used by the Spaniards. Verg. Æn. xii. 732, lavas castra tegit.

funditores. The Roman funda was probably borrowed from Greece with the name itself (σφενδόν), thus against these Balearic slingers they used Sicilian xxii. 57, 3, and afterwards Achaean xxvii. 29, 4. They seem to have been most useful in sieges, and the glandes which they hurled are now found on the scenes of memorable sieges. They are leaden globes pointed, and sometimes inscribed with contemptuous words. C. I. L. i. p. 188.

Balearis. Polyb. iii. 33 says the islands and the inhabitants received their name from their skill as slingers. Diod. v. 17, Βαλλιαρεις ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλεω ταῖς σφενδόνας λῆθος μεγάλους. But the name is more likely to be Phoenician than Greek.

§ 13. conquistoribus. ‘Recruiting officers.’ Cf. 11, 13, xxv. 22, 4, conquistio volonum.

civitates. These were very numerous near Carthage, 300 being mentioned in Zeugitana alone. But Polybius, while agreeing with the numerical data in the text, refers these civitates to τῶν Μεταγωγίων καλομένων. He gives his authority for these muster-rolls in a bronze tablet which he had seen in the temple at Laclinic, near Croton, set up there by order of H. himself, on a promontory which is still called Capo delle Colonne, from the remains of the great temple. Livy’s account is probably taken from an annalist, not from a monument, which he would certainly not have gone far to inspect.

eosdēm, taken with millia by constr. ad synesin, as xxvii. 16, 4, millia triginta servitium captum dicuntur capitī.

c. xxii. § 1. atque id eo. Döring’s correction for atque idem from the adque haud idem of all MSS. Cf. Cas. B. G. v. 1, 2, atque id eo magis.

§ 2. viro impuro. Diodorus speaks of Hasdrubal as, without dispute, the best general of his time, after Hannibal.
Notes. XXI. c. XXII. §§ 2—5.

Liguribus. They had been several centuries before enlisted in the armies of Carthage, Herod. i. 165, and joined H. in force on his arrival in Cisalpine Gaul. The Roman writers speak of them as hardy peasants assueti malo, cf. Vergil Æn. xi. 700, and they held out stoutly long after the rest of Italy had been subdued.

Quingentis, like the quinquaginta in the next section, is supplied from the parallel account of Polybius.

§ 5. Libyphoenices. The Phœnician settlers who had many centuries before settled in the interior of Africa, were supposed to have come through Sidon, and to be agricultural tribes dispossessed perhaps by Joshua from Palestine. As such they betook themselves not to trade but husbandry in their new homes, and by their mixture with the natives gave rise to a new race, whose name implies this fusion, like the Celtiberi, or the mixed race in the South of Spain, where the Carthaginians continued the system of colonies near the coast. Diod. xx. 55.

Ad mille octingenti. Ad has come to be used adverbially =fere, without affecting the case of the numeral, as rv. 59. 9, quorum ad duo millia et quingenti vivi captiuntur, or vili. 18. 6, ad viginti matronis accitit.

Hergetum ex Hisp. This seemed suspicious to Schweighæuser, who noted (ap. Polyb. iii. 83) that they are the only force here ascribed to Spain, which must have furnished a larger contingent, and that there is no such addition as ex Hispania in the corresponding passage of Polyb., where the MSS. have Λεγευτω. He believed therefore that in both texts the name of some unknown African tribe must have been changed by mistake for that of a known Spanish one.

§ 4. qua parte belli. A phrase used by Livy (cf. 17. 8) for qua parte copiarum of 41. 4 and 53. 1. Contrast the petty naval forces here specified with the immense fleets which fought in the 1st war. There is an ellipse of tantum before triginta, somewhat as in ita producto, 5. 9.

Aptae remigio. Cf. calum stellis aptum, Verg. Æn. rv. 482.

P. 24, § 5. Onusam. A very uncertain reading taken from xxii. 20. 4. The MSS. have omissa. Gronovius proposed to read Etovissa, which Ptolemy ii. 6 mentions as an inland city of the Edetani.

Maritima ora. The MSS. commonly have the acc. Heerwagen compares the use of the abl. in xxii. 18. 6, Fabius... agmen...jugis ducebat.
NOTES. XXI. c. xxii. § 6—c. xxiii. 2. 183

§ 6. ducem in It. Polyb. iii. 47 protests at the folly of the writers who introduce such marvellous incidents into the story of the war. Some spoke of a God, or Hero, actually guiding H. through the mountains. The account of the vision in the text is probably derived from Cælius Antipater. Cf. the like account in Cic. de divin. i. 24. 49. For ominous dreams, cf. Tac. Ann. i. 65, ii. 14.

proinde seq. Cf. 30. 11. Proinde is almost always used by Livy, either with the imperative in oratio dir., or the corresponding subj. in orat. obl. Yet in iii. 57. 4 it is used with an infinitive, proinde...se judicem illi ferre.

§ 7. cura ingenii h. 'From the curiosity natural to man.' Fabri compares xiii. 39. 1, inerat cura insita mortalibus videndii congradientes regem et legatos.

§ 8. serpem. The serpent plays a great part in the marvellous machinery of ancient poetry, as well as in the old religions of the world.

cum fragore. Equivalent to an adjective, 'thunderstorm.'

§ 9. pergeret porro ire. Cf. i. 37. 6, pergit porro (exercitum) in agrum Sabinum inducere.

c. xxiii. § 1. præmissa. These precautions were taken, according to Polybius, before Hannibal's plans were formed, and he was probably determined in his route by the envoys from Gaul.

transitus. Used by Livy both for the passes or roads (cf. xxxviii. 2. 10, transitus inedere) and for the passage over them, xxxvii. 7. 13, via ubi transitus difficiles. Fabri.

nonaginta. Polyb. agrees with this estimate, and makes him leave 11,000 with Hanno, and dismiss as many more. His losses on the way further reduced his numbers to 59,000 when he crossed the Rhone, and to 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse after the passage over the Alps.

§ 2. Mergetes. Livy had spoken of them in the last chapter, as if already subject to Carthage. Pliny mentions them as on the coast about Subur, and the river Rubricatus, the present Llobregat. Their town (Atanagrum, 61. 6) was probably destroyed and disappeared.

Ausetant. Whose town Ausa mentioned by Ptolemy sunk to a mere vicus, and so became Vich de Osona in Upper Catalonia.
Lacetania. The MSS. have Aquitania, but as this lay north of the Pyrenees, Sigenius corrected it to Lacetania, the seat of a devia et silvestris gens, mentioned in xxviii. 24. 4, and in 3 places of xxxiv. 20, as also in Pliny iii. 22 and Sallust Hist. p. 5. Strabo speaking seemingly of the same tribe as γρωμωτατων, iii. 4. 10, on the slope of the Pyrenees towards Osca and Ilerda, calls them Τακταγαλ, as also does Ptolemy, p. 6. 72. Mommsen suggests that the name began with a consonant which was between I and L, something like the Spanish ll=lj, and that the Romans took one part and the Greeks another of the composite sound. We should probably distinguish from this tribe the one referred to in 60. 3. Cf. Hübner in Hermes i. 337.

orae. The strip of coast through which the roads must run.

§ 4. inexsuperabil Alp. As if the Spaniards were likely to know much of the Alps, or of Hannibal’s plans. Throughout Livy assumes that all was patent beforehand.

P. 25, § 5. revocare ant... ‘It would be hazardous to summon them to return, as he might have to use force to detain them.’ On this use of aut cf. xxii. 39. 8.

§ 6. remissit. In sending so many home H. showed his reliance on moral forces as distinct from numbers, like Gideon at the well of Harod.

et ipsos. Altered by Madvig and others from the et ips of all MSS. Fabri however defends the MSS. reading by a number of passages from Livy in which et ips is used to mark a contrast not expressed but implied, as here it might refer to the Carpetani, whose impatience H. had not noticed.

c. xxiv. § 1. Iliberri. The modern Elne, so called from Helena, the mother of Constantine. It is here indeclinable, though the form Iliberri is used below, as if from Iliberrius, and other Spanish towns have like ending, as Iliturgis, Cissis, Bacasis. Strabo speaks of river and town both ‘Διβςας. There was also a town of the same name in the South of Spain, near the site of Granada, whence probably the Sierra d’Elvira.

§ 2. Ruscinonem. La tour de Roussillon.

§ 3. mist, colloqui. The oratio obl. often follows directly on mittere oratores, literas, &c. Cf. viii. 19. 10, literis Romam missis, in officio Fundanos esse. Fabri.
NOTES. XXI. c. xxiv. § 3—c. xxv. § 2. 185

[et]. 'And therefore he proposed,' W. Madvig regards it as out of place, as the orat. dir. would run colloqui vobiscum volo; vel vos proprius accedite, vel...

§ 4. hospitem...non hostem. Livy much affects the paronomasia, v. 58. 10, hostis pro hospite, vi. 26. 1, hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter.

§ 5. hac. For omission of verb cf. 42. 1, hac apud Romanos consul.

gravanter. Livy more often uses gravate, also gravatim.

cum bona pace. 'Quite unmolested.' In 32. 6 the phrase is coupled with a gen. Gallorum.

c. xxv. § 1. In Italiam. These words if taken with transmiserunt may seem too remote an object for the safe-conduct of the Gallic chieftains. They should probably be taken with perlatum erat, and are further defined by the repetition of Romam.

§ 2. quum...defecerunt. Quum is used with the historical perfect to imply simultaneous occurrence. Livy even employs the historical infinitive, though rarely, in this sense with quum.

perinde ac st. Polyb. iii. 34 explains that the Cisalpine Gaurs had already sent to Hannibal, and encouraged him to cross the Alps by promises to guide him thither, and rise against Rome. The late war had left ranking memories behind it.

The Boii are represented by Livy v. 35 as making their way across the Alps with the Lingones, and finding the North already occupied with Gallic settlers. They crossed the Po therefore, and spread south of the Æmilian way under the Apennines, towards the Hadriatic. So restless were they to the last that the Romans found it needful to remove them to the borders of Pannonia, where they perished utterly in wars with the neighbouring Dace. Strabo v. 1. 6.

The Insures were the most numerous and powerful tribe of the Cisalpine Gaurs, Polyb. ii. 17. They were formed of a number of distinct tribes, described by Livy v. 34 as crossing the Alps in early times, and founding Mediolanum (Milan), after the name of a city of the Ædui in Gaul.

P. 26. colonias. These illustrate the Roman system of colonization which did so much to consolidate their empire, and which marked from time to time each successive wave of conquest. They were of two classes, the Roman strictly so
called, consisting entirely of citizens, and planted especially upon the coast, or on the great roads, to bar the way of an invader; and the Latin, in which the peoples of Latium, and of other allied races, were invited to take part, which were settled on ground lately won, and served as garrisons on a disputed frontier. These were therefore doubly useful, as holding in check dangerous enemies, and as pledges for the fidelity of old allies, who could look only to Rome for help in their distant homes.

§ 8. triumviri. Commissioners were commonly appointed to direct the work of the agrimensores, which was carried out with scrupulous nicety on traditional principles, and to assign the allotments, the size of which was determined by the senate or commons. Polyb. iii. 40 says that there were 6000 colonists in each, and that they were directed to be on the spot within 30 days. Note the anomaly of the form triumviri, duumviri, which grew probably out of the use of the singular triumvir, as one of a board of three.

Mutina was itself a Roman colony, Polyb. iii. 40, though Livy states that it was colonized with Parma in 184 B.C. (L. xxxix. 55). That the Romans chose well the sites of their colonies is illustrated by the importance of the towns of Modena, Piacenza and Cremona.

§ 5. Id quoque dubium. As the walls were already built, there seems reason to doubt whether the commission was not sent for some other purpose than to assign the allotments.

§ 6. ad artes rudis. Cf. xxxi. 2. 4, mollis ad talia gens, i. 9. 6, ad mutiebre ingenium efficaces preces, Cic. Fam. 10. 17. 2, ad omnia pericula princeps, and other cases where the gerundive, such as subeunda in the last example, is constantly omitted. Cf. Nägelsbach, p. 339.

pigerrima... The Latin writers usually describe the Gauls as formidable in the first onset, but as incapable of sustained effort. Cf. x. 27. 3, G. primo impetu ferox esse. Gallorum corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus fluere.

§ 7. obsides. These hostages had been given at the close of the late war with the Gauls.

§ 8. esse. The singular verb used for the compound subject Mutina praesidiumque

ad Mutinam, ad = to the neighbourhood of, cf. above § 3 Mutinam conflugerint, i.e. inside of.

L. Manilius. Cf. 17. 7.
effusum. 'In loose order;' opposed to quadratum of 5. 16. Cf. 46. 9, effuse cedendo.
NOTES. XXI. c. xxv. § 9—c. xxvi. § 5. 187

§ 9. inexplorato. This absolute use of neut. participle is common in Livy, as edicto x. 36. 7, sublato xxii. 20. 6, explorato xxiii. 42. 9, comperto, cognito, audito, palam facto, &c.

præcipitatus. Some read the pres. pass. instead of the neut. which is most usual as Cic. p. P. Sulla, præcipitante republina, and Verg. En. ii. 8, nox humida calo præcipitatus. The MSS. have præcipitatus, omitting the est.

everit. For the use of this verb to express the passage from darkness to light, or difficulty to safety, Heerwagen quotes ix. 10. 1, emersisse civitatem ex obnoxia pace, xxv. 38. 10, ex omni sævitia fortunae emersuram.

P. 27, § 13. Gallis territandi et p. R. Note the chiasmus which is so common in Livy.

Tannetum. Somewhat loosely described as propinquum Pado. It was a few miles from Parma, on a little tributary of the Po.

contendere. Probably the perfect, though its form in ere made it liable to confusion with the hist. inf.

§ 14. Brixia (Brescia) was the capital of the Cenomani (Livy xxxii. 30), which was the only Gallie tribe which sided with Rome in this war. Cf. 55. 4.

c. xxvi. § 1. tumultus. Cf. tumultuatum, 16. 4.

§ 2. una leg. The scanty forces scarcely bear out Livy's account of the alarm at Rome, and the delay of Scipio in marching to meet Hannibal shows how little the Romans realised their danger, and with what neglect they moved in the early stages of the war.

§ 3. Salyum. These occupied the coast between Antipolis and Massilia, and were a Ligurian tribe, Strabo iv. 1.

pervenit. More definitely ἡκε πεμπταῖος, on 5th day, Polybios iii. 41.

§ 4. ad proximum. τῷ Μασσαλιωτικῷ, Polyb. iii. 41.

pluribus. Strabo iv. 1. 8 counts five months as given by Timæus, two by Polybius, seven by others.

§ 5. necum satis, i.e. as his soldiers had hardly yet recovered from the sea-sickness caused by the tossing on the sea. There seems to have been much neglect on Scipio's part, for his first care should have been to prevent the passage
of the Rhone, and bar the road to Italy, or by hanging on his
rear to cripple H. before he arrived upon the scene of his
intended operations.

auxiliaribus G. These served as mercenaries with the
Massilians. Polyb.

§ 6. Volcarum. Strabo (iv. 1. 12) distinguishes the Volcae
Tectosages, whose centre was Tolosa (Toulouse), from the V.
Arecomici, round Nemausus (Nismes). The route of H. is
here left indefinite, but probably he made for Nemausus,
from Ruscino. Polyb. iii. 42 marks the point of the crossing
the Rhone as four days’ march from the mouth, where the
channel was not broken by islands. This was probably Roque-
maure.

P. 28, § 7. eorum ipsorum. The gen. governed by quos,
i.e. such even of the same tribe, as had not been able to tear
themselves from home. Cf. iv. 38. 7, Fidenatum qui supersunt
ad urbem Fidenas tendunt.

sedes suas. Used like the ὁκεσ φῠῳς of the G. This is
more characteristic than to assume an inversion of constr. for
qui sedes suas. For the use of tenere Heerwagen compares
v. 54. 1, adeo nihil tenet solum patria.

§ 8. lintriumque. More definitely put in Polybius, who
refers to the carrying trade from the ports on the lower Rhone,
in which these tribes took an active part. Corssen connects
linter with ἀλυρή, like lanx with ἀλης, latus with ἀλες,
later with ἀλιθος.

§ 9. nihil dummodo. For this equivalent for nihil nisi ut
Fabri compares i. 84. 6, oblita ingenitae erga patriam caritatis,
dummodo virum honoratum videret.

c. xxvii. § 1. Iamque. Polyb. says ‘in two days.’

virī. Foot-soldiers. Usually opposed to equi, not equites,
but Silius It. ix. 569 has magna voce trahens equitemque vi-
rosque.


vigilia prima. The first three hours of the night, which
was divided into four such watches.

§ 4. Ad id. ‘The Gallic guides provided for the purpose
informed him that about five and twenty miles higher up, the
NOTES. XXI. c. xxvii. § 4—c. xxviii. § 2. 189

river, as it flowed round a little island, offered a crossing-place which was broader where the stream parted, and for that reason shallower.'

ostendere is used somewhat boldly with amnem as subject, but the reasons specified serve to justify the tense.

§ 5. Hispani. This detail is peculiar to Livy, who in other respects agrees closely with Polybius iii. 42.


cæstris incubantes. 'On their bucklers.' Here as often the Latin participle takes the place of the English preposition, as manu tenens perductit, phalangis subjectis admovent, which Nägelsbach compares with it, p. 329.

§ 6. alius, for reliquus. Cf. i. 12. 10, alia Romana acies audacia regis accensa fundit Sabinos.

P. 29, § 7. temporì deesset. So occasioni, fortunae, libertati, legì deesse, in the sense of 'neglect,' or 'fail in duty.'

§ 8. iam. In Polyb. more definitely 'on the 5th night.'

naves. Madvig's suggestion for the nantes of all MSS. which was hard to translate; they answer to the λέυθοι, while lintres corresponds to the μονήθυλα of Polyb. whose description is here clear and definite; the fere implies that all the naves were not appropriated to their use.

Navium agmen. 'A line of vessels crossed higher up the stream to break the force of the current, and secured still water for the punts which crossed below.'

transmittens is used intrans. as 20. 9.

§ 9. pars magna nantes. The close connexion of singular and plural for the same subject is an awkward constr. ad synesim, though not unfrequent in Livy. Cf. rv. 33. 7, Veintium maxima pars Tiberim effusi petunt.

c. xxviii. § 2. nautarum militumque. The copula here is often omitted in the MSS., and some editors think that the hurry of the scene is reflected in the phrase.

et qui...et qui. Referring to the two sets naut. mil.
§ 3. adverso...repeats the ex adverso of § 2, which is here balanced by ab tero.

§ 4. utroque vim facere. ‘To offer battle on both sides.’

§ 5. variat. Madvig’s correction of variata of MSS., as precipitat for precipitatus, 25. 9. Cf. fama variat, xxvii. 27. 13. ‘Some say that the elephants were crowded together on the bank, and that the most spirited of them being provoked by its driver, followed him as he retreated into the water (and at last took to swimming) and drew the whole herd after it, and that as each grew frightened at the depth and lost its foothold, the force of the current swept it to the opposite bank.’ The construction and the thought seem equally confused, there is no MSS. authority for the inde inserted before nantem by W., yet without it nantem is very harsh, and is therefore considered as a gloss by Madvig and Rupertus, the abl. also seems out of place for the clause which states the final result. Why the current should carry them across and not down the stream is unexplained.


§ 6. ad fidem prornius, ‘more credible.’

§ 7. secunda aqua, ‘down the stream.’

§ 8. The reading of the MSS. ut cum before ‘elephanti’ is hopeless: Madvig regards it as a corruption which grew out of est tum. Others less probably read et for ut and expunge ubi, Usener suggests tuto jam. ‘The elephants were driven, females in front, along the stationary raft as if it were a highway, and when they crossed into the smaller raft which was moored to it, the hawser with which this was temporarily fastened were suddenly untied, and it was towed to the opposite bank by a number of light craft.’ A like expedient is said to have been tried at Messana in the 1st Punic war.

§ 9. actuaritis so called from their speed—thus the ‘Actuary’ was the quick writer.

§ 10. donec...agerentur. This use of the subjunctive for a simple fact occurs chiefly in later writers as Tac. Hist. rv. 95, pugnatum...donec praelium nos dirimeret. But it may possibly be here explained as giving the reason of the nihil trepidabant.

ocerà, ‘all its surroundings.’ Polyb. says that there were several such rafts, but Livy probably does not imply this.
NOTES. XXI. c. xxviii. § 10—c. xxix. § 6. 191

in altum, often used for the sea, but seldom of a river.

§ 12. detectis rect. Polyb. iii. 46 says that the Indian drivers of these were drowned. He gives a lively picture of them making their way across, each with its proboscis raised aloft above the surface of the water: the rest of his narrative agrees with that of Livy, but he is clearer in the details, and he reserves the passage of the elephants till H. continues his march.

c. xxix. § 1. tractiduntur ... miserat. The sequence of tenses is harsh. Fabri compares ix. 32. 1, dum hoc geruntur in Samnio, jam omnes Etruriae populi ad arma ierant.

P. 31, § 2. atrocus quam pro numero. A form often used by Livy, cf. 59. 9, major quam pro numero jactura, xxxvi. 10. 12, latius quam pro copiis, where pro has the meaning of ‘in proportion to.’

§ 3. amplius ducenti. The omission of quam between amplius, minus, plus and the numeral in the nominative is a common feature of Livy’s style.

§ 4. anc. cert. vinct. is a bold construction formed on the analogy of magni certaminis res erat which Livy uses.

§ 5. suus is not unfrequently used with reference to a casus obliquus, cf. 48. 17, cui...sua decora, 44. 8, quos sua terra suus ager acceperat.

nec Scipioni. ‘S could not’ decide on any plan, save that of,’ &c. ‘and H. was,’ &c. Cf. 80. 1, Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit. Polyb. makes him start at once in pursuit of H. after his cavalry return from reconnoitring the camp of H.

§ 6. cum eo qui... exercitus. Note the attraction of subject to the relative clause as Hor. Sat. i. 4. 2, alii quorum Comedia prisca virorum.

avertit... In Polyb. there is a graphic picture of the appearance of the Gauls at the camp of H., but their arguments seem addressed rather to the soldiers than their general, whose mind was long made up to push on with all speed for Italy, especially as the season was advanced. He sends his cavalry down the river to hold the Romans in check while his elephants crossed, and the infantry pushed on. Great as might be the risk of the passage through the Alps, and Hannibal could scarcely have foreseen it all, yet Cisalpine Gaul was the only side from which Italy was vulnerable, now that Rome was mistress of the sea. There was a population akin in race to
the Spanish Celts in his own army, and bitterly opposed to Rome who was fastening on them the grip of her frontier garrisons.

reguli. Magali. Polyb. iii. 44 speaks of τοῦς βασιλείους τοῦ περί Μαγγιλων; a and i are often interchanged in foreign names like Masinissa, Mithridates, Massilia.

integro bello aggr. 'To open the war with the attack on I.' The words n. a. libatis, &c., further explain integro b. with which cf. res integra, ii. 5. 1, specie integra, iv. 24. 2, and fontibus integris, Hor. Od. i. 26. 6.

§ 7. iter Alpesque. Hendiadys for 'march across the Alps,' to which rem refers. Cf. i. 11. 1, per occasionem ac solitudinem.

utique is frequently used by Livy. The -que gives indefiniteness to the meaning of uti, and the compound = 'anyhow,' 'at all events,' and hence 'especially,' 'certainly,' cf. 38. 8, 48. 5, 54. 9.

c. xxx. § 1. ipsi sent. stetit corresponds to Scip. stare sent. of 29. 5.

versat an. Cf. i. 58. 8, versare in omnes partes multibrem an.

§ 2. Mirari. The infinitives in this speech are differently introduced, most of them only as oratio obl., some indignantis as subsistere § 6, and cepisse § 11, some interrog. as § 9 and § 10.

§ 3. quicumque. There had been no such demand except in the case of Hannibal, but it is a rhetorical exaggeration.

velut ob noxam, 'as criminals.'

P. 32, § 5. multo malorem. According to Polybius they had marched from the strait 8800 stadia, and had 2600 before them; but this as much of the speech only applies to the Africans in the army. H., or rather Livy, identifies all the nationalities with Carthaginians in the feeling which he assumes in the army. Notice in our author the absence of such definite details as to distance and time as occur frequently in Polybius.

ememam. One of the deponent partic. in pass. sense which Livy uses.

Italiz. The partitive gen. 'belonged to Italy.' Cf. xxii. 20. 11, dicionis imperitique R. facti sint.

§ 6. quid credentes. The constr. of the inter. part. here
NOTES. XXI. c. xxx. § 6—c. xxxi. § 4. 193

is more Greek than Latin, = ‘and what else could they suppose the Alps to be’ &c. Fabri compares xxxiv. 26. 7, *conjugem ac liberis de vita dimicare quid obstantes libertati.*

§ 7. *Fingerent.* The equivalent in orat. obl. for the imper. in cr. dir.

*fauces.* A suggestion of Heerwagen for the *paucis* of the MSS.

§ 8. *Ne mai. q. eorum.* Livy v. 34 gives at some length an account of the passage of the Gallic tribes across the Alps in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, and of the various settlements about the Po.

§ 9. *quid...esse.* The constr. implies that a negative idea, * nihil...esse,* is wrapped up in the interr. form.

§ 10. *caput o. t.* is an anachronism of the writer or prolepsis rhetorically, and is somewhat out of place in the mouth of Hannibal.

§ 11. *ea.* Nägelsbach notes that *hæc* is often used comprehensively by Romans of the Roman state and empire. *Si modo hæc stabunt,* Cic. Attic. xii. 19. 1. So probably *ea* in this sentence.

*cederent...sperent.* The difference in tense probably points to the confidence of Hannibal that the latter alternative would be realized.


c. xxxi. § 1. *adversa ripa.* Formed on the analogy of *adverso flumine* ‘up the stream.’ 27. 8.

P. 33, § 2. *non qua rector.* The shortest round by the coast must have brought H. at once into conflict with the Romans. There can be little doubt that his route had been planned before with the envoys from Gaul, and that the longer road was partly chosen to bring him into friendly country as he issued from the mountain pass.

§ 8. *minus obviam.* The *tanto* to answer to the *quantum* is here as often omitted.

§ 4. *Quartis castris.* After 4 days’ march, at the 4th time of encamping.

**Insulam.** This was of course the *Insula Allobrogum,* but various attempts have been made to fix it elsewhere, and all
the rivers near have been pressed into the service by the advocates of the various routes.

**Iti Isara.** Most MSS. read Arar, and as Fabri and others note, Silius Italicus seems to have had this reading before him iii. 452. Yet H. could not have reached it in 4 days' march. Two MSS. have bisarar and ibisarar, which suggests the reading of the text. It is curious that the corresponding passage in Polyb. iii. 49 has ξυδρας as the reading of most MSS., for which Casaubon proposed Ἀραρ and Schweighaeuer Ιαραρας. The description of the insula in the latter is that of an eyewitness who was struck by its fertility and population, and compared it with the Delta of the Nile.

*diversis ex Alp.* The Rhone from the Saint Gothard, the Isère from Mont Iseran.

§ 5. **Incolunt prope.** In itself a strange expression as applied to the ins. Allob., but Livy probably is thinking of the point on the Rhone at which H. had arrived, and the prope refers to the neighbouring country. Efforts have been made however to prove that the Allobroges were then south of the Isère, and not until later in the insula. The term 'prope' does not go far to prove this, and it has little evidence to rest on. Incolunt is used absolutely as r. 1. 8, *qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant.*

* gens iam inde.* The Allobroges were already a powerful tribe, though their relations with Rome began at a much later date. The account of Pol. iii. 49 seems to distinguish between them and the subjects of Brancus, but perhaps does not really do so.

§ 6. **ambigeabant.** More commonly used with de, as 10. 9, xl. 15. 3.

*poterat.* The subject to this is the compound notion, frater et cactus juniorum. Cf. 25. 8, *Mutina prasidiumque in periculo esset.*

§ 7. **Huinius sed.** 'As this civil feud was very opportune referred to H. for arbitration.'

*peropportuna.* Used adverbially. *Rem rejicere* is a phrase often used by Livy in like cases, like the *causam ad senatum remittere* of Tac. Ann. iii. 10.

§ 8. **adiutus.** Not only so, but according to Polybius, escorted by the chieftain to the foot of the pass.

§ 9. From this point onwards it is hopeless to reconcile the accounts of the march in Polybius and Livy, who while
NOTES. XXI. c. xxxi. §§ 9—11. 195

agreeing in much of the description, especially in the details which admit of rhetorical treatment, yet widely diverge in local data. The former traces the route almost certainly over the little St Bernard, the latter probably over Mont Genève. Ammianus Marcellinus xv. 10 closely follows Livy, as also does Silius Italicus in the lines iii. 466:

Jamque Tricastinis intendit finibus agmen,
Jam faciles campos, jam rura Vocontia carpit;
Turbidus hic truncis saxisque Druentia latum
Ductoris vastavit iter.

Cf. The Appendix 'on the Route of Hannibal.'

recta regione. 'In direct course.' Cf. Lucr. ii. 249, and Cic. Verr. v. 176, si quis tantulum de recta regione deflexerit.

ad lavam. These words have given much trouble to the interpreters. They have been explained as 'the left hand of Livy sitting in his study,' or 'the left of an army in retreat, which would be equivalent to the ordinary right,' or 'the left bank of the Isère,' or they have been regarded as a mistake for the right hand. They seem to imply Livy's belief that after the proceedings in the island, H. marched down the stream a little way, hearing possibly of Scipio's withdrawal, and then turned off to what was later Augusta Tricastinorum (Aoste).

Vocontiorum. They are localized by Strabo, rv. 6. 4, in the mountain woodland between the Allobroges and Salyes. The Tricori are placed by Strabo to the east of the Vocontii, or between the Drac and the Durance.

haut usquam impedita. A most unfitting description for the tangled country between the Isère and the Durance.

Druentia. Attempts have been made to identify this with the Arve, the Dranse, or the Drac. It is of course the Druentius of Strabo who calls it περαμὸς χαραδρώθη, the modern Durance. It is true that it would have been out of the natural course from the Insula, nor would H. in that case have come across the Allobroges. Also Livy's description may suit the lower, but not the upper stream along which the army must have travelled, if at all. He probably took it from some topographer's account, and Lavallée calls it 'la rivière la plus desordonnée de la France,' Geogr. Phys. 186.

§ 11. vada...gurgites. These acc. may depend on praebet, but more probably on volvens, which by zengma is used in a somewhat different sense with them and with saxa.

farsosa is an awkward epithet for saxa, unless we take it to mean that the bed was full of rocks and gravel mixed.
P. 34, c. xxxii. § 1. triduo. The crossing-place was four days' march from the mouth, we are not told how far from Scipio's camp.

movit, as often, absolutely for se movit, or castra.
quadr. agmine. Cf. 5. 16, where the words are transposed.

§ 2. videt. Here, as 33. 3, two distinct uses of the verb are combined, physical and mental vision.
tutius ita. Because his own troops would be fresh, and those of H. exhausted or thinned by the long march. Ita carries a good deal of meaning by implication.

§ 3. nuda auxilia. This policy was aimed at the real base of H's operations, and the source to which he looked for reinforcements. Arnold says, "Had Scipio, at this critical juncture, not sent his army to Spain..., his son would in all probability never have won the battle of Zama." Yet had Scipio been ready with a larger army to attack the wearied troops of H. as they issued from the mountain-pass—and there was nothing to prevent him,—it might have fared ill with the invaders.

§ 4. ad pell. Haec. Scipio can hardly have known as yet the arrangement made by Hannibal before he left Spain.

§ 5. Genoa. Nothing is known of Genoa before this time. It was destroyed by Mago, Livy xxviii. 46. 8, and rebuilt as a municipium by Rome, xxx. 1. 10.

eo...exercitus. Cf. on 29. 6.

§ 6. ab Druentia. His course would be rather 'along' than 'from' the river, and would certainly not have been 'campestri it.', for though the route of Polyb. admits for a time of this description, it is out of place in Livy's.

pace incolentium. For the gen. cf. the expression Lucret. v. 1229, Divom pacem votis adit.

§ 7. The following description is somewhat absurd as applied to the lower Alpine valleys, and is a bit of fine writing in which Livy gives full scope to his rhetorical taste, working upon the description of some traveller, who exaggerated the horrors of his journey. Note the absence of any sense of the grandeur of mountain scenery, which was possibly, as Macanlay suggests, overpowered by the sense of danger. In general the sense of the picturesque is of modern growth. Polybius, who had himself travelled over the ground, is much more guarded in his language, and guilty of no such exaggerations as Livy.
NOTES. XXI. c. xxxii. § 7—c. xxxiii. § 2. 197

pritus is a pleonasm with praecipa, like praecoccupatos ante in 20. 8.

torida frigore. Cf. 40. 9, praestiti artus...torrida gelu, xl. 45. 1, arbores deusserat hiems.

§ 8. Erigentibus. “As the vanguard was climbing the lower heights.” This incident, like most others on the march, occurs also in Polybius, though the localities are quite distinct.

P. 35. stragem dedissent. Cf. use of dare in such phrases as Verg. Æn. xii. 575, dant cuneum, vi. 76, finem dedit ore loquendi, and in Lucr. dare pausam, dare motus. “One is tempted to look at it as a half-conscious reminiscence of the do which survives in credo, abdo, condo, &c., and has the same origin as rībēmi and S. dađhāmi.” Munro, Lucr. iv. 41.

§ 9. inter confragosa omn. is a bold construction of which Livy is fond. Cf. ix. 13. 5, per omnia pacata, xxxiii. 2. 1, inter corrupta omnia, xxxii. 6. 11, super cetera extrema.

§ 10. Tum per eosdem. “But when the friendly Gauls had managed to engage the mountaineers in friendly talk, as there was but little difference in their patois, or in manners, they informed him,” &c. Strictly we must understand a montanis with abhorrentes.

dilabi. Often used of soldiers deserting. Cf. xxxii. 2. 1, Gallos si tædio laboris...dilaberentur.

ex aperto. ‘Openly.’ For the form cf. § 7, ex propinquo, xxxii. 7. 4, ex vano, ex æquo, ex publico, ex antiquo, ex composito, ex improviso. So also with in and pro.

§ 12. laxatas. ‘Vigilance relaxed,’ or more probably ‘the outposts thinned.’ laxare is a favourite word with Livy in metaphorical uses, as ii. 34, laxare annnonam, 59. 6, laxare pugnam, ix. 16. 10, laxare aliquid laboris, laxior locus, laxamentum.


tumulis. Livy prefers the abl. without a preposition, with consedit, and like verbs.

c. xxxiii. § 2. arce. Often used for a natural stronghold as well as a fortified post.

via transire. This use of a modal or local abl. without a
preposition is frequent in Livy, but the expression is bald in its brevity.

§ 3. immobiles defixit. A strong phrase in frequent use. Cf. xxii. 53. 6, quum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, where also the adjective has a proleptic sense. We need not accept the fanciful explanation proposed, that it is a figure suggested by the magical use of little images pierced to represent the persons on whom the charms were to be tried.

suo ipsum tumultu agmen. This construction of ipse agreeing with the subject, or the object of the sentence, is nearly always preferred to the gen. ipsius following suus, where the form of the period allows it. Fabri.

§ 4. quicquid adj. 'Thinking that any panic occasioned by themselves would be enough to rout them utterly.'

transversis rupibus. The MSS. commonly read perversis rupibus juxta invia, &c. This is rejected by Madvig on the ground that perversae rupes is obscure, and invia decurrere an unusual construction. He thinks that per has slipped out of its place, and dislodged the trans of transversis. Some editors read diversis after a late MS.

§ 5. simul...simul. 'Were hard pressed not merely owing to the onset of the enemy, but also to the roughness of the ground.' Ab is unusual with a modal abl. like iniquitate, especially in Livy.

sibi quoque tendente. 'As each man struggled selfishly to get sooner out of danger.' For the constr. of sibi compare Cic. in Verr. ii. 8. 22, Veneri absolvit, sibi condemnat, Tac. Ann. i. 65, sibi quisqueproperus.

evaderet. Note the different constr. with this verb here and in 32. 13.

P. 36, § 6. infestum. 'Endangered.' Cf. ii. 11. 1, infestum Romanum agmen reddidit.

repercusse. 'Re-echoing.' Properly an epithet of clamares, not of valles.

§ 7. turba. 'The crowding.'

in immensus altitudinis. This use of the neut. sing. with a genitive is less common than the neut. plur., except in later writers, but Livy has, x. 32. 6, multum diei, v. 87. 5, immensus loci, vii. 8. 5, serum diei, xlv. 9. 2, plerumque Europae.

decidit. Constr. prægn. 'caused to fall.'
maxime modo is a favourite phrase with our author. Cf. 38. 1, hoc maxime modo, xxxv. 34. 10, itineris maxime modo.

§ 8. suos continuit. 'Kept his men from going to the rescue.'

§ 9. interrumpi. 'A break in the line.'

exutum. 'If the baggage-train were lost.' Used proleptically.

§ 11. cibo is supplied without MS. authority, but captivus is often used with inanimate objects, as with arma, navigia, pecunia, solum, by Livy, and with vestis by Vergil, and it cannot here make sense without a subst.

c. xxxiv. § 1. frequentem. 'Densely peopled.' Cf. xxxi. 23. 5, frequentia adiuncta loca, and xxxv. 1. 6, actes frequens armatis. More commonly the abl. is omitted, as forum frequens.

populum = canton, or district. Ut, qualifies frequentem, which should naturally come nearer to it. Cf. xxxii. 38. 9, Alexander, ut inter Ætolos, facundus.

suis artibus. Also used of Hannibal, xxii. 16. 5.

§ 2. oratores veniunt. The account of Polybius iii. 52 is more graphic in its details of the garlands and olive branches which they bore. τούτο γὰρ σχέδον τάσι τοῖς βαρβάροις σύνθημα φιλιας καθάπερ τὸ κρύκειον τοῖς Ἑλλησι.

§ 3. ad nēdem. 'As a guarantee.' Cf. on 19. 5.

P. 37, § 4. composite agmine. Drakenburch explains this passage 'not at all as if they were marching through a friendly country, but in fighting order,' as if sed were omitted. Fabri reads incomposito after one MS. It is more probably 'in line of march not at all arranged for passage through friendly country.'

§ 5. robore. 'The main body.'

circumsp. sollicitus. 'Anxiously reconnoitring,' or omnia may be taken with soll. as cetera in virum cetera egregium i. 35. 8. Fabri however notes that in Livy we only find vicem coupled with soll., as in passages like xxviii. 19. 17, ab sollicitis vicem imperatoris militibus.

§ 7 In eos versa. 'The line of infantry faced towards them, and clearly proved (i.e. by its losses or hard fighting) that if the rear-guard had not been strengthened they must have met with a terrible disaster in that pass.' The use of
fecit after acies is awkward: it connects two distinct statements, of the manœuvres of the infantry, and the experience of danger.

acciplenda fuerit. Cf. the use of the participle in -urus with fuerit, as iv. 38. 2, nec dubium fuit quin si...terga daturi hostes fuerint.

§ 8. ad extremum periculi. Cf. ad ultimum dimicationis, ad inopiam ultimum, ad extremum spei, and like phrases common in Livy.

demittere. 'Risk sending.' Cf. iii. 35. 1, demissa jam in discrimen dignitas.

c. xxxv. § 1. latrocinii. Often contrasted with bellum, or justum bellum, as xix. 6. 2, latrocinii magis quam iusto bello gerebatur res. Latro, like laverna, from the root λάτρης, became naturalized on Italian soil, and gained an unfavourable meaning, Curtius, 326.

§ 2. novissimum ag. = rear = extrema agminis.

progressi morative. 'Stragglers in front or rear.'

§ 3. sicut...ita = 'indeed'...but.' Cf. § 11, sicut breviora ita arrect.

P. 38, § 4. Nono die. So Polyb. iii. 53, who however fixes the point from which he reckons, and gives intermediate dates, while Livy does neither. In fact, all his incidents and particulars of time are taken from another route, and do not suit his own; his reference to errores is probably to explain the length of time which did not seem needful for the shorter pass which he had chosen.

per invia pleraque. Cf. 32. 9, confragosa omnia.

ducentium. 'Absolutely for guides.' Ducentium fraus is hardly consistent with the promise of the friends from Cisalpine Gaul to be duces itinerum, 29. 6.

initae valles. Cf. 1. 5, Sicilia S. annseae.

§ 5. stativa, sc. castra.

§ 6. occid. sidere Verg. 'As the constellation of the Pleiads was near its setting,' i.e. towards October. Polyb. iii. 54, διὰ τὸ συνάττειν τὴν τῆς Πλευάδος δύσαν. Pliny ii. 47. 125, post id (autumnit) æquinocium diebus fere xlv. Vergiliarum occasus hiemem inchoat, quod tempus in iii. Idus Novembres incidere consuevit.
§ 7. nive oppleta. The climate was probably even more severe than at present, owing to the thick forests which then covered great part of Germany.

§ 8. prospectus. A fanciful picture, which is hardly borne out by facts, as no such view can be obtained near the summit of the Mont Genèvre, nor indeed of any other of the passes. The description of Polybius does not imply any such actual view of the plains of Lombardy, for his word ἐνάργεια may mean 'evidence' or 'proof' addressed to the reason, and not to the sight. Many unsuccessful attempts have been made to find a likely scene for this speech.

§ 9. mœnia It. Cf. Polyb. iii. 54, ἀκρωπόλεως φανονταί διάθεσιν ἔχειν αἱ 'Ἄλπεις τῆς δῆλης Ἡταλίας.

transcendere. Infin. after a verb like dicit, implied in ostentat.

sumnum. 'At most.' Adverbially as xxxiii. 5. 8, duo aut summum tres juvenes.

§ 10. furtæ. 'Stealthy ambuscades,' as Polyb. ibid. πλὴν τῶν λάθρα κακοποιητῶν. Fabri compares ix. 31. 10, hostem ultimam spem furto insidiarum temptantem.

acut breviors. This generalization is not found in Polyb., and indicates increased knowledge of the Alps since the conquest of Gaul.

§ 12. neque sustinere se a lapsu. Cf. xxii. 2. 6.

neque, qui paulum... The reading of the MSS. is here afficti, which is harder. With it the passage would mean 'and if they stumbled but a little, down they fell and could not help slipping further' (lit. 'could not cling to the place where they were dashed to the ground,' cf. Cass. B. G. vi. 27, neque si quo affictæ casu conciderint, erigere sese possunt). But as their effort would be chiefly to save themselves from falling, Madvig reads affici (as suggested by Drakenborch, cf. iii. 68. 8, hærete affici contionibus) as a strong term to express the attempt to keep their footing. Affigere and affigrere are elsewhere confused in the MSS.

vestigium. Perhaps from ve-, στιχ-, στειχω, στοιχω, Curtius, 178.

succiderent is a more questionable change for occiderent.

c. xxxvi. § 1. angustiorem. 'A narrower pass, with walls of rock so steep that.'
ut aggre... This would be absurdly exaggerated if it referred to the ordinary state of the pass. If however we understand it as caused by a recent landslip or avalanche, it would be consistent with experience. There is one spot especially on the Little St Bernard exposed to such casualties, and to this the description of Polybius well applies. He speaks however of the road being carried away, σχεδὸν ἐτι τραχί ἡμαράδια, but Livy mistaking this, or the language of their common authority, converts it into a precipice of a 1000 feet in depth (if we accept, that is, Valla's almost certain corrections of the meaningless readings of the MSS.). 'This,' says Niebuhr, 'is nonsense, as all must see.'

expeditus. Cf. vii. 34. 3, collem aditum arduum impedito agmni, expediti haurd difficilem. So expediti equites 'light troops.' Expedita classis, agmen, venatores, &c. in Livy.

P. 39, § 2. admodum = maxime, fere, μάλιστα.

§ 3. miranti = cum admiratione quarenti by pregnant use. Cf. r. 41. 1, mirantium quid rei esset, iii. 35. 5. Nägelsbach, p. 279, illustrates this by such cases as dodrantem completere = complementi causa addiicere, triarii postremos claudebant for claudentes postremi ibant.

§ 4. circa. On use of the adverb cf. note on 7. 5.

circumducercet = must take round. On this use of the subj. for circumducere debet, v. Madvig, De Finibus ii. 35, who quotes various passages from Cicero and Livy, xl. 37. 3, non triumphum impedire debuit... sed posteri die... nomen deferret. Cf. also Verg. Æn. ix. 643, at tu dictis Albane maneres. Ovid, Tristia iv. 3. 34, Tristis es: indignor, quod sim tibi causa doloris; non es; at amissi conjuge digna fores.

§ 5. super veterem... 'Over the snow of the last season, which had not melted.' A mass of snow often falls into a ravine or valley, where it is sheltered from the sun's heat, and remains through a whole summer, forming sometimes a great natural bridge, through which a river tunnels for itself a channel. Probably the early historians referred to some such mass which blocked up the spot where H. tried to force a passage. Livy's account would be more natural in the case of a glacier, which was not likely to be met with in their way.

§ 6. fuentem... 'The liquid mud formed by the melting snow.'

tabem is the correction of Gronovius for the labem of the MSS. It is especially used of any melting substance.
§ 7. [ut a] imd. The MSS. read ut a lubrica, where the preposition would seem out of place. Sauppe and W. change this to via. ‘On the slippery track where the ice gave no foothold, but let the feet slide over it all the easier, as it was a steep incline.’ Madv. needlessly quarrels with via on the ground that there was no road, cf. § 5, but it seems better to omit it as an awkward addition.

adimintulum. Formed from ad and manus on the analogy of cubiculum, sediculum. Corssen ii. 416.

in levit tantum. ‘Rolled in what was only smooth ice or slush of snow.’ ‘Only,’ because no virgulta, &c.

§ 8. committendo. T. Faber’s correction for the continendo of the MSS.

alte concr. ‘Frozen to a great depth.’

c. xxxvii. § 2. ad rupem m. ‘To cut a way through the rock.’ Cf. ix. 29. 5, viam munivit, of making the Appian way. Polyb. ἐξορισμὰ ἐν τὸν κρησμὸν. Muniores are the sappers and miners.

arboribus circa. Whence these came it is hard to say, cf. 36. 7, as also the vinegar, unless it was the soldiers’ drink or posca, Pliny, xxx. 1. 57, says acetum saxa rumpit infusum, quae non ruperit ignis antecedens, cf. Juv. x. 158, Diduscit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto. The details in this section do not occur in Polyb.

P. 40, § 3. mollunt anfr. ‘Relieve the steep gradients by winding tracks of gradual descent.’ Cf. Verg. Georg. iii. 293, circa mollis. Cæs. B. G. viii. 46, quidquid circuitus ad mollidendum clivum accesserat, also locis mollioribus below.

anfractus, from ambi and frag (frango). To the objection to this derivation made by Zeyss, that anfractus means a ‘bend’ rather than a ‘break’, Corssen, l. 897, quotes Cic. Nat. D. ii. 18, of the sphere, ea figura...qua...habere...potest nihil incisum angulis, nihil anfractibus, nihil eminens, nihil laevo-

sum.

§ 4. prope fama abs. They might have been quite starved according to Livy’s account. Polyb. makes the horses get over after one day’s delay, the other three being spent in making a broader path for the elephants.

si quid est... ‘All the herbage, such as it is...’ Cf. Cic. in Cæs. 15, ipse Alienus ex ea facultate, si quam habet, ali-
quantum detractus est. Cf. Lu. ii. 16, hoc ævi quodcum-
que.
obruunt nives. This might easily be the case so late in the season.

§ 5. apricosque etiam. The MSS. have apricos quosdam, but the asyndeton is harsh. W. reads apricosque quosdam, which is ugly and unusual.

et prope silvas = and almost forests. Madvig inserts the et as rivos p. s. seems to him unnatural.

§ 6. locis mollior. This is an abl. absol., and the compar. stands for a partic.

c. xxxvii. § 1. quinto mense a. Cf. xxii. 19. 5, altero ab Tarracone die, an elliptical expression; the 5th month only is qualified by the 'ut quidam,' the 15th day is accepted by Livy, as by Polyb. But it is not easy to make their detailed statements agree with this number, as both reckon 9 days to the ascent, 2 at the top, 4 by the landslip, and 3 in the descent. Probably however Polybius meant the last 3 to be counted as part of the 4 just mentioned, in which the cavalry reached the lower valleys while the road was being widened for the elephants, and then we should get only 15 for the whole. There is no hint of this however in Livy, who is hopelessly inconsistent.

§ 2. qui minimum, e.g. Polybius iii. 56, on the authority of the tablet at Lacinium. We may note that with the exception of a few Ligurians there were no mercenaries in this army, only Spaniards and Libyans, not like the motley aggregates of earlier days.

§ 3. Cincius, v. Introduction on the authorities.

maxime... 'Would be a most weighty authority.'

§ 4. adducta. 'Brought with him through the Alps,' most unlikely when there was a promise of more faithful allies on the other side, who had more to gain from the Punic cause.

magis, take with veri simile; adducta and audisse after scribit, to be understood after additis.

anctores sunt, so xxiii. 16. 15, quod quidam auctores sunt, ii. 58. 1, Piso auctor est, xxx. 3. 6, its pars major auctores sunt.

§ 5. Taurini Semigalli. This is a very bold correction by Madvig of the corrupt readings of the MSS.: Taurinismegalli, Taurinis que Galia, Taurinisne Gallis, &c., on the ground that Strabo connects the Taurini with the Ligures, and yet distinguishes them as if they were half Celts. The conjecture of W. Taurini Galliae seems preferable.
degresso (Hannibali), cf. i. 8. 4, locus qui nunc sepultus descendentibus inter duos lucos est.

§ 6. Id quum, &c. This is difficult, for Polyb. asserts that H. descended among the Insubres, as indeed it was likely that he would do, since they and their allies had invited him to cross into Italy. It may be that Livy only meant that the annalists all spoke of his attack on the Taurini as his first movement in Italy, and as the Taurini were, strictly speaking, a Ligurian not a Gallic tribe (Strabo rv. 6), possibly the passage, whose reading is so doubtful, brought out the close neighbourhood of the hostile T. to the friendly Insubres.

ambigi, quanam. No official account was likely to reach Rome from the time when H. disappeared from Scipio's sight, till he was heard of near the Po. The Alps were till long after a terra incognita, and few like Polybius cared to travel so far to gather up the local traditions.

P. 41. credere, the transition from the passive ambigi to an active is marked, but not unusual in Livy. In orat. directa he would naturally say vuiigo credunt (sc. homines).

Poenino. This was the pass of the Great St Bernard. Its name is thought to be derived from the Celtic deity Penn (Zeuss, die Deutschen, p. 5). Jupiter Pominus was worshipped on the summit, and the name has been found on 30 ex voto tablets which have been discovered near the top. It was also called Mons Jovis, which survives in the names Mont-Joux, Plan-de-Joux which are still localized on the height. It was by this pass that Livy, v. 35, brought the Boii and Lingones into Italy in the 6th century B.C. The fanciful derivation of the name referred to in the text was an argument likely to be urged in early times.

Cremonis ing. It is tempting to identify this with the Cramont, between la Thuile and Entrèves, beside the little St Bernard, but the attempt rests on grounds of etymology as insecure as the case just specified. It is probable that only one route was then known across the Alpes Graiae, that of which Strabo speaks, rv. 67, 'the road from the Salassi parts into two branches, the one rough and inaccessible for beasts of burden over the Penninus, the other more westerly through the Centrones.'

§ 7. per alios. Madvig's conjecture for per saltus mont, which is obviously corrupt. Lipsius and others whom W. follows read per Salassos, which is inviting, but the addition of montanos would be needless, as Madvig points out. The
Salassi of the common reading were the tribe on the Doria Baltea, better known in the days of Augustus for their resolute though hopeless stand for independence against Terentius Varro, who sold 42,000 of them into slavery, Strabo iv. 6. 7.

Libuosi, otherwise called Lai, Lebecii, Libici, Lævi; probably petty tribes between the Orgus and Ticinus under the supremacy of the Insutres. Their chief city was Versellae, (Libicorum ex Sallutvis ortae, Pliny iii. 16).

§ 8. Semigermanis. This objection might apply to the great St Bernard, but could have little force after the description of the resistance which H. met with on his way from the moun-
taineers, whoever they were. The form Semigermanis probably suggested Madvig's reading Semigalli above.

The answer to the etymological theory serves to show that no local traditions of H. lingered on the great St Bernard, but proves nothing as to the little St B.

§ 9. Seduni Veragri. Tribes about Martigny on the lake of Geneva. They are coupled together by Cæsar, B. G. iii. 1, in Veragros Sedunosque—qui a finibus Allobrogum, et lacu Lemanu et flumine Rhodano ad summam Alpes pertinent, as also by Pliny, ii. 20. Strabo, iv. 6. 6, speaks of the Οὐδέραγροι near the Leman Lake, whose town Octodurus was near the site of Martigny. The names were restored in the text by Lipsius and Gronovius from the corrupt sed uno vel acri of the best MSS.

c. xxxix. § 1. ad principia r., 'for the opening of the war.'

armare, 'prepare for action.' Napoleon passed the great St Bernard in 5 days, but waited 20 more before his army was ready to fight.

§ 2. tabe. Fabri compares ii. 32. 11, totum corpus ad extremam tabem venisse.

§ 3. a Manlio, v. 25. 8. Atilioque, 26. 2.

tiro et..., 'disheartened as the raw levies were.' tiro connected with—tar, réppw, terenus, nus terentina (qua mollis est, Macrob.), trio. Corseen, x. 511.

novis ignomininis, i.e. the rout by the Gauls, 25. 9.

§ 4. caput. Possibly, but not certainly, on the site of Turin, or what was afterwards Taurasia and Augusta Taurinorum.

volentes, i.e. the citizens by constr. ad synesim.
NOTES. XXI. c. xxxix. § 4—xl. § 2. 207

§ 5. oppressisset, 'surprised,' used with the additional sense of arresting the movement.

§ 6. quae pars. Fabri gives other examples of the frequent use of quis or qui for uter.

P. 42, § 8. eo ipso, quod... This is an afterthought of history. Livy forgets that H. had no great name as yet, and that the consuls were not specially elected for military skill, except in times of crisis.

§ 9. inter se opinionem, 'their estimate of each other,' as inter se is often used for reciprocal action, as also alii alios, &c. Sallust combines both. Cat. 22. 2, quo inter se magis fide forent alius alii tanti facinus conscii. Later writers, like Tacitus, use invicem.

quod, relictus in Gallia. Polyb., ii. 60, says πρὸτερον δῆλυας ἡμᾶς Ἰθακαοι, and makes Hannibal marvel at the promptitude of Scipio, though at least a month must have elapsed, and the Roman forces might have been brought round to meet H. at the foot of the Alps before he had recruited his strength. It is probable that in these phrases we may trace the influence of the Scipionic circle in giving a favourable colour to what was really questionable generalship.

§ 10. Occupavit, 'took the initiative by.' Cf. l. 14. 6, occupabant bellum facere; Hor. Carm. i. 14. 2, interdum rapere occupat; still stronger iv. 30. 4, ipsi praoccupaverunt ferre.

educoerat, so. exercitum. Often used absolutely by Livy in this connexion.

§ 11. § 1. supersedessem 1. 'I should have thought it needless to harangue you.' The speech of the general to his soldiers is a characteristic of Greek and Roman warfare, and of citizen soldiers.

§ 2. vicissent. Note the sudden change from the subj. which expresses the speaker's thought to the ind. |habui which states only a matter of fact.

confessionem... 'I regarded as a victory the admission of (inferiority) implied in the enemy's flight and refusal to engage.' This is, of course, a mere rhetorical boast.

§ 3. meos auspiciis. In the technical system of Rome the auspicia were taken by the legati or deputy commanders in the name of the general in chief. Cf. Tac. Ann. i. 41, ductu Germanici auspiciis Tiberii. Monum. Ancyr. res aut a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis gestas. Horace says, Carm. i. 7. 27, with less propriety, Teucro duce et auspice Teucro.
populus Romanus. The commons only indirectly influenced the choice of a commander by giving consular rank; the choice of the province rested partly with the senate, partly with the lot.

voluit agrees with the unity implied in sen. pop. R.

§ 5. stipendium. At first it was arranged that the indemnity of 3200 talents should be paid off in 20 years; the term was afterwards reduced to 10.

Sardiniam. It was hardly ingenuous to speak of S. as bellicum, since it was taken by Rome some time after.

P. 43, § 7. audent, i.e. pugnare or absolutely as often in Livy.

duabus partibus. Scipio is supposed to know the numbers and losses in Hannibal’s army. The fractions \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{6} \) are expressed by duae, tres, quattuor partes respectively. Cf. viii. 1. 1.

§ 8. At enim. An idiomatic ellipse as 18. 9.

§ 9. praestit artus, ‘frost-bitten limbs.’

§ 11. qui secundum... ‘Who next to the Gods have been sinned against.’ Cf. 45. 8.

commissum... For this use of the three verbs, cf. Florus ii. 15, Si quis trium temporum momenta consideret, primo commissum bellum, profigitum secundo, tertio vero conquestum est, also Livy iii. 50. 6.

c. xlii. § 1. vestri adhort. So Cicero uses sui conservati causa. Ovid. Heroid. xx. 74, copia placandi sit modo parva tui, neuter forms of the possessive being in both cases used.

§ 3. ad famam. But 26. 4, he is said to have landed by the Rhone, thinking Hannibal far away across the Pyrenees.

§ 4. qua parte. Constr. ad synesim, equitibus being understood in equestri.

P. 44. regressus. The MSS. reading of this passage with neque before regr. makes no sense, and is corrected by Madvig. Weiss. marks it as hopeless.

§ 5. improvisus. Madvig retains this reading of the MSS., though improvidus seems more in accordance with Livy’s usage.

decernendum, sc. armis or ferro.
§ 6. _estimatos._ The sum paid for each prisoner at the capitation of Eryx, but which is not mentioned elsewhere.

_aestimare_ is lit. ‘to reckon in bronze’ from _as_ and _tima, riμμα_, the earliest coin being in _as_. Corssen, ii. 424.

§ 7. _Herculis._ Referring to the fancy which connected the name of the Graian Alps (or little St Bernard) with the Hercules Graius, who was fabled to have crossed them after his victory over Geryon, cf. v. 34. 7. Nep. Hann. iii. 4, _Alpes...nulladum via...nisi de Hercule fabulis credere licet... superatas._

_ut ipse fert._ _Ferre_ is here as often in Livy for _praefere._

_vectigalis._ Strictly speaking, Carthage was only _stipendiaria_, since she paid a definite sum by way of indemnity, cf. _stipendia Carthaginis impia_, Hor. The _stipend. civitates_ of later days were those whose contributions to the imperial treasury were of fixed amount, or proceeded from a tax of fixed percentage. The _vectigalia_ paid by the greater part of the empire were tithes or other impost varying with the productiveness of the soil.

§ 8. _Quem nist._ ‘If he were not maddened by the sense of guilt.’ Cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 24, _suum quemque scelus agitat._

§ 9. _consul._ Lutatius.

§ 11. _ultimo,_ ‘extreme,’ as 44. 4, _ultimi cruciatus, _iii. 58. 11, _ultima pana._

_sineullo cert._ This is all extravagant rhetoric, though the danger was a real one to the Carthaginian army at Eryx. But the Romans gladly offered terms of peace, for their losses had been even more severe than those of the enemy, 700 ships as against 500, according to Polyb. i. 61.

§ 12. _tutela_, gen. of quality after _duximus_, ‘regarded as under our protection,’ cf. 44. 5, _sui arbitrii fecit, _vii. 18. 8, _fidei sua non solum virtutis ducebant esse._

The Romans had little to be proud of in the memory of their conduct to Carthage in the great crisis of the mercenary war.

§ 13. _Pro his impert._ ‘In return for these boons.’

P. 45, § 15. _obsistat...obstandum,_ ‘bar the way.’ Döderlein remarks upon this verb as a prouder phrase than _resistat._

§ 16. _non_, ‘not only.’

§ 17. _illius urbis,_ ‘our city yonder,’ as contrasted with _vis nostra,_ ‘our valour here.’

C. L.
NOTES. XXI. c. XLII. § 1—c. XLIII. § 6.

c. XLII. § 1. ad spectaculum. A phrase often used by Livy. Cf. xxiii. 43. 1, ad spectaculum pugnas frequentes exierant.

si vincitis. 'On condition of being set free from his bonds, and receiving if victorious, &c.'

§ 2. detecta in id, 'thrown for that purpose,' i.e. into the helmet or urn, so conjicere sortem in urnam, sitellam, or ciistulam.

§ 3. et, ut cuiusque. The MSS. have no ut, but it seems to be required, and may have been omitted after the et, from the similarity of the words. W. notes that only one pair of combatants is mentioned by Polyb., and thinks that therefore the et cuius of some MSS. is better, but the vincentium of the last line points to several pairs fighting together.

exciderat. So ὁ κλήρος ἐκτῖπτει. Cf. xxiii. 3. 7, nominibus in urnam conjectis citari, quod primum sorte nomen excidit, jussit.

sui moris. Cf. x. 26. 8, ovantes moris sui carmine.

tripudii. This word is explained by the Latin writers as strictly applied to the action of the sacred chickens, cernitur in auspiciis tripudiantium pullorum dictum a terra pavienda. Festus. So too Cicero, div. ii. 34. The root pu is traced by Corssen, i. 359, in repudium, and possibly pudet, as well as in pavire (strike), pavimentum, valeve. tri is not for terra, which is unchanged in composition, but as in trifolium, tricinium, trium, from the threefold beat. The word is also used of the ceremonial dances of the Romans, as of the Salii, cum tripudiiis solemnique cantu, i. 20. 3, and of the Fratres Arvales in the inscriptions.

§ 4. is habitus animorum. Cf. 2. 6, eo fuit habitu oris.

eiusdem cond., i.e. prisoners.

spectantes, i.e. the army.

P. 46, c. XLIII. § 2. vicimus. The past put for the future to express the certainty of the result, and give life to the sentence.

§ 4. habentes. The MSS. have habentibus, and W. retains it, but it seems equally awkward to regard it with Fabri as an abl. abs., or as dative agreeing with vobis while understanding 'fugam' with claudunt as W. suggests.

§ 6. possident. 'The port which corresponds to πρὸς, πέρι appears in various forms in possideo, polingno, porrticio, pono (po. sino). Corssen, Beiträge 87.
NOTES. XXI. c. xliii. § 7—c. xliv. § 6. 211

§ 7. agite dum, plural form of interjectional agedum; for dum the MSS. read 'cum.'

§ 10. emeritis stip. Lit. 'when you have earned your pay.' So applied to the veteran whose term of service has expired and who looks for pension or land as in later days at Rome. So iii. 57. 10, non juniores modo, sed emeritis etiam stipendiis, pars magna voluntariorum.

P. 47, § 11. momento. Here in original sense 'impulse' (movere). Cf. xxiv. 34. 2, quicquid hostes ingenti mole agerent, ipse perlevi momento ludificare tur.

§ 12. Nam refers to nec tam difficilem of § 11.

§ 13. Ut viginti. 'To say nothing of the 20 years of service when you fought with your well-known valour and success,' i.e. during the conquest of Spain, rhetorically for 18 years.

illa...illa. Cf. ix. 17. 4, cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corpore robore illo animi.

Herculis columnnis, i.e. Calpe and Abyla at Gibraltar.

§ 14. caso, &c. Cf. c. 25. Livy often uses the asyndeton in rhetorical passages, cf. 44. 4, dolor injuria dignitas.

§ 15. semestri. Scipio had taken office in March. H. touches here on the weak point of the military system of Rome, the constant change of generals, yet Livy's age had seen the danger to civil liberties of a long tenure of command.

§ 17. notata, &c. 'Recall to mind your several distinctions with the appropriate date and scene of each.'

§ 18. landatis donatisque. A phrase frequently repeated by L. Cf. xxv. 18. 15.

c. xliv. § 1. infrenatos, i.e. the Numidians, who are often specified as using no bridle. Cf. 46. 2.

§ 2. socios. Used of all the various nationalities to the exclusion of the citizens of Carthage.

§ 4. dignitas, perhaps 'a sense of the heinousness.'

P. 48, § 5. se modum, &c. 'Thinks it her right to dictate to us the nations with whom we may be at peace or war.' neque, for 'but not.' Cf. rv. 30. 14, missi tamen feciales, nec eorum...verba sunt audita.

§ 6. The MSS. read ad contrary to the fact, Madvig inserts the non, but W. prefers cis 'on our side of,' which
seems a better retort, though less near the MSS. Krauss suggests *at liberum est Saguntum*, referring to the treaty with Hasdrubal, 2. 7, which provided *Sag. mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur*. This was followed, however, by a compact between Rome and Saguntum, Fol. iii. 30, which Carthage ignored when Hannibal accused Rome of meddling with the autonomy of S., and when just above he says *necque eos quos statuit terminos observat* (Rhein. Mus. 1875.)

§ 7. *meas.* As if Carthage were speaking by *prosopopæia.*

*Etiam* (in) *Hisp.* There is much doubt as to the reading of the whole sentence. Madv. inserts the *in*, and separates the clause from the foregoing, because he thinks that Spain which the Romans had not yet attacked should be coupled with Africa. W. inserts *adimis* again before *etiam* and does not accept *in*.

The common reading, *transcendes autem dico*, is rejected by M., on the ground that either *autem* or *dico* would be superfluous, and he therefore inserts *transcendisse*, which W. objects to with some reason as weak, when followed by *duos consules*, &c.

*unum in Afr.* H. naturally omits to note that this was a measure of defence though offensive in form.

*vindicariumus*, is Madvig’s correction for the *vindicaremus* of the MSS., which Heerwagen supports by like passages as *xxiii. 5. 6, nihil ne quod suppleremus quidem nobis reliquit fortuna.*

§ 8. *qui respectum habent, ‘who have something to fall back on.’*

*respectus*, used elsewhere by Livy in this sense of ‘chance of safety or retreat.’ Cf. iii. 23. 5, *nos omnium rerum respectum, praterquam victoriae, nobis abscondamus.* So Cic. Phil. v. 18, *quem respectum ad senatum et bonos non haberet.*

*omnibus inter,* &c. ‘Assured that you must tear out of your hearts all hopes of any alternative save victory or death.’

*dubitabit*, is euphemistic for *adversa erit.*

§ 9. *destinatum.* W. inserts *si* before this. Madv. would expunge it as a needless repetition, and because *dest. in an.* is less natural than *fixum in an.;* yet we find the phrase, vi. 6. 6, *sibi destinatum in animo esse,* and possibly *destinatum constio,* 54. 6.
NOTES. XXI. c. xlrv. §§ 1—8. 213

P. 49, c. xlrv. § 1. ponte Ticinum. They had already crossed the Po from Piacentia, 39. 10, and were marching along the left bank. The pons over the Ticinum, probably near Pavia, was a fixed one, with a castellum or tête du pont, distinguished from the bridge of boats (rates) over the Po.


Ictumulis. The text points to a place near the mouth of the Ticinus, about the modern Carbonara, which agrees also with the situation of the place of like name referred to 57. 9. But Pliny, 32. 21, and Strabo, v. 1. 12, speak of the gold mines of Victumulus or Ictumuli in the district of Verceilæ, and there are still traces of them near Biella to the north of Verceilæ, while there were none near the mouth of the Ticinus. In later times the Romans found a pretext for a war with the Salassi, and despoiled them of the mines in question, and it is probable that the contractors who farmed them afterwards and employed some 5000 workmen in them brought the produce to Ictumuli, which served as the chief emporium for the whole neighbourhood until the colony of Eporedia was planted in the centre of the mining district. C. I. L. v. 2, p. 715.

§ 4. pronuntiat, 'offers,' like proponit below; so declarare munera, indicere præmia.

in quorum spem. The use of the prepos. is singular, as spes is not the object, but the cause of the action, which is however confounded with it. Heerwagen compares v. 30. 4, vellent in eam spem liberis tollere.

§ 5. immunem, i.e. free of all payments to the state.

§ 6. potestatem fact. H. here claims a power which Roman generals at times exercised, of bestowing the civitas or franchise.

§ 7. mancipium, the 'taking by the hand,' was a symbol of purchase, and thus the term was used alike for the right of ownership (e.g. vitaque mancipio nulli datur), as also for the slave as the property of his master.

§ 8. silicem retinens. The knife of flint was used for sacrificial purposes till late in the days of the Empire, as we see from the Acta fratum Arvalium. It was probably a custom of immemorial antiquity, retained from the ages which had little use of metals, by a religious conservatism which feared to change its forms, cf. the proverb inter sacrum saxumque, Plaut. Capt. iii. 4, like our 'between hammer and anvil.'

falleret, 'forswear himself.' Cf. Hor. Carm. ii. 8. 10, expedit matris cineres opertos | fallere.
NOTES. XXI. c. XLV. § 8—c. XLVI. § 3.

Iovem, named by Livy with characteristic carelessness for the Baal of Carthage.

mactasset. Connected by Curtius, 293, with macellum, μαχαέρα, μαχη. Cf. Lucr. v. 1339, boves Lucae ferro male mactae, and the fragment of Nævius restored by Müller, Festus p. 597, nulium petus macit hominem quandque mare secum.

The MSS. have et before secundum prec. Madvig rejects this on the ground that the omission of est after precatus would be indefensible, as in the reading precipitatus, 25. 8.

§ 9. velut diti auct. 'As if each were assured that the gods sanctioned his hopes.' The quisque is not merely used distributively with the collective rati, but is made an integral part of the abl. abs. in which it is introduced as a subject. Livy does this elsewhere with quisque as xxi. 24. 4, relictis suis quisque stationibus in...locum concurreunt, and with ipse as iv. 44. 10, causa ipse pro se dicta damnatur, xxxviii. 47. 7, causam apud vos accusantibus meis ipse legatis dico, and with plerique, as xxxiii. 9. 11, deinde omissis plerique armis capessunt fugam. He does the like in constructions with a gerund as xxv. 28. 11, estimando ipse secum. ii. 38. 6, instigando suos quisque populos effeceret. ix. 29. 8, gerendo soius censuram obtinuit. xiii. 53. 3, ad pecuniam pro facultatibus quisque suis pollicendum. On this peculiarity of Livy's style see Madvig Kleine Philol. Schr. p. 367.

Id mora, quod. Cf. 5. 12, id morari quod.

P. 50, c. XLVI. § 1. territos p. The portents, as seen of old, commonly reflected the prevailing temper whether sanguine or foreboding. Cf. what Bagehot says of such forms of superstition as a source of national weakness. "In historical times, as we know, the panic terror at eclipses has been the ruin of the armies which have felt it; or has made them delay to do something necessary, or rush to do something destructive......A religion full of omens is a military misfortune." Physics and Politics, p. 182.

§ 2. examen, for exagimen, as ala for axilla, mala for maxilla.

§ 3. procuratis. The technical term for the religious ceremonies adopted to propitiate the powers whose displeasure had been shown by natural signs.

obvius fit. Polyb. who gives the clearest account of these operations describes Scipio as crossing first over the Po (probably near Placentia), and then across the Ticinus (probably near Pavia) over the bridge specially built for him, vii.
NOTES. XXI. c. XLVI. §§ 3—10. 215

65. He then, c. 65, describes the two armies marching along the river (which was doubtless the Po), along the bank which faced the Alps (i.e. the left), the Romans having the river on their left, the Carthaginians on the right.

The account of Livy, though less definite, can be harmonized with this. Some have supposed the river of Polyb. along which both armies marched to be the Ticinus, but the Romans could only have had this on their left if they had first marched up one bank, crossed it higher up, and then marched down the other bank—a most improbable manoeuvre. It is strange however that no notice should be taken of the other rivers in the way of the two armies.

§ 4. expediebant, constr. ad synesim, the plural referring to the soldiers of the agmen.

§ 5. sectorumq. r. 'The regular cavalry of the allies,' like our 'heavy dragoons.' Cf. 34. 5, cum robore peditum.

in subeditis, 'in reserve,' but not used in the technical sense of the triarii who formed properly the reserves.

frenatos. Cf. 44. 2.

§ 6. labentius, 'falling from their horses' or 'thrown,' probably from the horses taking fright at the skirmishers.

§ 7. intercursu, a word peculiar to Livy. Cf. ii. 29. 7, xxx. 11. 9.

pubescentis, in his 17th year, according to Polyb. 10. 3.

§ 8. Africanus. Cf. Livy xxx. 45. 7, primus certe hic imperator nomine victa a se gentis est nobilitatus. Hor. Carm. rv.8.18, Ejus qui domita nomen ab Africa | Lucretus redit, and early traditions ascribed a like origin to names such as Coriolanus, but they may have been derived from the origo of the gens, or from later relations of patrocinium.

P. 51, § 9. alius, used almost as ceteri 'the remaining force' which was cavalry. Cf. ii. 17. 6, principes securi percussi, sub corona ventiurnt coloni alii. xxiv. 44. 8, Et alia ludibria oculorum......credita pro veris.

§ 10. malim eq. Livy prefers to attribute the credit to the son, not as being best attested, but as most creditable to Africanus. Polyb. refers to the evidence of C. Lælius the friend of Scipio.

et fama. We may take fama in the abl. as a modal, which is however hazardous, or if we understand fama as the nom., as is much more in accordance with Livy's usage, we may
suppose a break in the construction, or cujus supplied from
quod, i.e. 'as to which the report holds its ground.' Cf.
1. 4. 5, tenet fama lupam cursum flexisse.

c. xlvii. § 2. vasa silentio coll. So xxvii. 47. 8, extinctis
ignibus vigilia prima dato signo ut taciti vasa colligerent. The
signal was not in such cases given, as usually, by the sound of
a trumpet.

castra ab T. Livy does not explicitly notice the crossing
the Ticinus, but that is implied in the withdrawal to the
rates over the Po, and in the advantage of falling back upon
Placentia.

§ 3. Prius...quam...sciret H. Polyb. explains the delay
of H. as due to a belief that the Roman infantry would attack
him.

sexcentos mor. Polyb. makes H. march up to the bridge
on the Ticinus (ἐν τού πρώτου ποταμοῦ) and capture the 600
who were left behind to break the bridge by taking up the
planks (σανίδες) which stretched from pier to pier. H. then
retires ets ῥάφεια παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, that is higher up the
Po to find a suitable spot for crossing. Livy clearly implies
that H. crossed the Ticinus, and found the 600 engaged in
loosing the bridge of boats over the Po, which floated down
the stream (in secundam aquam) when its end was untied.

in citeriore ripa. 'The left bank,' Hannibal's position
being the main idea.

§ 5. Ea peritis. The scruples of Livy seem well founded,
and all probability is against such a mode of crossing. Poly-
bius does not notice it.

fidem fecerint. 'Inspire confidence.' Cf. l. 16. 8, facta fide
immortalitatis. Caesar Bell. Gall. vi. 41. 2, ut...Volusenus...
fidem non faceret adesse Casarem.

ut iam. 'Even allowing that.' Cf. Hor. Epod. l. 21, non
ut adsit auxili | latura plus presentibus.

P. 52, § 8. sex millia a Placentia. Nothing is here said of
either army crossing the Trebia on its way to Placentia, and
the language of both Livy and Polybius is general enough for
any position in the neighbourhood. Niebuhr and others have
assumed that Scipio retreated to the east of Trebia, and that
Hannibal following him thither cut him off from his com-
munications with Rome. This view seems quite untenable for
the following reasons:

(1) We hear afterwards of Scipio crossing the Trebia and
taking up his position on hilly ground near it. If this new
position had been on the left bank, he would have been isolated from his allies the Cenomani to the North, from the Road to Rome on the East, and from Placentia, which was his natural base, and a fortified town with a garrison of 6000 colonists.

(3) The union between Sempronius and himself would have been endangered, yet we hear of no conflict as if H. stood between the two armies.

(3) The Trebia was between H. and Scipio, and the attempt made to gain possession of Clastidium which lay on the West naturally though not necessarily points to H. being also to the West.

It would seem therefore on the whole most probable that Scipio’s camp was at first to the West of the Trebia, and that he crossed at last to get nearer his base and put the river between himself and H. It is doubtful however whether Livy intended this, and had he been careful of geography he might have expressed himself more clearly.

The language of Polybius is also vague, Περι πόλων Πλακεντίας, but may point to the conclusion adopted, which is opposed however to the view of Niebuhr, Arnold, Liddell and Weissenborn, but has been adopted by Mommsen.

c. XLVIII. § 3. signum defectionis. Scipio therefore fell back nearer to the road to Rome and to Ariminum, without quite giving up his communications with Placentia. But he removed as far as possible from the country of the Gauls.

contactus. ‘Tainted, implicated.’ This word is often used by Livy in derivative senses as contactos rabie, societate belli, violazione templi, regia præda, fœnibribus diris and then extended to things, as unlucky days, and auspicia.

adhuc. Here and often by Livy used for etiam tum, strictly it should mean ‘up to now.’ Cicero seldom uses it except of the present.

§ 6. citra, as 47. 3, ‘on their side’ of the agent, not the writer.

P. 53, § 7. tactati, ‘irritated,’ so we read of jactationem cicatricis, xiii. 32. 12, and vulneris, xxi. 19. 5. Some MSS. have jactantī agreeing with via, with which less probable reading cf. jactatio maritima, 26. 5.

ratus expectandum. It would have been a strange way of waiting for reinforcements to allow the enemy to occupy the road by which they must come. See above, on 47. 8.

§ 8. anxius inopia. This is not very likely as many of the Gauls behind were friends and the country was very rich.
Polyb. ii. 15 in another part of his history dwells in emphatic terms on the fertility of Cisalpine Gaul, which evidently surprised him by its contrast to the poor and exhausted soil of Greece. The innkeeper, he says, does not care to enter the details of his guest's food, but boards him for the whole day for half an as.

excipiebat. For this secondary sense cf. v. 42. 3, nec tranquilli
tor nox diem tam fude actum except.

Clastidium was the scene of the victory of M. Claudius Marcellus over the Gallic chief Virdumarus in the late war (Pol. ii. 84), and a play of Nævius was called after its name. It was a principal station on the road between Genua and Cremona, though afterwards only a vicus dependent on Placentia. On its site at Casteggio, an inscription has been found in which a guild of cobblers of Placentia who were living at Clastidium were made trustees of a sum to be spent in honour of the dead rosa et amarantho et epulis perpetue co-

lendam.

numerus, often used for quantity. Cf. Cíc. Phil. ii. 27. 66, maximus vini numerus.

§ 9. nummis aureis. There was as yet no gold coinage in Italy, Spain, or Africa. Mommsen, R. Münzwesen, 671. For Spain and Italy there is only negative evidence, for Rome Pliny 33. 8. 47 tells us that gold was coined 51 years (or 62 in most MSS.) after silver, and that was begun B.C. 267, Liv. Epit. 15. Livy therefore as usual adopts the terms of a later age.

prefecto. This term is always used to refer to the delegate of a higher official, whether civil or military: not to the elect of an assembly. It was one of frequent use under the empire, and passed into modern language as préfet.

Id horreum. Convenient enough if H. was on the W. of the Trebia: less so if all the supplies had to cross the river.

§ 10. savitum. A bold example of the pass. form of neut. verbs, which Livy often uses.

c. xlix. § 1. constitisset. 'Was at a standstill.'

imminentes. 'Close to.' Cf. xli. 1. 2, minnet mari is lacus.

et ante adventum. 'As well as before.' These words are inserted as an afterthought, without reference to the interim, which they are not consistent with.
§ 2. novem L. '9 reached L.' It seems better to understand some verb such as attigerunt, rather than assume a different construction in two clauses with tenuerunt (cursum) with and without ad, though both constructions are freely used by Livy, as i. 1. 3, xxi. 22. 2. Strabo, rv. 2. 10, speaks of the seven Liparaean islands, of which the greatest was Lipara. The plural may be used for the town as W. suggests, or be used for the islands generally. Cf. v. 28. 2.

insulae Vulc. Its name was Thermessa, Ἰάραν λευκὴ 'Hēleiōn καλόβοι. Strabo gives a long account of volcanic action visible on the island, which lay between Sicily and the Lipara group.

§ 3. Hierone. Like Hanno at Carthage, Hiero of Syracuse lived to remember the 1st Punic war, in which he had borne an important part. At first an ally of Carthage he transferred himself soon to the winning side, to which he was uniformly faithful.

nullo repugnante. 'Without resistance.'

§ 4. veteres socios. A great part of Sicily once belonged to Carthage, but they were gradually driven to the Western Coast, and held only Motye Solois and Panormus. In the rivalries of the Greek republics they found frequent occasions of interference, as the weaker party in the struggle turned to them for help. The 1st war however put an end to that, and secured the island to Rome.

P. 54, § 6. Sicilia prov. It was strictly speaking assigned to Sempronius, but as he was possibly to cross into Africa, the Prefect Æmilius was also appointed to it.

§ 7. legati. Besides the envoys so called, who were sent on extraordinary missions, there were regular officers, attached to the consular army, or the legion, as lieutenant-generals.

tribuni. Attached to each legion, six in number.

§ 8. The whole passage is very corrupt in the MSS., but the corrections of Madvig have been generally received. His earlier suggestion of strepere for teneri has not been admitted into the text. The change of form from missi (sunt) to teneri is in itself awkward, the MSS. read et ubi... ne quis moram, to which Madvig objects that the terms of the edict would be general, and not addressed to the sailors individually, and he therefore corrects it to ne quid, which would explain the object of the foregoing direction. The et he changes to ut, but this seems questionable. Ut ne is a pleonasm used by Cicero, but rarely by later writers, and Drakenborch doubts whether Livy wrote it in the three passages in which the MSS.
have it, xxxiv. 17. 8, xlii. 41. 10, and xlv. 23. 4, in all of which moreover the ut ne are found close together. It seems better to omit the et or ut. For the unmeaning word simili of the MSS. he reads missis, as an abl. abs. like edicto prop. W. prefers missi, with the sunt omitted, like the missi legati above. Hasenmüller suggests missi milites, which includes many of the letters found in the simili of the best MS. (Rhein. Mus. 1868.)

socii navales. In early days the Roman fleet was of little importance, and service in the navy ranked far lower than in the army. The ships were partly manned from the allies, and the coast towns were especially required to furnish their contingents of marines and rowers. Hence the term socii navales, though Romans of narrow means and libertini were also called upon to serve. This lower status lasted on even under the empire, as may be proved from the official careers indicated in the Inscriptions.


§ 10. conclamatum, concensum, præsensum, v. 48. 10, savitum.

§ 11. demendis arm. Cf. Drakenb., dicuntur demi armamenta quum vela contrahuntur, mali inclinantur, antennes componuntur; quod in pugna navali solemne erat.

§ 13. memoria... There had been much hard fighting about Lilybaenum in the 1st war. It was the scene of an obstinate siege, conducted by the Romans with great pertinacity, as well as of a disastrous storm which wrecked their fleet.

c. l. § 1. conserere p. 'To come to close quarters.'

§ 2. eludere, 'manoeuvre;' 'avoid the shock.' Cf. n. 49. 7 and xxii. 18. 3, hostem...statarium pugnae genere facile elusit. The Carthaginians had been much the more skilful in the 1st war, and the great victories of Rome were mainly gained by devices which paralysed the pilot's skill, and reduced matters to a trial of strength, as by the machine of Duilius, which locked the vessels together and enabled the Romans to board the enemy's ships.

§ 3. affatim = ad fatim, 'to weariness,' or 'satiety.' Usque ad fatim, Plaut. Poen. iii. 1. 31. Cf. fatiscere, fatigare, which Corssen i. 450 connects with the root of fames, hiscere, haurium, kauw. In form the adverb is like obviam, illico, perviam, extemplo, propemodum, &c., as combination of prepos. and case.
NOTES. XXI. c. l. § 3—c. li. § 2. 221

P. 55. sicubi conserta. ‘Whenever a ship was laid alongside of an enemy.’

§ 4. sua is used with reference to R., which though not a nominative is the real subject of the thought. ‘The R. were encouraged by their numbers.’

§ 5. tres nobles. Note the small number of Carthaginians of good family who were serving on board; the size of the fleet too was quite inadequate to its work, and indicates a growing neglect of the navy at Carthage.

§ 6. perforata. ‘Stove in.’

§ 7. classem ornare is to fit out with tackle, sails, oars, &c. Cf. ix. 30. 2, duumviro navales classis ornanda refici- endaque causa.

instructam. Some epithet must have dropped out here, and this one supplied by Madvig is as likely as any.

§ 8. prætoriam. Note the use of the adj. as in prætorium for general’s tent, and prætor. cohors, though the consul was higher in military rank. But ‘consul’ was later in Italian usage, and pointed in its form to the dual office, rather than to the high rank.

§ 10. quibusdam volentibus. Livy here seems to copy a familiar Greek idiom, and to make volentibus a sort of dativus comm. with fore. ‘Some would be well pleased with a revolution.’ Cf. Sall. Jug. 84. 3, neque plebei militia volenti putabatur, Tac. Ann. i. 59, ut quibusque bellum invitus aut cupidissimum erat. Yet the constr. is not found elsewhere in Livy, and it is possible to take volentibus as an abl. abs., and the position of the words agrees best with this view.

c. li. § 1. Melitam. Malta, 88 miles from the Sicilian Pachynus. Strabo speaks only of the Maltese dogs in connection with it. It was an early Phoenician settlement, and the little island Gaulus close by has some remarkable remains of Phoenician art. On the question whether it was the same as the Melita of Acts xxviii. see J. Smith on the Voyage and Shipwreck of St Paul, p. 160.

P. 56, § 2. sub corona venterunt. ‘Were sold by auction.’ Aul. Gell. vn. 4 explains the phrase as derived from the garland put on the head of the slave offered for sale, or from the circle of soldiers or bystanders (vulgi stante corona) gathered round the captives. He prefers the former explanation. A like phrase is ‘sub hasta ven.’ from the spear, as a symbol of the force on which the slavery rested. This has lasted on in the Subasta = auction in modern Italian.
§ 3. insulas Vulcain. Here used as a general expression for the whole group of the Lipare, of which Thermessa was specially ins. Vulc.

§ 4. nam forte is a probable correction of Madvig for jam forte, which is abrupt and unusual.

Vibonienae agro. In the west of Bruttium. The Locrarian colony of Hipponium was taken by Rome and called Vibo Valentina. Strabo vi. 1. 5.

§ 6. mari supero. The terms superum and inferum are commonly used of the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas respectively. Polybius says, iii. 61, that the legionaries were told to make their way as they could to Ariminum at a fixed date, probably because the transports were not sufficient for so large a force. It will be seen that the R. generals did not spare the marching powers of the soldiers, if, as Polyb. states, they reached Ariminum in 40 days from Lilybæum, iii. 68.

§ 7. oram legens. So litora legens, xxxv. 27. 6. The shorter road across the Apennines from Genoa was avoided, as the Ligurians could not be depended on to allow the army a safe passage, while on the great road, which was afterwards the Via Æmilia, they were nearer to the colonies and magazines on the Po.

profectus ad Tretiam. Nothing is said of the route of Sempronius, or of any attempt of Hannibal to prevent a junction of the two consular armies, yet we should expect to hear of this, if H. had been between the two, as most critics have believed.

c. lxxi. § 1. The subject to declarabat is the sentence ambo cons. et q., which in English we should make an independent clause, 'as both consuls, &c. it was clear.'... This is a feature of Livy's involved style, as is also the use of the past part.

oppositum, for an abstract subst. oppositio.

spem nullam al. This is absurd, for Italy could raise many armies, as was proved by the muster-rolls given by Polyb. just before in the Gallic war.

§ 2. The et minitus of the MSS. is no doubt corrupt; even if some word has dropped out minitus, though not impossible, is harsh for 'dis spirited,' for the Homeric μυρόβευω quoted in illustration does little to support the reading. Madv. doubtfully suggests admonitus instead.

trahe rem. Used also ii. 61. 5, like the colloquial 'drag along,' so trahere bellum, comitia, &c., and extrahere, pro-
trahere.
recentis animi. A common form in Livy. Cf. iii. 38. 8, préferocis animi, xxii. 29. 8, infini ingenii.

§ 3. inter Treblam. These were most likely to the east of the Trebia, for on the west lay the Ligures, and the Gallic allies of H., as the Insubres. § 9 implies that some at least were to the west, if the R. were on the east of the T.

per ambiguous, i.e. maintaining friendly attitude to both sides, and so doubtless intending to gain the good will of the conqueror.

P. 57, § 4. modo ne quid. 'Provided only that they did not.' Cf. tantum ne, 19. 5.

§ 6. ad id dubios. 'Up to that time undecided.'

ab auct. To be taken with declinant. 'Turn from the authors of the outrage to those who they hoped would avenge it.'

§ 7. inidia...peridia. The Romans used these epithets very freely of any races who made a bold stand for their independence.

ut alia v. 'If other memories of the past could be forgotten.' Cf. ii. 38. 2, ut omnia obliviscamini alia, hanc con-
tumeliam quo tandem animo fertis.

§ 8. 'S. urged that the best ties to strengthen the loyalty of their allies (dat. of the aim of the action) would be found in the defence of the first who claimed their help.' The use of defenso for an abstract substantive is a bold construction, like oppositum in § 1.

§ 9. Coll. cunctante is Madvig's correction for the reading cum collegam cunctantem, with no verb to complete it. Corssen derives collega, not from legere, but from the same root as lex, legatus, ligare, privilegium, in the sense of 'bound to-
gether with,' like conjuges.

§ 10. ad hoc. Often used by Livy like Greek πός οὖντος. Cf. 54. 8, 55. 6.

inopinato. Madvig's correction for inopinatos, which is not used for inopinantes.

§ 11. The MSS. gave sequentesque cunque, which was probably corrected by Gronovius to the present text. The words cedes penes in italics are a suggestion of Madvig to complete what would be else a hopeless passage. W. has done well to withdraw his earlier conjecture of Romano, understanding famâ vict. with hostium.
c. LIII. § 1. maior, i.e. victoria, from the last line.

P. 58, § 3. senescendum. This is a favourite metaphor with Livy. ‘Dotage,’ cf. i. 22. 8, senescere civitatem otio ratus, v. 21. 7, senescit pugna.

Quid. ‘To what purpose.’

aut. ‘Or rather.’ Cf. v. 52. 6, quid alia...cui oblivioni aut negligentiae damus.

§ 4. Siciliam s. Referring probably to the Carthaginian fleet sent to ravage the coast of Sicily, &c., c. 51.

§ 5. ingemiscant. The pres. subj. implies that the shades of their ancestors were actually conscious of the disgrace.

bellare soliti. A rhetorical extravagance in generalizing from the campaign of Regulus, itself disastrous.

§ 6. contionabundus. ‘As if haranguing the soldiery.’ The form in -bundus is a favourite one with Livy. Cf. iii. 47. 2, hæc prope contionabundus circumbat homines, ii. 38. 2, ibi in contionis modum orationem exorsus.

comitiorum. Here put for ‘elections,’ though the Comitia met for legislative as well as elective ends.

ne in novos cons. ‘To another year.’ For the common idiom of putting the consuls for the year, cf. xli. 8, legati ad novos magistratus dilati. They took office on the Ides of March, and it was now winter. This jealousy of successors in office had often a sinister influence on Roman policy. Campaigns were rashly undertaken to gain speedy victories, and important measures neglected because they would not produce their results until a rival’s turn came to profit by them.

§ 8. haud diffidebat. Livy’s use of haud instead of non is commonly confined to those verbs which imply some sort of negative meaning like dubito, panitet, aspernor, displicet, abnue, &c. Cf. Fabri.

P. 59, § 11. facere, si cess. ‘To force an engagement, if hesitation were shown.’

c. LIV. § 1. rivus. An unknown streamlet, W. of the Trebia, possibly one that flows by Casaleggio.

obitus. Cf. i. 15. 8, partem militum locis circa densa ob-sita virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis fusiit.

tegendo. The earlier editors all read ad equites tegendos, a more usual constr. than the dative gerund which most MSS.
have. Madvig remarks, *nullum prosa orationis certum exemplum novi ubi dativus gerundii accusativum regat.* He thinks that perhaps we ought to read *equiti* which is found in an inferior MS.

§ 2. centenos. The distributive is used because there were the same number both of horse and foot.

corpora curare. Frequent in Livy. Cf. *cudem curare.* In English we do not particularize, but say ‘refresh themselves.’

§ 3. prætorium. The staff, or council of war, consisting of *legati, tribuni, centuriones primi pili, and praefecti,* so called from meeting in the general’s tent. On the use of *missum* for ‘dismissed,’ cf. the origin of the term *mass,* from the last words of the service *missa est.*


turmis. Troops of 30 horsemen, ten of which formed the cavalry of each legion. Varro, Ling. Lat. v. 91, explains the word *turma terima (e in u abiti) quod ter deni equites ex tribus tribubus fiebant.*

manipulis. Each legion had 30 maniples of 100 infantry each. Afterwards each *manipulus* was divided into two *centuriae.* They were called from the bundle of hay, which in rude days was the sign of each, *perticas manipulis fani varie formatas in summo junctas.* Aur. Vict. Orig. R. 22. 4.

§ 4. mille eq. mille ped. Livy is fond of this sort of repetition without a conjunction. Cf. 1. 25. 12, *fessum vulnere fessum cursu.*

Magone. The MSS. have *Magoni* and no *cum,* which, or some equivalent, seems required.

infecto cert. Cf. xxxiv. 4. 15, *iniicere certamen uxoribus.*

§ 6. The MSS. have *destinatum,....consilio,* ‘to the struggle which he had long been planning,’ possibly understanding *certamen* or *id quod,* but the constr. is harsh, and is therefore corrected by Madvig. Sempronius neglected in this battle the most elementary rules of war. He fought with a river in his rear, where defeat was ruin. He exposed his army to attack while crossing in full view of the enemy, and he ignored the most obvious precautions as to food and sold. On the other hand, Hannibal’s confidence in his own genius is shown in letting the Roman army cross the river and form upon the bank without taking advantage of their confusion. His policy was not to defeat merely, but to annihilate the enemy, and to prove to the world that he was more than a match for the Romans on a fair field.
NOTES. XXI. c. liv. § 8 — c. lv. § 4.

P. 60, § 8. quicquid. 'The nearer they came to the currents of air about the river, the more piercing was the frosty breeze.' Cf. vii. 32. 4, quicquid ab urbe longius proferrent arma, viii. 39. 3, quicquid progredebantur, where quicquid is used adverbially for quanto magis.

§ 9. pectoribus tenus aucta. 'Swollen so as to be breast high.' Proleptically.

utique egressis. 'The more so as they stepped out of the water.'

c. lv. § 2. octo f. militia. This number is too large for the B. only, and Madvig therefore inserts ac before levem. Polyb. iii. 72 says τοῖς λογχοφόροις καὶ Βαλεαρεῖς.

virium...roboris. Cf. the same combination xxii. 1. 2. Robur emphasizes the power of endurance. Cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 4. 6, quantum illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quietes.

§ 3. receptui. The dative is one of a class of verbal substantives and gerundival expressions, which may be explained as the dative of the contemplated end, as decemviri legibus scribendis, oleas usui optime condi, &c. The signum receptui becomes a compound subject in the nomin., as iii. 22. 10, si receptui cecintisset. Cf. Roby Lat. Gr. ii. xxxii.

§ 4. Duodeviginti, i.e. five legions, after deducting losses in Gaul and garrisons in Sicily. But Polyb. reckons only 16,000, and specifies that as the strength of the four legions which both consuls combined on great occasions. He repeatedly says that the socii furnished about as many infantry, and three times as many cavalry as the Romans. The muster-rolls contained 325,000 B. with 443,000 socii in Italy fit for service at this time. The auxilia were now Italian; Cisalpine Gaul was not yet considered as Italy.

nominis Lat. This term originally applied to the towns in Latium only, who stood in definite relation to the Roman state. Gradually however some of these were drawn closer to the mistress city, and their inhabitants admitted to the full franchise, while their place was taken by fresh colonies that were sent out, and by communities of central Italy, which were raised to the same status. In course of time therefore the nomen Latinum became more political and less ethnic in its associations. It now included a few towns in Latium, the Latin colonies, and most of the tribes in the centre.

Cenomanorum. These, with the Veneti, had been the only Gauls faithful to Rome in the recent Gallic war, and even their fidelity had been mistrusted, cf. Polyb. ii. 28. They held the country between the Adda and the Adige, where they had
settled after their migration from Gaul (Livy v. 34). Brixia (Brescia) was their capital.

§ 5. diducta is a correction of Drakenb. for deducta; for the leves armatura sunt of the MSS. Madvig replaces levis armatura, as the plural is quite unnecessary.

P. 61, § 8. quas recentes... We require in English a less involved constr. 'for the Carth. had come in the freshness of their strength.'

Restitissent... 'Their courage would have held out.'

§ 10. Tamen. For the position and context of t. Fabri compares i. 24. 1, tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet.

§ 11. velites. Livy uses this term proleptically, for xxvi. 4. 5 he describes the formation of a class of light troops so called, to be carried behind the horsemen, and to dismount when it came to close quarters. They were incorporated with the legions (institutum ut velites in legionibus essent) as they were better armed with parma and gladius than therorarif erentarii accensi velati of early times, who now disappear from sight. The velites themselves were abolished by Marius. For their use against elephants, cf. Vegetius iii. 24, praecipue velites antiqui adversum elephentos ordinant.

ad id ipsum. The MSS. omit the id, as they do eos in v. 43. 4, per ipso dies, contrary to the ordinary usage. On the need of supplying the demonstrative, cf. Madvig on Cic. de fin. iii. 27.

verutis. Livy had mentioned this dart as one of the weapons of the 4th class of the Servian centuries, i. 43. 6.

c. lvi. § 1. adversus G. The Gauls had less experience of elephants than the Romans, who had learnt their habits in the 1st war.

Hannibal. The position of the subject at the end of the sentence is characteristic of the difference between the order of ancient and modern languages, which is here pushed to an extreme.

§ 2. in orbem pugn. The form implies two ideas, the being forced in orbem, and the fighting in that order. Sallust Jug. 97 thus explains it, Romani veteres et ob id scientes bellii, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat, orbis faceret, atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi simul vim sustentabant. It thus resembles our 'forming square.' Cf. ii. 50. 5, orbem colligere, rv. 28. 8, orbem volventes suos, Cæsar B. G. v. 33. 3, in orbem consisterent.

15—2
qua Gallicis is a correction of Madvig for quae G. of the MSS. The centre was formed of all the infantry, not of Gauls and Africans alone.

P. 62, § 3. Placentiam recto it. Livy and Polyb. both mention the retreat of this body to P. without adding that they crossed over a bridge. If we hold to the view that the battle was fought on the west of the Trebia, we must assume that they crossed by a permanent bridge held by the garrison of P., or in boats which they may have found, as in § 8.

§ 5. audaciam ingr. Perhaps to balance the cunctatio ingrediendi just above. In itself it is an unusual expression, audacia being commonly used by itself.

§ 8. saudorum is added to make sense of the passage which is very harsh without some such epithet, even if magna ex parte be taken, as Fabri suggests, with trajicent. Beside m. ex parte Livy uses maxima parte, magna parte, and partem magnam much in the same sense of 'mainly'.

ratibus T. This seems decisive as to Livy's view that the battle was fought on the Eastern bank, while the camp was on the W. of the Trebia, improbable as it is on all accounts. Polyb. has no corresponding passage, and Livy's authority in matters of geography is very slight.

c. LVII. § 1. urbem Romanam. Heerwagen notes that L. uses this expression at times with a certain rhetorical emphasis, cf. III. 7. 1.

§ 2. alterum. This is a correction of Madvig for the altero...revocato of the MSS., which mars the antithesis, and involves an awkward series of phrases.

quas alias leg. There were many legions yet to be called out, as subsequent events proved. Polyb. instead of such exaggerations speaks of the reinforcements sent to Sicily and elsewhere, and remarks that the Romans were most formidable in times of crisis, III. 75.

§ 3. ingenti periculo. A very unnecessary exposure, as a dictator or interrex might have conducted the elections. Polyb. says that Sempr. concealed his losses in the despatches to Rome, and does not mention the journey. As he passed through Rome on his way to Trebia (Polyb. III. 68) he might easily have held the elections there.

P. 63. fallendi. 'Of escaping notice,' cf for this absolute use 48. 5. XXII. 33. 1.
NOTES. XXI. c. LVII. § 4—c. LVIII. § 3. 229

§ 4. C. Flaminius. Fabri remarks that as Flam. was consul in B.C. 222, the word iterum must have slipped out, for Livy seldom omitted it after the 4th book. It is left out however in xxii. 15. 6, after M. Atius Regulus.

§ 5. ut quaeque. 'Where the ground was too rough for them;' i.e. marshes or hills.

Celtiberis L. Cf. xxii. 18. 3.

§ 6. Emporium. The Greek ἐμπορεῖον = trading place or magazine (cf. Cheap-side, Chipping Norton, Copenhagen) gave a name to many places, as to the Emporiae of 60. 2.

plurimum in cal. 'His hopes of success depended chiefly on keeping his plan secret.' ad effectum to be taken after spat.

Hannibal could bring no siege train with him over the Alps, and could not risk long delay in besieging the Roman fortresses, with their large garrisons of colonists, while the fickle Gauls were waiting for the issue.

§ 7. consul. Sempronius had gone to Rome, § 3, and Scipio to Cremona, 56. 9. Livy either forgot this statement, or neglected to mention the return of Scipio to Placentia.

§ 9. Victumvias. Like Victumulae or Ictumuli in form, and probably to be identified with it. Cf. note on 45. 3.

§ 10. finitimis pop. This may refer to the Ligures as well as the different tribes of Gauls.

§ 12. Magis agmina...‘more of a crowd than an army,’ a phrase repeated in xxv. 34. 9 and elsewhere.

P. 64, § 14. scribentibus. Equivalent to scriptoribus = historians.

omnis...editum exemplum. An elliptical expression for 'acts were done...to stand out as a precedent for.' Cf. xxv. 31. 9, quum multa ira multa avaritia fata exempla ederentur.

hibernae exped. None of these winter operations are mentioned by Polyb.

c. LVIII. § 2. Ligures. Cf. 59. 10. This may account for the roundabout journey of Sempronius from Sicily.

§ 3. Transseuntm Ap. This expedition into Etruria is not noticed by Polybius. The Etrurians had before combined with the Gauls against Rome, and there seemed hope that they might rise again, especially as they were so distinct in race from the other peoples of central Italy. H. wished doubtless
to relieve the Gauls of the burden of maintaining his army, but it is most likely that he wanted to open communications with the Carthaginian fleet, which had orders to cruise off Pisa (Pol. iii. 96). He probably moved by a shorter pass towards the coast, rather than that which he traversed later in the spring. This movement may account for the fact that Sempronius took up his winter quarters at Luca, to watch the outlets of the maritime Alps, and to protect the coast road to Rome.

vertice intorti affligebantur. 'Were dashed to the ground by the whirlwind.' The use of a participle in Latin for a prepos. as in tra, misericordia motus, &c. is very common: the use of intorti seems an extension of the same idiom, the distinctive meaning of the word being really part of the idea of the vertex, cf. Nägelsbach 330. Yet the phrase is used elsewhere as in xxviii. 30. 13, navem videre vertice retro intortam. For the meaning of vertex see Quintil. viii. 2. 7, vertex est contorta in se agua vel quiquid aliud similiter vertitur. For affligebantur, cf. the old reading in 35. 12.

§ 6. capti auribus. Cf. ii. 36. 11, captus omnibus membris, or 'having lost the use of,' so pedibus, animo captus.

§ 7. explicare, of the canvas, statuere, of the tent poles.

P. 65, § 2. extollere...levare. Most of the MSS. have attollere, for which Heerwagen compares Verg. Æn. rv. 690, ter sese attollens cubitoque annixa levavit. But extoll., a more graphic term, expressive of the effort to rise from the strages.

§ 10. movere is used after caepere understood in est captus.

opem...inops. Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 16. 28, magnas inter opes inops.

§ 11. elephanti. Polyb. says that only one survived the cold and storms at Trebia, but probably he is anticipating the result of the year's campaign.

c. lix. § 1. There is something rather meaningless in the movements of H. towards Placentia and in general too much seems to be compressed into the short winter, as the battle of Trebia could not have been fought before December. Polyb. ignores all these operations.

§ 3. vincerent, i.e. Romani understood in res Romana.

§ 4. in media c. Into the centre of the camp, where they would be unseen by the enemy and be ready to issue in any direction.
NOTES. XXI. c. lix. § 5—c. lx. § 3. 231

§ 5. Romanus, for the R. general as Pænus for H.


P. 66, § 7. The MSS. reading is pugna raro magis ullaecaut utriusque...for which W. suggests magis ulla sava aut...which is a very awkward collocation. It is better to leave a blank as no adjective would come in happily, and the passage is corrupt. Madvig thinks 'magis dubia aut,' probable.

§ 8. plus, with two constr., with abl. sexcentis and nom. dimidium. Eius 'that number.'

§ 9. equestris ord. al. In early days at Rome the equites had been drawn exclusively from the nobler and wealthier classes, but after a time an increasing number of volunteers were allowed to serve on horseback, while the equites equo publico were relieved of the obligation of service. The latter were often sons of senators, or men of high position, but the cavalry did not long rank high in the army, and was drawn largely from the allies. Strictly the phrase equest. ordo is an anachronism, as no such distinction was made before the Gracchi.

The term 'praefecti' was especially used for the officers of the allied contingents, as well as of the navy, cf. 61. 4. In the Roman army it was little used till the time of the Empire.

§ 10. Luca was on the Ausar (Serchio) and made a colony B.C. 178, having been gained from the Ligures soon after the 1st Punic war. It was often made the head-quarters of J. Caesar. This movement of Sempronius is quite unexplained by Livy, and is ignored by Polybius. It was probably to guard the coast road to Rome, and passes of the mountains by which Hannibal might open his communications with the fleets of Carthage, see note on 58. 3. But it was hazardous to leave the road by Ariminum unguarded.

c. lix. § 2. Emporiae, now Ampurias on the coast of Catalonia, had been one of the early Phœcean colonies, most of which, with the exception of Massilia, fell before the Phœncians. It is to be distinguished from the African Emporia round the Syrtis Minor.

§ 3. Laetania. So read by Madvig instead of Lasetanis (cf. 23. 2), who were further inland. Strabo says, iii. 47, that from the Pillars to Tarraco there was no good harbour except Nova Carthago εὐτεύθεν ὁ ἡδή τὰ ἐξῆς εὐλιμένα καὶ χώρα διάθη τῶν τε Λευτρανῶν καὶ....μεσχὶ Εμμερίου. Pliny too while describing the populations on the coast mentions the Cessetani
near Tarraco, the Illeretes on the river Rubricatus, a quo Laetani et Indigetes. Ptolemy locates them near the Rubricatus and Barcino. Cf. Hübner, Hermes, l. 340.

§ 4. non ad maritimae. We may explain the ad either as taken with fama conciliata, like r. 26. 4, ingrati ad vulgus judiciti, or more probably as the local extension of valuit, 'spread to.'

auxillorurn. Used of non-Italian allies, Fest. Epit. 17, auxiliares dicuntur in bello socii Romanorum extarerum nationum.

cohortes. The usual term for the divisions of the contingents of the Italian socii, as distinct from the legions. Each cohort had from 400 to 600 men, and there were 10 of them in an ala, which answered to the legion.

P. 67, § 7. Nec magni cert. 'Nor was the battle vigorously disputed,' a gen. of quality as praeda parvi pretii manc. § 8.

captuntur. A constr. ad synesim, the subject being the plural understood in dux cum militibus. Cf. xxii. 21. 4, tribunus cum...missi, according to the MS. reading. This constr. is rare except when the subject is separated from the predicate by intermediate clauses as Sallust. Cat. 48, Lentulus cum ceteris...constituerant, or Jug. 101.

Cissis seems to represent the capital of the tribe Cessetani, who appear in Pliny iii. 3. 21, and Ptolemy, ii. 6. 17, in close connection with Tarraco, where numerous coins have been discovered with inscriptions, kesse, kese, kse in characters common on Iberian coins.

§ 8. parvi pret. and vilium manc. both genitives of qual. after praeda, though the constr. is broken by supellex barb. which is in apposition with praeda.

c. lxi. § 1. accideret. Cf. 10. 12, nomen famaque ejus accideret.

mille equitum. An unusual constr., the genitive being put for the abl. owing to its close connection with peditum, which properly follows the substantival militibus. Cf. xxiii. 44. 10, mille passuum inter urbem erant castraque.

§ 2. Tarraco was planted on a high limestone rock, which overlooked the sea and the sunny plain, whose wines were praised by Martial as rivalling the Falernian. There are still remains of the walls, whose huge polygonal masonry points to the work of the Iberian tribes, before the fortress was chosen
by the Romans as a convenient centre for their operations during the war with Hannibal. As such they strengthened it till it became their great stronghold. *Scipionum opus sicut Carthago Panorum,* Pliny iii. 3. 21. Its bad roadstead however made it far inferior to its rival, which became the capital of the nearer Province, though in later days Strabo, iii. 4. 7, said that Tarraco was become as populous. See also note on Livy xxii. 22. 2.

**classicos milites.** 'Marines.' The allied towns on the coast often had to furnish a contingent of these. In later Latin *classici* stands absolutely without *milites.*

§ 4. **animadvertisset.** 'Inflicted punishment.'

P. 68, § 5. **Hergetum.** Cf. 23. 2, as also for the Ausetani.

§ 8. **Ausetanos.** The description, *prope Hiberum,* is probably a mistake of Livy, as the geographers put them near Vich and Gerona, cf. 23. 2. Scipio most likely attacked the Ausetani first, and then the Læstani, who lay along the coast as far as Barcelona, and finally the powerful Hergetes, whom Ptolemy describes as reaching to Ærda. If Livy is right, Scipio may have pushed on to attack first the chief tribe that had revolted, without waiting to chastise the rest till his return. Cf. Hübner, Hermes, i. 93.

§ 10. **minus quattuor.** For the omission of *quam* cf. Lucr. iv. 415, *digitum non amplior unum,* and Verg. Ecl. iii. 105, *tres pateat cali spatium non amplius ulnas.*

**pluteos.** The pl. was a sort of semicircular hurdle covered with skins, and moved on three castors, as a screen to the besieging engineers. Veget. iv. 15, *plutei qui ad similitudinem absidis contexuntur et vimine et ciliis vel coris protegentur, ternisque rotulis, quam una in medio, duas in capitis apponuntur,...admoventur.*

**tutamentum.** A very rare word.

c. lxii. For general information on the subject of this chapter, and explanation of the technical terms, see the Ex cursus on the Roman Religion. The list of portents recounted here, and in the next book of Livy, are doubtless extracted directly, or through the Annalists from the records of the *collegium pontificum.* They may seem ludicrous to a modern reader, but it would be rash to assume, as has been lately suggested, that they were intended by Livy to stir any feeling of ridicule or disbelief. It was enough for his purpose to
pourtray the boding fears, and the readiness to listen to such stories; elsewhere he speaks of the *negligentia qua nihil deos portendere nunc credunt*, yet Dion Cassius, one of the devoutest of historians, inserts like lists centuries later.

§ 2. *foro alitorio*. The herb market was between the Capitoline hill and the Tiber; the temple of Spes just beyond the *porta Carmentalis* was twice burnt down and restored.

*triumphum clam.* The common cry was *Io triumphe*, probably here referred to. Cf. *xxiv. 10. 4*, *infantem in utero matris Io triumphe clamasse*. *Hor. Carm. iv. 2. 50*. *Triumphus* is a Latinized form of ὀπλαμβος.

P. 69, § 3. *f. boario*. Between the Circus Maximus and the Tiber, one of the most crowded thoroughfares in Rome.

§ 4. *Lanuvii. Amiternino...* Only those portents were regarded as of state concern, the scene of which was *ager Romamus*. The spaces specified in this chapter, and *xxii. 1*, ranked by this time as Roman territory.

*in aedem Innonis*, i.e. of *Juno Sospita* *xxii. 1. 17*, whose great temple is often mentioned, and was restored as late as the Antonines.

§ 5. *hominum specie*. A modal abl. with *visos*, though in sense it forms the subject, and *visos* is the predicate. We feel in sentences like these the want of a Latin partic. like the Greek ὀρτες to define the subject. Cf. *iii. 57. 9*, *non juniores modo sed etiam (ol) emeritis stipendiis (شرط)*.

*Cære*, now Cervetri (*Cære vetus*), often mentioned as the scene of prodigies. Its religious associations with Rome were of early date, and are connected with the story of the Vestal Virgins taking refuge there from the Gauls. Festus' derivation of *caremonia* from it, fanciful as it is, points in the same direction.

*sortes extenuatas*. The *sortes* which thus 'shrank' were slips of wood, on which proverbial phrases were written in archaic letters, and from which one or more were drawn at random when advice or guidance might be needed; cf. Cio. de divin. *ii. 41. 69*. The most famous were at Praeneste, in the temple of Fortuna, but in the 1st Punic war a consul, who wished to consult them, was sternly forbidden by the senate. In the Corpus *Inscr. Lat. i. 267* are copies of a number which came probably from Patavium (*Padua*). They are oblong plates of bronze, with a little hook by which they were strung together, whence their derivation, *sortes a serie et*
NOTES. XXI. c. LXII. §§ 5—9. 235

serendo, ut fors a serendo, mons ab eminendo, fons a fundendo, pons a petendo. Hence the portent unam excidisse, xxii. 1. 11. As to the shrinking, cf. the story in Pliny, 34. 88, of the 'lucky' farthing in the family of the Servilii, which grew larger and smaller to portend good and ill luck. Cf. also the story in Herodotus viii. 137 of the portentous loaves of the young Perdiccas which used to grow to double the natural size.

§ 6. decemviri, i.e. sacris faciundis. These since 367 B.C. had taken the place of the xviri who had special charge of the libri Sibyllini. In later days these books were under the care of the xxviri. Cf. Hor. Carm. Sec. 69, quindecim Diana preces virorum | curat. Vergil makes Æneas promise the Cumaean Sibyl to have her oracles thus cared for, Æn. vi. 72, Hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata | dicta meæ genti ponam, lectioque sacrabo | alma viros.

§ 7. quibus editum est. 'To whom they were enjoined (by the sacred books) to offer them.' Edere is the usual term for such oracular warnings.

§ 8. pondo. The old abl. was added to the amount specified as libra pondo, uncia pondo, a pound or ounce by weight, and afterwards used absolutely as here, the libris being omitted. By a further license auri pondo becomes a nomin. for 'a quantity of gold.' Cf. xxvi. 14. 8, auri pondo duo millia septuaginta fuit.

Iunoni in Avent. The temple of Juno Regina of Veii was dedicated by Camillus, v. 22. When her t. was struck with lightning the matrons, as here, made a collection to present an offering, and virgins sang a processional hymn. xxvii. 37. 7.

§ 9. lectisternium iuventuti. The common reading is Iuventati, 'for the genius of youth,' but as Madvig points out the words deinde universo pop. imply that some charge on a special order has been already mentioned. Yet he doubtfully accepts the change, as a lectisternium was a priestly ceremony, though xxv. 1. 20 senatores straverunt. Lectisternia were first introduced b.c. 399, cf. Servius ad Verg. G. iii. 533, pulvinaria pro templis ponimus, cum sint propriè lectuli, qui sterni in templis consuerunt. Hor. Carm. i. 37. 2, nunc Saliiariibus | or- nare pulvinar deorum | tempus erat dapibus, Sodales.

ad sedem Herculis. This, with the Ara Maxima, was probably at the W. corner of the Circus Maximus and was con-
nected with the story of Hercules and Cacus as given by Vergil. The statue of Herc in bronze now in the Capitol was found there.

Genio, i.e. populi Romani, or the guardian Spirit of the city, mentioned here for the first time. It was however one of the oldest beliefs in Italy that every family or guild or social union had its divine patron, to whom honour must be paid. The Lares, Manes, Penates, belonging to the worship of ancestral spirits, correspond to various sides of the same thought. The first beginning of the Caesar worship of the Empire may be traced to the time when Augustus placed the bust of his own Genius beside those of the Lares in the numerous chapels of the city.

§ 10. at. ‘In the event that.’ Cf. xxx. 27. 7, voverat si per quinquennium res publica codem statu fuisset.

c. lxiii. § 1. designatorum. So called between the elections and the ides of March when they formally took office.

legiones sorte. This was unusual. The senate usually disposed of the legions; the consuls drew lots for their provinciarum.

edictum. The proper term for a proclamation formally put out by a magistrate on his own authority, as distinguished from a lex, or plebiscitum, of the Comitia, or a senatus consultum.

edictum et lite. is a hendiadys for edictum per literas.

P. 70, § 2. quae tribunus plebis. Specially referring to the agrarian law of 232 B.C. assigning land in Picenum to Roman colonists, which provoked the rising of the Gauls, and was called by Polyb., ii. 21, ‘the beginning of the decline of the Roman constitution,’ probably because of the high-handed way in which the sentiments of the senate were ignored. C. Flaminius was consul 223, and led the legions across the Po to attack the Insibres. Polyb. ii. 32 accuses him of bad strategy, though the Gauls were routed. Meantime the senate mistrusting his rashness, or alarmed by omens, sent to recall him, on the ground of the sentence of the augurs consules vitio creatos. Fl. would not open the despatches till the battle was over, and refused to abdicate. On his return the senate would not allow him a public triumph, but he entered the city in triumphal procession despite their refusal.

abrogabatur. Cf. note on xxii. 25. 10.

§ 3. novam. ‘Unprecedented.’
adverso sen. 'In the teeth of the senate;' though the sanction of the senate was not constitutionally necessary, it was scarcely ever ignored.

§ 4. ad fructus, i.e. for the stowage of the produce of their own estates as distinct from speculative ventures in foreign trade. Cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. § 88, quastum nosset nullum, fructum autem eum solum, quem labore peperisset.

indecorus visus. Patribus to be taken with ind. not visus. This law may have been popular (v. favorem apud plebem) with the people generally, from the barbarous prejudice against trade which had been so largely shared by the old races of the West, and which made it seem discreditable to the governing classes. The immediate cause may have been to prevent the ruling families from abusing their power in the provinces to enrich themselves and their friends by commercial speculations, supported by all the powers of the government. The prohibition therefore extended to the sons of the senators, or to the class as a whole. But it was also popular with the middle class, which thus escaped the competition of the wealthiest families in speculation. The law was at once a cause, and an effect of the growing power of a moneyed aristocracy, which was afterwards known as the ordo equester. Cicero afterwards speaks of this regulation as obsolete, Verr. v. 18. 45, antiqua sunt istae leges et mortua quae vetant (aedificare navem senatorem).

§ 5. auspictis ement. Cf. x. 40. 4, Pullarius auspicion men-tiri ausus. The whole system of auspicia had been so grossly abused for political objects, that statesmen ceased to regard it as anything but an engine of statecraft.

Latin feriarum. This ancient festival dated from the days when Rome was a member of the Latin league, and the highest magistrates of the various towns (δωσα ἰ οὐρανός, Strabo) went in solemn procession to the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban mount. This was kept up for ages, and more days were added to commemorate the reconciliation of Plebs and Patres. The consuls were expected to offer the sacrifices, and one of their first duties was conceper fer. Lat., or to fix a time for the great festival.

consularibus impedim. 'Hindrances thrown in the con-sul's way,' like dictatoria invidia, xxii. 26. 4.

§ 7. insuspiciato. It was held to be the duty of the general on the day of his leaving Rome for the wars to go up to the Capitol to take the auspices at daybreak. After the votorum nuncupatio he put on the short purple paludamentum (other-wise sagum or chlamys), and was escorted by his friends beyond the gates. Ad bellum cum exit imperator ac lictores
mutarunt vestem et signa incinuerunt paludatus dicitur proficiisci, Varro, l. l. 7. 37.

cons. spretorum (sc. Deorum a. hom.). The reading of Gronovius for conscientias pretorum of MSS.

votorum nunc. One of the first ceremonies on the day of taking office (die initi mag.) was to go to the Capitol with kinsmen and friends, to sit upon the curule chair, and thank Jupiter opt. max. for the mercies of the past year, offering the victims promised by the out-going consuls, and vowing others for the year to follow (vot. nuncupatio). They then presided over a meeting of the senate on the Capitol, treating chiefly de solenni religione. Polyb. says nothing of this conduct of Flaminius, nor does Appian. It reads like an after-thought, coloured by patrician prejudices, to account for the disaster which followed.

§ 9. clam furtim. A pleonasm, like forte temere, and other repetitions used by Livy.

P. 71. exilii causa. Our word ‘exile’ calls up different associations. At Rome a citizen could give up the rights and duties of citizenship and take up his residence in an allied community which had the relation of ἱεροκολοσσία with Rome, like the Latin states. This privilege, called exilium, might be used even during prosecution for political offences, and the accused might thus anticipate the issue of his trial.

§ 10. Romae mag. init. Though irregular, this was not invalid. Augustus, careful as he was of constitutional forms, did not observe the rule. Sueton. 26, nec omnes (consulatus) Romae sed quartum consulatum in Asia, quintum insula Sano, octavum et nonum Tarracone init.

§ 12. nihil magis... The constitution gave the senate no power to dictate to the consuls, though the executive officials rarely ventured to set at nought the authority of so august a body. Flaminius was anticipating the policy of the Gracchi in trying to humble the senate, and depend on popular support.

moverunt...moverant. The Latin ear seems to have liked such repetitions of the same word, as they frequently occur.


§ 14. in omen &c. For the use of the preposition, cf. Cic. ad Att. xv. 11, beneficium acripsisse in contumeliam.
§ 15. a Sempronio. He had wintered at Luca, c. 59. The legions had probably remained at Placentia, and were then in obedience to the edict, § 1, marched to Ariminum, to be immediately led through a little frequented pass of the Apenines (tramites) into Etruria. Had they been with Sempronius at Luca, it would have been a strangely roundabout course. But the whole is confused. Livy seems to have forgotten that Sempronius was not at Placentia.

C. Atilius was at Tannetum, 26. 2, and at Rome, 62. 10. He may have gone to the Po to take command of Scipio's legions. Appian, i. 8. 3, represents Servilius in command on the Po.

exercitus is not the proper subject to which the abl. abs. acceptis refers. Probably the sentence points to a close, like exercitum ducere capit.
BOOK XXII.

c. i. § 2. pro eo, ut... A clumsy equivalent for the Greek ἄνα τῷ...φέρει. Fabri compares vili. 14. 2, cum eo, ut aedes ...lucusque... communis esset, iv. 56. 1, in eo ut, &c.

raperent agerentque. A common phrase for ‘plundering,’ to include furniture and cattle, otherwise expressed by ferre agere, portare agere, Greek φέροι καὶ ἄγειν. Hence used metaphorically iiii. 37. 6, ferre agere plebe plebisque res.

§ 3. ipsorum inter se. ‘Was saved by their mutual treachery, as they disclosed their conspiracy, &c.’ On this use of inter se, cf. xxi. 39. 9, auxerant inter se opinionem.

tegumenta cap. Polyb. gives a more minute account of the false wigs which he wore to disguise his age and features. Hannibal may have remembered the death of his brother-in-law Hasdrubal, xxi. 2. 5, or have wished to explore the temper of his army.

errore. ‘Uncertainty.’ Cf. i. 24. 2, nominum error, ii. 21. 5, errores temporum.

§ 5. quod illi fustum imperium. This probably refers especially to the neglect of Flaminius to apply in person for the lex curiata, commonly called de imperio, by which the people as represented by the curies, or their lictors, bound themselves to obey the already elected magistrate. It was something like the oath of obedience (sacramentum) which the solders took to their general, or the form of ‘doing homage’ in later days. It conferred no new powers, but was thought constitutionally necessary, especially for military duties, holding the Comitia Centuriata, or for judicial functions. Cic. de leg. agr. i. 12. 30, consuli, si legem curiatam non habet, attingere rem militarem non licet. It does not seem as if any other than the head of the executive concerned could bring forward the lex curiata, though in that case Camillus must have dispensed with it when Rome was occupied by the Gauls, like Flaminius in the present case. In later days it seems to have been argued that a law of Sulla allowed the consuls to dispense with the formality in certain cases, Cic. ad fam. i. 9. 26, legem curiatam consuli ferri opus
esse, necesse non esse: se quoniam ex senatus consulto provinciam haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habiturum.

§ 6. 1d. i.e. auspicium, or sanction of heaven. The idea was that the will of the Gods should be consulted in every important detail of national life, and that it was declared by signs, ex calo, ex avibus, ex tripudiis, ex animalibus, or ex diris.

P. 73, § 7. externo solo. For national auspices the place of observation, or templum, must be on national soil.

conspere. On this use cf. v. 17. 2, Latinas sacrumque in monte Albano non rite concepisse, hence the feriae concepivae.

Of the prodigies mentioned here, and in xxi. 62, many were entirely the creations of a morbid imagination, others were only distorted versions of natural phenomena misunderstood, as in the fall of meteoric stones, or in red water tinged by the soil through which it flowed. Some were monstrosities of nature, as in the cases of strange births. Some like thunder-storms, with the accompaniments of danger, were only noted when men’s minds were ill at rest.

§ 8. scipionem. Connected with σκῆπτρον. It is curious to note the contrast between the derivations of the Greek names, with their associations of ‘honour,’ ‘glory,’ ‘demus,’ &c., and the humbler origin of the Roman family names, such as Scipio (stick), Kesso (the hard hitter), Fabius (bean), Lentulus (pulse), Naso (nose), Piso (pea), Cicero (vetch). In reference to the Scipiaedes belli fulmen used by Lucretius and Vergil, as also to the phrase duo fulmina applied by Cicero (pro Balbo, 34), to the two Cn. and P. who met a disastrous end in Spain, Mr Munro observes, ‘When we think of Scipio, scapus, shaft, σκήπτρον, σκῆπτρον, and then σκηπτός, σκηπτω, we might be tempted to think that the Scipios loved to refer their name to it rather than to the more homely staff.’ (Note on Lucr. iii. 1084).

§ 10. interdum. Plautus has the form interdus, as he has dius for diu in quam dius vivo. Corssen i. 290 connects interdus and diurnus, like dies hodiernus with the Sanser. divas, and regards interdum, not as an ablative, but as a neuter accusative form, the s having dropped off, in this respect like postea, antea, interea, all of which he regards as acc. forms. Cf. ii. 465.

NOTES. XXII. c. i. § 11—c. ii. § 1.

§ 11. **Mavors.** The Italian Mars was the god of Spring, which began in the month of March, and with it the hopes of husbandry. His name connected with *marmor*, *marc*, *Maro*, *Marius*, is thought to mean 'bright,' and the 12 Salii with their orb-shaped *ancilia* to represent the months and moons. Only secondarily was this Mars connected with War, as in spring time the men mustered in the Campus Martius and sallied out on their campaigns, but under Hellenic influence the attributes of "Apo" were transferred to Mars. **Mavors** seems to be a distinct name, more warlike in its sense; and Corssen connects the first syllable with μάχη μάχαμα μαγνητεῖν, and the second with *vortere*, *Vortumnus*, &c., i. 410.

§ 12. **Signum Martis.** The temple of Mars was, with the Clivus Martis, on the Appian way, just outside the Porta S. Sebastiano. The sacred spears of Mars were kept however in the Regia.

P. 74, § 18. **Feroniae.** The *aedes* or *lucus Feroniae*, in Agro Capenate, near Mount Soracte, is often spoken of by Livy, and was distinct from the temple of Feronia, which Horace passed on his way to Tarracina. It was famous for its great fair (i. 80. 4, *mercatu frequenti*, and slaves when freed took the cap of liberty at its altars. Servius *ap. Verg. Æn. vii. 800, viii. 564*. Dionysius iii. 32 says the Greeks translated the name by ἄθη-φόρος φιλοστέφανος. Feronia was a goddess of spring and flowers and love. Preller, Röm. Myth. 376.

§ 19. **Aedem Saturni.** This was at the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus, and the hill above went in old days by the name of Saturnius, from the god of Italian husbandry. The temple was long used as the State treasury and record office. Cf. ii. 21. 2, *Saturnalia institutus festus dies*.

c. ii. § 1. **Dilectu.** Note the form of the dative, as 11. 5, *exercitu*. Fabri compares vii. 2. 6, *Fessennino versus similis*, iv. 12. 8, *quod usu menstruo superesset*.

ex hibernis. In Liguria, xxi. 59. 10. The movements of the Roman troops since the battle of the Trebia are not clear. Some legions had wintered at Placentia, others with Sempronius at Luca, though we are not told why H. allowed them to divide their forces unmolested. The former division was ordered by Flamininus to meet at Ariminum, and he is also said to have taken the command at the same place, *inde*, xxi. 63. 15, of the force of Sempronius which had wintered at Luca, and with both to have marched into Etruria to cover Arretium. But when the campaign opens Cn. Servilius is posted near Ariminum, xxi. 9, and is not in time to join his colleague before the battle of Trasimene.
NOTES. XXII. c. ii. §§ 1—8. 243

Arretium. A position of great importance as commanding the valley of the Arno and the passes of the Apennines, and thus covering Rome from attack on either side. But the scouts should have ascertained the route of H. in time for Servilius to have marched to join his colleague, and then the R. lines should have been extended from Cortona to Clusium.

§ 2. alius longius. Several other routes were possible and longer, but most of the passes across the Western mountains converged on Luna (the gulf of Spezzia), or on Luca, both of which had been probably fortified and garrisoned by Sempronius, and behind them on the coast road to Rome lay the strongly intrenched town of Pisa. H. seems therefore to have chosen the shorter pass by Pistoria and the valley of the Arno, by what was afterwards the Via Cassia from Florentia to Arretium. The easier course by the Æmilian and Flaminian ways was avoided from the proximity of the Roman armies, or from the wish to relieve at once, the country of the Gauls. Possibly the marshes of the Arno were then more widely extended, or the inundations of the Arno greater, as the time spent seems strangely long; but the fall in the valley is very slight, and the inundations caused by the overflow of the Arno and its tributaries are still formidable.

§ 3. admixitis impedi. H. was not concerned usually, says Polyb. iii. 79, about his baggage, except in so far as the commissariat of the army was concerned. He made war support war.

necubi, for ne-cubi (as in ubi-cubi, ali-cubi, nun-cubi, si-cubi) like necunde in 28. 10, for ne-cunde. The cu is from the pronominal root kā=quō. In other words nec=non, as in nec opinatus, neglegere, negotium (nec-otium).


cohibentem=cohibendi causa, an imitation of a Greek idiom, cf. use of circunspectans 28. 10.

§ 5. qua modo. 'Wherever'...to the modo answers the tamen, implying their readiness to go anywhere, if only the guides would lead the way. Cf. xxvii. 14. 10, pro se quisque miles, qui modo assequi...poterat.

 profundas. 'Almost bottomless,' because they found only mud below.

immergentesque. 'Taking to swimming.'

P. 75, § 8. in sicco. For this local use of abl. neut. abs. cf. in aperto, in arto, in summo, in Hernico, ex propinquo, which with others are used by Livy.

The insertion of aut seems necessary to distinguish two distinct classes. (Madvig.)
§ 9. tantum, quod. 'Furnished a bare resting-place for those who sought only some dry spot above the water.'

§ 10. primum. The apodosis comes in et quia.


c. iii. § 1. circa Arretii mensia. This position was excellently chosen to watch the movements of Hannibal whose easiest road to Rome lay through Umbria by the Via Flaminia, which had been made a few years before by C. Flaminius. If communications were kept up between the two consuls at Arretium and Ariminum they might hope to combine the forces when the route of the invaders was discovered. Precisely the same arrangements had been made to cover Rome in the Gallic war of 225 B.C. But like the Gauls, H. took a Western pass, and marched by the Roman forces at Arretium, which then followed in pursuit, and were routed before the other army could arrive upon the scene.

§ 2. in rem. 'To his purpose.' Cf. 29. 8.

§ 3. inter. Fabri remarks that it is in Tacitus that we find most examples of this position of inter between its two cases.

§ 4. non modo legum... Livy reproduces here without misgiving the patrician prejudices of his authorities, and Polyb., alien as he was, does the same, enlarging upon the duty of the general to ascertain the bias of his rival, as H. did in this case.

P. 76. metuens has the constr. of an adj. not of a partic. So metuens futuri, Hor., metuens viræ, Juvs.

§ 6. iseva is here inexplicable. If H. moved towards Fasulæ, he must have had the R. at Arretium on his right. Hence it would be better to read a Fasulæ petens medios Etr. agros (W.). But it is quite possible that it was a blunder of Livy himself, and not of his editors. Hannibal was moving southwards, and swept round the Trasimene lake to entrap Flaminius, who was marching after him.

§ 7. Flaminius, qui... It is hazardous to impute misstatements to ancient writers in cases where we have no other evidence at hand, but it seems most probable that this part of the history is disfigured by the aristocratic prejudices of the Annalists who threw the blame of the disaster of Lake Trasimene on the rashness of Flaminius. Yet he must have heard some days before of the march of Hannibal, and sent
news to his colleague who was hurrying up to bar the way to Rome. Had he wished to force a battle sooner, he could certainly have done so in the valley of the Arno. When H. marched towards Rome, he could hardly fail to follow, as the course of Servilius naturally lay through Umbria, and he was not strong enough to face the invader single-handed on the Flaminian way. The distance between Arretium and the Lake Trasimene is not great, and Flamininus may perhaps have moved first towards Clusium to strengthen the defences on the Via Cassia, and then pushed eastward in the track of H., to keep his communications open with his colleague. He naturally hoped to effect a speedy junction, and to crush H. with their united forces, as the Gauls had been in like case defeated a few years before at Telamon. No fault in strategy can be proved up to the eve of the battle, when he allowed himself to be ensnared. Cf. Append. on the Character of Flamininus.

§ 8. ceteris. The officers of the staff assembled in the council of war.

§ 9. signum. This was given with the tuba for the march.

pugnaque only implies that the signal to march was taken as a determination to fight. The actual sign in the latter case was a red flag on the prætorium.

§ 10. Camillum ab Vetis. Cf. v. 46. Rome was then in the hands of the Gauls.

§ 11. effudit. ‘Threw.’ So x. 11. 1, equo effusus.

§ 12. signum is the general term, including the vexillum, or small flag with a cross pole, as well as the image or insigne carried on a staff.

P. 77, § 18. Num litteras q. Referring not only to the legatio of xxi. 63. 12, but to the experience of his former consulship.

§ 14. primoribus. An unusual term for officers. Here probably it refers more to civil than military eminence.

in vulgus. ‘Commonly.’

c. iv. § 1. Trasumennus. Connected by Corssen i. 246 with trans, terminus, τέρμων, as ‘that on the other side.’ Polyb. calls it Ταρσουμένη Νῆσυ, and it is often spelt Trasumenus, as we read Forsena and Forisenna. The Etruscan names Viblena, Sisenna, &c., support the double n of the best MSS., and Quintilian Inst. i. 5. 18 says Tharsomenum pro Trasumenno multi auctores...vindicaverunt.
NOTES. XXII. c. iv. §§ 2—6.

§ 2. nata insidias. Cf. 44. 4, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, ix. 2. 5, ita natus locus est.

maxime subit, 'Comes very close under.'

Via perangusta. The road from Cortona to L'erugia, as it passes through the Northern side of the Trasimene lake, rises at the Western end over M. Gualandro, and then enters a pass from 1/4 to 1 1/2 miles in breadth, bounded by mountains on the North, and the sea on the South, till it emerges after some miles at Passignano. About half way, the mountain ground presses forward to the lake, where the village at Tuoro stands (inde collis insurgunt), and here was the camp of Hannibal. Polybius, iii. 83, describes the scene more fully than Livy, but his account corresponds to the position of the Roman vanguard as it faced the enemy posted in front at Tuoro on κατὰ τὴν αὐτικρα ἱδίφιν ἐπικελευνον ἐρυμον καὶ δυσβατον, and had the lake in its rear, while there was a continuous range of hills on either side, παρὰ τὰς ἐς μῆκος πλευρὰs, like the two halves of a crescent divided in the middle by the projecting headland. Probably both historians consulted the same authority, which was based on the account of an eye-witness contemplating from a Roman point of view the central position of Hannibal, and seeing his cavalry charging on the left on the rearguard, and forcing the whole column forward into the pass.

industria. From indo, old form of in, and struere, so connected with instruere. Corssen, ii. 190.

§ 4. pridie. Seems a pleonasm with postero die in the next line.

inexplorato. Notice the many abl. constr. in this passage. They are especially frequent in Livy.

pandi. 'Deploy.'

deceptae ins. 'The trap was closed,' so the MSS. read. But there is no authority for this use of the word, nor is there much for the suggestion of Lipsius, decepere, for decipere is not = λανθάνω, to escape notice, though we may quote Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 39, amatorem quod amica turpia decipiunt caecum vitia. Madvig suggests acceptae, and the more probable receptae, (=withdrawn), but does not venture to change the text. We may note here again, as xxii. 62. 5, the want in Latin of article, and partic. of subst. verb to connect ab ergo (al...ovsai) with insidia.

§ 5. clausum habuit. Cf. xxi. 5. 3, fessum habebat, &c.

P. 78, § 6. conspecta. 'Visible.' The past partic. for a gerundive or verbal adj. Cf. ii. 55. 3, nihil contemtius lictoribus, si sint qui contemniant. Sall. Jug. 70. 1, rex nihil iam
NOTES. XXII. c. iv. § 6—c. vi. § 3. 247

infectum Metello credens. Livy xxix. 18. 8, sacrilegas admovere manus intactus illis thesauris. So inaccessus, incorruptus, &c., Nägelsbach 72. 5.

c. v. § 1. satīs, ut. A somewhat grudging recognition of the bravery of Flaminius.

in re trepida. 'A state of panic.' Cf. i. 27. 10, Tullus in re trepida duodecim votit Satios.

§ 4. strepantium pav. This use of the gen. plur. of the partic., where we should put abstract substantives 'triumph and panic,' is of frequent occurrence in Livy. Cf. 17. 5, flammas spirantium miraculo, xxiii. 22. 7, fremitus indignantium. Nägelsbach § 29. 2.

§ 6. impetum capere is a frequent phrase in Livy. Cf. ii. 65. 8, viii. 30. 4.

P. 79, § 7. per principes. In the old form of organizing the legion the hastati formed the 1st line, the principes the 2nd, as Livy describes at length, viii. 8. The order is here confused, as Livy is here writing probably from memory, without documents, of a state of things which had passed away.

antesignani. Men of the front line, whose signa manipulorum were carried in the rear in battle, though in the van when on the march. Thus Livy viii. 11. 4, stragem et ante signa et post signa factam.

cohorte. This is an unusual expression. After the time of Marius probably the old formation of the legion was superseded by that into 10 cohorts, but at this time the term was only employed of the praetoria cohors, or body-guard of the general, and of the contingents of the allies. It is probably used by Livy carelessly.

§ 8. motum terre. The authority of Cælius is specially referred to for this by Cicero, div. i. 35, and it was probably from him that Livy copied it.

c. vi. § 2. Eum et seems to require another sentence of like form to follow, but the constr. suddenly changes.

roborā vir. Cf. xxi. 54. 3.

§ 3. noasitana. One of the frequentatives often used by our author, though in this case seemingly less appropriate.

legiones. Livy commonly applies to other people the distinctive terms of the Roman civil and military systems. For the facts of the war referred to cf. Polyb. ii. 32, and note on Livy xxi. 62. 2.
NOTES. XXII. c. vi. § 4—c. vii. § 4.

§ 4. *infesto venienti.* These words are perhaps introduced, as Nägelsbach suggests, to avoid the dative form *impetuit* which is scarcely to be found in use.

*tiriiri.* The 3rd line of the legion consisting of the stoutest veterans. Cf. Livy’s explanation of *res ad triarios reedit,* viii. 8. 11.

P. 80, § 7. *immensa ac s.* ‘Objectless and hopeless.’

§ 8. *eruptione i. f.* The further end of the pass was only beset by the slingers and light-armed troops, 4. 3, and it was here easier for the head of the column to break out.

caligine. Connected with *callim* (the old form of *clam.* Festus) *kalótw,* *supercilium,* *celare,* *occulto,* from root *kal* ‘cover.’ Corssen i. 460.

§ 9. *Inclinata d. r.* ‘When the battle was decided.’


§ 12. *Punica relig.* Cf. xxii. 4. 9. H. decided that Maharbal had no authority to grant such terms, as the Romans had done in the case of Lutatius. Polyb. iii. 85.

*omnes.* Polyb. tells us that the Italian allies were treated with marked courtesy, in the hope that they would revolt from Rome. Cf. 7. 5.

c. vii. § 1. *memorata.* Probably in the sense of *memorabilis,* as xxiii. 44. 4, *pugnae memorabilis inter paucas,* i.e. ‘memorable as few have been.’ Cf. note on 4. 6.

§ 2. *Quindecim militia...* The local names of Ossaia (ossa) and Sanguinetto have been thought to point to traditions of this slaughter, but they are most likely of later origin, and if derived from incidents of battle, date from the middle ages.

§ 3. *Multiplex.* ‘Many times as large.’ So often in Livy.

§ 4. *auctum ex vano.* ‘Idle exaggeration.’ The suggestion of Madvig makes better sense than the reading of the MSS. *haustum ex v,* which is not a natural expression, nor applicable to the evidence of earlier writers. For *ex vano* cf. xxvii. 26. 1, *nec spem nec metum ex vano habet.* So xxii. 32. 10, *ex aperto,* v. 33. 8, *ex antiquo,* 1. 49. 10, *ex publico.*

*Fabulum.* See Introduction on the Authorities of the 2nd P. war. Livy need not have consulted Fabius at first hand.
NOTES. XXII. c. vii. § 7—c. viii. § 3. 249


*frequentis contionis*. 'A crowded assembly,' such as could be convened only by a magistrate who had the *jus agere cum populo*.

*comitium et a*. i.e. they flocked to the Curia Hostilia where the senate was deliberating, calling for a magistrate to come out to address them from the *comitium*, where the higher officials usually harangued them.

M. Pomponius was *Prator peregrinus*, for M. Aemilius was *Prator Urb.*, Cf. 33. 8. It is strange that the latter did not come forward as he was present. Cf. § 14.

§ 10. *Quot casus*. i.e. the alternatives just referred to.

P. 82, c. viii. § 1. *quattuor millia eq.* Polyb. iii. 86 describes more fully the despatch of the cavalry under Centenius, while Servilius was on the march with the legions. H. hearing of their approach sent Maharbal to attack them, and he first routed the body, and then after a hot pursuit captured the survivors. Probably the horses were exhausted by the forced march, and the light troops of the enemy had cut off their retreat by moving along the cross roads. Appian speaks of the disaster as happening εἰς τὴν Πλειστίνην λίμνην, which like some others in Italy has since wholly disappeared, but several traces of the name, such as Val di Pista, may be found in the pass from Camerino to Ancona, and an old inscription testifies to a town called Pista. Cf. Nissen in Rhein. Mus. 1865, p. 224. The large force under Centenius points to an increase of the cavalry, probably to compete with that of Hannibal.

C. Centenio propræto. The full title was *legatus propraetore*, for the delegate of a consul was not called *pro consule* but *p.p.* Appian speaks of him as τυφανείων, and as sent from Rome.

in Umbria. i.e. on their way from Ariminum, where Servilius had been watching the Gauls.

§ 3. *causa*. For this sense of 'malady' Fabri compares xxx. 44. 6, *praevallida corpora ab externis causis tuta videntur*.

*magis...gravior*. The repetition of the comparative is a pleonasm to be accounted for by the balance of *levis* and *gravior*, as well as *affecto* and *valido*.
§ 4. extenuatus. A substantive, like 'exhaustion,' is implied in this word to balance magnitudine. Cf. xxi. 1. 5, Sicilia S. amissa.


dictatorem dic. The dictator was appointed probably at first in times of urgent danger, when a general-in-chief was needed who would not be controlled by the rivalry of a colleague, or the veto of a tribune. To this we may refer the limit of the six months' tenure of office, the early name of magister populi, or leader of the army (cf. Herzog, populari,) with the subordinate magister equitum, and the fact that the appointment in times of civil struggle was regarded as a proclaimation of state of siege, or martial law, though in later days dictators, no longer optimo jure, were subject to the veto of the tribunal. The comitia had commonly no power of election; the senate by virtue of their general authority commonly decided on the step, but the appointment (disere) formally rested with a consul, who by lot or arrangement with his colleague rose at the dead of night, within the boundaries of Roman ager, and named the temporary head of the executive. The latter name was probably, as Mommsen thinks, borrowed by analogy from the dictators of the Latin towns, who had succeeded to the position of the King.

nec dict. populo (non consulto senatus). The Puteanus has populo only, other MSS. populus. An early critic changed this to prætor, as inconsistent with what immediately follows. Madvig prefers to think that words have dropped out as in other places in this book, but the correction seems a bold one. There can be little doubt however that he is right in rejecting prodictatorem, which some editors read on the ground that Livy adopts the view that Fabius was only prædict. (31. 8), for (1) the form prodictatore would have been used, as the phrase was too uncommon to become a substantive like proconsul, (2) the later passage looks like an after-thought of criticism, quite consistent with a different view in this passage. It is probable that a prætor must have presided at the Comitia, and declared the dictator elected, and J. Cæsar acted on this precedent in b. o. 48, though it was regarded as irregular. Cf. Cic. ad. Att. 9. 15. 3, volet consules roget prætor vel dictatorem dicat, quorum neutrum jus est, sed si Sulla potuit efficere ab interrege ut dictator diceretur, cur hic non possit. Mommsen arbitrarily decides to strike this clause out of the text. Cf. C. I. L. i. p. 288.

§ 6. quod numquam... Refers to the clause that follows.

Q. Fabrius Maximum. Polyb. iii. 87 says that descendants of his house still bore the cognomen διὰ τὰς ἔκεινου τάνδρος ἔτη-
ruxias 
and 
podixus. But Perizonius suggested that this may 
only have meant that a later age connected the epithet with 
this Fabius, though it had been borne by his ancestors, as 
Polybius must have known. Livy ix. 46. 7 accounts for the 
origin of the name by the statesmanship of one who quod 
tot victorias non pomeret, hac ordinum temperatione pararet.

The Magister equitum was subordinate, both as magistrate 
and officer, to the dictator, who commonly appointed him, 
without any formal restriction on his choice. The office 
was anomalous, as there was no single commander of the 
cavalry, but a variety of praefecti, and in historical days the 
Magister equitum served at the head of the legions under the 
dictator, or replaced him in his absence. But the name pro-

bably points to the early days when the two consuls led the 
foot and horse alternately, and the chief change in appoint-

ing a Magister populi was to make him tower above the colleague 
whom he himself nominated.

P. 83, § 7. dimicandum esse. The infrn. expresses the 
conviction which was the ground of the preceding measures.

c. ix. § 1. Spoletium. A Latin colony (a.e. 241, Vell. 
Patro. 1. 14) covering the Via Flaminia and Umbria, to 
which H. turned from the Trasimene lake. He is not likely 
to have thought of an attack on Rome itself, the population 
of which largely outnumbered his army, and Polybius says 
nothing of the attack upon Spoletium.

§ 2. cum magna cede repulsus. One of the gates of 
Spoleto still bears the name of Porta di Annibale, or Porta 
Fuga, in memory of this gallant resistance, and on it are the 
words Annibal Spoletò | Magna suorum cede repulsus | insigni 
fuga portæ nomen fecit. These are of modern date, but in the 
Guildhall is a mutilated inscription, of which the following 
words remain. Populus signa vovit......toribusque dedicavit 
......quum Annibal L. Carsulio...

haud maxima minima p. Most editors read haud nimitis 
prospere, for the h. minime p. of the MSS. Madvig rejects this 
as a frigid litotes, and suggests that maxima had dropped out, 
after which minime prospere will follow well enough.

moles. Referring not merely to the size of the city, but to 
the effort of taking it. Cf. xxxi. 22. 9. Verg. Æn. 1. 33, tantæ 
molis erat, &c.


§ 5. Pretutianum Ha. South of Picenum, and near the 
Roman colony of Adria, from which the Porto d’ Atri takes its 
name. It is said that Pretutia was corrupted in the middle.
ages into Aprutium, and that into Abruzzo, the later name of the district. (Cramer’s Anc. It. i. 289.) The Marsi, and other tribes mentioned, dwelt further South, and to the East of the Sabine territory; they belonged to the Osco-Sabellian population of Central Italy.

Arpi, in Apulia, was anciently named Argyripa, and connected with traditions of Diomed and Argos, Verg. Æn. xi. 248. Twelve miles to the W. was the R. colony of Luceria (b.c. 818), which was long an object of contention with the Samnites.

§ 6. ad urbem... This march was probably begun as soon as he heard of H. in Etruria, and the 4000 horse under Centenius was only the van of his army, but Livy had neglected to mention this at the right point of his narrative.

§ 7. dictator iterum. Valerius Max., 1. 1, says that Flaminius was his mag. equitum, and this must refer to a former dictatorship. There had been several dictators of late years comitiorum habendorum causa. The words of Livy, 8. 5, refer only to the dictator of earlier usage rei gerendæ causa.

ab dis orsus. Matters of religion were the first discussed in the senate. Cf. Gell. xiv. 7, de rebus divinis prius quam humanis ad senatum referendum esse.

cerimonia is hardly to be derived from Cære (“the Delphi of Italy”). Corssen i. 376 refers it to the root of sincerus (skir=sunder, or choose). The long æ is a difficulty in the way of Curtius’ derivation from -kar, kri, creare, and the inscriptions and best MSS. spell it ceremontia. For the termination, cf. parsimonia, sanctimonia, agrimonia, and the men of specimen, or mentum of documentum. ii. 315.

inscitia. ’Bad generalship.’

piacula. Cf. Excursus on Roman Religion.

§ 6. Tibres Sibyll. The Sibylline literature was brought to Rome, according to tradition, as early as the period of the Tarquins, and seems to have come from the Greek towns of Asia Minor through their connections in Campania at the time when Hellenic art first made its way to Rome to any great extent. As an early seat of this Sibylline influence was at Gergis in the Troad, we may thus account for the early spread of the legends which connected the Trojan story with the tradition of the foundation of Rome.

§ 11. For derivation of pontifex cf. note on 59. 8.

c. x. Livy seldom gives any specimens of antique style except in the formulae kept in the custody of the priestly
NOTES. XXII. c. x. §§ 2—6. 253

colleges. This is almost the only form of monumental evidence which he cared to consult, or at any rate to copy. For the meaning of the ver sacrum and other terms, see the Excursus.

§ 2. duellis. An archaic form for bellis retained in per-
duellis, as bes stands for dues, and bonus for duonius. The Latum donum of the MSS. would be an awkward pleonasm, and is well corrected by Madvig to tum duit the old subj. Cf. x. 19. 12 the prayer si hodie victoriam duis. Cf. also adduit, venum duit, from root du, another form of -da, like the forms, creduis, creduit in Plautus. Corssen, r. 402. The transposition of quod duellum, to make it follow immediately hisce duellis is due to Lipsius, and makes good sense of what is hopelessly involved in the common reading of the MSS. retained by W.

§ 3. ver. Reckoned by the pontifex as lasting through the months of March and April.

profana. Fanum or (fasnum fr. fas) is the general term for any holy thing or place, and profanum is the contrasted term.

feri. 'To be sacrificed to.'

ex qua die. The vow though made was not to take effect until the time was specified, and this did not actually take place till the year 195 B.C.

§ 4. probe. 'Duly.'

§ 5. rumpet. Cf. Digest. r. 2. 27, rupisse verbum fere omnes veteres sic intellexerunt, corruperit. Stroth. ap. Fabri.

ne fraud esto. 'The owner shall not be guilty.'

clepsit. An old perf. subj. from clepo as faxit from facio.

§ 6. Si atro die f. The atri dies were those associated in memory with some great national disaster as that at Allia or on the Cremera or at Canne. On them temples were all closed and no sacrifices could be offered, and land and business were at a standstill. Yet even here the pontiffs claimed dispensing power, and when Ti. Coruncanius fixed by an oversight a holiday upon a dies ater, the College ratified his act, collegium decrevit non habendum religioni quin eo die ferias essent (A. Gell. iv. 6. 10).

daxit. The characteristic vowel is dropped frequently in the perf. subj. and r. fut. ind. of this word, especially in Plautus, Terence, and occasionally in later poets as Verg. Æn. ix. 151, xii. 316. In Livy we find in old formularies defexit i.
NOTES. XXII. c. x. §§ 6—10.

24. 9, faxitis vi. 41. 6; so occisit xii. tab., rapsit Cic. Leg. ii. 9. 22, viuet, for conj. plusqu., Verg. Æn. xi. 118, extinxem Æn. iv. 606, confuxet Lucr. i. 987, surrexè Hor. Sat. i. 9. 73, traxe Æn. v. 786. So also such forms as acclarasiss Liv. i. 18. 7, habessit Cic. Leg. ii. 8. 19, and many like forms in Plautus. It seems probable that conj. and n. fut. forms like faxim, faxo are derived from an old perfect form in -si rather than from a reduplicated form in -i.


antidea, an old form for antea, like postidea for postea, antid being the early form of ante. Cf. the ablative forms marid, navalid, dictatore, &c. found in early inscriptions, as also med, ted, sed, red, found singly or in composition.

P. 85, § 7. ludi magni. This term was afterwards reserved for the extraordinary ludi in distinction to the regular which were called ludi Romani. The sums were voted by the senate, but as they were often inadequate, great expense was constantly incurred by the ediles on whom the arrangements fell, and at the end of the Republic the outlay was often ruinous.

seris. This was probably the as grave or libral as, which had been successively reduced in weight to that of a triens in the 1st Punic war, and to the uncia in this year (Q. Fabio dictatore asses unciales facti, Pliny 33. 3. 45), but in laws and state concerns the old monetary system was for a long time retained, and the nummus sestertius was employed as its equivalent in silver. Cf. Mommsen Münzw. 292 and Weissenborn's note.

trecentis t. It was a Roman fancy that the odd numbers found favour with the gods of the upper air, while the Manes or the powers of the lower world liked the even best. Thus the fixed holidays, feria stative, were nearly all on the odd days of the Calendar.

§ 10. Veneri Erycinae. This deity was probably the Phoenician Astarte, whose worship may be traced (under the name of Aphrodite) in many places where an earlier influence was adopted by the Greeks. Eryx, as we know, was one of the points of Sicily to which the Carthaginians clung most obstinately. Its traditions were in course of time worked into the legends of the Trojan war, its deity confused with the goddess mother of Æneas, whose wanderings are made
by Vergil to include a visit to the spot, v. 759, and Rome recognised an appeal based on this supposed connection.

fatalibus. Prophetic of doom (fatum), i.e. Sibylline.

Menti. Fabri quotes Cic. Leg. 11. 8, colunto et oilos, quos endo calo merita locaverunt...ast olla propter quae datur homo mini ascensus in calum, Mentem, Virtutem, Pictatem, Fidem. Cf. Excursus.

c. xi. § 2. e re publica. 'For the interest of the state.'

§ 3. Us the dat. after edixit which also takes the acc. diem of the obj. Tibur is the local acc. after ad conveniendum edicere. Cf. 22. 1, quo diem ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus et xxviii. 5. 8, concilium Ætolis Heracleam indirectum.

§ 4. ut...uti. This repetition of ut when the conjunction does not follow closely on the principal verb is of frequent occurrence in Livy. Cf. v. 21. 9.

castella. Any strong places in the country, such as there are traces of on so many of the hill-tops in Central Italy. Cf. the enumeration in the Lex Rubria xxi. quo oppido municipio colonia praefectura foro vico conciliabulo castello territoriove.

P. 88, § 5. The Via Flaminia, which led through Etruria and Umbria to Ariminum, is attributed by Strabo, v. 1. 1, to the Flaminius who was consul b.c. 197, but by Livy, Epit. xx., to his father who fell at Lake Trasimene, while the son constructed the road from Ariminum to Bononia (xxxix. 4).

exercitu. Cf. for this form of the dat. dilectu, 2. 1.


vitiator was a general term for the attendant or apparitor of a Roman magistrate, and the form of the word probably referred to the duty of travelling through the ager round Rome to summon the senators or others to public meetings. The lictor was a more specialized name is qui ex collegio viatorum officium ligandi haberet lictor sit appellandus, Aul. Gell. 12. 13. 1. Only dictators, consuls, and preators commonly were thus attended, and the fasces borne by these lictors was a symbol of the jus vitae necisque.

§ 6. vetustate. Cf. 8. 5. It was 32 years since there had been a dict. ret gerenda.

Ostia. Otherwise declined in the 2nd decl. Cf. 37. 1 and mitte Ostia Cæsar, Juv. v. 117.

p. Cosanum. Now the porto d' Ercole. It was a Roman colony, and one of the chief naval stations on the lower sea.
§ 7. *ad urbem B*. Probably as W. suggests in the dockyards or in course of building.

§ 8. *libertini*. The slaves of a Roman, when freed, were called his *liberti*, and passed into the class of *libertini*. These were by Q. Fabius in 305 B.C. all enrolled in the 4 *urbana tribus*, where their votes counted for little, but in later days repeated efforts were made by the popular leaders to spread them over the *rusticae tribus* where they might own land. They could not serve regularly in the legions, for military service was regarded at Rome as the privilege and duty of the free landowners, and it was not until the time of Marius that this sentiment disappeared.

*quibus liber*. This condition recurs in other cases, as in the privilege allowed to Latini to migrate to Rome and become *R.* citizens if they left children behind them, and in usages of precedence among magistrates.

*actas militaris*. i.e. commonly from the 17th to the 46th year of age.

§ 9. *urbano ex*. Referring to the lower estimate of the *urbana tribus* who formed what was called contumeliously *forensis factio*.

c. xi. § 1. *quo diem*. Nearly all the MSS. read *quodie*, a mistake which probably grew out of a failure to see that *quo* follows *conveniendum*, as Tibur does in 11. 4.

§ 2. *Præneste* is explained by Corssen ii. 216, as being an old superlative form, as *magister* or *minister* are comparatives like λαλτόχεφος, thus *Præneste* = 'that which stands forth most prominently,' for *pra* cf. note below on *pristinus*. Festus says it was so named *quia montibus præstat*, and in fact it commands a splendid view of the neighbourhood of Rome.

*transversis lim.* 'Cross-roads,' as in ii. 39 *transversis transmitibus* and v. 16. 4 *obliquis transmitibus* in the same sense. It would seem as if *trames* (*trans. meare*) were nearly the same as *transversus*, while *limes* (for *lic-mes*, connected with *limus, léxpos, limen*, a cross-beam for *lintel*) comes from the same root as *obliquus*. Corssen, i. 499.

*egressus*. W. aptly remarks that the *via* were raised as causeways higher than the cross-roads.

*exploratus*. Corssen connects *plorare* with *pluere pluvia* as 'to make to flow' and hence *explorare* 'to cause to flow out' or 'bring to light,' i. 361.

**P. 87, § 4.** *quos* appears in most MSS., but it is obviously corrupt, W. suggests *aliquando*, Heerwagen *antiquos*. It seems better to strike it out.
NOTES. XXII. c. xii. § 6—c. xiii. § 1. 257

§ 6. novi. This suggestion of Madvig for non vim commends itself as a very slight change with much better sense.

hauddum. Vocabulum hauddum non apud alium inveni scriptorem nist aliquoties apud Livium, i.e. septem locis. Stürenberg ap. Fabri. It is formed like vixdum, necdum also found in our author.

§ 7. si posset. ‘In the hope that he might,’ ‘to see if he would,’ a sense in which Livy often uses si.

excipere. As of the hunter latitantem fruticeto excipere aprum, Hor. Carm. iii. 12. 11.

§ 9. statico. ‘pickets.’

universo. ‘Staked upon the hazard of a general engagement.’ Cf. casum universae dimicationis 82. 2.

§ 10. parva momenta...‘petty skirmishes of little moment which might be safely risked as there was shelter near at hand.’

pristinis. This word like priscus comes from a longer form of the pri or pra whence primus, privus, &c. Corssen, i. 780.

§ 11. Sed non H...the subordinate phrase sanis consilii would as Nägelsbach suggests be naturally the subject in translation, ‘his sound judgment found an adversary,’ &c.

nihil...mors. Cf. for this idiom xxi. 45. 9.


premendo. Cf. 59. 10, nec premendo alium me extulissec velim.

pessima ars. ‘pernicious practice.’

c. xiii. § 1. The Hirpini (called Ἱρπῖνοι in Strabo, though some Latin inscriptions and MSS. drop the aspirate) were a highland race in the east of Samnium, whose name was said to be derived from the Samnite word hirpus = wolf, Serv. Verg. Æn. xi. 785. Several of their towns revolted from Rome after the battle of Cannae, Liv. xxiii. 1, and 87, and owing to the obstinate wars of the Samnites in old times Hannibal may have looked here for most support.

Beneventum. The old form of this was Maleventum Liv. ix. 27. 7, and the change was probably due to the superstitious feeling which may be traced in the history of names like the Eumenides, the Euxine, and εὐφρῶμ for night. Compare also the custom of the Romans to call first a citizen of auspicious name in the centuries and tribes.

C. L. 17
Telesiam. This was a little north of Beneventum and should probably be read in Pol. iii. 90 instead of Venusia, which was quite off the line of march.

§ 3. res mai. q. a. Note the compression of this phrase ‘the enterprise was greater than its authors,’ i.e. ‘too critical to be undertaken on their authority alone;’ it qualifies dubium.

§ 4. etiam atque etiam. Connected by Madvig with monitos, though the MSS. put the ut between. It is possible however to take them with promissa elliptically. Lucretius uses the phrase still more independently as i. 296 Quare etiam atque etiam sunt venti corpora caeca.

aliquis. Fabri remarks that aliquis is the more usual form of the abl. in Livy, though this form is here well attested.

§ 5. Agrum Casinatem. This is the point at which the via Latina issued from Latium into Campania, and the old name remains in the famous Benedictine cloister of the Monte Cassino. As the Appian Way was open to the Romans with the other roads Hannibal could not have barred their way to Capua except by forcing a battle.

§ 6. abhorrens. Cf. xxi. 32. 10.

caslinum was on the Volturnus not far from Capua, and the Campus Stellatis lay along the right bank of the river to the sea. It was one of the last districts of the ager publicus to be divided.

Polyb. says nothing of this mistake of the guide, but makes H. move towards Campania in the hope of plunder in the rich Falernian plain, and of revolt among the towns; and there could be little meaning in a movement towards Casinum, if the plain of Capua was the real object of the march.

Corssen ii. 355 connects both Casinum and Casilinum with casa, casula as originally ‘a place of huts’ like the German termination -hausen as in Frankhausen.

§ 7. montibus. The Callicula and Massicus.

fumibus. The Savo and Volturnus.

§ 8. mansurum. ‘rest, ‘pass the night.’ Cf. Hor. Carm. i. 1. 25, manet sub Jove frigido venator, so also mansiones were ‘night quarters’ for travellers or soldiers, before they became ‘mansions’ in our sense.

P. 89, § 9. The ager Falernus, which was famous for the best wine in Italy, lay to the North of the Campus Stellatis, between Sinuessa and Casilinum.
NOTES. XXII. c. xiii. § 10—c. xiv. § 13. 259

§ 10. aquas Sin. now called Bagni. Cf. Tac. Ann. xii. 66, refovendis viribus mollitia cali et salubritate aquarum Sinussam pergit.

§ 11. iusto et mod. The grievances which led to the outbreak of the Social War were hardly felt as yet, and the statement of the text is fairly justified.

c. xiv. § 1. probe seems to qualify, not sedito as Fabri thinks, but de integro, as explained by quieverant which follows.

§ 2. celerius s. The real object was to hold the passes into Latium, and so to enclose Hannibal.

§ 4. colonos. Sent in 297 B.C. when the Greek Sinope was changed to Sinussessa. Livy x. 21. 4.

§ 6. pro. This interjection is more frequently used with a vocative or accus., as pro sancte Jupiter, pro deum idem, &c., but at times as here absolutely.

Punicas, &c. It was a popular fancy in later days that the Carthaginians were bound by treaty not to sail along Italy, and the Romans were also shut out from Sicily. Pol. iii. 26 disproves these errors by the terms of the old treaties.

P. 90. videamus. 'Look on calmly.' For this use Fabri compares vi. 14. 3, si civem...in vincula...duci videam, cf. use of περισπορά.

§ 7. lenti. Cf. Hor. S. i. 9. 64, vellere capi | et pressare manu lentissima brachia.

§ 8. sestivos s. It was a regular custom to send the cattle from the lowlands to the highlands in the heat of summer; the early agrarian laws recognised this by leaving a wide margin along the highways for their transit and pasturage.

§ 9. M. Furius, sc. Camillus. As to the details cf. Livy v. 48, as also for the busta Gallica below.

§ 12. Furculas C. The valley, probably that of Arpaia, in which the Romans advancing from Calatia were surrounded by the Samnites under C. Pontius and forced to ignominious submission. Livy ix. 5.

periustrando. Lustrare, from the processional ceremonies of the lustrum, akin to the 'beating the bounds' of modern usage. Lustrum is the purifying offering from the root lu, law, whence luere, illuvies, Laudulae, and the like. Corssen i. 361.

C. Lutatius. Referring to the great victory at the Ægates, which ended the 1st Punic war.

§ 14. Arma capias...descendás. The elegant correction of Madvig for the MSS. reading armae copias...deducendás...

P. 91, § 15. h. dubie f. 'They declared unmistakeably.' For ferebant cf. xxl. 41. 7.

c. xv. § 1. pariter...h. minus. This seems so pleonastic that we may be tempted to translate pariter 'at the same time,' but pariter qualifies intentus, and inter suos h. m. q. in hostes is epexegetic, i.e. 'watching both sides alike, his own men no less than the enemy.'

ab illis invictum. 'A resolution unshaken by the former.'

§ 2. summa ope. Often used by Livy in the sense of the familiar summopere.

arbusta, &c. These nomin. are in appos. with regio, though we should expect a dependent clause explanatory of the præs. copia.

§ 4. Casilinum was strongly placed on both banks of the river (eo dividitur amnis, Liv. xxiii. 17. 10). One part of it was stoutly defended by the garrison after the battle of Cannae.

diremperta expresses strongly the separation of the two parts of the town.

dividit. It would be more natural to say that the river parted the two districts, not the town.

Campanum is here used in its most restricted sense of the neighbourhood of Capua, as distinct from the Falernus and Calenus ager. Cf. 25. 7.

P. 92, § 8. ad con. tell. As we say 'a stone's throw.' So also 29. 4.

§ 9. in proelium redit. 'Turned and offered battle.' Used elsewhere in Livy in the same sense.

§ 10. Cales. Still within the great wine district. Prælo domitam Caleno | tu bibes uvam, Hor. Od. i. 20. 9.

§ 11. saltum, q. s. T. The pass of Lautulæ on the Appian road which ran along the coast was often mentioned in the early campaigns of Rome as an important strategic point. As the Latin road by Teanum and Venafrum lay open, it is hard to see the importance of this step.
NOTES. XXII. c. xv. § 11—c. xvii. § 4. 261

The ager R. was the district immediately round Rome, including also the lands of many of the towns of Latium which had received the full civitas.

§ 12. in viam. Through the range of Callicula. Cf. § 3.

c. xvi. § 1. tina castra. As in xxi. 59. 2 the distributive is used with the plural castra, as the word bears a different sense in the singular.

§ 2. asquiores probably refers to a plateau on higher ground, but the secondary sense of ‘favourable,’ as opposed to iniquus, is also suggested.

P. 93, § 4. Inclusus. The account in Polybius contains no such plan of seizing all the outlets through which H. might have marched. It represents only an attempt to surprise him by an ambuscade as he was passing through the mountains. It speaks also of three passes through the Eastern highlands, besides the coast roads. It seems indeed most improbable that the Romans should have ventured to divide their forces, and attempt so bold a policy against an enemy whom they dared not meet in open country. Livy’s description is ill suited to the actual scene, and to the formidable strength of the invader.

via ad Cas. ‘As his way (southward) was intercepted by the garrison at Cas.’

tant. soc. A bold phrase for tot socii.

Litterum was afterwards famous as the place of the voluntary exile of Scipio Afric anus. Its stagna were formed by the river Clanicus near its entry into the sea, now known as Lago di Patria.

§ 6. ludibrium oculorum. ‘An ocular delusion.’

§ 7. quos...multos. Not quorum, as there is no relation here of part to whole. Cf. i. 55. 3, sacella qua aliquot ibi a Tatio regis consecrata fuerunt.

c. xvii. § 3. repente. To be taken with disc., circa with virgulta, as omnem deinceps agrum xxi. 52. 5, and often elsewhere where adverbs are used as adj. by L.

visa is inserted by Madvig after Perizonius, on the ground that it would be absurd to say h. s. q.... accensis if the under-wood was actually on fire.

§ 4. Qui ad transitum. Polybius clearly describes the whole scene. 4000 men were placed in ambush at the outlet of a defile, while the main body were drawn up by Fabius on a hill commanding the approach. But at the sight of the
lights upon the mountain-sides the Romans in the pass, thinking that the enemy was escaping along the higher ground, left their station in pursuit, and the main body of H. passed through unmolested. Livy's account is vague in the extreme.

P. 94. Qua minime... 'They made for the top of the mountain-ridges, thinking that their safest course lay in the direction where the lights were flashing least.'

§ 6. in fugam. According to Polyb., after collision with the light troops of H., they remained upon the heights waiting for the dawn.

armaturae incurrere. A rare constr. Livy commonly says incurrere in aliquid.

neutros... This const. is awkwardly involved; though neutros is governed by tenuit, the negative which it contains belongs properly to a distinct sentence which states a further result that neither side was ready to begin fighting.

c. xviii. § 1. abhorrens. 'Shrinking.'

§ 2. interc. ab suis. 'Cut off from the main body.' Livy uses suis freely, as § 7 and 17. 4, without reference to the principal subject of the sentence.

§ 8. assuetior. We notice here the want of a Latin partic., like ὠφα, the place of which might be supplied by utpote or quippe.

campestrem. 'Lowlander.'

statarium. Cf. ix. 19. 5, when speaking of the soldiers to the phalanx and the legion he says statarius uterque miles ordines servans.

§ 5. super Allifas. To be taken with consedit, not transgressus. Cf. 17. 7.

§ 6. Pelignos. This was a Sabine tribe N.E. of Lake Fucinus, whose chief city, Corfinium, was chosen as the seat of empire by the Italians in the Social War. Its country was too rugged to offer much plunder to H.

P. 95, § 7. Geronium (castellum Apulicis inops, 39. 16) was 25 miles from Lucearia (Pol. iii. 100), and selected by H. for his winter quarters, 23. 9.

imperio...consilio are less properly connected with *agens* than *precibus*, but the same construction is repeated xxiv. 32. 5.

§ 9. It might perhaps be better to put a comma after *hostis*, and to assume an ellipse of *'he should remember'* before *medicos*. Cf. Cic. Tusc. r. 17. 41, *horum igitur aliquid animus est, ne tam vegeta mens aut in corde cerebro...jaceat*.

quiete. *'By doing nothing.'* Cf. xxi. 10. 8, *nec unquam quietura Romana foedera*.

§ 10. *haec n. præm*. These words sum up the foregoing advice of Fabius, and link together the earlier clauses with the final *profectus*.

c. xix. § 3. Carthag. Nova C. or Cartagena.

*naves*. The reading of Madvig makes the construct. simpler than the *navibus* of the MSS., which is awkward if taken with *prof.*, and would require *ducebat* to bear the meaning *'had the...marched.'* Polyb. has *ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ παρὰ τὴν χέρσων ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦτ, τοῖς δὲ πετεῖς τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸν αἰγαλὼν, iii. 96. Navibus probably grew out of *navis* (*naves*), as in xxi. 43. 4 *habentibus* from *habentis*.

§ 4. *idem consili, i.e. configurere as above.*

*ingentem...* Taken by *hypallage* with *f.*, not with *auxiliarum*.

§ 5. *Massilienstum*. Polyb. notes the general zealousness of Massilia in the Roman cause throughout the war.

*speculatorum*. *Non sunt triremes sed naves minores sine rostris ut constat ex Liv. xxxvi. 42, Drakenb. ap. Fabri.*


*effuso*. Livy more often uses *offusus* with *terror*. Cf. xxviii. 29. 7.

§ 7. *nondum...aperientibus*. A bold constr., in which the negative sense is transferred from the verb to the adverb= *'still hiding.'* Cf. also xxi. 6. 9, *quum...dispulsa nebula aperriisset diem*. There is nothing in Polyb. to answer to this rhetorical description of the confusion, though the accounts otherwise agree.

§ 8. *classem esse...*follows a verb *'announce,'* understood in *jubet*.

*nihil minus quam...exspect*. A very favourite phrase of Livy which often occurs.
§ 10. *resolutis* ... ‘Unfasten the cables (which bound the stern of the ship to the shore), and drift towards the anchore’ (which were let down from the prow facing the sea by *ancoratis*). The MSS. read *evoherentur*, which is ill balanced by *incidunt*. W. reads *evicti* *tenentur*, which has little to recommend it, but is suggested by the *teneat* which follows.

P. 97, c. xx. The [in] probably, as Madvig suggests, was a copyist’s error which grew out of the *m* in *pretentam*.

§ 2. *quaes non aut...* The one set was not seaworthy, the other had run aground and could not be towed away.


§ 5. *iniuncta m*. ‘Which abutted on the walls.’ In fortified towns a clear space was commonly left. For use of *iniunctae* cf. v. 7. 1, *quum vineas tantum non iam iniunctae manibus essent*.

§ 6. *Locuntia* must have been near Nova C., according to a passage from Pliny 19. 2. 30, *estimare quanto sit in usu* (spartum)...*navium armamentis machinis aedificationem......ad hos omnes usus qua sufficiant minus triginta millia passuum in latitudinem a litore Carthaginis nova minusque C in longitudinem esse reperientur*.

*sparti*. Sp. *esparto*. A natural grass which Pliny calls *iuncus proprie aridi soli...hinc strata rusticis eorum, hinc ignes facesque, hinc calceamina, et pastorum vestes*. It was especially used for cordage on shipboard, *in sicco praeferunt e cannabi fuses*. Hence the name Spartanus Campus for the neighbourhood of Carthago Nova.

§ 7. *praecincta est ora*. The MSS. reading is certainly corrupt, *proiectas oras or periectas*. W. corrects it to *praevecta est oram* (*classis*), but the change to the neut. pass. *transmissum* is much more awkward after a verb like *praevecta* used actively, and therefore Madvig’s reading is to be preferred.

*Ebusum*. The largest of the Pityussæ islands which lie between the Baleares and the coast of Spain, now Iviza. *Ibusim* = ‘pine islands,’ Schröder, p. 99.


§ 10. *provinciae*. Spain was not yet regarded as a *provincia*, though steps had been taken in that direction by the commission given to Scipio, but as W. remarks Livy is thinking of the later distinction of *Hisp. ceterior et ulterior*.
NOTES. XXII. c. xx. § 10—c. xxii. § 1. 265

accolunt, a correction of the incolunt of the MSS. which seems too bold with Hiberum, yet Fabri compares Polyb. iii. 42, κατοκοῖντας τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ Εὐρυπ. Φησ. 126, Δερ-γαίας δ' οίκει νεμαθ' Ἱπτομέδων ἄρας.

§ 11. populi. As in Gaul tribal names appear chiefly in Spain in early times, and the towns known are few. The permanence of these tribal names in Gaul is shown by their outliving the Roman designations of the towns, and lasting on in so many of the present names.

P. 98, § 12. Castulonensem. This was afterwards the boundary between Tarraconensis and Bética. Its city Castulo, now Cazlona, which Livy calls urben validam ac nobilem, gained its importance from its silver mines, and was so Carthaginian in its sympathies that Hannibal took from it a wife, xxi. 41. 6. Castulo in Phoenician = 'god's bow,' Schröder. p. 127.

c. xxii. § 1. fuisse per. 'So far as.' 'If the C. only had been concerned.' Cf. Cic. Fin. ii. 28, consequatur summas voluptates non modo parvo sed per me nihilò.

§ 2. praepterquam... The Sp. were stirred to war not only by their natural restlessness but by the influence of their chieftains.

Mandonius was the brother-in-law of Indibilis, Liv. xxvi. 49. 9.

Hergiutum. Cf. xxi. 22. 8, reduced by Cn. Scipio xxi. 61, hence ante aquae.

4. tribunus. W. follows the MSS. in the reading tribunus, in which case missi would be a constr. ad synesim, agreeing with the plural of trib. cum aux. Cf. note on xxi. 60. 7.

§ 5. c.d. Hib. 'To his own side of,' from the point of view of agent not writer.

§ 6. Hergavonensium. Two of the best MSS. read Legav. According to Ukert ii. 1, p. 418, some coins have Hergavononia. It is otherwise unknown.

Novam ci. Supposed to be a local name, possibly to be identified with Ad Novas mentioned in the Itinerar. Anton. between Ille and Tarraco.

c. xxii. § 1. prorogato. The tenure of office was strictly limited to fixed periods at Rome, and it was contrary to constitutional usage to extend it in ordinary cases. But in the year 326 b.c. Q. Publilius Philo the consul was allowed by a vote of the commons ut pro consule rem gereret quoad debel-
latum cum Gracis esset, Liv. viii. 23. 7. But to mark the distinctive character of this prorogatio in this and other cases the official was always spoken of not as magistratus but pro magistratu, and for a long time a vote of the people as well as a resolution of the senate was needed. It was at first resorted to only in the case of imperium militiae, or the highest command away from Rome, and never to the imp. domi, in which a praefectus iuri dicundo or an interrex stepped into the place of an absent or deceased official. It was, however, sparingly adopted in case of lower offices at Rome. With the institution of provincia the prorogation became a regular procedure, and a proconsul or proprætor was appointed for each, but towards the end of the Republic an interval of at least 5 years was required between the office of consul and proconsul, prætor and proprætor.

P. 99, § 2. portum T. Hübner remarks that Strabo calls T. dìmenvs iii. 4. 7, and that it is still one of the worst roads on the Spanish coast, though Eratosthenes spoke of a návòtraðìmoν there. Yet 8 years later C. Claudius Nero sailed direct from Puteoli to Tarraco, xxvi. 17. 2, though the troops more commonly disembarked at Emporius and marched to T., until the fall of Carthago Nova changed the centre of operations.

§ 4. nec ullo viso, for et nullo, as the negative belongs not to the main sentence, but to the secondary clause. This confusion is of frequent occurrence in Livy, cf. vii. 9. 1, quum... exercitum ducissent neque inventis in agro hostibus Ferentinum...cepissent.

traditos, i.e. to the governor of the garrison. They were left there, says Polybius, because of the strength of the place and the supposed fidelity of the guard, iii. 98.

§ 5. iberum. The contracted form of this gen. plur. is very usual in Livy as in duum and socium.

§ 7. unum, 'a single,' as § 8, eam unam rem 'that single exploit.'

id agebat, 'his object was.'

emolumentum. The abstract for the concrete, as semina discordiarum tribuni iii. 19. 6, uno equo per urbem verum triumphant veñi xxviiii. 9. 8, ludibrium verius quam comes i. 56. 9. The object of Abelux was not merely that the 'gain might be as great as possible' taking emolumentum as the subject, but that he might 'himself profit his new allies.' For this the natural construction would be emolumento esset, though in Cic. de fin. ii. 18 the best MSS. have cuius mors tibi emolumentum futura sit.
NOTES. XXII. c. xxii. § 9—c. xxiii. § 5. 267

§ 9. Bostaris. The meaning of the name is ‘servant of Astarte,’ Schröder, p. 93.

P. 100, § 12. subitum is used for the results of donum, ‘what gift there could be which would speedily work such marvels.’

§ 13. momentum, a change of Madvig for ‘nomen’ ‘reputation,’ which is however quite a natural reading though less forcible. Cf. xxv. 39. 16, apud omnes magnum nomen Marciī ducis est.

§ 15. ad cetera, ‘up to the level of’...Fabri compares ad sic (ut comparationem significet) poni non solet nisi in significatione dissimilitudine et differentia. Madvig, Cie. Fin. iii. 16.

§ 16. fide accepta d. Like the Greek δεξιά δῶνα καὶ λαβένι.

§ 18. per eundem ordinem is an unusual expression in Livy, who prefers the abl. Polyb. tells us that Abelix himself took the hostages to their homes, and there is therefore some slight probability in the suggested reading of Heerwagen, per eundem eodem ordine, awkward as it reads and mirificum as Madvig calls it.

§ 19. Illos. As Fabri remarks, the Carthaginians though the last mentioned are the more remote object in the mind of the writer, and hence illos.

P. 101, § 21. spectare, ‘prepare for,’ but xxiii. 6. 4, plebes ad defectionem spectare.

c. xxiii. § 1. quoque, though not expunged in the text, seems out of place, but it may be explained to refer to a more general comparison in the writer’s mind between the war in Spain and Italy.

§ 3. ita balances the ut in 3. 2.

armatos...togatosque. Fabri quotes Cic. in Pis. 30, Non dixi hanc togam...sed quod pacis utique est insigne et utii toga, contra autem arma tumultus atque belli, poetarum more locutus.

utique. This clause anticipates the contents of c. 24.

§ 4. ager dict. Cf. in like case the action of Pericles who made over to the state his lands which he thought might be spared on personal grounds by the enemy. Thuc. ii. 18.

§ 5. quia non exsp. He had not waited for the sanction of the senate, which was regarded as constitutionally needful in all financial questions.

§ 7. *aspe factata, 'after frequent debate.'*

§ 8. *quoniam, &c., explains the following tardius er.*

erogatur. The technical term for a vote of the supplies.

P. 102, § 10. *præsidio. A participle like futurus is here needed to balance circumspectans.*

neque, cf. note on 2. 3.

c. xxiv. § 4. quod, minime... Polybius explains more fully the policy of H. who was anxious to winter at Gereonium, and to gather in exercises from all the country round before the Romans could interfere. This accounts for the large numbers (*duas exercitus partes 23. 10*) sent out to forage. He recalled indeed part of them at first, when the two camps were pitched so near each other, but ventured at last to send them out again, as he was anxious to gain large reserves of fodder for the horses, in which his strength lay. The scene and the details are much better described by the Greek writer.

§ 5. *conspectum. See note on 4. 6.*


§ 7. *paucitate, i. e. 2000 Polyb.*

§ 8. *[Tum ut]. If these are expunged, the rest makes good sense. W. reads tum utique, which is harsh, though it may be supported by tum utique immodice of 27. 2.*

P. 103. *per aversa a castris...* Madvig’s correction for *per av. castra e castris of the MSS.* W. suggests *per a. c. ne conspici posset e castris H., but all this is already implied in the text, which is much simpler, and aversa castra is an unnatural expression for the ‘side of the camp which was remote from,’ and those who issued from the camp would not go *per castra.* The phrases *per aversa urbis, v. 29. 1, or aversis collibus, xxvii. 41. 6,* do not seem to justify the use of *aversa castra in this sense.*

§ 9. This section has been rearranged by Madvig, as the MSS. seem here, as often in this book, to have lost some words out of their text.

§ 10. *receperat suos.* Polyb. mentions that Hasdrubal had covered the retreat of many of the foragers to the camp at Gereonium, to which H. afterwards retired.
NOTES. XXII. c. xxiv. § 11—c. xxv. § 3. 269

§ 11. *Insta acte ac coll. sig.* Common expressions for a regular engagement, as distinct from skirmishes.

§ 12. Bovianum was the chief town of the Samnites Pentri, ix. 31, 4, so important in early times that the Romans made repeated attempts to secure it as a step towards the conquest of Samnium.

*iussu dict.* The details of the levies had been left to the discretion of the dictator. The regular *dilectus* was resorted to for the legions. The *socii* were required to furnish contingents of a certain strength under their native officers, over whom Roman *praefecti* were commonly appointed.

*Quingentos.* The MSS. have *et equites adducentem* without a numeral. This may have grown out of *equites D ducentem.* Alschefski read *mille,* supposing that *et* was a mistake for the sign *co.*

§ 14. *Vanam,* though not in the MSS., seems needed to explain the *vanioribus* which follows. For this use of the word Heerwagen compares Verg. Æn. ii. 79, *Nec si miserum Fortuna Simonem | finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.*

c. xxv. § 1. *contione.* Referring to the speech of the tribune below.

§ 2. *ut.* 'Assuming that.'

§ 3. *trib. plebis.* The *tribunes* of an earlier age had been the spokesmen and leaders of the *plebs* in its civil struggles with the privileged order of the *patres,* and in their speeches, as reported in the annalists, it was a common topic of complaint that their rulers engaged in constant wars to distract the attention of the people from their grievances at home. The legal inequalities had been long swept away, but the *tribunate* lasted on, though it had lost its original value and importance. The tribunes still headed the opposition against the senatorian government, which they rudely shook in the period of the Gracchi, and helped in a later age to overthrow. It is a feature of Livy's rhetorical style to introduce their harangues into his text. The same names and argument recur in different periods.

*Enimvero.* The MSS. have only *enim,* which is used in other places of Livy, as vii. 32. 13, elliptically, to reply to supposed objections, but not, according to Madvig, to express indignation, as *enimvero* is employed Cic. Verr. i. 26, *Hic tum alius ex alia parte: enimvero ferendum hoc non est.*
NOTES. XXII. c. xxv. §§ 5—17.

P. 104, § 5. specie classis... Cf. 11. 7.

§ 6. duos praetores. Cf. 31. 6 for T. Otacilius, and xxiii. 21. 4 for A. Cornelius Mammula.

§ 7. Campanum... Cf. 15. 4.

§ 9. ut...ut. 'As soon as'...'as if.' The repetition in a different sense is awkward.

§ 10. abrogando. A Roman magistrate could not be constitutionally deposed except by a legislative act, or vote of the comitia. Early tradition cited such a case at the beginning of the republic, Brutus...collegae suo imperium abrogavit Cic. Brut. 14. 58, but in the best days of Rome there was scarcely any example known, for C. Flaminius would probably not have been deposed, as Livy xxl. 63. 2 implies, but declared illegally elected, vitio creatus. Cinna was deposed, but only by a vote of the senate according to Appian, and he regarded the act as null and void. But though there was no regular precedent of a consul, we hear of abrogation in the case of pro-consuls (Liv. Epit. 67) and tribunes as in the famous case of M. Octavius, 132 B.C.

§ 12. in actione...populari. 'In a course of action which would have found little favour with the people,' i.e. in opposing the bill of the tribune. The MSS. commonly read popularis agreeing with dictator, in the sense 'as he would have conciliated them little by his bearing towards them.' Actio is often used by Livy of the resolution proposed to the assembly, or the speech in support of it. Cf. in. 56. 3, huic actioni gratissimae plebi quam summa vi resisterent patres, and in. 1. 3, tribunicis se iactare actionibus. Here it is used more generally for 'political action.'

§ 13. acceptas referret. 'Set them down to the account of,' literally 'to the credit side.' So v. 22. 2, nec ducti...nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae...acceptum referebant.

dictum 'order,' as in. 18. 6, ad dicto parendum.

P. 105, § 14. bono imperatore. We see the need of a particip. of the subst. verb with this abl. abs., as in lata civitate in § 1.

§ 17. concilium is technically distinguished from the comitia, the general assemblies of the whole people convened for legislative or elective purposes. It is therefore applied to the meetings of foreign peoples, or of Roman corporations, and especially to the assemblies of the plebs, considered as a
NOTES. XXII. c. xxv. § 17—c. xxvi. § 2. 271

part only of the Roman unity, because exclusive of the patricians. These concilia plebis could only be convened by a tribune, or edile, and the auspices were not taken before they met, as in the case of the comitia. The resolutions passed in them, called plebiscita, were long regarded as informal declarations of the will of a single order of the state, and as such were never sanctioned by the patrum auctoritas, though the Hortensian law of n.c. 288 gave them binding force, and thus raised them to the level of the leges passed in the comitia. Cf. Mommsen, Römische Forsch. 177.

magis...quam. The two sentences are awkwardly balanced from the compression of the language. 'There was more... shown...than open courage on the part of'...

auctoritas = the sanction of men of mark coming forward as suasores.

§ 19. ipsum inst. 'Who sold his own goods retail.' The Romans markedly distinguished between the capitalist who speculated wholesale and the retail chandler, who was usually slave-born (servilia ministeria), or a foreigner. Cf. Cic. de Off. i. 42, illiberales et sordidi quaestus mercenariorum, quorum opera non artes emuntur: est enim illa merces auctoramentum servitutis. Sordidi etiam putand i qui mercantur a mercatoribus quod statim vendant. Opiícesque omnes sordida arte versantur. Plautus reflects the old Roman contempt for retail trade in the lines, Trinummus i. ii. 178: nihil est profecto stultium, neque stolidii, neque mendacilogiuus, neque argutum magis: neque confidientilogius neque perjuriius: quam urbani adsidui civies. Thus Horace speaks of the Tusci turbi impia vicies. Much of this feeling was probably due to the military bias given to the Roman mind in early days, (cf. the charge against the government of the Tarquins opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos, Liv. i. 59. 11,) which threw the handicrafts and retail trades into the hands of aliens, and the slave-born, who could not serve in the armies, but in later days the stigma of slavery degraded all industrial labour, except in agriculture.

c. xxvi. § 1. ut primum...fecit. The MSS. have utrum... adject. The first correction by Perizonius is necessary to make sense, the second is justified by the frequent usage of Livy, as i. 34. 5, cum divitia jam animos facerent. The phrase pecunia ex eo genere q. is abrupt from the want of an article or participle as in Greek.

§ 2. toga. The dress of the middle class, distinguished from the tunicatus popellus of Horace.
proclamando. A contemptuous term instead of orando. Cf. Cic. de Orat. i. 46, non enim causidicum nescio quem neque proclamatarem aut rabulum hoc sermone nostro conquiritus.

in notitiam...honores. ‘Attained to notoriety, and then to public office.’ These honours were the lower offices afterwards included in the comprehensive term vigintiviratus, comprising several boards, the lowest rank in a political career.

§ 3. duabus aedil. Only three cases are known of men who held both adileships, but one or other was a necessary step in an official career, and was heavily weighted with the expenses of the public shows.

§ 4. dictatoria invidia. For this use of an adjective, to express the object of the substantive, cf. Cic. Cluent. 28. 77, ex invidia senatoria crescere, Liv. iii. 42. 6, posito decemvirali odio, xxxix. 18. 10, divino humanoque scelere liberari.


§ 5. æquì atque in. ‘Friends and foes,’ as elsewhere in Livy.

P. 106, § 7. æquato imp. Polyb. says δωο Δικτατορες ἐγεγονεσαν, δ πρὸτερον οὐδὲντο συνεβῆκε, iii. 103. That there was no constitutional impossibility in this is shown by the appointment of M. Junia Pera and M. Fabius Puteo at the same time, and though the latter is made to say neque duos dictatores tempore uno, quod nunquam antea factum esset, probare se, Liv. xxix. 23. 2, yet he accepted office notwithstanding. The fasti do not recognize Minucius as dictator, but an inscription gives him the title, C. I. L. i. 556. Such a rogatio as that de æquando imperio is quite unknown to constitutional procedure.

c. xxvii. § 3. maiorem minori. In technical language the magistratus maiores were those who had the imperium, together with the censors, while all the rest were minores; but the terms are often used relatively, thus the dictator had a maior potestas as compared with all other officers, and the consul relatively to the prætor.

virgas ac secures...tremere. Referring probably to the like case of Q. Fabius, who as magister equitum disobeyed the instructions of the dictator Papirius Cursor, and though he gained a victory, nearly suffered for his want of discipline, v. c. 522. Cf. Livy viii. 32. 6, tunc Papirius redintegrata tra spoliari magistrum equitum ac virgas et secures expediri iussit.
NOTES. XXII. c. xxvii. § 3—c. xxviii. § 9. 273

Fabius fide militum implorans lacerantibus vectem victoribus ad triarios tumultum jam in contionem miscentes sess receptit.

§ 8. haudquaquam placere. Polybius makes Fabius suggest both alternatives, and Minucius accept the division of forces.

collegae. The term is here extended to the relation between Fabius and Minucius who had now a par potestas, and were therefore on the footing of the colleagues in the consulship. The collegium was a distinctively Roman conception as applied to a board of magistrates, who could each act with the undivided power of the whole office, without being bound by the votes of the majority. It stood also for the relation between the members, by which they were connected (con, ligare) as Liv. x. 22. 2, nihil concordi collegio firmius.

§ 9. consilio. Used adverbially. 'Neglect the duty of seeing that affairs were rationally conducted.'

exercitum. With ellipse of sed or tantum.

P. 107, § 10. sicut...esset. Though expressing a matter of fact, the verb in the subjunctive is included in a dependent clause.

c. xxviii. § 1. et indicantibus et...explorantem. The combination of an abl. abs. and a participle is awkward, but occurs elsewhere in Livy. Heerwagen compares xli. 19. 2, victores circumsidunt urdem...aut metu dedituris se hostibus aut vi expugnaturi.

§ 2. liberam. Uncontrolled by a superior.

et...et. Oratio obl., as the thought of H. accounting for his joy.

sollertiae. Conn. with the Oscan sollus = totus, and sollicitus solisimum.

§ 3. quem qui... 'the occupation of which would put'...

§ 4. causam cert. contr. An extension of a common phrase like artes belli conserebant, xxi. 1. 2.

procursurum. Madvig supposes that in an early MS. an e slipped in by error, and per ocursurum was gradually changed into per occursurum and semper occursurum, which stand in all the later MSS.

§ 7. quot quemque... The insertion of this before the main clause is awkward in constr., though it represents first the details of the action before the whole result is summed up.

§ 9. deposcere pellendos. 'Beg for the task of dislodging.'
P. 108. et vanis minis. The earlier MSS. have et vanis animis et nimis, which Madvig explains as a repetition of the mistake nimis for minis, and a later attempt to give a sense to the first word.

§ 12. succedentem. Madvig remarks that subsequentem would be a more natural expression, as it would give more variety after succedens, but there is no MS. authority for it.

§ 13. directa. ‘Face to face,’ as distinct from an ambuscade. Fabri compares xxxv. 4. 7, postquam apertas esse insidias et recto ac iusto praelio...dimicandum viderunt.

§ 14. animus ad pugnam...ad fugam spea. An example of Chiasmus, as in the next line, clamore audito,...conspecta... acie.

c. xxxix. § 1. non celerius. As Duker explains, satis cele- riter nec tamen celerius quam timueram...

§ 5. integrum a. ‘The unbroken line of the reserves.’

P. 109. plures simul. ‘In a body.’

volventes orbem. Cf. note on Liv. xxi. 56. 2.

§ 6. POMUS. Used generally of the army, not of its leader mentioned in the next clause.

palam ferente. Often used by L. for ‘professing.’ Cf. xxiv. 32. 1, haud vani quidam homines palam ferre.

§ 8. eum primum esse... This refers to a gnomic sentence in Hesiod ἔργ. κ. ἦμ. 298, often quoted, as by Arist. Eth. i. 4. 7, οὕτω μὲν πανάρετος δι αὐτός πάντα νοήσῃ | ἐσθῆτο καὶ αὐτὶ κάθειν δὲ εὖ εἰλαντὶ τιθηται | δὲ δὲ κε μὴ τοῦτο νοεῖ μὴ τοῦτο άλλου ἄκοιν | ἐν θυμῷ βάλλεται, καὶ αὐτὶ αὐτὲν ἀπθάρτως ἀνήρ.

extremi. ‘The meanest.’

§ 10. cum F. For cum Fabri castris.

§ 11. patronos. Because they were indebted to them for their safety, as the libertus owed his freedom to his pa- tronus, or as conquered people recognized like relation to the generals who had subdued, but spared them. Cf. Cis. de Off. 1. 11. 85, ut it qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, eorum patroni essent more maiorum. For a similar incident cf. iii. 29. 2, where the dictator Cincinnatus saved the army of the consul L. Minucius...et profisciscatent patronum
NOTES.  XXII.  c.  xxix.  § 11—c.  xxx.  § 7.  275

salutaverit. Patronus seems to be another form of pater, as matrona of mater.

c.  xxx.  § 1. in admir....convert., 'arrested the wondering attention.'

§ 2. circo. militum eius, 'such of the soldiers of F. as were grouped about them.'

§ 3. quo fando possum, 'as far as my poor words allow.'

§ 4. plebeiscitum. Cf. note on 26. 4. Plebei is the archaic genitive of plebs or plebis.

P. 110. oneratus...honoratus. Fabri compares Varr. L. L. v. 73, onus est honos qui sustinet rempublicam, Ovid Her. ix. 31, non honor est sed onus. This play upon the form of the words contrasted or annominatio is of frequent occurrence in many writers as in Cic. Phil. iii. § 22, ex orator orator. Ov. Fasti ii. 805, nec prece nec pretio. Cf. Zumpt ad Verr. p. 661. Quintil. ix. § 65.

antiquo, used technically for voting against a new bill (lit. 'prefer the old'), while abrogare = 'repeal an old law.'

auspicium. The auspices were taken only in the name of the superior officer. Cf. note on xxx. 40. 3.

§ 5. placatus...&c. The precedents of old Roman discipline would have warranted more ignominious treatment, as when L. Minucius the consul who was delivered from blockade at Corbio was addressed by the dictator L. Quinctius carebis parte praeae miles...et tu L. Minuci...legatus his legionibus praebis, Liv. iii. 29. 1.

tendere, for 'encamp,' i.e. tentoria habere, cf. Verg. Æn. ii. 29, hic saevus tendebat Achilles.

§ 6. exsecrabiliis, as W. remarks, like a dies ater of the Calendar.

§ 7. laudibus ad calum ferre. Cf. Ennius ap. Cic. de Senect. 4, Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem, | non hic ponebat rumores ante salutem. | ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret. Hence the notable honour that was paid him, which few could ever earn. Hanc coronam gramineam S. P. Q. R. Fabio Maximo dedit bello P. secundo quod urbem R. obsidione hostium liberasset, A. Gell. v. 6.
NOTES. XXII. c. xxx. § 10—c. xxxi. § 11.

§ 10. eam nubem. The figure is probably copied from Homer Π. 5. 522, νεφέλων ἐκιστεῖ, ὅτε Κραών | νυμφής ἑστησέν ἐπὶ ἀκρωτίλιοις δρεσαί, | ἄτρεμα δῆρ᾽ εὐθὺς μένος βορέας καὶ Ἀθηναίοι | γαρ καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν ἀνέμων, ὀτέ νέφεα σκίβετα | προφέρει λυγίρμους διασκιδάσας γέντες.

c. xxxi. § 1. centum viginti, supplied by Lipsius from Pol. iv. 96, as Livy would not have added navium without a definite number. As to Servilius cf. 11. 7.

§ 2. Menige. Cf. Polyb. i. 89, παρεγγυνον πρὸς τὴν τῶν Δωτοφάγων νήσου ἢ καλεῖται μὲν Μήνιας, οὐ μακρὰν δ᾽ ἀπέκει τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτεως. It is now called Jarbah.

Cerdinam, now Karkeneh at the N. W. extremity of the Syrtis opposite to Menige.

§ 3. iuxta...ac si = ‘just as if,’ an unusual construction though found in Cic. Or. post red. 8. 20, iuxta ac si mens frater esset, and Sall. Jug. 45. 2 Fabri.


§ 7. Ipse. The consul Servilius, in contrast to the classis in 8. 6.

et collega eius, ‘as was also his colleague,’ agreeing with accitus, but not with the principal verb.

semestri. The dictatorship was never held more than 6 months (Liv. iii. 29. 5), probably because it was at first used only for military needs, and the early campaigns lasted only through the summer. Mommsen also makes it probable that it lasted only to the end of the term of the ordinary magistrate who named to it. This may explain the later mistake that Camillus was dictator for a whole year, caused by Livy’s words anno circunacto vi. 1. 2.

§ 8. Omnum prope annum. So also do the Fasti, the Elogium of Fabius Max., and Polyb. iii. 87, as other authorities. It is probable therefore that a prætor, in the absence of the consul, presided over the Comitia and made the official declaration. Cf. note on 8. 6.

§ 11. res obtinuisse...follows fugit in or. obl. though a parenthetic clause quum...esset has been introduced.

titulum. Referring to the Roman custom, by which the busts of ancestors were ranged in the atrium of a noble house which had the ius imaginum, and descriptive notices were
NOTES. XXII. c. xxxi. § 11—c. xxxii. § 8. 277

added below of the official honours and exploits. These were
carried in state in the funeral processions, and referred to in
funeral speeches. Family vanity may often have altered these.
Cf. Liv. viii. 40. 2, vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor
falsisque imaginum titulis.

c. xxxii. § 1. Attilius. The omission of the prænomen M.
to the first name is unusual, while the second has the cogno-
men Geminus in the place of the prænomen Cn.

quod reliquum. Some letters of this [quod reli] quom are
supposed by Madvig to have slipped out of the text of an early
MS., as the later have only quom aut. e. Gronovius' suggestion
medium aut. e. is not much to the point.

artibus 'policy,' as § 3.

§ 2. opportuni ad. An unusual phrase for hostile colli-

sion.

palatos exc. 'Cutting off stragglers.'

univ. dimicationis, 'general engagement,' cf. universo peri-
culo; 12. 10 for 'decisive battle' Livy uses supremum certamen,
there being no definite equivalent in Latin.

P. 112, § 3. et fuisset. Madvig's correction of the passage
of which other readings are abeundum timuisset, where the
gerund seems out of place, or fugae speciem abeundo timuisset.

repetiturus fuerit. For this combination or subjunction of
the perf. future, cf. Cic. ad Att. ii. 16, Pompeius eoaçifiéro,
quia enim futurum fuerit...se divinare non potuisse.

§ 4. Neapolis was first referred to by Livy under the name
of Palespolis viii. 26. 1, but the 'old city' disappears, and the
'new city' takes its place after the siege and surrender to Rome.
Its other name Parthenope is derived from the name of the
Siren, whom legend cast upon its shores, and whose tomb was
shown in Strabo's days, v. 4. 7.

verba f. ut d. A pleonastic expression for 'a speech was
made to the effect.'

§ 6. subs. fortunae, 'a reserve for themselves in case of
need.'

§ 8. duxissent...indicaverint. This change of tense is not
unusual in Livy, the first verb representing the action from
the point of view of the writer, the second from that of the
NOTES. XXII. c. XXXIII. §§ 1—7

speaker; but it is rare to find the two tenses in such close connexion.

c. XXXIII. § 1. speculator. The commercial relations of the Carthaginians must have made it easy for them to procure intelligence through the trading classes, who in Rome, as in many Greek cities, were often aliens and slave-born.

fesellat, absolutely as spe fallendi xxi. 57. 8.

§ 2. cumurassent. This has puzzled the commentators who understood it of some plot to tamper with the soldiers, though their loyalty was at this time beyond suspicion. The verb is used however of the military oath of obedience, cf. 38. 3 and Cæsar, B. G. vii. 1, and probably the slaves had tried to enrol themselves in the legions as in the case reported by Pliny to Trajan, Ep. 29, repertos inter tirones duos servos.

seris gr. Cf. note on 10. 7.

§ 3. Demetrius (ἀνήρ βράσας μὲν καὶ τόλμαν κεκτημένος, δύ-γιστον δὲ ταύτην καὶ τελέως ἄκριτον Pol. iii. 19) had been rewarded by Rome for his surrender of Corcyra by being made governor in Illyria, but had risen in revolt again, and fled to Philip when his army was routed, and Pharos taken.

P. 113, § 5. Pineum. Teuta the queen dowager of the Illyric Ardisæi had provoked Rome by her piracies and outrages on Roman envoys. Defeated in the ensuing war she resigned the government to Demetrius Pharos who ruled in the name of her son Pineus over such territory as was left him by treaty. After the revolt of Demetrius, the Romans spared the youthful Pineus, on condition of the payment of subsidies, which were now overdue.

dies exierat. Cf. iv. 30. 18, indutiarum dies exierat.

diem proferri, ‘the term extended.’ The common reading is proferre as si diem proferimus xxv. 38. 20, but the active voice would be used more naturally of the creditor than of the debtor.

§ 6. in cervicibus. A metaphor taken from the yoke upon the oxen. Cf. xl. 50. 5, cervicibus præpotentem finitimum regem imponere.

§ 7. sed Concordia. This Chapel which stood beside that of Juno Moneta on the Arx was distinct from the larger temple of Concord, which stood on the slope of the hill towards the Forum, and was founded by Camillus B.C. 267, when the consulship was thrown open to the plebs.
NOTES. XXII. c. xxxiii. § 7—c. xxxiv. § 1. 279

per, 'on occasion of.' Cf. ii. 34. 1, per secessionem plebis.

seditionem, derived from sed 'apart' (cf. sed fraude archaic for sine fraude) and ire, cf. seduco, sepone.

Mancio ante. Manlius was in Cisalpine Gaul as prætor the year before, xx. 17. 7; an inclusive reckoning is here adopted. Of the circumstances of the vow we know nothing.

locatam, 'put out to contract,' the duty commonly of the Censors, but occasionally of commissioners, as here, specially appointed.

§ 9. in eam diem...the time for the elections often varied with the time of the consuls from the seat of war, and no fixed rules could be adopted, though dictators were sometimes specially named to carry on the elections.

§ 11. rectius visum. The appointment of an 'interrex' was a constitutional expedient in the case of the death or resignation of the supreme magistrate. The dictator was regarded as a colleague specially named on urgent occasions by a living consul.

§ 12. vitio creatis. The vitium might consist in the neglect of the formalities of the auspices (cf. inauspicato xx. 68. 7), or in some unfavourable sign at the time or after the ceremony. It rested with the college of augurs to decide by a formal decreatum, that the election was so vitiated, upon or without an appeal to them by the senate or magistrate. The election was not thereby made null and void, but the officer was expected to abdicate of himself, and might at the end of his term be impeached for his irreverence if he persisted in retaining his office. Vitio facti abdicatum is the regular entry in such cases in the Capitoline Fasti. The usage gave a dangerous encouragement to party intrigues.

ad interregn. res. i.e. the term of the consuls' office expired, and they could not therefore name another dictator.

c. xxxiv. § 1. a patribus. The traditions and the name of the interreges point to the kingly period of Rome, and the vacancy at the death of the elective monarch, when there was no successor to step at once into his place. Then, says Livy i. 17. 4, the senate divided itself into ten decuriae, in each of which the lot decided the order of rank. A board consisting of one of each decuria then held the monarchy in commission for 50 days, each in turn bearing the insignia of supreme command for 5. Then a second board came into office, and so on till a new king was elected. The decuria was supposed to consist of 10, as the early senate first contained 100. In the days of the Republic
the patres, or patricii, are always spoken of in this connexion, and it is probable, as Mommsen says (Röm. Forschungen, p. 219), that only the patrician senators took part in the formalities of the interregnum.

certamine patrum ac pl. The old constitutional struggle between the patricians and plebs had been finally decided when all the higher offices of state were thrown open to the latter body. But during the last century a nobility had been gradually formed, consisting of the families whether of patrician or plebeian origin which had gained possession of the curule offices, and therefore of the ius imaginum. This nobility was represented by the senate which consisted of ex-officials, and the privileges which it held de facto were clung to more tenaciously than the de iure claim of the older patriciate.

P. 114, § 2. occasuus, part. for subst., ‘his attack upon.’ Cf. xxx. 1. 5, Sicilia S. amissae.

§ 3. augures. Cf. on vitio creatis, 33. 12.

§ 4. adductum…trahi. The or. obl. following a verb understood in criminando.

§ 5. universals, ‘if united,’ cf. xxx. 33. 9 the use of exutum.

pugnari, ‘the war could be carried on’ or ‘could fight with good effect,’ by supplying prospere from the next line.

§ 6. pater patronusque. Cf. 29. 10, and compare the phrase pater patratus of the fetialis.

§ 7. foedus, ‘compact.’

hom. novum, used distinctively henceforward of the few who rose to a level with the privileged circle of nobility by gaining the consulship, but contemptuously applied like parvenu. The absence of such a term in English marks the distinctive feature of an aristocracy which has been always recruited freely from lower social strata.

§ 8. eisdem…sacræ. This probably is a metaphor taken from the pledges of a secret society, as if the aristocratic clubs had bound themselves like those in old days in Greece by the oath τὸ δὴμος κακούς έκρομαι.

It might with less likelihood be taken in the sense that the prominent plebeian families had identified themselves with the patrician by intermarriage and prejudices, whereas stress had been laid by the opponents of such intercourse (legalized by the Cannuleian law) on the religious divisions of the two orders, which had distinct family sacræ.
NOTES. XXII. c. xxxiv. § 9—c. xxxv. § 4. 281

§ 9. ut in patrum pot. As the interrex was named by the patres, and he conducted the elections, they would have more influence over them than if a magistrate elected by the people presided.

§ 10. expugnatum, 'carried their point by force,' as if it were a violence done to the constitution.

P. 115, § 11. certe, 'an undoubted right,' gained by the Licinian laws B.C. 367, consulum utique alter ex plebe crearetur, Liv. vi. 35. 3.

liberum hab. 'would use it freely,' as Ovid, Fast. i. 52, Verbaque honoratus libera prae tor habet, also 60. 9, quum noctem liberam habuisset.

mature. The MSS. have magis vere, but magis is an awkward pleonasm with malle, and vere does not effectively balance diu. Mauvig supposes vere to have been a抄ist's mistake for ture, and the ma to have been lengthened afterwards to magis.

c. xxxv. § 1. nobilibus iam, 'already ennobled,' i.e. their ancestors had gained curule offices.

§ 2. unus, 'alone' as the aristocratic candidates by dividing the votes of their party could not in any case gain the majority required.

in manu...essent. The presiding magistrate could often exert an influence over the election by deciding whether votes could be legally tendered for a candidate.

§ 3. L. Emilius Paulus had been consul with M. Livius, afterwards called Salinator, in B.C. 219, and had conducted brilliantly the Illyrian war. They were accused of embezzling the plunder and Livius was condemned by all the tribes but one, and quitied the city in disgust. W. remarks that a special bill must have been passed to enable Æmilius Paulus to be re-elected within 10 years as was done afterwards, Liv. xxvii. 6. 7.

ambustus is the same metaphor as 40. 3, se populare incendi um priore consulatu semustum effugisse. Cf. Juv. viii. 92, quam fulmine iusto | et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante senatu.

§ 4. comitiali die. The comit. d. were probably at first the same as the dies fasti, on which it was fas cum populo agere, as distinct from the dies nefasti, on which for various religious reasons no business could be done. Afterwards the fasti were restricted to a smaller number of days when judicial but not legislative business might be transacted, while both were allowed on the Comitiales.
par magis in advers. 'matched rather as a rival than a colleague.' par referring to the par potestas of the consuls, by which either could thwart the other.

§ 5. Philo, to be taken with evenit.

Romee qualifies not urbana, in distinction to the department of Pomponius, but both of these prætorships in contrast to the two which follow.

peregrinos. Out of this jurisdiction over aliens gradually grew more liberal principles and methods of procedure, free from many of the technicalities of the old Roman law, and out of these a system of equity was developed.

§ 6. additi, not as a new principle, for that had been already introduced in B.C. 227, Liv. Epit. xx.

§ 7. nec cuiquam. Of the four Prefets all but M. Pomp. Matho had been consul before, so marked was the wish to secure tried officials.

c. xxxvi. § 1. quantæ sint...variant. 'In stating the numbers...give such various accounts.' The dependence of sint on variant is obscured by the addition et num. et gen.

P. 116, § 2. alli, nom. to some verb like ferunt to be understood in variant.

§ 3. leg. auctas. 'The complements of the legions raised by.'

millibus peditum et centenis. For this use of millia for singula millia, cf. xxxvii. 45.7, dabitis...millia talentum per duo-decim annos. So xxix. 15.4, stipendium præterea its colonitis in millia æris asses singulos imperari.

treceni eq. Yet xxxi. 17. 3, the cavalry of six legions amounted to 1800, or 300 in each. Lipsius therefore inferred that the number should here be cccc after the addition. There is no MS. authority for the change, however, which is not borne out by Polybius or subsequent estimates of number.

duplicem num. eq. Pol. iii. 107 says τρικάλσιον as a general rule on critical occasions.

§ 4. septem et oct. $8 \times 5000 + 8 \times 5000 + 8 \times 300 + 8 \times 600 = 87,200.$

§ 5. spem...dictator. Polybius tells us that the Romans, hearing that their army was embarrassed by the loss of its supplies which Hannibal had taken, gave the consuls instructions to force a general engagement. He omits all the details of the election of Varro and the warnings of Fabius.
NOTES. XXII. c. xxxvi. § 6—c. xxxvii. § 10. 283


§ 7. signa. Cf. signa Lannuvi ad Junonis Sospita cruiore manaverent xiii. 81. 16, i.e. the statues or busts of the Gods.

sudasse. The correction of Madvig in a corrupt passage where the common MS. reading is cædis, for which Cædis and Cærides have been suggested.

§ 8. id quidem, i.e. the repetition made it more fearful.

via fornicata. This vaulted way was probably a line of porticos extending to the campus M. which no longer existed in Livy's days (erat). Probably it is the same as that mentioned in xxxv. 10. 10, porticum...a porta Fontinali ad Martis aram, qua in Campum iter esset, perduxerunt, cf. Nardini Roma Ant. iii. 141.

§ 9. Pesto. Posidonia, an old colony of Sybaris, was a Greek town conquered by the Lucanians, and afterwards colonized by the Romans under the name of Pestum. The famous temples still to be seen on the deserted site date from the times of the Greek culture, the loss of which long afterwards the inhabitants annually deplored.

c. xxxvii. § 2. sua propria. Heerwagen illustrates the use of suus (as distinct from alenus) with proprius in contrast to communis by xxxiii. 2. 1, orsus a majorum suorum suisque et communibus in omnem Graciam et propriis in Baétorum gentem meritis.

P. 117, § 4. se refers to Hiero, sese in § 5 to legati. The envoys speak first in their master's name, then in their own.

§ 5. ducentum. The gen. plur. contracted form as modium; the MS. reading wavers between oc and occ.

§ 7. Milite. Equivalent to pedite, for which it is often used.

auxilia. Cf. note on xxi. 60. 4.

§ 8. mille. Silius Italicus says Addiderat ter mille viros in Marte sagittae | expertos vili. 615. Yet the ter is not likely to have slipped out, Livy would have written tria millia.


pugnaces telo. pugnax is more often used absolutely, but sometimes with an abl. Cf. Hor.Carm. rv. 6. 8, tremenda cuipide pugnax.

§ 10. uno tenore, 'even tenour,' 'unswervingly.' Cf. 47. 6.
§ 12. dare dicere. A usual pleonasm in ceremonial formulas like that in the next line.

P. 118, c. xxxvii. § 2. quod nunquam. In earlier days the soldiers had taken the oath of obedience (sacramentum) singly, and had also pledged themselves voluntarily to their comrades in the same decuria (of horse) or centuria (of foot) to be true to each other. This pledge Mommsen believes to be a traditional custom of old Italy, and to be indicated in passages of Livy ix. 39. 3, x. 38. 2 where milites sacrati are spoken of. This was now made obligatory.

§ 3. inssu......abituros. These words are probably, as Drakenborough suggests, a marginal comment on ture surando, which has slipped into the text. They seem needless in this context.

ad decuriumandum. The MSS. have decuriatum and centuriatum, which are not known to occur elsewhere in this sense as substantives. Some propose to omit the ad, and regard them as supines, which would however be used in a passive sense. In favour of the common reading it may be urged that Livy has an especial fondness for verbals of the 4th decl. though centuriatus occurs only as the place of a centurio. There were 60 centuriae in the legion, and 30 decuriae of the horse attached to it.

§ 4. ergo (εργῳ), archaic for causa, occurs chiefly in legal phrases.

§ 6. arcenasitum in It. This is probably a rhetorical use of the charge which in early days of the struggles between the two orders was so often urged by the tribunes against the patrician rulers. Polybius ignores all these details of conflict of opinion at Rome.

§ 8. verior quam grattior. For this repetition of the comparative, cf. Cic. pro Milone, non timeo ne libentius hæc in illum evomere videar quam verius. On the other hand the second is omitted where it seems most needed in r. 35. 14, eo majore cum gaudio, quo prope (for propius) metum res fuerat. So Tac. Agr. 4, vehementius quam caute.

§ 9. quod ne. Valla proposed quomodo for this reading of the best MS., but qui would follow awkwardly and it seems better to omit it. Cf. xxi. 36. 3, miranti qua res.

togatus. An acute suggestion of Muretus for locatus of MSS. Cf. note on 28. 3 and iii. 10. 16, nisti dum in integro sesit, dum domi dum togati sint, caveant.
NOTES.  XXII.  c. xxxviii. § 11—c. xxxix. § 9. 285

P. 119, § 11. res...hominibus.... Cf. Hor. Ep. i. i. 19, Et mihi res, non me rebus subjungere conor.

§ 12. id locorum. In a temporal sense. Cf. ix. 45. 1, nunc quando vana verba ad id locorum fuerint, rebus standum esse.

§ 18. Et sua.... Fabri and W. retain the id of the MSS. instead of the correction of Gronovius.

id...perseveraret. A less usual construction than with in and the abl. but used by Cicero, Quint. 24, neque te ipsum id, quod suscepisses, perseverare.

c. xxxix. § 2. indicente. A correction of Gronovius for the indigentes of MSS., like the non me indicente hae sunt Terence Adelph. iii. 4. 62, and Cic. de fin. ii. 3 indicente te of some MSS. Though the act. part. is not found elsewhere in Livy, the passive indictus is less rare. Cf. v. 15. 6.

§ 3. claudente. This is supported by the use of Salvust, Hist. iii. 25, neque enim ignorantia claudit res, and possibly of Cic. Tusc. v. 8, etiam ei ex aliqua parte clauderet, though the form of the word has been objected to by Bentley and other critics, as claudicare is more usual. The MS. readings vary.

idem...turus. Varro as consul had equal right and authority with his colleague.

§ 5. Cum illo. Madvig returns to the older reading of the verbs in the indic. instead of making them depend grammatically on nescio an: they really explain the use of infestior and are expository. The authority of the best MSS. is rather in favour of the indic.

§ 6. Ominis causa absit. Like the modern Turk the ancient Roman apologized for the use of unlucky words, or tried to undo their effects by others of happier sound.

demum—‘only when’ or ‘not till.’

furere...insanit. Döderlein sp. Fabri compares Cic. Tusc. iii. 5. 11, furorem esse rati mentis ad omnia cæcitatem. Quod quum majus esse videatur quam insania, tamen ejusmodi est, ut furor in sapientem cadere possit, non possit insania.

P. 120, § 7. procellas to be taken with ciet, prælia with jactando.

§ 8. aut...aut. Here, as in some other places, these are equivalent to ‘I am...if not,’ or ‘If I am not.’

§ 9. adversus unum has been suspected as obscure and cold. It might be taken to be a contrast between the speaker
and Minucius or Varro, but the words *adversus te* of § 17 de-
cide in favour of 'in your presence alone,' i.e. Paulus.

modum exesserim. 'I should prefer to have gone too far.'

§ 10. *sed eadem ratio.* W. remarks that two sentences are really implied in this, one *sed ratio* in contrast to *ne eventus,* and a second explanatory of the policy in question.

§ 11. *armis, viris.* The asyndeton is prominent here and in the next sentence.

§ 12. *id fidel d.* *Id ="such a,"* for which Fabri compares i. 84. 10, *eam alitem ea regione cali venisse.*


§ 15. *qui senescat.* 'Whose strength decays,' in *dies *from day to day,' distinct from in *diem *for a single day.'

§ 16. *sedet* supposed by early commentators to have slipped out from likeness to following *sed.*

P. 121, § 17. *Atilius* without *praenomen,* as 32. 1.

§ 18. *consul B...Poenus imp.* An example of the chiasmus frequent in Livy.

*falla,* 'groundless' or 'undeserved.'


c. xl. § 1. *lenta.* 'Sanguine.'

*magis* would go more naturally with *vera,* but it implies also 'more inclined to admit the truth than' &c.

§ 3. *semustum.* His colleague had been condemned, and his own character had been called in question v. 35. 3. Cicero Phil. ii. 91 sneeringly uses the epithet *semustilatus* 'singed' of the body of J. Cesar, and p. Milone 33 of Clodius, *cadaver infelicesimis lignis semustilatum.*

*sufragia.* The votes of the *Comitia* if he were put on his trial before them. They still acted as a Court of Criminal Judicature, in which the Courts for the *questiones perpetuae* afterwards took their place.

P. 122, § 4. *turbæ,* 'from the throng.' *Dignitates =men of eminence,* an abstr. for concr., is the reading of many MSS. but regarded as *prorsus barbarum* by Madvig, though Cicero Sext. 51. 109 uses *honestates* thus, *utra causa popularis...in qua*
omnes honestates civitatis, omnes ætates, omnes ordines una consentient. The earlier commentators corrected the passage to turba quam dignitate conspectior, but with little authority.

§ 5. proprius H. Cf. p. periculum xxi. 1. 2.
robur virium also used xxvii. 46. 2, as robora virorum xxii. 6. 2.

M. Attilium. Yet Polyb. iii. 116 makes him fall at Cannæ.

§ 8. superabat. Used absolutely for superesse, as 49. 5
paucos superantes.
ne q. quicquam reliqui. 'There was nothing left.' The part. gen. of this kind is frequently used by Livy as xxx. 4. 9
nihil veri, nihil sancti.

§ 9. supereset...p. fuerit. The second verb is used in
pregnant sense 'was ready and would have been carried out.'
(W.)
c. xii. § 1. ex preparato. Abstr. use of part. pass.
'after preparation.'

orto agrees with prælio, and is explained by procursu and
iussu.

§ 2. Ad...septingenti. The prepositional constr. of ad has
been lost sight of from its colloquial use for fere, as iv. 59. 9,
ad duo millia et quingenti vivi capiuntur. Yet in 50. 11, ad sex
centos evaserunt.

alternis. Pol. iii. 110 διὰ τὸ παρὰ μιαν ἐκ τῶν θειομῶν
μεταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὑπάτων. This was in accordance
with the early custom, afterwards dropped, that in civil jurisdic-
tion each should have supreme authority by turns, and that
as a symbol of this the fasces should be borne by the lictors
before one only at a time. Cf. Cic. de Rep. ii. 31. 55 (Poplicola)
instituit primus, ut singulis consulibus alternis mensibus lic-
tores praèrent. So Livy iii. 33. 6, eo die penes praefectum juris
fasces duodecim erant. J. Cæsar re-introduced the old for-
mality. Cf. Suet. Cæs. 20, antiquum retulit morem, ut quo
mense fasces non haberet, accensus ante eum iret, lictores pone
sequerentur.

§ 4. inescatam. Esca is derived from the root -ed (edere,
esum), like posca from po- (drink), pascua from pa- (feed),
fascinus from fa- (speak, or recite charms), Corssen ii. 267.

P. 123, § 7. medium is a correction of Madvig for the
common reading medium agmen which is awkward in agree-
ment with impedimenta, especially as there was no other
agmen, the army being behind the hills. The best MS. has medium amnem.

§ 9. As W. remarks, only falsa imagine is referred to in the sicut F. as all the other circumstances were different.

c. xlii. § 2. pretorium. Each consul had his own pretorium when the two consular armies were combined.

§ 3. unus t. mil. ‘Any common soldier.’

§ 4. Statilius was himself a Lucanian, cf. 49. 7, though officers of the allied contingents were often Romans.

pontifex. A title specially used for a cavalry officer, praefectus turmae.

P. 124, § 8. pulli, referring to the auspicia ex tripudiis. The pulli were kept in every camp, and fed before the battle; if any food fell from their mouths to the ground it was a favourable sign (tripudium solistimum). This could easily be arranged by the pullarius, who could starve the chickens to make them feed greedily. Cf. Cic. de Div. ii. 55. 78, inclusa in cavea et enecta fame si in offam pullis invadit, et si aliquid ex ejus ore cecidit, hoc tu auspiciis...putas.

Auspicio has been variously explained as an instrum abl. or as = in auspicio, as ludis ‘at the games,’ is used ii. 36. 1 and comitii Cic. Phil. ii. 32, but the latter explanation seems too bold.

addicere is the technical term for ‘sanction’ of magistrates as well as of auspicia. Cf. i. 36. 3, nisi aves addixissent.

The supreme right of taking the auspicia (spectio) belonged to Varro who held the imperium for the day, and Paulus had only the auspicia minora. In later times the higher magistrate could forbid a lower to note any signs at a time when he wished to act himself (ne quis magistratus minor de caelo servasse velit), and there could be no such collision as in the present case by what was called omnuntniatio or report of unlucky omens to stop proceedings.


§ 12. imperii potentes. ‘Regained their authority,’ as xxvi. 13. 8 mei potens.
NOTES. XXII. c. xlvi. § 1—c. xliv. § 3. 289

c. xlvi. § 1. magis inconsiderate... 'Had rather started imprudently than allowed their rashness to carry them to extreme lengths.'

P. 125, § 3. annonam. Here, as often, for 'scarcity of food.' Cf. ii. 51. 3, super bellum annona premente.

§ 5. in calidiora. That is, from the colder highlands about Geronium to the milder plains near the coast further south. Pol. iii. 107 represents his break-up from his winter-quarters as taking place before the consuls left Rome.

§ 9. maioris partis, i.e. of the council of war consisting of the legati, tribuni, praefecti.

Cannas. Polyb. calls it Canna, and represents the town itself as destroyed in the year before, but the citadel and Roman magazines as falling into Hannibal's hands shortly before the last elections.

urgente fato. A favourite phrase with Livy, v. 22. 5 and 36. 4.


siccitate. Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 30. 11, qua pauper aqua Daunus agrestium | regnavit populorum.

P. 126, c. xliv. § 1. quo ad Ger. C. 40. 5.

§ 2. Aufidus. Polyb. speaks of this river as being the only one which flows through the mountain barrier of the Apennines. It does not however rise on the western slope as he thought. Horace, who was born upon its banks, celebrates its force and noise, qua violens obstrepet Aufidus, Carm. iii. 30. 10. Corssen connects the name with Ufens, uber, oōpar, from the root udh=fruitful, i. 151.

ex sua cuiusque opp. 'As their respective positions allowed.'

§ 3. ex minoribus. Pol. iii. 110 says that two-thirds of the army were on one side, and one-third on the other side of the river to the east, about 10 stadia distant from each other, and rather more from the enemy.

ulterior. That is opposite to the smaller camp.

C. L.
§ 4. dacesit. According to Polyb. he had attacked the Romans on the march, but his cavalry had been after a time beaten off by the infantry.

§ 5. exemplum Fabulum. For this apposition cf. viii. 35. 7, in oculis exemplum erat Q. Fabius M. Valerio legato.

§ 6. usu cepisset. W. remarks that by the 12 tables 2 years' uncontested possession gave a title to property, and that H. has been that time in Italy. So i. 46. 1, Servius quanquam iam usu haud dubie regnum possederat.

se constrictum. 'His hands were tied.'

c. xlv. § 1. ad multum diem. 'Up to late in the day;' as 52. 1. Cf. note on xxi. 33. 7.

§ 2. trans fenum. Hannibal's camp was on the same side of the river as the greater Roman camp, and opposite to it, but further to the left was the smaller, v. 44. 3. Polybius had explained this more definitely, as also the freedom enjoyed by the latter from attack when drawing water.

P. 127, § 4. auxilio. The Numidians were to Carthage what the foreign contingents, auxilia, were to Rome.

§ 5. sors imp. The alternation of command was regular from day to day, but sors implies the chance of the battle falling on that day.

nihil consulto. For this use of nihil as a simple negative cf. rv. 35. 5, ea species nihil terruit equos, rv. 9. 9, nihil Romana plebis similis. So non nihil and quidquam.

signum, i.e. pugna. According to Plutarch χυτῶν κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινόμενος.

§ 7. pedites, i.e. sociorum. Polyb., who agrees closely with Livy, adds here a detail of importance, that the infantry was drawn up in much greater depth of ranks than usual. Both writers state that the Roman line faced southwards, cf. 46. 8, and imply that the Roman army was drawn up before the Carthaginians crossed, but neither says definitely whether the battle was on the right or left bank. But it would have been absurd for the Romans to make their line of battle face to the south, with their right resting on the river, if the enemy was still on the opposite bank, or behind them, as he would have been, assuming that he was encamped on the left bank. The battle no doubt took place on the left bank, and the Roman lines were probably drawn across the chord of the arc formed by the river opposite Cannae. This agrees also with what is implied as to the position of the Carthaginian camp,
NOTES. XXII. c. XLV. § 7—C. XLVII. § 5. 291

avera a Vulturno, 43. 10, i.e. on the right bank, with its chief outlets facing the enemy and the north.

§ 8. media pugna t. Equivalent to the media acies tuenda of III. 70. 2.

c. XLVI. § 1. ut quosque... Polyb. says that he crossed in two places; the passage means that the various bodies took up their places in line where they crossed.

§ 3. utraque cornua. Referring only to the infantry, not to the whole line of battle.

§ 4. et...ceterum... 'partly,'... 'but especially.' So XXI. 18. 4.

§ 5. disparaes ac diss. 'Differing in use and shape.'

P. 128, § 9. ventus. Cf. 43. 11. As W. remarks, Livy and Polyb. ignore the story told by Zonaras (after Dion Cassius) that Hannibal had the ground behind ploughed up to increase the dust. Frontinus tells the like of Marius. Strateg. ii. incommode alius subjicit, ita ordinata suorum acie, ut adverso sole et vento et pulvere barbarorum occuparentur acies. Appian Bell. Hann. 17 reckons up four devices of H. which helped to gain the victory, the securing the wind at his back, the treachery of the deserters, simulated flight, and ambuscades.

c. XLVII. § 2. nullo relictio spatio. As the Romans were much weaker in cavalry, it is probable that the arrangements on the battle-field had this specially in view.

§ 3. nitientes has no regular construction, as the vir which is in apposition with it takes a sing. dextraebat. Fabri compares XXV. 19. 6, consules...diversi, Fulvius in agrum Cumanum, Claudius in Lucanos abit.

§ 4. par, dum. This reading is due to a very acute suggestion of Madvig, in place of the animis parum constabant of the best MSS. which like the pares of other MSS. gives little meaning.

constabant. 'Were unbroken.'

§ 5. diu. Polyb. says τεταρταχών.

acie densa. As above explained, the Roman ranks were much deeper than usual. Polyb. in. 113.

P. 129. a cetera prominentem. Polyb. explains this much more clearly before his description of the battle, when he says that Hannibal drew up some of the Celts and Iberians
in front of his line μπροστάς ποιήσ τό κόπτωμα, wishing to keep the Africans in reserve for a while, προκυδέωσις δὲ τοῖς Ἰσραήλ καὶ Καλλονᾶς.

§ 6. subsidia, i. e. not ‘the reserves’ in the ordinary sense, as they constituted the main line, though they were kept back for a time, ἡφεσθαι τάξις, Pol.

§ 7. reductis allis. As compared with the ranks of Celts, &c. on whose retiring the line was again level, ‘aquavit frontem.’

§ 8. cornua f. ‘Overlapped.’

§ 10. fessi cum rec. This would imply, as W. remarks, that all three lines of hastati, principes, triarii had been already brought into action.

recentibus ac vegetis. Recens applies to the strength, vegetus to the spirits of the troops. Döderlein.

c. XLVIII. § 1. sociorum eq. These were more numerous than the Roman cavalry. Cf. 36. 3.

§ 4. terga ac poplitae. Cf. Hor. Carm. iii. 2. 15, nec parcit imbells tuvente | poplitibus timidoque tergo. Poples is connected by Corssen II. 209 with pellere, pulex, πάλλειν.

P. 130, § 5. alibi...alibi, i. e. on the right...in the centre.

Hasdrubal was in command on the left wing, and Livy has not explicitly stated anything about him since the Roman cavalry was routed. Polybius says that he galloped to support the Numidians on the right, and sent them to pursue the allied cavalry, who gave way at his approach, while he himself charged the Romans in the centre. Livy has omitted some details, or they have dropped out of his text.

ea parte praebat probably means that Hasdrubal, as the highest in command, gave general orders to the whole cavalry when he arrived on the right wing. This is implied in Polybius.

subductos ex media acte N. They were posted on the right, but may have wheeled round on the centre, when the cavalry of the allies retired before the charge of Hasdrubal. But the words are awkward and there may be some disturbance of the text. On the whole we must own that if Livy wrote this chapter as we find it, he had no clear idea of the battle or failed to convey it to his readers. Polybius is entirely explicit.
NOTES. XXII. c. xlVIII. § 5—c. xlix. § 14. 293

segnis. Pol. says μέγα μὲν οὖρ' ἐτοιοῦν οὔδὲν οὖρ' ἐπαθὼν διὰ τὴν διόμητα τὴς μάχης. They were not used to fight at such close quarters.

c. xlix. § 1. Parte altera. Polyb. says that Paulus after the rout of his cavalry on the left wing rode up to the centre. This is implied but not expressed in Livy's occurrit...Hannibali.

§ 2. equitibus R. Probably his body-guard, or 'prætorians' in later language.

§ 3. remuntianti. Much more usual than the denuntianti of most MSS.

Quam mallem. More definitely expressed in Plutarch τούτο μᾶλλον ἥσουλόμεν, ἦ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον. The Latin version only implies that the dismounting must lead to their being taken, and that Hannibal wished that the inevitable end were come.

§ 4. quale iam. 'Such as might be expected seeing that the enemies' victory was certain.' For the elliptical use of quale cf. iii. 62. 6, prælium fuit quale inter fidentes sibimet ambo exercitus, i.e. tale quale esse debutit.

mori in vestigio. 'Die where they stood.' Cf. xxi. 35. 12.

§ 5. Populerunt. 'But at length they drove off the shattered remnant,' superare for superesse, as 40. 8.

§ 6. prætervehens. 'As he was riding by.' More commonly used in the passive, but the want of a pres. passive participle may explain the former.

§ 9. macte virtute. This phrase is often used by Livy and even vii. 36. 4 with a plural, and ii. 12. 14 after a verb, iubere macte virtute esse. Priscian v. de figuris says macte, id est, magis aucte; antiqui tamen et mactus dicebant. Curtius p. 148 connects it with μάκαρ, μακρός, μῆκος.

P. 131, § 11. e consulatu, i.e. a charge that grew out of his acts as Consul.

§ 13. castra. Nothing is said of their crossing the river, which flowed between the camp, but that is an omission which is to be met equally in every description of the scene.

§ 14. Venusiam. A Roman colony on the borders of Apulia where Horace was born. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 34:

Sequor hunc Lucanum an Appulus ancesp, nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus.
§ 15. **Quadragesima.** Pol. says about 70,000 in all.

*Santa is scarcely possible without anything to balance it.* Gronovius suggested *aqua* and Madvig *rata.* The *socii* were in greater numbers on the field, and more of them may have fallen.

§ 16. **consulares q.** i.e. of the *tribuni militum,* whose rank is included in the different orders of consular offices. Servilius was tribune, but also commander of the centre as *legatus.*

§ 17. **magistratus...unde in senatum.** The rule was determined by the *Lex Ovilia qua sanctum est ut censores ex omni ordine optimum quemque iurati in senatum legerent.* The *ordines* in question were doubtless the different orders of the magistracies, commonly thought to be curule offices only. But these would not have been numerous enough to fill up the vacancies that would occur, and the Ovinian law was passed by a tribune, and probably extended the right to the plebeian magistracies. Cf. Willems Sénat. p. 188. Accordingly the dictator entrusted with the *lectio senatus* in xxiii. 23 put on the list first those who had lately held curule office, then *exaediles, equestres* and *exequae,* and after them distinguished soldiers.

*sua voluntate.* As volunteers, though free from military service after holding office.

c. l. § 1. **Aliensi cladi.** The battle of the Alia, 390 B.C., which was commemorated by a *dies ater* in the calendar, left Rome at the mercy of the Gauls, who occupied all but the Capitol.

P. 132, § 3. **Fuga ad Aliam.** Cf. xxi. 15. 6, *pugna ad Trebiam.*

*morientis fuit.* *'Shared the fate of.'* Cf. xxiii. 14. 7, *plebs novarum rerum aique Hannibalis tota esse,* and xxi. 11. 1. Most of the MSS. have *fugit.* Gronovius proposed *alterius mortem prope totum exercitus luit,* referring to *quem unum insontem cladiis 49. 7.*

§ 4. **qui in maic.** Another reason for believing the larger camp to be on the right bank, as W. remarks, since the survivors would make their way thence more easily to Canusium.

*mittunt, i.e. to the smaller camp.*

§ 5. **cur...non venire.** For the constr. cf. xxi. 30. 9, *militi...quid invium...esse.*

§ 6. **sestimari cap.** *'Have a price set upon your heads.'*
NOTES. XXII. c. i. § 6—c. ii. § 4. 295

civis an Latinus. Cf. the different treatment described in 7. 5.

Latinus socius. Livy more commonly distinguishes the socii or Italians generally from the Latins, as socios Lati-numque nomen, 57. 10, or uses socii alone if no precise statement is needed. W. suggests that the two terms may be used by asyndeton like patres con scripti, but it is very unlikely, as there is no frequent usage to account for it.

§ 7. civis. Less usual for 'fellow-citizens,' as xxi. 13. 1, st civis vester Alco. Mark the rapid change from mavultis to tu and estis.

§ 9. quamvis qualifies confertos.

§ 10. Hæc ubi... An hexameter and a half have here slipped into the prose text. The vigorous rhetoric of the passage partly accounts for the oversight. Cf. note on xxi. 9. 3.

P. 133, § 11. transalatis in d. This seems to be borrowed from Cælius according to a fragment preserved in Priscian, iii. 22, Cælius in primo histioriarum 'dextimos in dextris scuta jubet habere.'

ad sexcentos. Yet often we have the nom. with ad in the sense of fere as above, 41. 2 and 54. 1.

o. li. § 1. bello. 'As if the war itself, not the battle alone, were ended.' (W.) This is probably too farfetched, as bellum is used elsewhere in L. for pugna, cf. xxi. 8. 2.

§ 2. According to Anl. Gell. x. 24 and Macrobius i. 4, the same story occurred both in Cato and Cælius in nearly the same form. Die quinto Romæ in Capitolium curabo tibi cena sit cocta. It was probably taken by Livy directly from Cælius.

§ 3. nimi laeta. Cf. 40. 1.

quam ut eam... Possibly to avoid the awkwardness of quam quam. Cf. ix. 9. 8, somnio latiore quam quod mentes eorum capessere possent.

temporis opus esse. For this constr. cf. xxiii. 21. 5, quanti argenti opus fuit. The commoner constructions are with abl. as duce opus est, maturato opus est, or nom. as non dux opus est, or inf. as quid opus est dicere.

§ 4. Non omnia, &c. For the sentiment cf. Eurip. Rhesus 105, ἀλλ' οὖ γὰρ αὐτὸς πάντες ἐπισταθηκαί βροτῶν πέφυκεν... ... | σοὶ μὲν μάχεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ βουλεύειν καλῶς.
uti necis... This was a stock question in the schools of rhetorick of later times, an petat urbem | a Cannis... Juvi. vii. 162. Hannibal was too far off to take Rome by a coup de main. Its population contained as many soldiers as his army, and he had no siege train. It would have been useless therefore for him to march on Rome in the hope of speedy capture.

§ 5. exsunt... A suggestion of Madvig for insistent, which is not known to be used in such a connection as with ad, and the gerundive.

§ 6. stricta, i.e. smarting as they closed.

P. 134, § 9. substratus. The best MSS. read substractus, which represents the effort to rescue the survivor.

vivus. 'Living indeed, but &c.'
Note the repeated ablatives. Laniando...explanatory of rabiem.

exspirasset... Of the Roman.

c. lxi. § 1. brachio obt. 'Threw up a line of earthworks and cut them off from the water,' 59. 5, quum aqua arceremur. Cf. rv. 9. 14, and Hist. Bell. Hisp. v., ut eum ab oppido commeatuque excluderet brachium ad pontem ducere capít.

§ 2. trecesis. Most MSS. have tricesis, or 80 only, as in Hor. Carm. ii. 14. 5, non si trecesis, quotquot cunct dies, &c.

quadrigatis. Cf. Pliny N. H. 33. 3. 43, Hannibale urgete asses unciales facti, placuitque denarium sedecim assibus permutari.... In militari tamen stipendio semper denarius pro decem assibus datus est. Nota argenti fuere bigas atque quadrigas; inde bigati quadrigatique dicti. The nummus quadrigatus was used as an equivalent of the denarius, though Livy employs the term proleptically, for in dealings with Carthage the standard of weight was doubtless adopted, Mommsen Röm. Münzw. 343.

§ 3. seorsum. As before to tempt the fidelity of the socii by different treatment.

§ 4. castra... tradita. This is different from the account of Polybius, iii. 117, who says that 10,000 were left in it to attack the camp of Hannibal, which they had almost succeeded in taking when they were themselves surprised by the victorious Carthaginians, and their own camp immediately taken.

§ 5. plurimum in phaleris. Cf. Juvi. xi. 102, magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles | ut phaleris gauderet equus... | argenti quod erat solis fulgebät in armis.
ad vescedum. Cf. the prohibition of silver plate by Scipio at Numantia, ἀργυρῶν ἐκτιμᾷ μὴ ἔχεις πλέον δικαίωλον, Polyb. viii. 16, and Spartan Pescenn. i. cum milites quosdam in casco argentoe bibere vidisset, jussisset omne argentum submo- veri de usu expeditionali, addito eo, ut ligneis vasis uterentur.

omnis cetera. Fabri notes that this is the only passage in which Livy puts these words in this order, cf. 20. 6, vii. 35. 1. Cicero however twice has omnium ceterarum, De Fin. v. 20, and Orat. ii. 17.

§ 7. Apula is the correction of Lipsius for the meaningless Paula of the MSS.

P. 135, c. lxxv. § 5. ad regum al., i.e. to become soldiers of fortune in the service of a foreign prince.

§ 6. torpidos. Cf. note on xxi. 33. 3.

consilium. ‘Council of war.’


§ 7. ait. Gronovius wished to expunge this, as Livy more commonly omits the affirmative verb, which he supplies from the negative, as in i. 57. 4, Collatinus negat verbis opus esse, paucis id quidem horis posse sciri.

Irent. The change from the present to the past is very sudden.

§ 9. concilium, as distinguished from consilium in s. 6, ‘a private meeting.’

§ 10. Ex mei animi a.... This is a common formula of a solemn oath, with the ellipse of juro before the ut, as in the Inscription, Ex mei animi sententia ut ego iis inimicis ero quos C. Cassari Germanico inimicos esse cognovero. Cf. Cic. Off. iii. 29, non enim falsum jurare perjurare est, sed quod ex animi tui sententia juraris (sicut verbis concipitur more nostro) id non facere perjurium est.

§ 11. si sciens fallo.... As in the Or. obliq. xxi. 45. 8, si falleret Jovem ceterosque precatus Deos, ita se maclarent. This form is also illustrated in the Inscriptions, as usual in impres- sive cases.

P. 136. afflictas. Cicero rarely uses the second pers. subj. for the imperative when addressing a definite person, as Livy and later writers often do. Cf. vi. 12. 9.

c. liv. § 2. in equites......et pediti. This change of constr. is repeated in xlv. 34. 2, tanta prada fuit ut in equitem qua- dringeni donari, pedittibus ducenti dividenterit.
NOTES. XXII. C. LIV. § 2—C. LV. § 6.

togas et tunicas. Cf. xix. 86. 2, vestimenta exercitui de-
erant.....mille ducentæ toga...et duodecim millia tunicarum
missa. These were probably intended for winter clothing and
in the camp. They are only specified here for the equites,
whose pay was usually three times as much as that of the
pedites. The larger number of tunicæ in the passage quoted
corresponds to the more frequent use of that dress by the lower
orders of Rome.

§ 4. et iam. The conjunction et has here an explanatory
emphasis.

§ 7. ooccidione occ. A favourite phrase of Livy for 'totally
destroyed.'

p. 137, § 8. edissertando. Equivalent to si edissertavero.
The word is an unusual one except in Plautus, as Stich. x. 1.
80, but Livy is fond of frequentatives, and the disserendo of
some MSS. is more likely a later variation.

§ 9. nuntiabantur nec ulla...esse. A change of construction
from the Or. dir. to the Or. obl. which is quite in Livy's style
in rhetorical passages.

§ 11. Compare scilicet. The best MS. has comparesset,
which suggested the present reading to Madvig.

vectigales ac stip. Cf. note on xxi. 41. 7.

c. lv. § 1. curiam Hostilam. The senate-house by the
Forum ascribed to Tullus Hostilius. Cf. i. 30. 2, templum
ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit, quæ Hostilia usque ad patrum
nostren ætatem appellata est.

§ 2. neque dubitabant...venturum. This use of non dubito
= 'I do not doubt that' with the inf. is scarcely found in
Cicero, who always uses quin, unless perhaps in Ep. ad Att.
vii. 1, but it is common in Livy.

§ 3. nondum palamfacto, i.e. qui vivi mortuique essent.
Livy often uses the abl. abs. of the past part. without a sub-
stantive as perimso, edicto, debellato, in cases where a sentence
is taken as the subject to agree with it; but it is a further
licence, when it is used as here without any such relation. Cf.
Tac. Ann. xi. 10. 9, in cujus annis transgressu multum certato,
pervicet Bardanes.

§ 4. profecto...fore, 'surely there must be some.' Cf. i.
54. 1, invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam
ferre ne liber quidem potuissent.

p. 138, § 6. illud. Referring to the duties specified
below. Cf. 36. 5.
NOTES. XXII. c. LV. § 7—c. LVII. § 2. 299

§ 7. auctorem, ‘the informant who would carry the tidings of’, &c. For this use of auctor cf. i. 16. 5, gravis ut traditur quamvis magna rei auctor.

c. LVI. § 1. pedibus issent, i.e. had voted without further discussion. Hence the senators who commonly gave a silent vote, or divided without speaking, were called pedarit. The magistrate who presided used the formula, qui hac sentitis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite, qua sentitis.

tum demum is an emphatic way of introducing a consequent, after certain antecedents or conditions have been specified.

§ 2. incompositorum inord. Cf. 50. 8.

§ 3. nundinantem, ‘bargaining,’ a conjecture of Gronovius for the unmeaning nuntiantem of most MSS. The nundinae (novem, none) seem to have been at first the ninth days before the Kalends, but in later use to have stood for the beginnings of the early Latin week of eight days when the farmers came into the town to market. Varro de r. r. 2 pref. 1, maiores annum ita diviserunt ut nonis modo diebus urbanas res usurarent, reliquis vii. ut rura coherent. Cf. Mommsen Röm. Chron. 254.

§ 4. anniversarium Cereris. Cf. Valer. Max. i. 1. 15, sacra ex Gracia translata, qua ob inventionem Proserpinae matronae colunt. The chief festival of this worship took place in April, but, as W. observes, this cannot well be intended here as the battle of Cannae was fought in August, cf. A. Gell. v. 17. 5, Q. Claudius...cladem pugna Cannensis factam dicit ante diem quartum Nonas Sextiles.

neo ingentibus......est fas. Cf. Ovid. Fast. iv. 619, Alba decent Cererem: vestes Cerealibus albas j sumite nunc pulli velleris usus abest; so xxxiv. 6 the period of public mourning is limited to thirty days for the same cause.

P. 139, § 8. aliam, equivalent to ceteram, as in xxi. 27. 6, alius exercitus.

c. LVII. § 1. M. Claudia. This Marcellus had defeated the Gauls at Clastidium a few years before, and was one of the bravest leaders of the age; Pliny says of him undequadragiens dimicavit.

§ 2. Vestales. At first four, afterwards six, young girls of the best families of the state were pledged to devote thirty years of unmarried life to the service of the holy fire of Vesta. Great respect was uniformly paid to them, and at their inter-
ession even criminals were pardoned, but scrupulous decorum was required of them by the state, the holy fire must never die out by their neglect, and all their doings were watched jealously by the supreme pontiff. One was suspected even of graver fault, *propter mundiorem justo cultum*, and when found guilty of incontinence was buried alive ad portam Collinam dextra via strata defossa Scelerato Campo. viii. 15. 6. The penalty was several times repeated, but at times the goddess screened the penitent or justified the innocent by special portents.

§ 3. *scriba...quos.* The relative in the plural implies the class of scribes by a constr. *ad synesin, as xxvii. 11. 3, infantem, quos androgynos vulgus...appellat.*

*minores pontifices.* Of this lower order of *pontifices* little is known, except that they were three in number (Cic. de Arusp. resp. vi) and discharged certain ceremonial duties of observing the new moon and making offerings to Juno in the Curia Calabra. Macrobi. i. 15. Varro’s definition of *pontifex* from *ponterm facere* is generally now accepted and connected with priestly forms connected with the old wooden bridge across the Tiber, the *pons Sublicius*. It was doubted in ancient times and Mucius Scevola explained it as from *posse facere*, Plutarch from sacrifice to the *potentes*. Gästling derived it from *pompa* and Pfund from the Oscan *pontis* or *pompe* = 5, the priests being the calculators of early society. Corssen and Curtius accept Varro’s account, and connect *pons* with *néros* *rātus*.


§ 5. *Fabius Pictor,* the historian, for whom see the Introd. The cognomen of the family was derived from a Fabius of whom Pliny writes, N. H. 35. 4, *apud Romanos honos mature huic (pingendī) arti contigit.* *Siquidem cognomina ex ea Pictorum tracerunt Fabii clarissima gentis: princepsque ejus cognominis ipse aedem Salutis pinxit anno urbis condita coe, qua pictura duravit ad nostram memoriam.* The painter’s art was afterwards less respected, *postea non est spectata honestis manibus,* and though a certain Antistius Labeo took to it professionally *ea res in risu et contumelia.*

*Delphos ad oraculum.* This phrase also is found in the earliest reported case of Roman recognition of Delphi in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus i. 56. 5.

*supplicītis.* Used in an archaïc sense for *supplicationibus*.

§ 6. *minime Romano sacro.* Yet the old forms of devotion to the *dii manes* as illustrated in the story of Curtius and
NOTES. XXII. c. LVII. § 6—C. LVIII. § 8. 301

the Decii, and in the elaborate formula quoted by Livy v. 8. 9. 5, point to an early sacrifice of human victims. The ancient usage of the ver sacrum has probably a like bearing. A few years before there had been a similar case in the Gallic war. The language of Pliny implies that the victims bore a representative character, as did the Decii in their devotion for Rome. Pliny N. H. 38. 2, Boario vero in foro Græcum Græcamque deorsos aut aliarum gentium, cum quibus tum res esset, etiam nostra atas vidit.

P. 140, § 8. legio tertia. There is probably some confusion here, as the third legion seems to have fought at Cannæ, cf. 53. 2.

Teanum Sid., spoken of by Strabo v. 3. 9 as commanding the Via Latina, and the most important town upon it between Rome and Capua.

§ 9. prætextatos, i.e. boys not yet in their seventeenth year when the robe brodered with the broad band of purple (prætexta) was exchanged for the toga virilis.

§ 10. ex formula, i.e. in accordance with the special terms of their alliance to Rome. Cf. xxvii. 10. 2 where eighteen coloniae profess their readiness to send larger contingents than they were by law obliged to levy.

Arma, tela, alia. An example of asyndeton frequent in business details.

§ 11. servitiss, the abstract for the concrete servi, of frequent use in L.

vellentne militare. Hence the name volones applied to them: according to Macrobius v. 11. 30 it was not the first time they had been used.

c. LVIII. § 2. sicut ante ad Trebiam. This was not mentioned by Livy at the time, though in 7. 5 it was specified in the case of the prisoners at L. Trasimene.

§ 8. Et...et... imply a contrast rather than a mere conjunction.

P. 141, § 4. equiti quingentes. This was not contained in the stipulations of 52. 3.

§ 5. quamcunque. Often used by Livy as here without a verb.

§ 8. minime Romani. Cf. i. 58. 4, minime arte Romana fraude ac doio.

c. LIX. § 1. senatus...datus est. Cf. note on xxi. 12. 8.

Patres conscripti. The writers generally thought that this phrase denoted the original senators of patrician origin, and the later enrolled of plebeian rank, thus Livy n. 1. 7, [Brutus] patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus electis ad trecentorum summam explevit: traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent. Servius ad Æn. i. 426 ascribes them to an earlier change, conscriptos qui post a Servio Tullio e plebe electi sunt. But it is unlikely that the plebs was admitted in such early times to the ruling council, and conscribere is simply to enrol, as in the expressions conscribere exercitum, tribum, collegia. It is probable that patres conscripti meant only ‘Those put upon the roll of the Senate,’ and so ‘Members of the Senate.’ Cf. Willems Sénat. p. 39.

P. 142, § 7. a Gallis auro, i.e. after the capture of Rome B.C. 890.

patres vestros, i.e. the fathers of the senators before whom the speech was delivered. It was however more than 60 years since the battle with Pyrrhus near Harsaca. The senate, though filled with ex-officials, was practically confined to the ruling families of Rome.

§ 8. nec supersumus nisi. ‘And only those of us survive,’ &c.

§ 9. ne in acie q. fuerunt. This is Madvig’s correction of the refugérunt of the MSS. which had been long noticed as suspicious in connection with in acie. Perizonius suggested ex acie. W. objects to fuerunt that Polybius represents all the prisoners as the garrison left in the camp, but this does not seem very forcible.

§ 10. extulisse. The use of the infin. perfect with velle is of frequent occurrence, when the result rather than the progress of the action is to be expressed. The old laws commonly have it in prohibitions, as Ne Baccanal habuisse velit, so Horace, Sat. n. 3. 187, ne quis humasse velit Aiácem Atride vetas cur. Cf. i. 2. 28, sunt qui nolint tetigisse. Zumpt, 590.

gloriati sint. As the subj. of the future perfect, this word like extulisse expresses the action in a livelier form as a completed result. Cf. xxx. 14. 5, nulla...virtutum...est qua ego æque ac temperantia...gloriatu fuerim.
NOTES. XXII. c. LIX. § 12—c. LX. § 4. 303

§ 12. nam si elliptically. 'I compare our money price, and not our worth, for,' &c.


§ 15. moveat...cernatis. The pres. is used to represent the scenes as pictured at the moment to the fancy.

§ 16. Intueri. The doors of the senate-house were left open, while the friends of the prisoners crowded round.

§ 17. mediusfidius. Equivalent to 'So help me the God of Faith,' fidius being connected with fides, fido, fædus, as the genius of fidelity in social intercourse, such as the Sermo Sancus was among the Sabines. Analogous to the formation of the word are forms like edepol = O deus Pollux.

indigni ut. Less frequent than the use of qui, but in xxiii. 42. 13 both constructions are combined. Si modo quos ut socios habeeres dignos duæstì, haud indignos iudas quin in fidem receptos tuearis.

§ 18. Suum quisque h., i.e. 'We may not be all of the same spirit, but I for my part,' &c.

c. LX. § 2. arbitris. Cf. r. 41. 8. Tanaquil claudi regiam iubet, arbitros iecit. The strangers bidden to withdraw were the envoys lately heard.

§ 3. prohibendos. Cf. iii. 23. 7, ad prohibenda circumdari opera. Madvig compares this use of the gerundive with the personal use of the passive tueor in such sentences as xiii. 31. 2, in Macedoniam sena millia peditum scribi iussa. Suet. Tib. 11, iussi sunt omnes agri in publicam porticum deferri.

§ 4. prædisbusque ac prædibus cavendum populo. This is a customary formula in all cases of security given to the state, and commonly limited to such cases by the words publice, in publicum, or populo. The prædes, written pravides in the lex agraria, were the sureties who were bound over; they were to be landowners, and their prædia (præhendia) might be seized upon in case of default (ea pignore data publice mancipio fidei præstant. Varro l. l. v. 40). The legal characteristics of these prædia are stated Cic. pro Flacc. 32. 79, quare sintne ista prædia censui consendo, habeant ius civile, sint necne sint mancipii, that is, they must be freehold under strict Roman law. The formula occurs in the Lex Malacitana of the 1st century of the Empire, where see the comment of Mommsen, p. 470.
P. 144, § 5. T. Manlius Torquatus. Descended from an ancestor of like prænomen and nomen, whose title of Torquatus is explained by Livy, vii. 10, as derived from the collar (torques) of the Gaul whom he slew.

§ 11. Sī, ut...nī, ut. In both cases Madvig has corrected the sicut of the MSS. which gives an awkward turn to the sentence. He notes a similar mistake in the MSS. in vii. 13. 8 and xxxiv. 2. 7, as also Tac. Hist. i. 88, sicubi for sī ubi.

P. Decius, b.c. 340 near Saticula. Cf. vii. 34.

P. 145. Calpurnius Flamma in b.c. 253 near Camarina.

§ 15. diminuti...capita. The caput comprised the sum of the rights implied in personal freedom, civil and family status, and change in any of these respects might bring a diminutio capitis with it. The forfeiture of freedom was of course the worst or dem. maxima. In the case of those who had given themselves up with arms in their hands it could not be recovered easily by the forms of postliminium.

ab alienato. Madvig's correction for abalienati of the MSS. Livy uses the word elsewhere either absolutely or with a preposition. It would seem natural to say abalienari ab aliqua re, in the sense of being estranged from a place or pursuit, but not from a right (jure).

§ 17. conati sunt, ni elliptically put for 'and might have succeeded if,' &c.

P. 149, § 20. nam 'fortes' elliptically implies the reason why boni fidelesque was said instead of the usual combination fortis fideles.

§ 21. favisse. The MSS. read fuisse ut, which is evidently corrupt. W. corrects it to fuisse usui which sounds ill and is somewhat weak, while Madvig's suggestion is spirited and balances invidere in the next line.

§ 24. ante secundam h., i.e. after sunrise.

§ 25. Hæc vobis. 'This, mark you,' &c. Cf. Hor. Epist. i. 8. 15, Quid mihi Celsus agit? It is called by grammarians the dativus ethicus.

§ 26. Et vos. Most MSS. have quos, which probably grew out of the abbreviation for et and vos.

et is inserted by Madvig to avoid an awkward asyndeton which sounds ill after cunct. ac manetis.
P. 147, c. lxi. § 5. decem primos, like the δέκα τοὺς ἐπι-
φανεστάτουs of Polybius—those of highest social status chosen
as the representatives.

ita admissos...ne t. ‘Admitted on the understanding that,’
&c., an ellipse not unfrequent in the case of ita...ne in Livy as
viii. 31. 1. Cf. the use of tantum ne...reciperentur, xxi.
19. 5.

§ 7. novos legatos. ‘The last comers.’ So. novi mili
‘recruits.’

§ 8. victosque pauci sent. ‘Outvoted by a small ma-
jority.’

§ 9. proximis censoribus. Not ‘by’ but ‘in the time of,’
as consule Manlio.

notis ignominioskue. The censors could expel members
from the Senate, or strike off the roll of the knights (equum
adimere), or remove from a country tribe to a city tribe (tribu
movere), or disfranchise altogether (ærarium facere). These
powers of moral censure grew out of the large authority vested
in them for taking the census of the population. At such
times the nota of their disapproval was affixed to the name
upon the roll.

P. 148. omni deinde vita. ‘For the rest of his life.’
An adjectival use of the adverb, which is frequent in our
author.

caruerint. ‘Abstained from.’ Cf. Cio. Mil. 7. 18, caruit
foro postea Pompeius, caruit senatu, caruit publico.

§ 11. De fecere. A summary account is here given of the
defections of the following years. Central Italy remained for
the most part constant to Rome, except her old rivals of
Samnium, while the alien peoples fell away.

Atellani. Known chiefly in connection with the fabula
Atellanae of which L. speaks vii. 2. 10 in his sketch of the
early comedy of Italy.

§ 12. Usentini. Represented by Ugento to the north-
west of the Iapygian promontory.

§ 13. Romam adventum. Verbal substantives implying
motion are often accompanied by an accusative without a
preposition, so reditus, legatio, introitus, concursatio as in
examples collected by Fabri.
$\S$ 14. *consuli...gratim actae.* Frontinus Str. iv. 5. 6 says that Varro refused the offer of the Senate to make him dictator, on the ground that the office should fall on a more fortunate man. But he often served afterwards in posts of trust or honour, a fact which discredits the accounts of his antecedents as given in Livy.

$\S$ 15. *nihil recusandum suppl.* Carthage is said to have degraded or even crucified her commanders who were unfortunate. Cf. Polyb. i. 11, Diod. xx. 10.
APPENDIX I.

ON THE ROUTE OF HANNIBAL.

The passage of Hannibal across the Alps was even in Livy's days a controverted question, as we may gather from his words (xxi. 38. 6) 'ambigi quanam Alpes transferit.' It is still matter of dispute, and endless varieties of route have been proposed, most of which however are hopelessly at variance with the language of the ancient writers, or with the nature of the ground, as since explored. More or less definite statements on the subject are found in the following authorities.

1. Polybius was born during the war, and after some time spent in public life in Greece, was taken as one of the Achaean hostages to Rome. He lived there in the society of distinguished men, whose fathers might have taken part in the great struggle; he sought, as he tells us, information from contemporary witnesses, and travelled himself among the Alps to gather further knowledge in the scenes of the events. He was eminently accurate and truthful as a writer, and his authority is undoubtedly first-rate. His account is found iii. 85—60.

2. We have the narrative of Livy (xxi. 23—38), who wrote two centuries after the second Punic war began. His work was on too large a scale to admit of very special studies for the period before us; he makes no claim to personal knowledge of the localities in question; his descriptions of topography are often vague and indistinct; and on all grounds his evidence on these points must rank far lower than that of the Greek writer.

3. There is a passage bearing on this subject in the life of Hannibal by Cornelius Nepos, the contemporary and friend of Cicero. Ad eas (Alpes) posteaquam venit quae Italiam ab Gallia sejungunt, quae nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum prater Herculem Graium transferit, quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur, Alpicos conantes prohibere transitum con- cidit.
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The value of this passage turns upon the meaning of is saltus. It might refer solely to the pass of Hercules, but as the writer must have known the traditions of the Gallic hordes who crossed the Alps, it is more probable that he is specially referring to the Graian chain, as that over which both Hercules and Hannibal had passed.

4. Some lines of Varro, the learned writer on antiquities at the close of the Republic, are quoted for us by Servius in his commentary on Vergil x. 13: quas (Alpes) quinque viis Varro dicit transiri posse: una quae est juxta mare per Ligures: altera qua Hannibal transit: tertia qua Pompeius ad Hispaniensem bellum profectus est: quarta qua Hasdrubal de Gallia in Italiam venit: quinta quae quondam a Græcis possessa est, quæ enim Alpes Graïæ appellantur.

5. Strabo, who wrote under Tiberius, cites Polybius as mentioning four passages across the Alps: τέτταρας ὑπερβάσεις ὄνομαξε μέν, τὴν ἔγγυτα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει ἐτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίαν, ἢν Ἀμνίβας δικήλθεν ἐτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσών τετραγάν δὲ διὰ Ραιών. iv. 6. 12. Here it should be noted that the important words ἢν A. 3. do not appear in a MS. of great value (Ep. Vat. 482), that if genuine, they may easily have been transposed, or that they may be regarded as a comment of Strabo, rather than an extract from Polybius. Strabo himself shows elsewhere little interest in the route of Hannibal, and does not mention it where it would naturally occur.

Now if we turn to the third book of Polybius we shall find that the whole journey from Carthago Nova to the Italian plains is definitely measured. We are told that there were 2600 stadia to the river Iberus, and thence to Emporeion 1600, and 1600 more to the passage of the Rhone. From the Rhone to the beginning of the Alps (πρὸς τὴν ἄναβολη τῶν ’Ἀλπέων) there were 1400, while the remainder of the way (καρδα τῶν Λ. ὑπερβολαὶ) was 1200 stadia.

As far as the Pyrenees there is no doubt about the route, but much depends upon the place at which the Rhone was crossed, as that becomes the starting-point for future measurements.

The description of Polybius clearly indicates a passage near the town of Orange, about the village of Roquemaure, as that is halfway between the river's mouth and its junction with the Isère, while it should be according to the historian four days' march to either point. The actual distance of 75 miles to the Isère is in close harmony with the 600 stadia implied in his latter statements. There is also a long stretch of broad stream unbroken by any islands to suit with the words καρδα τὴν
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ἀκράτης ῥύσω. It is moreover above the junction with the Durance, to cross over which would have been a needless labour for the army.

The other place suggested near Beaucaire and Tarascon is quite inconsistent with these data. In Livy there are no definite statements on the subject to point to any special place. After the passage of the Rhone however he says that Hannibal pushed on inland to avoid all contact with the Roman army, but his route was probably decided on beforehand, and he was guided by the Gauls, who had invited him to Italy, and who would naturally lead him through the passes which would bring him with most ease into their cantons.

Onward to the Isère his route is certain, after that all is matter of debate.

Our two authorities give a like account of the island enclosed between the Rhone and the Isère—the insula Allobrogum of later days—and of the contests between the native powers, in which Hannibal took part. In Polybius we find besides the following data: (1) 'Hannibal having in ten days marched 800 stadia along the river, began the ascent of the Alps.' (2) We hear that the chieftain with whom he sided in the quarrel joined him in his march, and that the barbarians were kept in check in the plain country alike from fear of the cavalry, and of the native aid.

The words 'along the river,' παρὰ τῷ ποταμῷ, are not in themselves definite. They have been taken to refer to the Isère which was spoken of not long before, and most critics accordingly trace the route of Hannibal along one or other of its banks. But there can be little doubt that the 'river' of the whole narrative is the Rhone, and in chapter 39 Polybius expressly says that they kept near it to the entrance of the mountain pass. Of course it is not to be supposed that it was tracked in all its windings, in the great bend for example which it makes at Lyons, but only that the general movement was in the direction of its stream. The country through which the march would lie was such that the cavalry could be used to good effect, while the left bank of the Isère would not at all meet this condition, and the right one would only partially fulfil it. In both cases the mountain country comes in sight too soon, and the ascent (ἀναβολή) must have begun long before they had traversed 800 stadia of road, or made their ten days' leisurely advance, in constant fear of an attack.

Both these conditions are complied with by the route, which following the Rhone up to Vienne, leaves it for a while in its great bend, and meets it once more at St Genix, and thence to the pass of Mont du Chat where the ascent may be taken to begin. That point once reached the way would naturally lead along the upper course of the Isère, through the Tarantaise,
and over the Little St Bernard to the valley of Aosta. In favour of this route the following reasons may be urged.

1. The local features of the pass agree at least as well as any other with the general description of Polybius, and the detailed accounts of the measurements of space and time, with the 15 days of march, that is, and the 1200 stadia of way. The valley was a fertile one, and the native town which they attacked and pillaged may well have enriched them with its plunder. The λευκόπετρων of the narrative may be probably identified with the 'Roche Blanche' on the Reclus. The pass is steeper on the Italian side, and the dangers therefore of the descent would have been naturally greater, and in the ravine below 'la Tuile' there is a place where the old snow might long remain unmelted, and the road for some way is much exposed to avalanches. Here therefore Hannibal might find the track completely swept away, and be obliged to halt until a new path was cut upon the mountain side. Though the pass itself is comparatively low, the season was advanced, and fresh snow had lately fallen. The climate was possibly more severe in those days than at present, and the hardships seemed more fearful to an army from the South.

2. The pass called afterwards the Graian Alp was one of the best known and earliest used across the mountains. By it, streams of invading Gauls had passed centuries before. Its neighbourhood was by far the most fertile of them all, and as such best suited to supply an army on the march.

3. Its outlet was nearest to the country of the Gauls who had sent to invite the Punic forces. Their envoys would naturally know it best, and be most likely to guide the invaders on that course. Intractable as the Romans found at a later date the tribe of the Salassi, who held the upper valley of Aosta, there was no reason why they should obstruct the passage of the enemies of Rome, and the other tribes, Libui or Lebeci, who were settled lower down, may well have followed the policy of the powerful Insubres, and sympathized in their alliance with the strangers. Polybius therefore did not stay to mention them, indeed from the island of the Allobroges he records no names until he makes Hannibal issue from the Alps among the Insubres, the leading state of the Gallic confederacy against Rome. He gives his reasons for this silence, in the general ignorance that prevailed of the exact position of the tribes and localities in question.

Livy wrote, however, at a later date, when the Alpine tribes and names were far better known to the Italian public. His information therefore is more definite in that respect, and
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seems to point to an entirely different route from that which has been traced above. After speaking of the civil strife among the natives of the Island, and then of the supplies furnished to Hannibal in return for his decisive succour, he makes him turn ad levam in his way towards the Alps. Of the various explanations offered of this phrase, two only give a likely meaning. The first assumes that he retraced his steps across the Isère and down the Rhone, and then turned to the left up the banks of the river Drôme. The other view leaves the bulk of the army on the South of the Isère, while a detachment only crosses to decide the civil war, which done, the whole continues on its march along the Eastern or left bank up to Grenoble. But the latter version can make little of the words in Tricastinos fexit which are coupled with ad levam, for the Tricastini lay further to the South, and their chief town, called afterwards 'Augusta Tricastinorum,' may be most probably identified with Aoste on the Drôme, though by some placed lower down near 'St Paul trois châteaux' upon the Rhone. The advocates therefore of the march up the Isère, assume that the words in question have slipped out of their proper place in a passage which describes the march up the river towards the Island. Accepting the earlier explanation we may follow the track described by Livy along the Drôme up to Aoste, and thence to Die, which stands for Dea Vocontiorum, a powerful tribe here mentioned by him, whose northern borders reached up to the Isère and the Drac, while their frontier on the South-East extended far along the road to Gap and to Embrun, through which country Hannibal may have led his troops, skirting the lands of the Tricorii who were spread to the North-West. He would thus have reached the Durance, the Druentia of Livy, and have made his way to Briançon, and across the Mont Genèvre, known to the Romans of the time of Cæsar as the Alpes Juliae, though afterwards called Cottiae, after the native chieftain who did so much to improve the mountain roads about him to win the favour of Augustus. It would seem to have been the same route, though in a contrary direction, which Julius Cæsar followed in his march into Transalpine Gaul, as indicated in the words 'ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provincia extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provincia die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines.' B. G. i. 10. 5. It is the same track also in the main by which Livy v. 84 brings Bellovesus with his Gallic hordes through the Tricastini, and the Taurini Saltus into the plains of Lombardy where they settled, at the end of the regal period of Rome.

From the Island to the ascent itself, the narratives of Livy and Polybius have no points in common, the local names furnished by the former being entirely absent in the latter, while the other conditions of the march are quite distinct.
APPENDIX I.

But in the description of the pass itself, in the struggles with the mountaineers, in the measurements of time, and in the accounts of the dangerous point of the descent where the road was swept away, there is often very close agreement in the language of the two, though Livy adds a few details such as those of the use of vinegar and fire to clear a passage through the rocks. The incidents, however, which they have in common are just those which can most easily be localized in any of the rival routes, and they must be regarded as the least important evidence upon the subject. But in chapter 38, when Livy has brought the Carthaginians to the plains of Italy, he pauses to notice the different opinions which were stated, and to give his reasons for the route which he had traced. The Pœnine Alps, the great St Bernard, seems to have been commonly regarded as the pass of Hannibal, and stress was laid on a false derivation of the word, as if it came from Pœnus. It was enough, he thought, to urge in answer that Germanic tribes held the entrance to this pass, and there could have been no motive to brave the stout resistance which they would probably have offered. The earlier writer Cælius Antipater, whose work on the Punic wars was largely used by Livy, brought the invaders through 'Cremonis Jugum,' a mountain unknown to other authors, but which may remind us in its sound of the Cramont, and at any rate closely corresponds to the Little St Bernard, called the Graian Alps by Roman writers. But this leads into the Italian Val d'Aosta, the upper part of which was occupied by the Salassi, while the Gallic Libit held the lower country. Tradition commonly, says Livy, knows nothing of these names in this connection, but makes Hannibal issue from the mountains through the tribe of the Taurini, with whom he first came into hostile contact. The Roman historian admits that there was no sure evidence before him, and that he relies mainly on tradition; the account of Polybius he did not notice. But tradition in this matter was a guide of little value. From the time when Scipio found himself too late upon the Rhone, till he faced his enemy on the Ticinus, the Roman government had entirely lost sight of the Carthaginian leader. The country through which he passed was quite unknown to them, and no trustworthy information could be forwarded to Rome, or lodged in the official archives. The Gallic mountaineers remained long unsubdued, and the eventful tramp of many a later army effaced from their minds the memory of the march of Hannibal. The popular legend of two centuries later was hardly likely to be accurate in such details. It was known indeed that the Taurini were attacked before the collision with the legions, and it was natural to suppose that they denied him passage when he moved along their valley, though Polybius tells us that he recruited first his
ROUTE OF HANNIBAL.

soldiers' strength among the friendly Gauls, and then at their request made war upon the tribe whose town bequeathed its name, if not its site, to the Turin of modern times. It was commonly forgotten that he had been invited to the Po by the discontented Gauls, of whom the Insubres were the foremost clan, and that their guides would naturally lead him first to their own cantons, before they urged him to attack their neighbours.

To sum up then, it seems most probable, nay almost certain that the route adopted by the Roman writer was that from the Drôme to the Durance, and across the Mont Genèvre, the Alpes Cottiae of the Roman Empire. It is also probable, though less evident, that Polybius believed the army to have made a longer circuit by the Rhone and the Tarentaise, across the Graian Alps, or what is now the Little St Bernard. If the two historians really are at issue, there is little doubt whose authority should stand the higher, as the earlier had higher qualities as an historian, and had made more special studies on this subject. General probabilities also are in favour of the easier, the lower, the better known, and the more favourably placed of the two passes. If any however prefer to think that the two accounts can be forced into agreement,—and most critics hitherto have assumed that this is possible,—then it should be remembered that definite data in the form of proper names occur only in the account of Livy, and the problem must be to reconcile the earlier conditions in Polybius with the outlet through the Mont Genèvre. With the narrative of Livy we may probably connect the account of Varro above quoted, which distinguishes the route of Hannibal from that across the Graian Alps, and which may be due to reasoning from like data. He carries Pompeius by a different road to Spain, as does Sallust also in the fragment (Hist. iii. 3) where he puts into that general's mouth the words Per Alpes iter, altud atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius patefeci. But the statements in these cases are too vague to be critically handled.

It only remains now to deal with a third route—that over the Mont Cenis—which has found learned champions to advocate its claims. It should be stated at the outset that it is not certainly referred to by any ancient author, and there is no good evidence that it was known or used before the eighth century of our era when Pepin marched across it; but this is not of course conclusive, for Hannibal may have been guided over a pass that was else scarcely known, and Latin writers say too little of the Alps to enable us to reason surely from their silence in this case. But it is important to observe that the natural construction of our authors fails to suit the theory, at least in the form in which it is presented by its chief supporters, M. Larauza, Dr Ukert and Mr Ellis. These writers,
though differing in details, agree in the main features of the route, which they assume to have passed along the Southern bank of the Isère, across the Drac and the Romanche, and up the Val de Gresivaudan, at some point of which the beginning of the mountain ground is reckoned which extends over the heights that part the valleys of the Arc and of the Doria. They agree also in the attempt to reconcile the statements of both the ancient authors, by correcting them pretty freely where they see the need. In this we may note especially the following points.

1. It is supposed that Polybius mistook the Isère for the Rhone, though he travelled himself over the ground, and stated that the army kept near the latter river till they began to climb the heights.

2. The Allobroges, who are recorded as the native tribes with which the invaders came into collision in their way up to the Alps, are commonly assigned to the North of the Isère, which was afterwards the insula Allobrogum. The theory before us transfers them without the slightest evidence, to the southern bank, assuming that they had no definite borders, or that the name itself was quite a vague one, loosely used for Gallic tribes, and possibly still lingering in the Allevard near St Jean de Maurienne.

3. The march along the Isère inverts the description of Polybius. In the earlier stages the Carthaginians must have moved over rugged country ill suited for their horse, and exposed to native onsets, while the easier ground comes higher up in the Val de Gresivaudan, and no definite point can be agreed on to suit the measurement of distance given.

4. The passage of the Romanche would have been formidable in the face of the Gauls, who are described as repelled only by the cavalry or by the succour of a friendly chieftain.

5. The Druentia of Livy must be explained to be the Drac, which the track in question crossed, while it lay far away from the Durance, for which Druentia is the undoubted name in ancient times, known as it was as the line of communication across the Alps with Spain.

6. The character of the Mont Cenis itself has been compared minutely with the narrative before us, and with some forcing of the text it has been shown that the measurements of time and distance may possibly be verified. We need not stay to discuss these attempts. It is not difficult to find some features of resemblance in almost every pass to the scenes and incidents described upon the march, and if they were the only data we might well despair of any definite conclusion. White rocks can be found also near the road, such as that de la
Barmette in one account, or the rock of Baume according to another, and there are dangerous spots in the descent where the road might easily be swept away, and old snow lie long unmelted.

7. One argument indeed has been insisted on, that here alone could a point of view be found upon the summit, commanding an extensive prospect of the Italian plain, such as that which Hannibal is said to have had before him, when he tried to revive the drooping courage of his soldiers. The spot in question is not however on the road itself, but on a ridge which was little likely to have tempted the weary men to needless efforts through the snow for the sake of a fine view. Nor was the actual prospect of importance for the general’s appeal. The phrase of Polybius on which stress has been laid (ἐνάργεια) more probably refers to the moral weight of evidence that Italy was within easy reach, than to any actual picture stretched out before the eyes.

The language of Livy is too definite indeed to be mistaken, in promontorio quodam, ubi longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere jussis militibus Italiam ostentat....xxi. 35. 7. But we must remember that Livy had little knowledge of the Alps; that he may easily have given a different colouring to the account of the general’s address which he found in the old annalists; and that he was thinking more of rhetorical effect than of strict accuracy of local statements.

The three passes hitherto described are very far from being all of those whose rival claims have been supported. Almost every height which could possibly be crossed, and some indeed that are quite impassable for any but practised mountaineers, have been at some time advocated as the pass of Hannibal. Some routes have been disposed of by a fuller knowledge of the rugged country which lies between the Drac, the Romanche, and the Durance, and which until lately was almost unexplored, and ill described upon the maps. Some hopelessly conflict with the main data of the ancient authors, and the books or pamphlets written in their defence are only monuments of misplaced ingenuity and learning. None of these seems now to call for serious discussion.

It should be stated in conclusion that the claims of the Little St Bernard, or the Graian Alps, to be the pass intended by Polybius were recognized by General Melville in 1775, whose view was expanded by M. de Luc in 1818. Messrs Cramer and Wickham in the Dissertation of 1820 supported the same theory, and Mr Law in his masterly work upon the subject seems to have proved decisively that the evidence points to that conclusion, while Livy’s pass must be the Mont Genèvre. Niebuhr and Mommsen have accepted the authority of Polybius in favour of the Graian Alps.
APPENDIX II.

EXCURSUS ON THE ROMAN RELIGION IN RELATION TO THE PRODIGIES IN LIVY XXI. 62 AND XXII. 10.

We must turn to the Antiquarians of Rome, rather than to the historians or the poets, if we would learn the characteristic features of the old Italian Worship, for in later days they were so overlaid by the exotic growth of Greek religion that it was not easy to recognize their earlier forms.

The Latin husbandman was deeply impressed by the sense of his dependence on the powers of earth and sky; at every turn his path was crossed by some supernatural being on whose influence, whether kindly or malign, his weal or woe was subject. He analysed by cool reflection all the processes of daily life from the cradle to the grave, and for every incident within the family or social circle, for every detail of husbandry he found some guardian Power which he worshipped as divine. The names, harsh and uncouth as they may seem to us, carried their meaning on their face, and expressed the limits of the powers assigned; they were at first probably but Attributes of the One Great Unknown; the Jupiter or Divus pater, who moved in mysterious ways through Nature. The deities of Italy were never dressed up in human shapes by fancy, and artless hymns were the only forms of poetry which grew out of their worship. But the ritual needed for it was laborious and complex; all the details as gathered in the course of ages by tradition had to be punctiliously observed, else prayers and offerings were deemed null and void. In the family the house-father taught his children; in larger groups the brotherhoods (sodalicia) passed on from hand to hand the saving knowledge, while for the State priestly guilds (collegia), which never could die out, kept in their custody the sacred lore, which like the fire upon the city's hearth, burnt always with a steady flame. Of these, the College of the Pontiffs was even in the earliest age of Rome the supreme guardian of the State Religion. It scarcely dealt with the spiritual life of the family and smaller social groups; it left to others the purely ministerial functions of the priest; its duty was to guard, to harmonize, and to interpret the Public Code.

1 Compare Bouché-Leclercq, Les Pontifes de l'Ancienne Rome; Preller, Römische Mythologie.
of Sacred Law. It knew the time-honoured methods by which each Power Divine must be approached; it alone had access to the ancient formularies of prayer; and all the nice rules of sacrificial usage. None but the Pontiffs could be trusted to draw up the Calendar from year to year, and determine all the questions of casuistry which were suggested by its fasts and feasts. For the worship of the Romans was full of Pharisaic scruples. The slightest deviation from old usage might vitiate a long round of ceremonial forms, and the whole service must begin afresh, or the jealous Power might withhold its favour. In Cato’s work on Agriculture we find the author not content with rules of close economy and skilful farming; he must also add a sort of Liturgy or Common Prayer-Book for the use of the labourers upon the farm, and the rubrics, extracted as they doubtless were from the text-books of the Pontiffs, help to show us how laboriously painstaking was the temper of Roman worship. But with all its scrupulous care it could not but go wrong at times, the Sacred College therefore was called on to provide a remedial machinery to soothe the anger of the offended Powers. Was it a case merely of some ceremonial neglect? the mistake observed might be corrected, the faulty service be repeated (instaurare), the compensation made for the offence, and the expiation (piaculum) was held to be completed. This was indeed no abnegation for a guilty conscience, for the forms prescribed dealt only with the outer act, and gave no promises of peace to minds diseased.

Often however no human eye had noted what was wrong, and it was left then for the gods to give their warnings through unearthly signs (prodigia). If the signs were given on private ground it rested with the owner of the land to set his house in order; but if the place was public ground, then the portent was a matter for the State (publicum prodigium), who must accept the charge (suscipere), and take the needful steps through her officials (procurare prod.) to satisfy the gods and set the public mind at rest. Here again was a wide field opened for the action of the Pontiffs. Others might shudder only in their ignorant panic, but they must learn to recognize the voice which spoke in portents, must turn over their old books and profit by the inductions of the past, must be ready, if they only could, to provide the state with their Authorized Version of God’s Word to man. For this purpose, after due scrutiny of evidence, and rejection of the ill-attested (quia singuli auctores erant Livy v. 15. 1), the prodigies were chronicled with care from year to year in the priestly records, from which Livy drew so largely for his history. To isolate them from each other might mislead the student, rather they must be regarded as the scattered phrases of the message sent from
heaven, and skilled interpreters must piece them all together. Yet some recurring portents were met always with like forms of ceremonial (procuratio). A shower of stones called for a nine days' holiday, from the days of old king Tullus (manavit solemne ut quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur, ferias per novem dies agerentur Livy i. 51. 5). If a bull was heard to speak with human sounds, a meeting of the Senate was called in open air (Pliny v.41. 70), in memory of the time perhaps when Latin farmers met among their herds to discuss in conclave the affairs of state.

When the scene of the portent was a shrine, or any clue was given to the Power which sent the warning, the College knew what offerings were likely to find favour, prescribed in some cases the hostiae majores, the full-grown animals, confused in later days with the beasts of larger size, while in other cases they could tell that tender sucklings (hostiae lactentis) would find most favour on the altars. Costly gifts could seldom come amiss, as tokens of the votaries' submission, so weighty offerings of gold or silver plate were stored up in the temple treasuries, or the choicest works of art in marble or in bronze were called in to represent the objects of popular gratitude or fear. In default of any special clue to the nature of the offence, or of the offended power, it might at least be well to have recourse to the ancient usage of lustration, to clear away the stains of possible pollution. The sin-offerings of the boar, the ram, the bull were duly made (suovetaurilia); the priestly train moved round the city walls (amburrium), or round the fields (ambarvalia), sprinkling the consecrated drops upon the bounds, and going through the long round of the traditional prayer, some passages of which Cato wrote out for like use among his country friends (De Re Rustica 141).

If the experience of the Pontifices was at fault, other advisers were called in. The haruspices especially were skilled in the Etruscan love of divination. They knew the language of the lightning, they could read strange characters scored upon the slaughtered victims, and to them therefore were referred the questions of the mysterious portents in the sky, or in animals of monstrous birth.

If the prodigies were fearful (tätara) and took the form of pestilence, or earthquake, or the like, and the need seemed very urgent, a newer fashion sometimes superseded the old machinery of the State Religion.

The Sibyline books had made their way to Rome, if we may trust tradition, as early as the period of the Tarquins. Borne to Rome by a wave of Hellenic influence which passed from the coast of Asia Minor along the Greek cities of Campania, the prophetic utterances gained a sanction from
the State, and a College of Interpreters to unfold or to apply their meaning (decemviri sacris faciundis). The frugal Senate was chary indeed of such appeals, for experience had proved that the Sibyll sold her advice dearly, and never spared the public purse. Now she recommended a costly deputation to beg some foreign deity to consent to house himself in Rome; sometimes a new temple must be built to lodge more worthily a recent visitor from Olympus; sometimes stately ceremonies might be enough if they were only of the newest fashion, but in each case we may note that some forward steps were taken in naturalizing the Greek Pantheon on Italian soil. So one after another the familiar forms of Greek mythology were recognized in the religion of the State, sometimes thinly disguised in Latin dress, more often with names and attributes almost unchanged, while the arrival of each upon the scene was marked by some enduring festival or shrine. To the same source may also be assigned the imposing ceremonies which were for the most part of foreign growth.

The lectisternium, first heard of in the year 399 B.C., (Livy v. 13. 6,) but often repeated later, agreed with some features of old Latin usage, but was specially connected with the characteristic forms of the Apollo-worship (Theozenia). All was made ready for a costly banquet, and on each couch (pulvinaria) were laid the symbols of the deities to be appeased, while the viands from the feast, or offerings from the altars, were laid in solemn state before them. With these were commonly connected supplicationes, a form of General Litany or Processional Service, in which young and old, citizens and country folks, moved in long lines through all the streets to offer prayers in every temple where the pulvinaria were laid out to view. These in their details, as also in the occasions when we hear of them, remind us of the solemn Psans by which Apollo was approached in times of thanksgiving or intercession. The Sibylline books did not fail also to encourage the system of vows (vota) which Roman usage had long sanctioned. Often in the crisis of the battle, or some time of urgent risk, magistrates had promised temples or costly offerings to their guardian powers, if only the tide of danger would be rolled away. And so when prodigies were rife, and panic spread, the advisers of the State appealed to the efficacy of solemn vows. One such may seem to call for special mention, as recorded in archaic language by the historian of the 2nd Punic war.

It had been an old Italian custom to promise to the gods in times of crisis the produce of the coming spring (ver sacrum), and the custom may have dated from the days of human sacrifice. For among the earliest stories of tribal movements in Central Italy, we read that in days of famine
such a *ver sacrum* had been vowed among the Sabine hills, and that when the young of that spring reached man's estate they were sent forth in search of some new homes, and that guided on their several paths by animals sacred to the Italian Mars, they made their way into Samnium and Picenum, and to other lands, where they accepted henceforth as their national symbols, the bull in Samnium, the woodpecker (*picus*) in Picenum, and the wolf for the *Hirpini*, whose forefathers had been led by it to their new homes. In the case above referred to the senate gave its sanction to the vow, but the Chief Pontiff was aware that ancient usage required the consent of the whole people, and a bill was drawn up by his instructions, to be submitted to the vote in the comitia. It was drawn up with scrupulous care that no little flaw, or unforeseen neglect, might vitiate the people's form of intercession, and indeed it was expressly stipulated that no sacrifice should lose its value if offered unwittingly upon a day of evil omen (*si atro die faxit insciens*).

**APPENDIX III.**

**ON THE CHARACTER OF C. FLAMINIUS.**

It is commonly believed that the memory of Flaminius has suffered grievous wrong from the hatred of the nobles of his day, which is reflected even in the narrative of Livy, and it may therefore be convenient to put together the little that is definitely told us of his life and doings. He came of a plebeian family, which had won as yet no curule honours, and he showed as tribune that he had the interests of the poorer citizens at heart. As a partial remedy for the economic evils of his times he proposed in an agrarian bill—the first after the Licinian laws—to divide among the needy much of the state domain available in Cisalpine Gaul (a. c. 231). The nobles in the senate stoutly opposed the measure, which was carried through the comitia in spite of their resistance.

The sanction of the senate was not technically needed to give a *plebiscitum* force of law, and the egotism of the governing classes may have justified this bold innovation of Flaminius, but it was a violent blow against the representative power in the state, and as such was noted by Polybius (ii. 21) as the first ominous sign of constitutional decline. The aristocracy submitted with ill grace, and hampered him in his work of colonial distribution with ineffectual delays. Shortly after-
wards the government of Sicily fell to his lot as Praetor, and there is reason to believe that he endeared himself to the provincials by clean-handed justice (Livy xxxiii. 42). His promotion to the consulship did not follow till 222, when he endeavoured to crush the Cisalpine Gauls, already defeated at L. Telamon, by invading the country of the Insubes. In the only account of the campaign which we possess (Polyb. ii. 32) he appears to have been wanting in good faith towards the Gauls, and by the neglect of the common rules of strategy to have risked probable disaster, from which he was saved only by the steady valour of the legionaries and the forethought of the military tribunes.

Before the campaign was over he was summoned by the senate to resign his office, on the ground of some technical flaw in his election, but he would not open the despatch till the victory was won, and on his return persisted in entering Rome in forms of triumph, despite the refusal of the senate.

The resentment of the nobles was intense, and they forced a dictator to resign, who had been bold enough to name Flaminius as his Master of the Horse. But it is to the credit of the latter, that in his censorship of 219 he did not stoop to any petty jealousies of rival parties, only linking the memories of that high office with the Circus, and the great Highway which bore his name in after ages.

But it was partly due to his support that the bill of Claudius was passed, which forbade the Senatorian families to own merchant vessels, a law which rested no doubt in part on the aristocratic prejudice of old societies, but aimed also at protecting the provincials from sinister action on the part of Roman governors in the interest of Roman traders. If his generalship really was so questionable in the Gallic war, it is strange that he should have been re-elected to the consulship after the disaster of the Trebia.

There are reasons too for doubting the account of Livy which makes him leave Rome and enter office at Ariminum in contempt of all customary scruples, though military needs might well excuse neglect of purely formal duties. But Polybius is quite silent on the subject, though his informants had no love for Flaminius, and a legal measure, called probably Lex Flaminia minus solvendi, seems to point to the presence of the consul in the capital, although the evidence is not conclusive. The financial policy which it suggests accords indeed with his other measures in favour of the poorer classes, at the expense also of the wealthier.

The position of Flaminius at Arretium seems to have been well chosen for defence, and his plans were probably suggested by the campaign against the Gauls in 224. He must have heard of Hannibal's advance, and have shown no wish to
force an action, but after sending to his colleague at Ariminum to hasten to the defence of Rome, he was forced to move southward to effect a junction, and to keep the enemy meantime in view.

His one fatal error lay in the unguarded entry into the defile of Trasimene, where his warier rival closed the trap upon him. Aristocratic writers may have gladly taken him as a scapegoat, imagining the neglect of sacred forms as a partial cause of the disaster, and exaggerating the rashness and incapacity of the champion of the commons, just as modern critics may have dwelt too fondly on his fancied virtues because the nobles of his own day hated and maligned him.
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