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LIVY

BOOKS XXI AND XXII

EDITED

ON THE BASIS OF WÖLFFLIN'S EDITION
WITH INTRODUCTION AND MAPS

BY

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PREFACE.

This edition of Livy is based upon Professor Wolflin’s third edition of the 21st book—revised by Luterbacher—and his second edition of the 22d book. The text is that of Wolflin without change, but in an appendix will be found a brief consideration of the principal variations of the Mss., and the more important conjectures.

The notes of Professor Wolflin’s edition, which are of especial value for the help they give toward a correct understanding of the Hannibalic war, by correcting and supplementing Livy’s account, and also for the attention they pay to the literary and grammatical study of the author, I have attempted to adapt to the needs of our college students. Some I have omitted, many have been expanded or contracted, and something has been added in the way of historical explanation, and in consideration of Livy’s style, and in references to the grammars. In connection with Wolflin’s edition, I have made especial use of Weissenborn’s, Fabri’s, Luterbacher’s, Tücking’s, and also of many others. The introduction on Livy as a writer, and on the relations of Rome and Carthage to the close of the Punic wars, has been added, and also the index to the notes.

Of the maps, that of Lake Trasumennus is from Wolflin’s edition; that of the Alps is taken, with a slight change, from Arnold’s Second Punic War; and the plan of the field of
Cannae is slightly changed from the one in Smith's Carthage and the Carthaginians.

I take pleasure in expressing my thanks to Professor Wölflin, for his courteous permission to use his edition as a basis for the present one. I also acknowledge with pleasure the great obligation under which Prof. E. M. Pease, the editor-in-chief of the series, has placed me, by his many and acute suggestions in the completion of the notes, and by his unwearied diligence in forwarding the publication of the book. For similar suggestions, and for their conscientious care in reading the proof, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. C. G. Herbermann and to Prof. E. H. Spieker.

JOHN K. LORD.

Dartmouth College, December, 1890.
INTRODUCTION.

I.

Titus Livius.

Titus Livius, the great Roman historian, was born at Patavium, the modern Padua, about 59 or 57 B.C. His only extant work, the history of Rome, has reached us in a fragmentary state. Out of 142 books supposed to have been written, only 35, with a few inconsiderable fragments, are in existence. These include the first ten books, or decade, as they are called, covering the period from the founding of the city to nearly the close of the third Samnite war, and the third, fourth, and half the fifth decades, books 21 to 45 inclusive, giving the history of Rome from the outbreak of the second Punic war to the triumph of Æmilius Paulus over Macedonia, 167 B.C.

These portions of his history are sufficient to give a just idea of him as a historian and a writer. Modern criticism has diligently examined his work, inquiring particularly into the sources and authenticity of his materials, the fidelity of his research, and his credibility as a witness. The result of this examination has been to detract seriously from Livy's reliability as a historian. He has been shown to be lacking in the "historical instinct." He did not consciously misstate, having rather a strict regard for the truth, but while he was free from such a partisan bias that he was unable fairly to estimate men and measures, he was careless in obtaining and sifting his information. For a searching examination of Livy's shortcomings as a historian, the English student is referred to Seeley's "Livy, Bk. I., Introduction"; to Sir G. C. Lewis' "On the Credibility of Early Roman History," and to Niebuhr's "Historical Lectures."
But however much Livy may have suffered as a historian, he has gained as a master of style, and the charm of his manner and his mastery of diction are an offset for his lack of research and his many inaccuracies. The reader almost forgets the frequent inconsistencies and absurdities of the narrative in his pleasure at the grace with which it is told. There is a warmth of feeling that enlivens the most trifling events, and a picturesqueness in the grouping of details, as well as in the general outline, that is almost poetic. Even in the earlier portions of the history, where the brief statements of the annalists gave little variety, he seized upon the salient points with such skill and combined them with such grace that the narrative never becomes dry or dull, or fails of interest.

Livy's way of thinking was pictorial. His historical view was not of a series of events in orderly arrangement, but of a succession of pictures, a panorama of individual though connected scenes. He therefore had little discussion of cause and result, little development of the logical or philosophical sequence of history; but he delighted in the description of striking circumstances and feelings. He was fully sensible of the power of words, showing clearly their power over himself; and he found opportunity for their effective use in description, and especially in the speeches which he puts into the mouths of his characters. As illustrations the student has but to examine in these two books the accounts of Hannibal's character, of his dream on setting out for Italy, of the siege of Saguntum, of the passage of the Alps with Hannibal's speech on the summit; of the speeches before the battle on the Trebia, of the effect on Rome of the defeat at Trasumennus, and, to mention no others, of the debate in the senate on the ransom of the prisoners taken at Cannae.

These illustrations show Livy at his best, in the delineation of character, the exhibition of motives and the portrayal of feelings: that is, as a word-painter. The human element in him was strong. He possessed the power of realizing the exigencies and feelings of a given occasion, and thus the
speeches which he puts into the mouths of historical personages, while exhibiting his own rotund and flowing diction, yet happily represent what the persons might well have said on the given occasions. He catches the spirit of an event, though he expresses it in his own phraseology, and not in that of the time. It is this human, sympathetic element that gives Livy such power. He was a true Roman, an ardent admirer of Rome's early history, of her republican institutions, of her traditional heroes, and a believer in her eternal destiny; but this did not prevent him from appreciating the feelings of an enemy, as shown by the speech which he assigns to Hannibal at the Trebia. In reading the 21st and 22d books the student cannot fail to note the pictorial element, how the historian is not detailing the events of a dead past, but painting scenes, which he sees vividly before him, and which in his story live again.

The general impression which an author's style makes upon the reader is often as distinct and yet as evasive of description as the author's personality. As it is the tone of the voice, the glance of the eye, and the fleeting gesture that determine the impression which an individual makes upon his fellows, and as none of these can be exactly photographed or described, so the style of an author taken as a whole produces an impression peculiar to itself, and independent of the use of words and idioms. From what has been said of Livy's style, it is easy to see that it must be pleasing. It was the expression of a man, imaginative, sympathetic, learned, enamoured with his subject, and rich in utterance. His speech was flowing and free, and he naturally adopted the periodic form. This form was well suited to his purpose. For logical and philosophical discussions the sonorous period is ill adapted, but in descriptive, imaginative, and emotional writing it finds its true place. It is always exposed to the danger of exaggeration, and of straining for effect, and Livy may be criticised for these faults. His periods are sometimes long and labored, sacrificing substance to form, but in general he carries the reader on with the smooth and strong current of his words. The historian and narrator of bare facts
was often merged in the poet, and his vivid imagination gave a glow to the whole.

But aside from its general characteristics an author's style is affected by peculiarities in the use of words and idioms. A writer is distinguished by a fondness for certain forms of expression, for certain tricks of speech. The study of Livy's peculiarities of this kind has been very minute, but the limits of this introduction do not allow even a summary of the results. The student is referred to the histories of Latin literature, Cruttwell, Simcox, Teuffel, which treat of Livy's style in general, and in particular to Wölflin's "On the Criticism and Diction of Livy," Kühnast's "Syntax of Livy," and Fügner's "Livy, books XXI.-XXIII., with references to Caesar's Gallic War." The following points, however, gathered mainly from these works, mark the progress of the change from the Latin of Cicero and Caesar to that of the silver age.

I. Greater freedom in the use of substantives. (a) Abstract for concrete: e.g., remigium 21. 22. 4; paucitas 22. 24. 9; dignitas 22. 40. 4. (b) Concrete for collective: e.g., eques and miles 21. 54. 2; 22. 37. 7; Poenus 21. 8. 3. (c) Frequency of verbals in us: e.g., effectus 21. 7. 6; and in tor, which are also used adjectively: e.g., victor 21. 5. 4; ruptor 21. 40. 11.

II. Adjectives. (a) Used substantively in the neuter singular and plural, and often with a genitive: e.g., extremum and extrema 21. 34. 7 and 8; inpertitis 21. 41. 13; medium 22. 2. 3; omnia 22. 39. 13. (b) New forms or those previously poetical, especially those in alis, osus, and bundus: e.g., vicinalis 21. 26. 8; nivalis 21. 54. 7; glareosus 21. 31. 11; nivosus 21. 58. 8; tentabundus 21. 36. 1; contionabundus 21. 53. 6.

III. Adverbs. (a) For adjectives: e.g., circa, 21. 7. 5 and 11. 12; mfra 21. 36. 6; deinceps 21. 8. 5. (b) Especially ceterum as a conjunction, 21. 5. 1.

IV. Pronouns. alius: = δ ἄλος. the rest, 21. 12. 6: 22. 5. 7. Quicunque and like words without a verb, 22. 58. 5.

V. Verbs. (a) Transitive for intransitive: e.g., transmittere 21. 36. 1; colere 21. 26. 6. (b) Intransitives for transitives:
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e.g., tremere 22. 27. 3; invadere 21. 30. 2; evadere 21. 32. 12.
(c) Frequentatives for the simple forms, more common in the first decade. (d) Use of the auxiliaries fuerim, fueram, forem: e.g., acta fuerat 21. 3. 2; restituti fuerimus 22. 59. 11; decreta forent 21. 21. 1.

VI. Participles. (a) Use as concrete nouns: e.g., ridentis 21. 2. 6. (b) The prefect passive participle for an abstract noun: e.g., amissae 21. 1. 5; peremptorum 21. 16. 2; superiecta 22. 51. 8. (c) Use in place of a clause: e.g., invicta 21. 5. 11; oppugnandis 21. 5. 3; credentis 21. 30. 6. (d) The future participle to express purpose: e.g., pugnaturi 21. 43. 11; facturus 21. 32. 1.

VII. Cases. (a) The partitive genitive with neuter adjectives: e.g., inmensum altitudinis 21. 33. 7; multum diei 22. 45. 1; with other adjectives: e.g., deiecti equitum 22. 15. 10. (b) The use of the ablative instrumental, modal, local (without preposition), and absolute (cf. the sentence 22. 4. 4) is especially enlarged: e.g., partibus 21. 8. 2; campo 22. 4. 6; ora 21. 22. 5; consectando 21. 43. 8; tripertito 21. 23. 1.

VIII. Construction. (a) Frequent synesis: e.g., enecti 21. 40. 9; pars . . . erant 21. 49. 10; pars . . . progressi . . . inmergunt 22. 6. 6. (b) Joining of prepositions, with their cases, to nouns: e.g., pugna ad Trebiam 21. 15. 6; in Sicilian transitum 21. 50. 8; Numidas ex castris 22. 45. 2. (c) Union of dissimilar constructions: e.g., castris praesidio et circumspectans 22. 23. 10; perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem 22. 28. 1; Quos Poenus adlocutus et . . . accensos dimisit 21. 48. 2.

IX. Pleonasm, alliteration, and chiasmus. See the index to the notes.

II.

ROME AND CARTHAGE.

The struggle between Rome and Carthage has a strong dramatic interest. It was not merely a series of wars conducted on a vast scale, but the death grapple of two diverse races and types of civilization. To the ordinary passions of
war was added a personal animosity, and the general features of a great struggle were intensified by the appearance of extraordinary leaders, whose individual character determined the course of the war and aroused the strongest personal following. On both sides, but more especially on the Carthaginian, there were men, who, by circumstance and superior ability, became controlling powers. One can hardly say which more attracts his thought, Rome or the Scipios, Carthage or Hamilcar and Hannibal.

The opening chapter of Livy's 21st book shows that the Romans themselves felt the peculiar nature of the conflict. Three wars were necessary to settle the final supremacy of Rome. It is of the second that Livy particularly speaks; but what he says of the second was equally applicable to the third, except that the resources of Carthage were then diminished. At the beginning of their struggle the two cities were not unequally matched in resources, though Carthage was probably the larger. For several centuries they had been growing on opposite sides of the Mediterranean, extending and consolidating their power, till by the middle of the third century B.C. they came face to face, and it needed but an occasion to bring on the inevitable conflict for supremacy.

Carthage was older by about a century. She was the daughter of commerce, the last and greatest of the colonies which the enterprise of the Phoenician merchants had established round the western part of the Mediterranean. Her original name was Kirjath Hadeshath (Carthage through the Greek), meaning New Town, from her proximity to the earlier Utica. Her favorable situation for inland and maritime commerce gave her a pre-eminence among the Phoenician colonies, which soon assumed the nature of control. Her sailors were the most daring on the Mediterranean, and they did not confine their movements to that sea, but sailed out upon the Atlantic as far north as Britain, and as far south as the equator. With the wealth obtained by her extended commerce she hired large armies of mercenaries to do her fighting; for her citizens shrank
from the exercise of arms, and rather than enter into wars that injured their commerce, they preferred to pay for centuries to the native tribes about them an annual rent for the ground on which their city stood. But even commercial supremacy sometimes required the subjection of others, and gradually Carthage extended her sway over northern Africa and over Corsica and Sardinia, except the central mountains, and over Sicily except the powerful city of Syracuse and the narrow strip along the eastern coast. This was the extent of her domain when Rome had consolidated her conquest of the Italian peninsula, and having driven Pyrrhus from her borders, was pausing like an athlete after one struggle and taking breath for another.

The two peoples, though they had never been in conflict, were not unknown to each other. The commercial ventures of the Carthaginians had brought them into contact with the Romans, and their relations had become so important that in 450 B.C. a treaty was made to regulate them. By this treaty Rome was not to send her ships beyond Cape Bon except under stress of weather, but she might trade in Carthage and her larger colonies, while Carthage was to refrain from all interference with the affairs of Italy as far as Rome might be immediately or prospectively affected. In the course of a hundred years this treaty fell somewhat into desuetude, so that in 348 B.C. it was renewed practically on the same terms, except that Rome was not allowed to send ships into the Atlantic or to trade with any of the colonies of Carthage. This treaty was terminated by the outbreak of the first Punic war.

It is difficult to compare the two peoples, owing to our ignorance of the institutions of Carthage. In some general way there was a resemblance between the two governments. Monarchic in the beginning, that of Carthage passed through several stages till it was directed by two magistrates called Suffetes, corresponding to the Roman consuls, but the mode of their election and their tenure of office are equally uncertain. They presided over a senate of twenty-eight members, whose enactments, when ratified by the Suffetes, were law. By some
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unknown influence, the senate changed in the time of the Punic wars into a council of 104, called the "Hundred," forming a close college, and having absolute control of affairs. Its members held their office for life, till Hannibal, among his many reforms, limited their tenure to one year. The general method of administration, as well as of political classification, is unknown.

But nothing could be more unlike than the characters of the two peoples. At Carthage commerce was the one great business; at Rome it was held in disrepute. Carthaginians avoided military service, preferring to fill their armies with mercenaries; while the first duty of a Roman was to give his services, and if need be his life, for the state. At Carthage the state existed for the individual, at Rome the individual for the state. The patriotism of Carthage was therefore of a receptive, slumbrous character, called into full activity only by crises affecting the national existence, while in Rome it was a constant force manifesting itself in every phase of public life. In war Carthage intrusted her fortunes to soldiers whose only interest in success was the payment of their hire, but Roman troops were freemen to whom personal and national honor were equally dear. Similar differences existed between the two nations in the endurance of disaster, self-sacrifice, and fortitude, the softness of the one being matched by the sternness of the other.

When, with such qualities, the two nations came into conflict, it was inevitable that Rome, though doubtless numerically inferior, should in the end prevail. In the great crisis of the struggle, when the issue depended upon the character of the peoples rather than upon their resources, it was the iron will of Rome and the individual patriotism of her citizens that carried the day.

When the two peoples had reached a point where the further expansion of either would interfere with the other, then the first war came. It began in 263 B.C., and was brought about by a trifling incident. At that time Carthage held possession of the sea and the islands before mentioned. Rome had
completed the conquest of Italy south of the valley of the Po, and in the interval of peace was taking the measure of her strength and fortune. The first clash of arms was at Messana, where the two parties in a civil contest had appealed, one to Rome and one to Carthage. Both cities granted the request for aid, and the war then begun continued for twenty-two years, till in 241 the Carthaginians admitted their defeat by the cession of Sicily to the Romans, and the payment of a heavy ransom. The war was not memorable for any great land battles, though the Romans reduced several important fortresses, but for the skill and vigor with which the Romans constructed a navy, and in the face of one great defeat and several great disasters at sea, kept on with their efforts till the victory of the Aegates Islands brought the war to an end. Neither side produced a great general, till near the close of the war, Hamilcar, a true military genius, appeared on the Carthaginian side, but too late to change the issue.

When Carthage retired from Sicily, she became involved in a war with her unpaid mercenaries and subject populations, which was carried on with such atrocities on both sides that it gained the name of the "Inexpiable War." During its progress, when Carthage was brought to the verge of destruction, the Romans, taking advantage of the helpless condition of Carthage, took from her the island of Sardinia and forced her to pay an additional indemnity of 1200 talents. It was the genius of Hamilcar that finally brought salvation to Carthage. He became the leader of a new party, called from him the "Barcine" party, that had for its object the renewal of the war with Rome. But Hamilcar clearly saw that Carthage with her mercantile spirit could never successfully cope with Rome, and that if she was to be saved in the conflict that inevitably would come, it must be by some powerful auxiliary. He therefore determined to win her an empire outside herself, and with this in view turned to the conquest of Spain. Going to that country with a strong force, he became a virtual king, subduing peoples by the combined force of arms and diplomacy, and establishing
his power so firmly that when the Roman Cato viewed its remains half a century later, he exclaimed, "Surely there was no king like Hamilcar Barca." After nine years of success he fell in battle, leaving his power to his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who continued the same course of war and diplomacy till he fell by an assassin's hand. To his place the joint voice of the army and people elevated Hannibal, the greatest of Hamilcar's three sons, the "lion's brood," Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, then a young man of twenty-six, who, having at the age of nine sworn eternal enmity to Rome, had served under his father and Hasdrubal, and already given proof of his pre-eminent military genius. Livy describes the enthusiasm with which the army received his appointment, and Hannibal soon justified their opinion. Hamilcar's plan had been to make Spain a basis of operations against Rome; and now that Spain was a Carthaginian dependency, Hannibal was ready to carry out that plan. The breach with Rome was made by an attack upon Saguntum. The neutrality of this town had been secured by a treaty between Hasdrubal and Rome, and Hannibal's attack upon it was ostensibly on the ground that it had interfered with the subjects of Carthage. But the Saguntines appealed to Rome for help. Embassies were sent to Hannibal and to Carthage to expostulate, but while they went and came Saguntum fell. War was then declared by the Romans and accepted by the Carthaginians.

Hannibal determined to take the initiative. He proposed nothing less than the invasion of Italy, rightly judging that Rome could be subdued only by carrying the war into her own home. Collecting a force of 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse, he set out in the spring of 218, and crossing the Pyrenees and Gaul, he reached the Rhone about midsummer. Forcing the passage of the river in the face of hostile Gauls, and eluding the Roman consul, who at the report that Hannibal was in Gaul had given up going to Spain in order to intercept him at the Rhone, he turned inland toward the Alps, which he reached in the latter part of September. The crossing of the Alps, probably by the Little St. Bernard pass, occupied fifteen days, and
brought him down into the valley of the Po near the modern Turin. But his army was greatly shrunken. The losses by battle, desertion, exposure, disease, and the terrible journey across the Alps, had reduced his infantry to 20,000 and his cavalry to 6,000. What a pitiable force with which to attempt the subjugation of Rome! But it was not Hannibal's intention to conquer Rome with the forces he brought. He came proclaiming to the subjugated races deliverance from Roman oppression, and he hoped to overcome the great city by uniting against her all Italy from the Po to the Sicilian Straits. His message was the message of freedom, and his force was to be the collective might of ransomed peoples. The Gauls soon rallied to his standard, and their allegiance was confirmed by two victories which he won over the Romans, the first a cavalry skirmish on the Ticinus in which the Roman consul was wounded, and the second a general engagement with both consular armies on the Trebia.

In the spring of 217 B.C. Hannibal entered Etruria by an unexpected route, and soon after entrapped the new Roman consul, Flaminius, at Lake Trasumennus. The Romans lost 21,000 in killed and captured, and Flaminius was among the slain. The fear and excitement in Rome were intense. Men recalled the Gallic invasion of 390 B.C., and looked for the immediate coming of Hannibal. Recourse was had to the long-neglected expedient of appointing a dictator, and to Q. Fabius Maximus was entrusted the duty of saving the city. But Hannibal knew that Rome was too strong for any army that he could raise, and it was his policy to detach the allies of Rome, and thus sap her strength. Turning, therefore, away from Rome, he passed down the eastern side of the Apennines, giving his forces a chance to recruit, and using the time to re-arm them with the Roman weapons taken at Trebia and Trasumennus. Little by little he worked his way to southern Samnium, and thence to Campania, the garden of Italy, burning and plundering as he went, vainly trying to bring the Romans to an engagement. It was the dictator's policy to avoid a pitched battle, and to
exhaust his enemy by restricting his movements and cutting off his foragers. The dilatory policy of Fabius was not popular at Rome, and in the following year it was determined to crush Hannibal by a gigantic effort. The ordinary forces were doubled, and when in midsummer the contending armies met at Cannae, in northern Apulia, the Romans had 87,200 men to 50,000 of Hannibal. The defeat of the Romans was in proportion to their preparations. The battle began in the morning, and when the sun went down 50,000 Romans (Livy says 70,000) lay dead upon the field, including one consul, ninety senators, ex-consuls, praetors and aediles, while Hannibal lost but 5700. Rome was filled with mourning and terror. Every family from high to low was stricken on that fatal day, and to avert the danger of neglected sacrifices and ceremonies the senate limited the time of public mourning to thirty days. But the greatness of Rome and the senate never more fully appeared; for when the consul who was responsible for the disaster returned to the city, the senate went out to meet him with a vote of thanks that he had not despaired of the republic.

Hannibal has often been blamed for not advancing upon Rome after Cannae, but he knew the strength of the city’s walls, and that without a siege train, which he had not, it was impossible to reduce it. His hope was that the great military colonies which Rome had scattered through Italy would come over to him. If they had revolted, Rome’s fate would have been sealed; but with the exception of Capua all remained faithful, and Hannibal’s expectation of detaching Rome’s allies was disappointed.

Henceforth the character of the war changes. The tide of victory which with ever-increasing volume had rolled from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from the Alps to Trasumennus, and from Trasumennus to Cannae, henceforth, though never receding, is broken into many fragments which lack the splendor of the mighty wave. Hannibal sought in vain for help from Carthage. When with the announcement of his victories he made a request for reinforcements, the short-sighted and money-
loving Carthaginians replied, that as he was victor he could not need new troops, and with that golden opportunity lost their chance of success.

There were no more great battles with Hannibal in Italy. Carthage sent to Sicily the forces she refused to him, and they were defeated. In Spain, after alternating disaster and success, Hasdrubal, Hannibal’s brother, who commanded there, gathered a strong army, and following the course of Hannibal, crossed the Alps to his relief. But the brothers never met; for while Hannibal waited in Apulia, Hasdrubal was met by the two consuls in Umbria, on the Metaurus, and in a decisive battle he was killed and his army destroyed. Yet Hannibal maintained himself for five years longer in Italy, without support or reinforcements from home, till Rome having subdued Spain after the departure of Hasdrubal, determined to carry the war into Africa. An expedition was despatched under the command of Scipio, the conqueror of Spain and the son of the consul who was wounded on the Ticinus. Its landing in Africa led to the immediate recall of Hannibal from Italy. Hannibal received the message of recall with sighs and groans; and “no exile,” says Livy, “ever left his native land with more regret than Hannibal the land of his enemies.” In the summer of 202, on the field of Zama, with a handful of his Italian veterans and a large force of raw troops, Hannibal met the disciplined legions of Scipio. The rout of the Carthaginians was complete, and Hannibal, “the unconquered general of a conquered nation,” negotiated the terms of the subsequent peace. Carthage paid an immense indemnity, gave up all her territory except the small district of Lybia, gave up all but ten of her ships of war to be burned, and agreed to make no war and no alliance without the consent of Rome.

Hannibal at once set himself to reform the government of his country, and in seven years made almost a revolution; but the Roman senate in their fear, with a confession of weakness as humiliating to them as it was honorable to him, sent a messenger to demand his surrender. By his flight he saved his
country the un-speakable disgrace of his surrender, and left her only the lesser disgrace of banishing from his native land the noblest scion of the Phoenician race. For eleven years he wandered from one Eastern court to another, but pursued by the implacable hatred and ceaseless fears of Rome, he at last, when no longer able to escape, put an end to his life by poison. "The profound saying," says Mommsen, "that those are the favorites of the gods on whom they lavish infinite joys and infinite sorrows, thus verified itself in full measure in case of Hannibal."

The spirit of conquest engendered at Rome by her victory over Carthage was not suffered to languish at the close of the war. In the little more than fifty years before the outbreak of the third Punic war Rome had subdued Macedonia, Greece, and a large part of Asia Minor and Syria. But notwithstanding the extent of her power and domain she could not rest quiet while her old rival still existed. Carthage had shown great recuperative powers. The outlying country was exceedingly fertile, and her old prosperity was returning. Roman statesmen were jealous of her, and Cato, returning from an embassy to Carthage, held up in the senate a cluster of figs which he had brought from Africa, and enlarging on the wealth of Carthage exclaimed, "Delenda est Carthago." Every subsequent speech of his life, on whatever topic, was closed with that expression. His vehemence had its effect. The destruction of Carthage was determined on. Advantage was taken of a pretended breach of the treaty by Carthage in resisting encroachments on her territory by Massinissa, a neighboring king. War was declared, and the same day an armament of 60,000 men set out from Rome.

The Carthaginians sent embassies offering any satisfaction Rome might ask. She referred them to her general already in Sicily. They were there required to deliver within thirty days three hundred hostages from the noblest families of Carthage. It was done. Having thus secured an unobstructed landing, the Romans passed over to Africa, and when they
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had secured their position, they announced to the Carthaginians that, as they were under Roman protection, they had no longer any need of arms or engines of war and that these must all be given up. The Carthaginians obeyed, and delivered up 2000 catapults and 200,000 stands of arms. Then the Roman consul, after the possibility of resistance had apparently been destroyed, revealed the final orders which he had brought with him from Rome,—that Carthage should be razed to the ground, but the citizens might build again not less than ten miles from the sea.

Words cannot picture the anguish of the Carthaginians on hearing the news, and in an agony of despair they determined to die rather than surrender their city.

The war which followed was only a siege, but it lasted three years. The city was strongly fortified, and in the crisis of their national existence the Carthaginians exhibited a patriotic devotion which, if it had been shown earlier, might have prevailed over Rome. As it was, it came too late. Too late they mourned their failure to support their great leader, and made unavailing efforts for defence. The desperate energy of their resistance deserves to rank among the heroic deeds of history, like the defences of Leyden, Alkmaar, Delhi, and Lucknow. All classes gave themselves to the work. No sacrifice was too great to be made. Every house was turned into an armory; iron was taken from the walls and lead from the roofs, and the women gave their hair to make strings for the catapults. The slaves were freed, and every measure taken that hope or despair could suggest. But all in vain; for in addition to other needs they lacked a competent general to direct their operations. The Romans, too, lacked a good general till the command was finally given to Publius Cornelius Scipio, the grandson by adoption of the conqueror of Zama. Before his arrival the siege had progressed slowly but surely. He renewed the discipline of the army, enforced the blockade, and pushed on the siege. In 146 B.C. the city fell; but even when the walls were passed, it was far from taken. The streets were narrow and the houses high, and the wretched inhabitants preferring death
to slavery barricaded their dwellings and yielded them only
with their lives. In the final hour all the weakness and soft-
ess of the Phoenician race seem to have left them, and they
showed that at least they knew how to die. For seven days
the slaughter went on. Fire and sword did their dreadful
work. The Romans set fire to the houses they could not take,
and many Carthaginians burned their own houses over their
heads, preferring the breath of the fire to the sword of the
Roman. When the end came, of all the population, once
perhaps over a million, only 50,000 went forth with the gift of
their lives. The city was razed, and the inhabitants forbidden
to build within ten miles of the sea. As Scipio looked upon
the destruction of the city, he is said to have burst into tears
and to have repeated the line of Homer,—

"The day shall be when holy Troy shall fall,
And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk."—II. 6.448.

The long struggle of 150 years was thus ended. Few who
read the story fail to sympathize with Carthage in a high degree,
both on account of its terrible and tragic fate and of those two
grand characters, Hamilcar and Hannibal, who, with all their
heroism, genius, and patriotism, could not save their country.
Yet in striking the balance between the two peoples few can
regret that it was Carthage and not Rome that went to the wall.
The civilization of Carthage, though rich and prosperous, was
wholly sensuous, and developed none of that strength of char-
acter and purpose that made Rome the mistress of the world
and caused her to leave her impress on all coming time. Yet,
in a way, Carthage had her revenge, for to the ravaging of Italy
and the destruction of the independent farming class in the war
with Hannibal the decay of Roman social life and the down-
fall of the republic may be directly traced.

The district of Carthage became the Roman province of
Africa. Its fertility made it attractive. Colonies were estab-
lished at different times, but they were not successful, till at a
later time the Vandals gained possession of it, and it is an illustration of the "irony of events" that Rome never had a more terrible visitation than the presence of the Vandal horde that 600 years later set out from the gates of Carthage.
INTRODUCTION. Greatness of the conflict, ch. 1. Hamilcar and Hannibal, Hannibal's character, ch. 2–4. Hannibal brings on a war with Saguntum, a neutral town. The Romans are disturbed, ch. 5, 6. The Romans send an embassy to Hannibal, which, on being refused a hearing, goes on to Carthage, ch. 9. Speeches in the Carthaginian Senate, ch. 10. An unsuccessful attempt to bring about an agreement between Hannibal and the Saguntines, ch. 12, 13. The siege of Saguntum is successfully concluded, ch. 14.

Excursus on chronology, ch. 15. Anxiety in Rome, and preparations for war, ch. 16, 17. War declared by envoys to the Carthaginian Senate and accepted by the Carthaginians, ch. 18, 19. The Roman envoys attempt to arouse northern Spain and Gaul for Rome, ch. 19, 20. Hannibal disbands his army for the winter, makes a journey to Gades, and prepares for an advance against Rome in the spring, ch. 21, 22.

March to Italy. Passage of the Pyrenees and advance through Gaul, ch. 23, 24. Preparations of the Romans and despatch of Scipio to intercept Hannibal, ch. 25, 26. Passage of the Rhone by Hannibal, ch. 27, 28. A skirmish between Scipio's cavalry and the Numidian horse of Hannibal issues in favor of the Romans, ch. 29. Hannibal, having received guides from the Gauls in Italy, and having settled a dispute among the Allobroges, ch. 31, advances toward the Alps, while Scipio, unable to overtake him, returns to Italy, ch. 32.


Roman successes in Spain, ch. 60, 61. Prodigies at and near Rome, ch. 62. Election of consuls. Flamininus goes to Ariminum to enter on his office without performing the customary religious and ceremonial rites, ch. 63.

Book XXII.

With the coming of spring, 217, the war is renewed. Prodigies at Rome, ch. 1. Hannibal, leaving the Po, crosses the Apennines to Etruria. Owing to the inundation of the country, his army suffers severely, and he loses an eye, ch. 2. By devastating the country, Hannibal seeks to draw Flamininus to a battle. Flamininus, in opposition to the advice of his council, follows in pursuit, ch. 3. Flamininus, proceeding without reconnaissance, is drawn into a trap at Lake Trasumennus, disastrously defeated, and loses his own life. Terrible anxiety at Rome intensified by the capture of a division of cavalry in Umbria, ch. 4-8.

Hannibal reorganizes his army and proceeds southward to Apulia. The Sibylline books are consulted, ch. 9. Temples and a sacred spring are vowed, and Fabius is appointed dictator, ch. 10. Fabius, raising a new army, maintains a purely defensive policy, contrary to the views of Minucius, the master of horse, ch. 11, 12. Hannibal, seeking a battle, is lead by a mistake of his guides, ch. 13, into Campania, which he plunders. Indignation of Minucius and the
army at Fabius' inactivity, ch. 14. Fabius, having occupied the passes from Campania, Hannibal forces a pass in the night by the stratagem of torches bound to the horns of oxen, and returns to Apulia, ch. 15–18.

Roman successes in Spain: an important naval victory, ch. 19; ravaging of the coast and islands, ch. 20; incitement of the Carthaginian allies to revolt, ch. 21; and securing possession of the hostages given by the Spaniards to the Carthaginians, ch. 22.

Fabius' defensive policy disliked by the Romans, ch. 23. In the absence of Fabius at Rome Minucius secures a slight success, ch. 24. The discontented party at Rome, led by Varro, a man of mean origin, gives Minucius equal authority with Fabius. The army is divided between them, ch. 25–27. Hannibal entraps Minucius, who is rescued by Fabius, and then returns under Fabius' authority, ch. 28–30. Servilius makes an unsuccessful descent on Africa, ch. 31. The consuls continue Fabius' policy. Offer of gifts and assistance by the Neapolitans, ch. 32. Capture of a Carthaginian spy at Rome, ch. 33.

Elections held by an interrex. C. Terentius Varro and L. Aemilius Paulus chosen consuls, ch. 34, 35. An unprecedentedly large army is raised to crush Hannibal, ch. 36. Offers of help from Hiero of Syracuse, ch. 37. Fabius cautions Paulus against Hannibal and Varro, ch. 38, 39. The consuls go to Apulia, ch. 40. A slight success emboldens Varro, who is barely kept by Paulus from falling into a trap of Hannibal's, ch. 41, 42. Hannibal, in distress for supplies, encamps at Cannae and is followed by the consuls, ch. 43, 44. Battle of Cannae, ending in the total rout of the Romans and the death of Paulus. A few Romans only escape, ch. 45–50. Hannibal refuses Maharbal's advice to march on Rome, ch. 51. Surrender of the Roman camps to Hannibal. Kindness of Busa to the fugitives, ch. 52.

A plot of some young nobles to abandon their country thwarted by Scipio, ch. 53. Varro collects the fugitives. News of the battle reaches Rome. The Senate represses confusion and on receipt of dispatches limits the period of official mourning, ch. 54–56. Unchastity of two Vestals punished. Human sacrifices. Other measures, ch. 57. Hannibal releases the other prisoners and allows a
deputation of Romans to go to Rome to obtain ransom, ch. 58. Speech of the leader of the deputation in the Senate (see notes), ch. 59. Reply of T. Manlius Torquatus, (see notes,) ch. 60. Determination not to ransom the prisoners. Revolt of Roman allies. The Romans, however, are firm, and Varro on his return is thanked for "not having despaired of the republic," ch. 61.
In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile, quae umquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. Nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum umquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas bellis artem inter se, sed expertas primo Punico conferebant bello, et adeo varia fortuna bellorum ancepsque Mars fuit, ut propius periculum fuerint, qui vicernunt. Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme novem pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo trajecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admodum tactis sacratis iure iurando adactum se, cum primum posset, hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingenitis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaeque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam, et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum.
stipendio etiam insuper inposito interceptam. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispamia augendo Punico imperio gessit, ut appareret maius eum, quam quod gereret, agitare in animo bellum, et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiam interceptaros fuisse, cui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus, et quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae opibus, quae apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam vi gerens hospitiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit. Ceterum nihil ei pax tutior fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram obtruncati ab eo domini interfecit, comprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio, quam si evasiswa, vult, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris, ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset annis Hiberus, Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populatorum libertas servaretur.

In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit, quin praerogativam militarem, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium

Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit: Hamilcarem iuvenem redditorum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vinque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effect, ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parent dum atque imperandum, habilis fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praecipere
malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere.

5 Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci 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 saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat: princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio excedebat.

9 Hastantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ins iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit nulla re, quae agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, praetermissa.

5 Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velit 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.

3 Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines — ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginensium erat — induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie, finitimis domitis gentibus,
nunendoque tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Car-
talam urbem opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat
diripitque; quo metu perculsa minores civitates sti-
pendio inposito imperium accepure. Victor exercitus
opulentusque praeda Carthaginem novam in hiberna
est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendio-
que praeterito cum fide exolvendo cunctis civium
sociorumque animis in se firmatis vere primo in Vac-
ccaeos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, 6
eorum urbes, vi captae. Arbocala et virtute et mul-
titudine oppidanorum diu defensa; ab Hermandica
profugi exulibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gen-
tis, cum se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos, ador-
que Hannibalem regressum ex Vacciæis haud procul
Tago flumine, agmen grave praeda turbavere. Han-
nibal proelio abstinuit castrisque super ripam positis,
cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, annem
vado traiceit, valloque ita producto, ut locum ad trans-
grediendum hostes haberent, invadere eos transeuntes
statuit. Equitibus praecepit, ut, cum ingressos aquam
viderent, adoriretur impeditum agmen, in ripa ele-
phantos—quadraginta autem erant—disponit. Car-
petanorum cum adpendicibus Olcadum Vacciæorumque
centum milia fuere, invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur
campo. Itaque et ingenio feroce et 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 annem ruunt. At ex parte altera ripae vis ingens
equid in flumen iunissa, medioque alveo haudqua-
quam pari certamine concursum, quippe ubi pedes
instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab inermi equite equo
temere acto perverti posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili, comminus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in hostis ab elephantis obtriti sunt. Postremi, quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepidatione cum in unum conligere rentur, priusquam a tanto pavore recuperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato annem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit vastisque agris intra paucos dies Carpe-
tanos quoque in deditionem accepit. Et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium erant.

6 Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat; ceterum iam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem, qui litis erat sator, nec certamen iuris sed vim quaeri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud dubie inminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus; qui cum 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 Carthaginiem in Africam traicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent, — hac legatione decreta necedum missa, omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari adlatum est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intenderant bellum; erant, qui non temere movendam
rem tantam exspectandosque ex Hispania legatos censerent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur, vicit; legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus, Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deprecendum.

Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus, seu multitudinis incremento, seu disciplinae sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines, pervastatis passim agris, urbem tripertito adgreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque quam cetera circa vallem vergens. Adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries moenibus ad moveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro satis aequus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat. Et turris ingens inminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et inventus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus submovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Poeni.
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 vineae 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, vineae coeptae agi ad moverique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus; ad centum quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur; oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifaria distineri coepti non sufficiebant. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri, quassataque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem; tres deiniceps turres quantumque inter eas muri erat cum fragore ingenti prociderant. Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni; qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conscri solent, sed instae acies velut patenti campo inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos iritat. Poeno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum adnitatur, credente, Saguntinis prornodata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus, nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem inmitteret. Itaque quo acerius et confertim magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Phala-
rica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abieguo et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exsttabat; id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stuppa circum- ligabant lineabantque pice; ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat, nudumque militem ad inequentes ictus praebebat. Cum diu accesserat certamen, et Saguntinis, quia praeter spem resistenter, crevisset animi, Poenus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde inpeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatun- que in castra redigunt.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale, qui dice- rent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntios- que ad principes factionis Barcinae praemittit, ut pra- pararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari populo Romano posset. Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque irita legatio fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam foederis magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum adsensu audientium egit, per deos foederum arbitros ac testes senatum obtestans, [ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum] monuisse, praeidiaisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent;
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non manes, non stirpem eius conqüescere viri, nec umquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera. "Invenem flagrantem cupidine regni vianque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praebentes ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsequent exercitus, unde acentur foedere; mox Carthaginem circumsequent Romanae legiones ducibus iisdem dis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? Legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit, ius gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem acentur, pulsi ad nos venerunt; res ex foedere repetunt; ut publica fruas absit, auctorem culpae et reum criminis deoscosunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius saeviant. Aegatis insulas Erycemi ante oculos ponite, quae terra marique per quattuor 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 abstineramus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo di homines, et id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus bellii velut aecus index, unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet; Carthaginis moenia quatt amiste: Sagunti ruinae — falsus utinam vates sim — nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus
ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse lactatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc invenem tamquam furiam facemque luius belli odi ac detestor; nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposeat, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque aras, ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaque eius accidere neque ille sollicitare quietae civitatis statum possit. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos, qui senatiui satisfaciant, alios, qui Hannibali nuntient, ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno.”

Cum Hanno peroras-set, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat, infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est bellum ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum inimiste facere, si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati praeponat.

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibusmittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum accendit. Ut vero pro contione praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt, ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini, ut a proeliis...
quietem habuerant, nec laccessentes nec laccessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die umquam eessave-
6 rant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua

datefactum oppidum ruinis erat, reficercnt. Inde opp-
pugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est,
nec, qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem,
cum omnia variis clamoribus streperent, satis seirc
poterant. Ipse Hannibal, qua turris mobilis omnia
munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur, hor-
tator aderat. Quae eum admota catapultis ballistis-
que 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 caementa
non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto structurae
antiquae genere. Itaque latius, quam qua caederetur,
ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina armatorum in
urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt;
conlatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in
ipsa urbe velut arecem inminentem haberent, muro
circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab non-
dum capta parte urbis ducunt. Utriumque summa vi
et munium et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem
12 in dies urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia
omnium longa obsidione et minuitur expectatio exter-
nae opis, eum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa
omnia hostium essent. Paulisper tamen adfectos ani-
mos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oreta-
nos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate
certarnati, retentis conquisitoribus metum defeccionis
cum praebuissent, oppressed eeleritate Hannibalis omi-
serunt mota arma. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior
erat Maharbale Himilconis filio—eum præfecerat Hannibal—ita inpigre rem agente, ut ducem abesse nec cives nec hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot 2 secunda fecit, et tribus arietibus alianquantum muri discussit, strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum, et pars arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant, condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argentu egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habi- tarent, ubi Poenus iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos, ubi alia vincantur, adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur: erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum—et ipse ita iubebat—est deductus. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, submota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit.

"Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad 13 Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venis-
sem: nunc, cum 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 condicio-

es, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui, quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis, neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis umquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab Romanis vobisulla est spes, nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam, quem ad modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audie-
tis, et non id, quod amittitur, in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed quidquid relinquitur pro munere habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros re-
linquit, locum adsignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne, publicum pri-
vatumque, ad se inbet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire. Hae 

cor recti hostis imperat; haece, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem 

haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, ali-

quid ex his [rebus] remissurum; sed vel haec patienda 
censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi tra-

hique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli inre 
sinatis.”

Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim mult-
titudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium,
repente primores secessione facta, prinsquam respon-
sum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico
privatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim
factum conicientes eodem plerique semet ipsi praeci-
pitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam
urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce au-
ditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam
eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum impe-
eratori dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis
hostium esse urbem, non cunctandum in tali occasione
ratus Hannibal, totis viribus adgressus urbem momento
capit signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerentur.
Quod imperium crudele, ceterum prope necessarium
cognitum ipso eventu est: cui enim parci potuit ex
his, qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos
super se ipsos concremaverunt, aut armati nullum ante
finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque
ab dominis de industria corrupta erant, et in caedibus
vix ullum discriminem aetatis ira fecerat, et captivi mili-
tum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum vendi-
tarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat et
multam pretiosam suppellectilem vestemque missam
Carthaginem.

Octavo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem novam
in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde
mense, quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italianam
pervenisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit, ut P.
Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint, ad quos et
principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint, et
qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum
amnem, ambo aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnauerint.

5 Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere. aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum.

6 Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flaminii non potest, quia C. Flaminius Armini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna reedit.

16 Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab Carthagine, Romam retpulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indignet et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginensienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent:

3 nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosiorumque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desiderum quam fuisse atque in bellem. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Ilyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuaturn verius quam belligeratum; Poenum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti amourum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimae urbis, Hiberum transire; trahere secum tot excitos Hispanicorum populos; conitu rum auidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes. Cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moe nibus Romanis esse.

17 Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant;
tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa
cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones et
socium quantum ipsis videretur, et classis
quanta parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum
Romanorum milia scripta et mille octingenti equites,
sociorum quadraginta milia peditum quattuor milia et
quadringenti equites; naves ducentae viginti quin-
queremis, celoces viginti deducti. Latum inde ad
populum, vellent iuberent populo Carthaginiensi bel-
 lum indici; eiusque belli causa supplicatio per urben
habita atque adorati di, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret
quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset. Inter con-
sules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio datae legiones
duae—ea quaterna milia erant peditum et trecenti
equites—et sociorum sexdecim milia peditum, equites
mille octingenti, naves longae centum sexaginta, celoces
duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis
Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam
transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul
alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum,
quia L. Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud invalido
praesidio in Galliam mittebatur; navium maxime
Cornelio numeros diminutos: sexaginta quinqueremis
datae—neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli
dimicaturum hostem credebat—et duae Romanae
legiones cum suo insto equitatu et quattuordecim mil-
ibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sescentis. Duas
legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum peditum,
mille equites socios sescentos Romanos Gallia provin-
cia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia insta ante bellum fie-
rent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium M. Livium L.
Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium, in Africam mittunt ad percutiendos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et, si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum, quod mandatum erat, percutiatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: "Praecepta vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnamentem deposecubatur; ceterum haec legatio verbis adhaerent lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposecubatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur, et ut a confessis res extemplo repetuntur. Ego antem non, privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit, quaerendum censeam, sed utrum iure an injuria: nostra enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in eum nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una discipatio est, lieueritne per foedus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet, quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis — necdum enim erant socii vestri — cautum est. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil diceretur sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim, quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus ictit, quia neque ex auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri: itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent
foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, 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 "hie" inquit "vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, sumite." Sub hanc vocem haud minus ferocter, daret, utrum vellet, subelamatum est. Et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent animis, iisdem se gesturos.

Haec directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptionis res esset, quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod mutatum est, conparandum erat? Cum in Lutati 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 conprobatum sit foedus, ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur. Quamquam, etsi priore foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis. Nam neque additum erat "iis, qui tunc essent" nec "ne qui postea adsumerentur"; et cum adsumere novos liceret socios, quis aecum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi? tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes reciprentur.

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut in
societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traiec-
7 runt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt; a quibus be-
nigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos
8 trans Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae
erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum
celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab
societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu
9 ex iis in concilio respondit: “Quae verecundia est,
Romani, postulare vos, uti vestram Carthaginiensium
amicitiae praeponamus, cum, qui id fecerunt [Sagun-
tini], crudelius, quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii
10 prodideritis? ibi quaeratis socios, censeo, ubi Sagun-
tina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre
ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis
11 fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.” Inde extemplo
abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde con-
cilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tuleré. Ita nequi-
quam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

20 In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod
armati—ita mos gentis erat—in concilium venerunt.
2 Cum verbis exstollentes gloriam virtutemque populi
Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent, ne Poeno
bellum Italiae inferenti per agros urbesque suas tran-
situm darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus,
ut vix a magistratibus maioribusque natu inventus
1 sedaretur; adeo stolida inpudensque postulatio visa
est, censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum,
ipsos id avertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis popu-
5 landos obicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum
legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse
neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam, ob quae aut pro
6 Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; contra
ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae 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 sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita, praecoccupatos 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 concilientur. Ita peragratus Hispaniae et Galliae populis legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo post, quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem expectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos transisse.

Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem novam in hiberna concesserat ibique auditis, quae Romae quaeque Carthaginica acta decretaque forent, sequentur non duce solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis divenditisque reliquis praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus Hispani generis milites convocat. "Credo ego vos" inquit, "socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse, aut in alias terras transfeendum bellum; ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum sed etiam victoriae bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam et gloriam quaeramus. Itaque cum longinquaque a domo instet militia, incertumque sit, quando domos vestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos invisere volt, commeatum do. Primo vere edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis gloriae praedaeque futurum incipiamus."
7 Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et iam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus desiderium. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

8 Hannibal, cum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gadis profectus Herculì vota exsolvit novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospere evenissent. Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido praesidio firmare eam statuit.

9 Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum, levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis pigneriibus obligati, stipendia facerent.

10 Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites cætratos misit in Africam et funditores Baliares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, partim distribuï per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitates missis quattuor milia conscripta delectae iuventutis, praesidium cosdem et ob-sides, duci Carthaginem iubet. Neque Hispanicam neglegendam ratus, atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro inpigro, cam provinciam destinat, firmatque Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Baliari-bus quingentis. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites
Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta et Numidae Maurique, accolae Oceani, ad mille octingenti et parva Hergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites et, ne quod terrestres deesset auxillii genus, elephanti viginti unus. Classis praeterea data ad tuendam maritumam oram, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremnes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremnes erant et triremes quinque.

Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad ibernae exercitus redit; atque inde profectus praeter Onussam urbem ad Hiberus [marituma ora] ducit. Ibi fama est in quieta visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italian Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se defleget oculos. Pavium primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum, quidnam id esset, quod respicere vetitus esset, agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; tum vidisse post sese serpensem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore caeli nimbum. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset, quarentem audisse vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.

Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit praemissis, qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularuntur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bar...
gusiosque et Anusetanos et Lacetaniam, quae subjecta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit, oraeque huic omni praeefcit Hannomem, ut fauces, quae Hispanics Galliis inungunt, in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis data et mille equites. Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum traduci exercitus est coeptus, rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae inexsuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos aneeps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroeces animi inritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpeniarios quoque ab se dimissos simulans. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copis Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri esta locat. Galli, quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hispanics fama erat praesidiaque valida positae, metu servitutis ad arma consternati, Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali muntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum misit: conloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi proprius Iliberrim accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilior esset; nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum, nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliae non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italian venisset. Et per muntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo
motis haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per finis suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

In Italianam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpis iam transisset, Boi sollicitatis Insulribus defecerunt, nec tam ob 2 veteres in populum Romanum iras, quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque 3 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 adsignandum, diffisi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius C. Servilius M. Annius. Lutati nomen hand dubium est; pro 4 Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papi-rium Masonem. Id quoque incertum est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantis impetus sit factus. Mutinae cum obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbi-um artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi, evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conlo- quium non contra ius modo gentium sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi redderentur, eos dimissuros. Cum haec de legatis nuntiata essent, et 5 Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant plerisque incultis. Ibi 6
inexplorato profectus in insidias praeципatatur, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. 10 Ibi castra communita, et quia Gallis ad temptanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad 11 sescentos eccidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro coeptum, nec. dum per patentia loca ducebatur 12 agmen, apparruit hostis; ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex signa 13 ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, 14 vicum propincum Pado, contendere. Ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies 26 multitudinem hostium ttabantur. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus, et Punicum insuper 2 Gallico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Attilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum dilectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium ferre Manlio iubent, qui sine ullo certamine — abscesserant enim metu hostes — Tannetum pervenit.

3 Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum praetore erat, scripta legione nova profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Salluvium montis pervenit Massiliam, 4 et ad proximum ostium Rhodani — pluribus enim divisus annus in mare decurrit — castra locat, vixdum satis eredens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenaeos montis. 5 Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus, quonam ei loco occurreret, needum satis refectis ab iactatione marituma militibus, treecen-
tos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit. Hannibal ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam [amnis] armis obtinebant. Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum, quos sedes suae temerant, simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici exercitum levariique quam primum regionem suam tanta hominum urgete 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 materiae simul facilitate operis inducti alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

Iamque omnibus satis conparatis 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 unus diei iubet et, ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto anni circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo hostes. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent, inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum annem latiore, ubi dividebatur, eoque minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim
caesa materia ratesque fabricatae, in quibus equi viri- 
que et alia onera traierentur. Hispani sine alla mole 
in utris vestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis 
incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus rat-
bus inuctis traictus, caetris prope flumen positis, no-
turno itinere atque operis labore fessus quietae unius 
diei reficitur, intento duce ad consilium opportune 
exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito fumo 
significant transisse et hand 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 ag-
men ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte 
superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traicien-
tibus lintribus praebebat. Equorum pars magna nantes 
loris a puppibus trahebantur praeter eos, quos instratos 
frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui 
essent, imposuerant in naves.

Galli occursant in ripa cum variis ululatibus cantu-
que moris sui quatientes scuta super capita vibran-
tesque dextris tela, quamquam et ex adverso terrebat 
tanta vis navium cum ingenti sone fluminis et clamore 
vario nautarum militum, et qui nitebantur perrumpere 
impetum fluminis, et qui ex altera ripa traiciientes 
Suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu 
terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor caetris ab Hannone 
captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancesque terror circum-
stabat 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 diffugiumt. Hannibal ceteris copiis
per otium traiectis, spernens iam Gallicos tumultus, castra locat.

Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo, certe variat memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis irritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam sequeretur, nantem traxisse gregem, ut quemque timtem altitudinem destitueret 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 promis est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes quinquaginta latam a terra in annem porre exerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut be luae andacter velut per solum ingrederentur. Altera ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus feminis acti ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis, quibus leviter adnexa erat, vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti ae traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte aterentur; primus erat pavor, cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur. Ibi urgentes inter se cedentibus extremis ab aqua trepidationis aliquid quantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Excidere etiam saeventes quidam in flumen, sed pondere ipso stabiles deiectis rectoribus quaerendis pedetentim vadis in terram evasere.
Dum elephanti traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum, ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent. Hunc alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocissum quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum sexaginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hos principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum prosperum eventum, ita hand sane ineruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit. — Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex consiliis coeptisque hostis et ipse conatus eaperet, et Hanniballem incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intendere iter, an cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus, manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magni adventus, qui se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello, nusquam ante libatis viribus Italian adgrediendum censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum obliterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immenso Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italian petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: mirari se, quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentis eos stipendia
facere, neque ante Hispania excessisse, quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplec-
tantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde, quod, quicumque Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob no-
xam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberan-
dumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id lon-
gum, cum ab occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emen-
sam cernant, Pyreneaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum annem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in conspectu Alpis habeant, qua-
rum alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere — quid Alpis aliiud esse credentes quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyre-
naei iugis; nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec inexasuperabiles humano generi esse. Alpis quidem habitari coli, gignere atque alere animantes; pervias paucis esse, *pervas* exercitus. Eos ipsos, quos cer-
nant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpis trans-
gressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpis ingentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. Mili-
ti quidem armato nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid inviun aut inexasuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque ardum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea, quae adiri posse Poenus desperet! proinde aut cederent animo
atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae, aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

31 His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rectior 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 Rhodamusque 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 prins imperitarat, Brancus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio eum ad Hannibalem delegata esset, arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat, imperium maioris restituit. Ob id meritum commenatua copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus Alpes praeparari cogeabant.

9 Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum eum iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit, sed ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit: inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam impedita via, priusquam ad Druentiam flumén pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est; nam, eum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est,
quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gignit gurgites. Et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est; ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet. Et tum forte imribus auctus 12 ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum 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 deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos adsecuturum 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 Italiani defensurus.

Hannibal a Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in maius vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope immixtae, tecta informia inposita rupibus, pecora iumentaque torpida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigenti-
tumulos insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis postquam conperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque quam extentissima potest valle locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentis, cum se inmiscuissent conloquiis 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 alund, quam quod parabatur, consumpto cum eodem, quo constiterant, loco castra communissent, ubi primum digressos tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte peditum ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant, consedit.

33 Prima deinde luce castra mota, et agmen relicum incedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam convenientbant, cum repente conspiciunt alios arce occupata sua super caput inminentis, alios via transire hostis. Utraque simul obiecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu misceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, diversis rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia adsueti decurrunt. Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur, plusque
inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente, ut periculo primus evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussaeque valles augebant, territi trepidabant, et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur, ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent: multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis deiecit, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quae quamquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret. Deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco, et cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam 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 a montanis primo perculis nec loco magno opere impediebantur, aliquantum eo triduo viae confecit.

Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus, fraudae et insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; itaque oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum iti-
nerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandum ratus, ne repudiat aperte hostes fient, benigna cum respondisset, obsidibus, quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu, quem in viam ipsi detulerant. usus nequaquam ut inter pacatos conposito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant, ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans omnia sollicitusque incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte altera subiectam ingo insuper inminenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebatur. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilia reliquerat, occasantes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est. Postero die iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris iunctae copiae saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum pernicie superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utecumque aut locus opportunitatem daret, aut progressi morative ali- quam occasionem fecissent. Elephanti, sicut per artas praecipites vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.
Nono die in ingum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium frans aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; inmen-taque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in omnium vultu eminerunt, praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moenia-que eos tum transcenderede non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut sumnum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros. Procedere inde agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem temptantibus. Ceterum iter multo, quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt, difficilissim fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praecessps, angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu possent, nec, qui paulum titubassent, haerere adfecti vestigio suo, aliique super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.

Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante praec-ecps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum
altitudinem abniptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali, quae res moraretur agmen, nuntiaturrupem inviam esse.

Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita antea quamvis longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via inexsuperabilis fuit; nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec praelatæ facile pedes ingredientum insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem lique-scens nivis ingredientur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant: ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur.

Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius in continendo ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominis fatigatis castra in ingo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit. Inde adrupem mourniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa inmanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succen-dunt ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molluentque
anfractibus modicis clivos, ut non iumenta solum sed elephanti etiam deduci possent. Quadriduum circa 4 rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumpit; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et si quid est pabuli, 5 obrunit nives. Inferiora valles apricosque colles habent rivosque 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 accola- rum ingenii.

Hoc maxime modo in Italian perventum est, quinto 38 mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae 2 transgresso in Italian Hannibali fuerint, nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius 3 Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis; cum his octoginta milia peditum, 4 decem equitum adducta—in Italia magis adfluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt—; ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Tautini Semigalli proxuma gens erat in Italian degresso. Id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror 6 ambigi, quanam Alpis transierit, et vulgo credere Poenino—atque inde nomen ei inugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Coelium per Cremonis iugum dicere 7 transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.
8. Nee veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique, quae ad Poenimum ferunt, obsaepa gentibus semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius; *nomen* norint indi- tum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Poenimum montani appellant.

39. Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis [proximae genti] adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat; otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex inluvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiiis trepido, ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum reflecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volens in amicitiam non veniebat, vi expugnarat; *ae inuxisset sibi non metu solum sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantis defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars sequenda esset, Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces siciuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam inbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberri- rum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem
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 Ticio num annem motis castris, priusquam edueeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus. “Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem, quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedisset loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones, eum quibus fugiency tem hunc ipsum hostem securus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi eum 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 certamine obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites paucu verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, eum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum, quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus, qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu inecolumni pugnam detractavere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis [qui plures paene perierint quam supersint] plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis cor-
poribusque, quorum robora ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. Effigies immo, umbrae hominum, fame frigore, inluvie squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praecusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torpida gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis, reliquias extremas hostium, non hostem habetis. Ac nihil magis vereor, quam ne, cum vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicesse Hannibalem videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuerit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profiligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profiligatum conficere.”

“Non vereor, ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter animo affectum esse. Licuit in Hispanicam, provinciam meam, quo iam prefectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem, et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem, et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra nequieram, regressus ad navis, quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radieibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum, cum declinarem certamen, improvidus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere ad decernendum?

Experiri iuvat, utrum alios repente Carthaginienses
per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint, qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas, et quos ab Eryce duode-

vicensis denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hanni-

bal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis, 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 foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves inpositas victis Carthaginiensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum indigna-
tione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere atque intra paucos dies sineullo certamine Carthaginem delere—: veniam dedimus precanibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his inpertitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugna-
tum patriam nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset cer-
tamen! non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, conparari nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Unus quisque 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.” Haec apud Romanos consul.

42 Hannibal rebus prins quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus circumdant ad spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos uinctos in medio statuit, armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum proiectis interrogare interpretam iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque posserent, et deiecta in id sors esset, se quique eum optabat, quem fortuna in id certamen legeret, euiusque sors exciderat, alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exultans cum sui moris tripudiiis arma raptim capiebat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

43 Cum sic aliquot spectatatis paribus affectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos locutus furtur: "Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicinus, milites: neque enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. Ae nescio an maiora vincula maiorestque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris fortuna circumdederit; dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt ullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentibus; circa Padus amnis, maior Padus ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus
transitae. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, 5
ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna, quae
necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, praemia vobis ea vic-
toribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab dis
quidem inmortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tan-
tum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra
virtute recuperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia
essent; nune, quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum
congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis
dominis futurum est. In hanc tam optimam mercedem,
agite dum, dis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis
adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus
pecora conectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum
periculosumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam
opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae
pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes flumi-
aque et tot armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis ter-
minum laborum fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem
emeritis stipendiis dabit."

"Nec quam magni nominis bellum est, tam diffici-
lem existimaritis victoriam fore; saepe et contemptus
hostis cruentum certamen edidit, et incliti populi
regesque perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam dempto 12
hoe uno fulgore nominis Romani quid est, cur illi
vobis conparandi sint? Ut viginti annum militiam 13
vestram cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab
Herculis columnis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis
terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae
populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabitibus cum 14
exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso victo circum-
sesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique
ducem. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi impера-
toris, prope natum, certe eductum, 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 Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo, utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum, cuinis non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me miliensi donatisque, alumnus prins omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aeiem adversus ignorantiores.

"Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginenses, cum pro patria tum ob iram justissimam pugnatos. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italian, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor iniuria indignitas. Ad supplicium depoṣcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes, qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimos cruciatibus affecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum inponere acum censet. Circumseribit 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 liberum est Saguntum. Nusquam te vestigio moveris! Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meae Siciliam ac Sardiniam adimis? etiam in Hispanias, et, inde si decessero, 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 vindicare-mus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet, qui respectum habent, quos sua terra, suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient; vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve certa desperatione abruptis aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubi-tabit, in proelio potius quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus, si destinatum animo est, iterum dicam, victis: nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acerius datum est.”

His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen ac-45 censi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper inponunt; Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharba-lem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet principunque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum a Victumululis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equi-tibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat,
in quorum spem pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, innumem ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset, ei se argento 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 domini prosecutis libertatem proponit binaque pro his mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata seiret fore, agrum laeva manu, dextra silicem retingens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent, quem ad modum ipse agrum mactasset, secundum praecationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes, velut dis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

46 Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam territos prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio inminente consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio eum equitatu iaculatoribusque ex peditibus profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum et equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatorum et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiis; Hannibal
frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatorum fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu aniceps, dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multus labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos auxitque pavorem consulis vulnerum perculsumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis filii pro-pulsatum. Hic erit iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huinse belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victori- rum de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxume fuit, quos primos Numi-dae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurum delegat. Malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores, et fama obtinuit.

Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, quo facile apparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse, et ob id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpes-que, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte iussis militibus vasa silentio conligere castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iunxerat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere, quam satis sciret Hanni-bal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos morato-
rum in ceteriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente.

4 Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo transasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis annis eius vix fidem fecerint; nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores sunt, qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini inventum tradunt: ea cum Magone equites et Hispanorum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen legationibus Gallorum audientis moratus, traicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei minus itinere Placentiam ad hostes contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communivit, et postero die in conspectu hostium acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

48 Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re maiore, ab auxiliaribus Gallis facta est.

2 Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt, quos Poenus benigne adlocutus et spe ingentiun donorum accessos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popularium animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus, contac-tosque eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros,
quamquam gravis adhuc vulnererat, tamen quarta 4 
vigilia noctis incessentis tacito aquino profectus ad 
Tre比亚姆 fluvium iam in loca altiora collisque impedi-
tiores equiti castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum 5 
sefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Numidis deinde 
omnia equitatu turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni 
aviditate praedae in vacua Romana castra Numidae 
devertissent. Ibi dum per scrutantes loca omnia ca-
strorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, 
emissus hostis est de manibus, et cum iam trans-
gressos Tre比亚姆 Romanos metantisque castra con-
spexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen 
interceptos. Scipio nec vexationem vulneris in via 7 
Iactati ultra patiens et collegam—iam enim et revo-
catum ex Sicilia audierat—ratus expectandum, locum, 
qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delec-
tum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum con-
secidisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum 
anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem nus-
quam praeeparatis conmeatibus maior in dies exci-
piebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti 
numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim 
pararent, spes facta preditionis; nec sane magno pre-
tio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino, 
praefecto praesidii, corrupto traditur Hannibali Clasti-
dium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Tre比亚姆. 
In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae 10 
in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est. 
Cum ad Tre比亚姆 terrestre constitisset bellum, inte-
rim circa Sicilian insulasque Italicae inminentes et a 
Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra mari-
que res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille arma-
tis ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae, novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani temere
tunt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusan	norum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex capti
vis, præter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in Italianam missas quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lily
baei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; eredere eadem tempestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque clas
sem ad Aegatis insulas deiectam. Haec, siue audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, perscribit monetque, Lilybaeum firme teneret praesidio. Extemplo et a praetore circa civitates missi legati tribunique suos ad curam custodiae inten
dere, et ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli, edicto proposito, ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent, ut, ubi signum datum esset,
ne quid moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem oram, qui ex speculis prospeerent adventantem ho
stium classem, dimissis. Itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses, ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat, et sublatis armamentis veniebant; extemplo datum signum ex speculis et in oppido ad arma concludatum est et in naves conscen
sum; pars militum in muris portarumque [in] stat
tionibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum inparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt, demendis armamentis

Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanan venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem instructam ornatanque 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 Carthaginiensium conata exposuit pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adiuvisset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vestimentaque sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo mari-
niensem agrum maritimamque oram Italiae tuendam adtribuit, M. Aemilio praetori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse compositis Siciliae rebus decem navibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen con- legae coniungitur.
Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virium erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam aliam esse satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter equestri proelio uno et vulnere suo minutus trahi rem malebat; recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebat. Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incoelebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid move rent, aequo satiis, Poenus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctorisibus iniuriae ad vindices futuros declinant, legatisque ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam culorum fidem in Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora, tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguissent ope, defensos censebat. Conlega cunctante equitatum suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam mittit. Sparsos et inconpositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerosque cum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem cædemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio
suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes inter cedentesque cum ad extremum aequassent certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos fama victoriae fuit.

Ceterum nemini omnium maior iustiorque quam ipsi consulii videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter consuls victus foret, ea se vicisse. Restitutos ac refectos miliibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter conlegam, qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari?

Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas, nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patro terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos.


Hannibal cum, quid optimum foret hosti, cerneret, vix ullah spem habebat temere atque inprovidre quicquam consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama
prius, deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secuturam, quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propineum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, euperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda, quae vellet, tutiores, quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos ret tulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit. Erat in medio rivus praebaltis utrimque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palustribis herbis et, quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, "hic erit locus," Magoni fratri ait, "quem teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est." Ita praetorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Robora virorum cerno," inquit Hannibal; "sed uti numero etiam non animis modo valeatis, singulis vobis novenos ex turnis manipulisque vestri similis eligite. Mago locum monstrabit, quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis." Ita Magone cum mille equitibus, mille peditibus dimisso, Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitarie iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecor deinde certamine cedendo sen-
sim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeeptum, ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum expectare.

6 Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum iam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appennineoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludium praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcedum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quidquid aurae fluminis adpropinquabat, adflabat acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidias insequentes aquam ingressi sunt—et erat pectoribus tenus acta nocturno imbru—, tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, [et] simul lassitudine et procedente niam die fame etiam deficere. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostis nuntiatum est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in aciem procedit.

2 Balaiores locat ante signa, levem armaturam, oete ferme milia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in utramque partem divisos elefantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentis equites, cum ab resistentibus subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium
nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterca Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est. Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua levis armatura est, quae res effecit, ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur; nam cum vix iam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentis Poenus paulo ante curatis corporibus in proelium adtulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum pedite solum foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite iacula-bantur in latera, et elephanti iam in medium peditum aciem sese tulerant, et Magos Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum inprovida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingente tumultum ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu inmota acies, maxime praeter spem omnium adversus elephan-tos. Eos velites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuri aversos sub caudis, qua maxume molli cute vulnera accipiunt, fodiebant. Trepidantis que et prope iam in suos consternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliare- sar iussit Hannibal. Ibi extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam; novusque terror additus Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnaret, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alibi
evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, quae Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium per-
rupere et, cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis, neque prae imbris satis decernere possent, qua sui opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere per-
exere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones faetae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus
opressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam con-
tendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt.
6 Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homi-
nes multos et iumenta et elephantos prope omnis
absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostis Poenis flumen
Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra rediere, ut
vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte insequen-
qui, praesidium castrorum et quod relicum sauciorum ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Tre-
biam traiecerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia,
aut, quia iam moveri nequibant prae lasstitudine ac vul-
neribus, sentire sese dissimularunt; quietisque Poenis
tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placen-
tiam est perductus, inde Pado traiectus Cremonam, ne
duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.
57 Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est, ut
iam ad urbem Romanam eroderent infestis signis ho-
stem venturum, nec quiequam spei aut auxilii esse, quo
2 [a] portis moenibusque vim areerent: uno consule ad
Ticinum victo alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus
consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis quos
alios duces, quas alias legiones esse, quae accessantur?
Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit. Ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistente, si non falleret, transgressus, id quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis in hiberna redivit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli expugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus, ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat iussis quadrato agmine legionibus sequi; equestre interim proelium commissum, in quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus iniecto defensum egregie praesidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato vulnere ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde locum frequentaverant adcolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populorum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Huius generis multitudo, fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam prae- sidii accensa, armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrerunt, et, cum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset,
in altera et dux militi et duci miles fidens, ad triginta
13 quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die
deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accepere;
Iussisse arma tradere cum dicto paruiscent, signum
repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbe
14 diriperent. Neque ulla, quae in tali re memorabilis
scribentibus videri solet, praetermissa clades est; adeo
omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae
editum in miseror exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae
expeditiones Hannibalis.

58 Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora
2 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
3 voluntate adiuncturis. Transeuntém Appenninum adeo
atrox adorta tempestas est, ut Alpium prope foedita-
tem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in
ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut
contra enitentes vertice intorti adfligebantur, consti-
tere; dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare
animam sineret, aversi a vento parumper concedere.

4 Tum vero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter hor-
rendos fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis
5 metu omnes torpere; tandem effuso imbre, cum eo
magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo, quo deprensi
6 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
7 rapiente, et mox aqua levata vento cum super gelida
montium ina concreta esset, tantum nivosae 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 cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, dia nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coep tus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi mansere. Multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem assumpti.

Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul—iam enim redierat ab Roma—detrectavit certamien. Atque eo die tria milia passum 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 recept intentosque signum ad erumpendum exspectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, ex templo equitibus dextra laevaque emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum robore mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla aequa et utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium
sivisset: nox accensus ingentibus animis proelium diremit. Itaque acrior conuersus fuit quam caedes, et, sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit; sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfeci. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

Dum haece in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab ostio Rhodani prefectus Pyrenaeosque montes circum vectus Emporias adpulisset classem, exposito ibi exercitu, orsus a Lacetanis onnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus partim novis instituendis Romanae dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata elementiae fama non ad maritimos modo populos, sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos sed societas etiam armorum parta est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. Hannonis cis Hiberum provincia erat: eum reliquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus castris in conspectu hostium positis in aciem eduxit. Nec Romano differentium certamen visum, quippe qui seiret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse mallet-
que adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex milia hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque ipse dux cum aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis, propinicum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praedae oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica ac vilium mancipiorum; castra militem ditavere, non eius modo exercitus, qui victus erat, sed et eius, qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat, omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romano- norum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter ad mare convertit. Hand procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantisque 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 opprimeretur, trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium animadvertisset, praesidio Tarraco numerico relictum Emporias cum classe rediit. Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat, et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso, cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilerge-
tum gentem cum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, circumsekit intraque dies paucos, pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis, Ilergetes pecunia etiam multitatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium finitimus ferentes nocte haud procul iam urbe, cum intrare vel lent, exceptit insidiis. Caesa ad duodecim milia; exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro unquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat, ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo, cum Amusicis princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem profugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

62 Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita sunt; in quis, ingenuum infantem semenstrem in foro olitorio triumphum clamasse, et in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum sese deiecisse, et navium speciem de caelo adfulsisse, et aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam; et Lanuvi hastam se commovisse et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinari consedisse, et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum specie procul candida veste visos nec cum ullo congressos, et in Piceno lapidibus

Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae legiones, quae Placentiae hibernabant, sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in pro-vincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat, invisus etiam patribus ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno patrum adivante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus
ex agris vectandos; quaestus omnis patribus inde consuls usus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasor legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus auspiciis eminentiisque Latinorumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impeditamentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam in provinciam abit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo, sed iam cum dis inmortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie dis 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 indicaret Iovique Latiiari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret; ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda paludatus inde cum liectoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae modo sine insignibus, sine liectoribus profectum clam, fur-tim, haud aliter quam si exilii causa solum vertisset.

Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis, quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti placuit — Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilmo magis eum moverunt, quam priore consulatu litterae move-rant ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistra-
tum inuit, inmolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circum-
stantes cruore respersit; fuga procul etiam maior apud 14
ignaros, quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a
plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legioni-
bus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule,
duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis in Etruriam per
Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.

PERIOCHA LIBRI XXI.

Initia belli Punici secundi referuntur et Hannibalis, ducis
Poenorum, contra foedus per Hiberum flumen transitus; a quo
Saguntinum, sociorum populi Hiberum civitas obsessa octavo
mense capta est. De quibus iniuriis missi legati ad Carthagin-
ienses, qui quererentur. Cum satisfacere nollent, bellum eis
indictum est. Hannibal superato Pyrenaeo saltu per Gallias
fusis Volcis, qui obsistere conati erant ei, ad Alpes venit et
laborioso per eas transitum, cum montanos quoque Gallos obvios
aliquot proeliis reppulisset, descendit in Italiam et ad Ticinum
flumen Romanos equestri proelio fudit; in quo vulneratum
P. Cornelium Scipionem protexit filius, qui Africani postea
nomen accepit. Iterumque exercitu Romano ad flumen Trebiam
fuso Hannibal Appenninum quoque permagna vexatione mili-
tum propter vim tempestatium transit. Cn. Cornelius Scipio
in Hispania contra Pœnos prospere pugnavit duce hostium
Magone capto.
1 Iam ver adpetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transseendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus, et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercitum hibernis videre, verterunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, qua consenserant, consensum indicantium, servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus Martis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi instum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis prefectum in externo ea solo
Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii
18 maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia
conlata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni reginae in Aventium ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis con-
ferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro
maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri
iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae inmolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum — et eum lectum senatore-
res straverunt — et convivium publicum, ac per urbem
Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum
diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.
2 Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu
dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam
Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat,
2 eum alind longins, ceterum commodius ostenderetur
iter, propriorem viam per paludes petit, qua fluvius
3 Armus per eos dies solito magis inundaverat, Hispanos
et Afros et omne veteranis robuit exercitus admixtis
ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis neces-
saria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit, sequi Gallos,
ut id agminem medium esset, novissimos ire equites;
4 Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen,
maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut
est mollis ad talia gens, dilabentur aut subsisterent,
cohibentem. Primi, qua modo praecirent duces, per
praelata fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti paene
limo inmergentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur.
5 Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex
voraginis poeterant, nec aut corpora animis aut ani-
mos spe sustinebant, alii fessa aegre trahentes membra,
alii, ubi semel victis taedio animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes. Maxime-que omnium vigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternenter corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insuper incumbe- bant, ant iumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod exstaret aqua, quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, aeger oculis ex verna primum intem- perie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus, vigi- liis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo gra- vante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat, certumque per praemissos explora- tores habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expedi- endos et cetera, quae cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura inquiringe exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae fertillis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulentii; consul ferox ab consu- latu priore, et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio eius temperatatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis appa- rebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac prae propere actum. Quoque pronior esset
in vitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus parat;
et laeva relictio hoste Faesulas petens medio Etruriae
agro praedatum profectus quantam maximam vastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul osten-
dit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse
quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante
oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus
ratus, per medium iam Italianam vagari Poenum atque
obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppu-
gnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis
quam speciosa suadentibus: conlegam expectandum,
ut coniunctis exercitibus communi animo consilioque
rem gerent; interim equitatu auxiliisque levium
armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohiben-
dum: iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul
itineris pugnaeque cum proposuisset, "immo Arreti
ante moenia sedeamus," inquit; "hic enim patria et
penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopu-
letur Italiam, vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana
moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam,
siunt olim Camillum ab Veiiis, C. Flaminium ab Arre-
tio patres acciverint." Hae simul increpans cum
ocius signa convelli iubere et ipse in equum insiluis-
set, equus repente conruit consulemque lapsum super
caput effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa erant velut
foedo omne incipiendae rei insuper nuntiatur, signum
omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conver-
sus ad nuntium "num litteras quoque" inquit "ab
senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere vetent? abi, nuntia,
effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu
obtorpuerint." Incedere inde agmen coepit primori-
bus, superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis
etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus lacto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumenumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat. Et iam pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relecto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteraque levem armaturam post montis circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat, ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput haud dispectae insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, deecurrent, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter deecurrent. 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, inpavidus turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et, quacumque adire audirique potest, adhor-tatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut inploratione 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 his quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulneratorum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos terrentium paventiumque clamores circumfere-bant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo inlati haerebant, alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugieutium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnis partis nequiquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies cladebat, apparuitque nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendum, 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 mani-pulo esset; fors conglobabat et animus suus unique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut cum
motum terrae, qui multarum urbiunm Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnis, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium sensorit.

Tris ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum et robora virorum sequabantur, et ipse, quamque in parte premi ac laborare senserat nos, impigre ferebat opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques—Ducario nomen erat—facie quoque noscitans consulem “en” inquit “hie est” popularibus suis, “qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque et urbem est depopulatus! Eam ego hanc victimam Manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo”; subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit, obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant: per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evacuunt, armaque et viri super alien alii praecipitabant. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitisbus umerisque exstare possunt, sese inmergunt. Fuere quos inconsideratus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam inpulerit, quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientebus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus, aut neque quam fessi vada retro aegerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidaeabantur. Sex milia ferme primi agminis per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium, quae
post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere, et cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset, neque scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul inmitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis quam citatissimo poterant aequa sese abriperunt. Postero die cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singularis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt; quae Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

7 Haec est nobilis ad Trasumenum pugna atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis itineribus urbem petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea [utrimque] ex vulneribus periere. Multiplex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, praterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium aequalem temporibus huiusce belli potissimum auctorem habui. 5 Hannibal captivorum, qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit. 6 Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti
terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades adlata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios perunc-tantur. Et eum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haut molto ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor "pugna" inquit "magna occasum"; et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio inpleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum, superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas di-stracti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium, quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum quam virorum multitudine stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantis-que aut consolantis redeuntibus domos circumfusos; feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi ad pri-mum conspectum redeuntis [filii] gaudio nimio exani-matam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes, quonam duce aut quibus copiosis resisti victori-bus Poenis posset.
8 Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatu clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Cen-
tenio propraetore missa ad conlegam ab Servilio con-
sule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumenum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa.
2 Eius rei fama varie homines adfecit: pars occupatis maiore aegritudine animis levem ex conparatione prio-
3 rum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id, quod acciderat, per se aestimare, sed, ut in affecto
corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam in valido
4 gravior sentiretur, ita tum aegrae et affectae civitati quodcumque adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine
sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil, quod adgravaret, pati possent, aestimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium
iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat, a
quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam
armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut
litteras mitti, nec dictatorem praetor creare poterat, quod numquam 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
praesidia disponerent quibus locis videretur, pontes-
que rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus
dimicandum esse, quando Italian tueri nequissent.
9 Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad
2 Spoletium venit. Inde cum perpopulato agro urbem
oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum
repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae hanc [minus]
prospere temptatae viribus, quanta moles Romanae
3 urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter, non copia
solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refer-
tum praeda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapie-
bant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, reflectusque
miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque
magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili adfec-
tus. Ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus
magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus
Praetutianum Hadrianum agrum, Marsos inde Mar-
rucinosque et Paelignos devastat circaque Arpos et
Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem. Cn. Servilius
consul levibus proeliis cum Gallis factis et uno oppido
ignobili expugnato postquam de conlegae exercitusque
caede audivit, iam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abes-
set in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum quo die magistra-
tum iniit vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, cum edocuisset
patres plus neglegentia caerimoniarum auspiciorumque
temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flami-
nio consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent
ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit, ut quod non
ferme decernitur, nisi cum tetra prodigia nuntiata
sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos 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 aedes Veneri Erucinae ac Menti vovendas
esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum,
et ver sacrum vovendum, si bellatum prospere esset
resque publica in eodem, quo ante bellum fuisset, statu
permansisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura
occupatura esset, M. Aemilium praetorem ex conlegii
pontificum sententia, omnia ea ut mature fiat, curare
10iubet. His senatus consultis perfectis L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus consulente conlegium prae- tore omnium primum populum consultandum de vere sacro censet: iniussu populi voveri non posse. Roga- tus in haec verba populus: "Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam salvam, servata erit hisce duelis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui eis Alpes sunt, tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium: quod ver ad tolerit ex suillo ovillo caprino bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt, lovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque iusserit. Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo facit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne populo scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea, ac senatus populusque iusse- rit fieri, faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto." Eius- dem rei causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus trecentis triginta tribus triente, prae- terea bubus lovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis sup- plicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum coniugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quoque con- tingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habi- tum decemviris sacrificum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: lovi ac Lunoni unum, alterum
Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cerceri. Tum aedes votae: Veneri Erucinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator votit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor votit.

Ita rebus divinis peractis tum de bello deque re publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur; 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 inmunita essent, ut ii commigrarent in loca tuta; ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercitue cum ad Tiberim circa Oericulum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret, ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto parisset congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe adlatae 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, quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent, comple- 
tis milite ac navalibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari.
8 Magna vis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberis essent et aetas militaris, in verba iura verant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quin-que et triginta annis erant in navis inpositi, alii ut urbi praesiderent relictii.
9 Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad con- 
veniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Praeneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde itineribus summa cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die hand procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin Poenus educeret in aciem copi-amque pugnandi faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nee castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem [quos] Martios animos Romani, debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra redit; ceterum tacita cura animum inessit, quod cum duce haudquaquam Flaminii Semproniiique simili futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent. Et prudentiam quidem novi dictatoris extemplo timuit: constantiam haudum expertus agitare ac temptare animum movendo crebro castra popu-
landoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit; et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in aequum posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta
agmen ducebat modo ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congrederetur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogerent, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque armaturae statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat; neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur, et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum finitimo receptu adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud, quam quod inpar erat imperio, morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat. Ferox rapidusque consiliis ac lingua inmodicus primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adsingens vicina virtutibus vitia, complabat, premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimirum prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneven-13 tanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit; irritat etiam de industria duce, si forte accensum tot indignitatis cladibus sociorum detrahere ad aecum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumenum capti ab Hannibale dimissisque fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum inlecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuæ potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior quam auctores esset,
dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffiden-
tem tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt.

4 Monitos [ut] etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirm-
arent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum
redire ad se dimissit. Ipse imperat duci, ut se in
agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum,
si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad open
ferendam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhor-
reens ab Latinorum nominum pronuntiatione os Casili-
um pro Casino dux ut acciperet fecit; aversusque ab
suo utinere per Callifanum Allifanumque et Calenum
agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi cum
montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circum-
spexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum
esse. Cum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset,
tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde
alia regione esse; virisque caeso duce et ad reliquo-
rum terrem in crucem sublato, castris communitis,
Maharbaelem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum prae-
datum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Simuessanas popu-
latio ea pervenit. Inventem eladem, fugam tamen
terremque latius Numidae fecerunt: nec tamen is
terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit,
videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio,
nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melio-
ribus parere.

14 Ut vero, postquam ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt
posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque
passim incendiis fumabant per iuga Massici montis
Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa;
2 quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius
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 colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, “spectatum huc” inquit Minucius “ut ad rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia, venimus? nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta hae ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Saumis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc progressus? tantum pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut praeter quam nuper oram illi [suam] 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 foedera et deos ciebamus, scendantem moenia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem laeti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius nos quam deorum invocantium opem: nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus deviasque callis exercitum dueimus conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac Poenis totiens servaverint maiores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios adlatum est,
cum esset satis altum Ianiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in accum atque illo ipso die media in urbe [quae nunc busta Gallica sunt] et postero die citra Gabios ecidit Gallorum legiones.

12 Quid? post multos annos cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samniti hoste sub ingum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor inga Samnii perulstrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus ingum superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, inpeditam suomet ipsum instrumento atque adparatu, oppresit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse: arma capias oportet et descendas in accum et vir cum viro congregiaris. Audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant.” Haec velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitunque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur; ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio ducem praeturos.

15 Fabius pariter in suos hand minus quam in hostis intentus, prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquom extraxit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta vineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis fructibus. Haec per explo-
ratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, reditu- rum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Vulturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse ingis isdem exercitum reducit misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui, ex turba iuvenum audientium saepe ferciter contionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas prospexit, per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, ex siderunte praepcta dictatoris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere sese insserat, quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidae alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad castra prope ipsa cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, cum prius, quam ad coniectum teli veniret, avertisset hostis, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientis. Mancinus, postquam nee hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium reidiit omni parte virium inpar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso [rursus] cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfingerunt.

Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces inminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister
equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal duceturus erat. Duo inde milia hostes aberant. Postero
die Poeni, quod viae inter bina castra erat, agmine
couplevere. Cum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo
hau dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum
expeditis equitibusque ad laecessendum hostem. Car-
ptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugna-
vere; restitit suo loco Romana acies. Lenta pugna
et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate.
Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium eecidere.
Inclusus inde videri Hannibal via ad Casilinum ob-
sessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo
divitum sociorum Romanis comneatus subveheret,
Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni arenas stagna-
que et per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset. Nee
Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum
der Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique montes
et igitum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus
inclusum vallibus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium ocu-
lorum specie terribile ad frustrandum hostem com-
mentus, principio nocetis furtim succedere ad montes
statuit. Fallaeis consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces
undique ex agris conlectae fasesesque virgarum atque
aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus boum, quos do-
mitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem
praedam agebat. Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta,
Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut nocte id armentum
accensis cornibus ad montis ageret, maxime, si posset,
super saltus ab hoste insessos.
Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves ali-
quanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium vias-
que angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut
accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montis. Et metus ipse relucentis flammæ a capite calorque iam ad vivom ad imaque cornua veniens velut stimulatos furore agebat boves. Quo repente discursu hand secus quam silvis montibusque accensis omnia circa virgulta ardere; capitumque irita quassatio excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebat. Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumventos se esse rati praesidio excessere; qua minime densae micabant flammæ, velut tutissimum iter petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt.

Et primo cum procul cernerent, veluti flammæ spiritantium miraculo adtoniti constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuist fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturæ hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientis ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal transdueto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.

Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius: ceterum et insidias esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile — etenim numero aliquantum praestabant — Romani superassenit, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale supervenisset. Ea adsuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior cum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu campestrem hostem, gravem armis statarium-
92 TITI LIVII [CAP. 18, 19.

que, pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Paelignos populabundus redivit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam ingis ducebat, nec absistens nec congradiens. Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apulum repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa ruinis pars moenum erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio quam fortunae confidat, et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur: ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere; hand parvam rem esse ab totiens victore hoste vincire desisse ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus — haec nequiquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est prefectus.

Principio aestatis, qua haec gerebantur, in Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque accipserat, decem adiectis quadraginta navium classem Himileconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine prefectus navis prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat paratus confligere, quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consiliis fuit;


deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves inposito quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae prae-
missae rettlulere classem Punicam stare in ostio flu-
minis castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut improvidos
incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret,
sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis
positas turris Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et
propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo
conspectis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali
est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad
mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remo-
rum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus
classem promunturiis, cum repente eques alius super
alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque
in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proe-
lium eo die expectantis, conscendere naves propere
atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam iam haud
procul portu esse. Haec equites dimissi passim impera-
bant. Mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat,
varioque omnia tumultu strepunt ruentibus in naves
simul remigibus militibusque fugientium magis e terra
quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes con-
scenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras evehun-
tur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt, raptimque
omnia ac praepropere agendo militum apparatu nautica
ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere
et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Romanus
non adpropinquabat modo, sed derexerat etiam in
pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati, temptata verius pugna quam inita in fugam averterunt classem.

12 Et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tum 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 perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor sup-

20 pressae. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat, armatamque aciem toto praetentam in litore cerne-

2 sem, navis omnis, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori inlisas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas pup-

3 pibus in altum extraxere, ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum eius victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant. Itaque ad Onusam classe profecti; escensio ab navibus in terram facta. Cum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt.

6 Inde iam praeda 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 trans-

8 missum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem inritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi direptis aliquot incensisque vicis maiore quam ex continentis praeda parta cum in

Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquom aestatis tempus, fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum 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 levii certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis magnaque parte armis exuta. Hie tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Iergavonensium, castra Romana ad Novam classem erant, cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Cel-tiberi, qui principes regionis suae *miserant* legatos obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione excitii arma capiunt, provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt. Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliiis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus 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 milibus militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna laetitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatibus igitur Carthaginensiibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgre- diuntur, nee ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in aree custodiri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum snorum culpa defectionis hueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollertii magis quam fidelii consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis; tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidel. Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei prodigione venientem ad hostis nihil alius quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat, ut quam maxumum emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus concilia- turam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam. Sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis seiret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum arte ad- greditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet Romanis. Ibi
eum in secretum abductum velut ignorantem monet, quo statu sit res: metum continuisset ad eam diem 11 Hispanicorum 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. Mi- 12 ranti Bostari percutiantique, quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, "obsides" inquit "in civitates remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum 13 maxumum momentum in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis gratum erit. Volt sibi quisque credi, et habita 14 fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque insensa consilium adivem meum, et rei suapte natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam possim adiciam." Homini non ad cetera Punica in- 15 genia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem perductus, quid ad- 16 ferret, 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. Dimissus cum 17 se nocte irurum, ut custodias hostium falleret, con- stituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in prae- paratas sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana 18 perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, peracta eodem ordine, quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Maior 19 aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari, quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim
gravis superbosque in rebus secundis expertos fortuna
et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo
adventu, incognitus ante, ab re elementi liberalique
initium fecerat; et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra
videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu
defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota
forent, ut hiemps, quae Romanos quoque et Carthagi-
nenses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

23 Haece in Hispania [quoque] secunda aestate Punici
belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus
Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabii fecisset; quae ut
Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat,
tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos
cernentem, qui bellum ratione non fortuna gereret, ita
contempta erat inter civis armatos pariter togatosque,
utique postquam absente eo temeritate magistri equi-
tum laeto verius dixerim quam prospero eventu pu-
gnatum fuerat. Accesserant duae res ad augendam
invidiam dictatoris, una fraude ae dolo Hannibalis,
quod, cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris
esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum
ignemque et vim omnem hostilem abstineri iussit, ut
occulti alienius pacti ea merces videri posset, altera
ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non exspectata
in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud am-
bigue in maximam laudem verso. In permutandis
captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat,
convenerat inter duces Romanum Poenumque, ut quae
pars plus reciperet quam daret, argenti pondo bina et
selibras in militem praestaret. Ducentis quadraginta
septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus recepisset,
argentumque pro eis debitum saepe iactata in senatu
re, quoniam non consuluisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste agrum misso Romam Quinto filio vendidit, fidemque publicam inpendio privato exsolvit.

Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captac atque incensae 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 praesidio et circumspectans, necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat. Praeerat Minucius magister equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum deferrur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relieta cum levi praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fecellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem, et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes gesturos. Ipse antem — quod minime quis crederet — cum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum duabus in castris retentis dimisit; dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio milia in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum se sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis inminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iaretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviore via praeventurus erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. Quos tenentis locum contempta puncitate Romani postero die cum deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum utique exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id
ipsum totum prope conpleverat Romana acies. Simul et per aversa a castris Hannibalis, equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque hostium palatorium fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat; iamque artibus Fabii —pars exercitus aberat [iam fame]— sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, receperatque suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni moenibus erant. Iusta quoque acie et conlatis signis dimicatum quidam auctores sunt: primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione facta repente versus terrem in Romanos, Numeri Decimi Samnitis deinde interventu proelium restitutum. Hunc principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo milia peditum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab ergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique praeuisse novi prae-sidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma venientis. Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepisse suos, Romanum insecutum adiuvante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex milia hostinm caesa, quinque admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade vanam famam egregiae victoriae cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

De iis rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione actum est. Cum lacta civitate dictator unus nihil nec famae nec litteris crederet et, ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret, tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id enimvero ferendum esse negat: non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare, et
in ducendo bello [ac] sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu imperium habeat: quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae proenl ab Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quorum neutra hoc tempore [provincia] praetore egent; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae geregret, prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum sit, sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta. Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidiene liberatos, extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostis. Quas ob res, si antiquas animus plebei Romanae esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse [dein] de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgatum de aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset. Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis. Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur, [hunc] cum hostem verbis extolleret bieniiique clades per temeritatem atque inscitiam ducum acceptas referret et magistro equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consilliique sit, prope diem effecturum, ut sciant homines bono imperatore
haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationem-
que dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse
exercitum quam multa milia hostium occidisse maio-
rem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra
habitibus et consule create M. Atilio Regulo, ne præ-
sens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis
ferendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce
orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia
dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat,
quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod
vulgo placebat prodire, et favore superante auctoritas
tamen rogationi dearet. Unus inventus est suasor
legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno praetor
fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus.
Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis,
filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum.
Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere quaestus pecunia
a patre relictâ animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae
fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sor-
didis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam
bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad hono-
res pervenit, quaesturaque et duabus aedilitatibus,
plebeia et curuli, postremo et prætura perfunctus iam
ad consulatus spem cum adtolleret animos, haud parum
callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia
petiit, scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam
rogationem, quique Romae quiique in exercitu erant,
aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem in con-
tunneliam eius latam acceperunt; ipse, qua gravitate
animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat,
eadem et populi in se saevientis inuriam tulit; accep-
tisque in ipso itinere litteris senatusque consulto de
aequato imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperiī iure artem imperandi aequatam, cum invicto a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum reidiit.

Minucius vero cum iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset rebus secundīs ac favore volgi, tum utique inmodice inmodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari: illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatoriēm magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi aequatum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint: tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie deorum hominumque judicio damnata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quem ad modum imperio aequato utantur: se optumum ducere aut diebus alternis, aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non consilio solum sed viribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia eam fortunam habitura, quamcumque temeritas conlegae habuisset. Sibi communicatum cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse: itaque se nunquam volentem parte qua posset rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum; nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quae posset, servaturum. Ita obtinuit, ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent. Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item
equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia diviserunt. Castris quoque se separari magister equitum voluit.

28 Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit — neque enim quicquam eorum, quae apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem — : nam et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquorem erat hosti locum facturum. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam in opera pretium erat, quam causam certaminis eum Minucio, quem procuratum ad obsistendum satis siuebat, 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 in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes, ut quaedam earum duenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostis ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos feroxissimosque ad arma vocat, et vanis minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam [dimittit], deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, eum hosti-
bus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia, increscentes certamine, mittens auxilia peditum equitumque iam instam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romæorum, praeciputum ex inferiore loco succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrem in succedentem intulit equitem et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter percusos inpavida sola erat, videbatur, si iusta ac recta pugna esset, haudquaquam inpar futura: tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset. Tum Fabius primo clamore paventium audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, "ita est" inquit, "non celerius quam timui deprendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud iurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferte: victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus." Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc congregati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, infe-
rebantque signa in hostem, cum Poenus receptui ceci-
nit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab
Fabio victum.

6 Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta cum
in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus
"saepe ego” inquit “audivi, milites, eum primum esse
virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit, secundum
eum, qui bene momenti oboediat; qui nec ipse consu-
lere nec alteri parere sciat, eum extremini ingenii esse.

7 Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors
est, secundam ac medium teneamus et, dum imperare
discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus.

8 Castra cum Fabio iungamus; ad praetorium eius signa
cum tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero,
quod beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum
est, vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma ac dexte-
rae texerunt, patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud,
gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dede-
30rit.” Signo dato conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa.
Profecti et agmine incendentes ad dictatoris castra in
admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant con-
verterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa,
progressus ante alios magister equitum, cum patrem
Fabium appellasset, circumfusosque militum eius to-
tum agmen patronos consalutasset, “parentibus” in-
quit “meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod
fando possum, acquavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi cum
meam salutem tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeiscit-
tum, quo oneratus sum magis quam honoratus, primus
antiquo abrogoque, et, quod tibi mihique exercitibus-
que his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub
imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa haec
legionesque restituo. Tu, quae so, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos quemque tenere iubeas.” Tum dextrae interiunctae militesque contione dimissa ab notis ignotisque beneigne atque hospitaliter invitati, lactusque dies ex adnmodum tristi Paulo ante ac prope exsecrabilis factus. Romae, ut est per-lata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam volgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre. Pari gloria apud Hannibalem hostisque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire eum 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 accepissent. Hannibalem quoque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.

Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram et obsidibus utrimque acceptis in Africam transmisit et, priusquam in continentem escensionem faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripeturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta effusi, ac si in insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere inlati cum a frequentibus palantes et ignari ab locorum gnaris circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio
Blaeso quaestore amisso, classis ab litoribus hostium
6 plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, tradi-
taque Lilybaei T. Otacilio practori, ut ab legato eius
7 P. Cincio Romam reduceretur. Ipse per Siciliam
pedibus profectus freto in Italian traiecit, litteris
Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et conlega eius M. Atilius, ut
exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semestri imperio
acciperent.
8 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus
Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius etiam eum
9 primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit: sed et
Coelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui
tum procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisse di-
cendi dictatoris; quam moram quia expectare territa
tertia iam clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum est,
11 ut a populo crearetur, qui pro dictatore esset; res inde
gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum
imaginis posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore creatus esset,
dictator fuisse crederetur, facile obtinuisset.

32 Consules Atilius Fabiano Geminus Servilius Minu-
ciano exercitu accepto hibernaeulis mature comu-
nitis, quod reliquam autumni erat, Fabi artibus eum
2 summa inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Fru-
mentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni
aderant carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in
casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus
3 petebat hostis, non veniebant; adeoque inopia est
coactus Hannibal, ut nisi eum fugae specie abundum
ei fuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit nulla relicta spe
alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules
eisdem artibus bellum gererent.
4 Cum ad Geronium iam hieme impediente constitisset
bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent: scire sese populi Romani aerarium bello exhaeriri, et, cum iuxta pro urbis agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana, atque imperio, geratur, aequom eensuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum tum ad subsidium fortunae ad maiorum relictum foret, eo iuvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblatus. Gratam sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque indicaverint, ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re maius ampliusque, acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera, quae ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.

Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque manibus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio coniurassent. Indici data libertas et aeris gravis viginti milia. Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello victus ad eum fugisset, et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis iuvissent, simul ad visendum ex propinquo, quae in Bois atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum, aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinquae quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit aedem
Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano, C. Pupius et Caeso Quinctius Flamininus, aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut, si ii visideretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret: se in eam diem, quam iussissent, comitia edicturum. Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum, sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste: itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius, quam consul alter a bello avoca-retur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M. Pomponium Mathonem equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare, res ad interregnum rediit. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi sunt a patribus C. Claudius Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac ple-bis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem, volgus extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari adsucescerent homines.

Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo con-
ciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus per multos annos bellum quaerentibus Hannibalem in Italian adductum; ab isdem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahit. Cum quattuor legionibus universis pugnari prospere posse apparuisset eo, quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patro- nusque appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam viuci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobilis ictum, nec finem ante belli habi- turos, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent: nam plebeios nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo con- temni patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere, id actum et quaesitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaessisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse, et populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei, qui mature vincere quam diu imperare malit.

Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patri-35 eiis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda L. Manlio Volsone M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium familiarum ple- beis, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in mann eius essent comitia rogando con- legae. Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse virium in 3 competitoribus eius L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum

36 Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quidquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem milia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gereant; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina milia peditum, treeci equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent [septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis, cum pugnatum ad Cannas est], quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator praebuerat.—Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire
atque inspicere iussi propter territos volgo homines novis prodigiis: nam et Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Caere aquas in fonte calido manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat; et in via fornicata, quae ad Campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti examinique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romam adulerunt. Iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno commenatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt caedem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque adlatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria regniique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse, tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuvari solent, misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti adferre sese: acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta milia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commenatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvecturos. Militiae atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis: itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quo-
que addebant, ut practor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum habebant, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali submittenda. Ab senatu ita respondunt regi est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuvisse. Id pe-rinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam adlatum gratia rei accepta non accepisse populum Romanum: Victoriom omen-que accipere, sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitoliun, templum Iovis optimi maximi. In ea arce-urbis Romanae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittarii-que et frumentum traditum consulis traditibus. Quinque-remes ad ** navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est, ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod numquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti milites: nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat, inssu consulis con-venturos neque iniussu abituros, et ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum 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 repetendi aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.
Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, 6 consulis Varronis multae ac ferores fueræ, denuntiantis bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Conlegae eius Pauli una, pridie quam urbe proficisceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, quæ nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se, [quodne] qui dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus in urbe sciret, quae sibi agenda armato forent, et diem quoque praedicere posset, qua cum hoste signis conlatis esset dimicaturus. Se, quæ consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus inmatura non praecpturum. Optare, ut, quæ caute ac consulta gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent; temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Et sua sponte apparebat, tuta celeribus consiliis præpositurum; et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. 13 Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur.

"Si aut conlegam, id quod mallem, tui similis, 39 L. Aemili, haberes, aut tu conlegae tui esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea: nam et duo boni consules etiam me indicente omnia e re publica fidequee vestra faceretis et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis acciperetis. Nunc et conlegam tum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequiquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera parte claudente re publica malis consiliis idem ac bonis iuris et potestatis erit. Erras 4
enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes: nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te, cum tu cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus, et adversus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flaminini memoria. Tamen ille consul denum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere; hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam inuentutem censes facturum, et ubi extemplo res verba sequitur? Atqui si hic, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarrem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumennno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et ego contemnuendo potius quam adpetendo gloriam modum excesserim; 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, inmutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis viris equis commeatibus iuvant invabuntque: id iam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores prudentiores con-stantiores nos tempus diesque facit; Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica
infestaque, procul ab domo ab patria; neque illae terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nullae moenia; nihil usquam sui videt; in diem rapto vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet, quem His-14 rum annem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti, nec his paucis iam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo, 15 quin sedendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat? Quam diu pro Gereonii, castelli Apu-16 liae inopis, tanquam pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet? Sed ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor: Servilius 17 atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide, quem ad modum eum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui, quod hostium milites 18 volent; idem Varro consul Romanus, quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, si adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris, si te neque conlegae vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui num-19 quam: vanam gloriarn qui spreverit, veram habebit. Sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, in-20 bellem pro perito belli vocent. Malo, te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, moneo, sed ut agentem te 21 ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasioni tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt; festinatio 22 improvida est et caeca."
Adversus ea consulis oratio haud sane laeta fuit, magis fatentis ea, quae diceret, vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictator magistrium equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli adversus conlegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populari incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent; sed si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiecturum. — Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere castris bifarium factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitunque duobus milibus praeficium. Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod convertum postea est, frumentum superesset, Hispanicorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fucrit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario, proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum
orto handquaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi non plus centum Romano-rum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die — nam alternis imperitabant — imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus, debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum hand aegerrime pati; quin potius gaudere velut inescatum temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium hand secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferenti secum milite castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque reliquit, transque proximos montis laeva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem medium traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum ineditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictii in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse.

Ubi inluxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde pro-pius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit. Tum comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut tabernaculisstantibus castra reli-querint, quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri inherent ducerentque ad persequendos hostis ac proti-
nus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus
turbæ militaris erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere
 providendum praecavendumque esse; postremo, cum
aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis susti-
nere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma
Lucana exploratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis,
subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum
duobus equitibus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia
cum cura renuntiat insidias profecto esse: ignes
in parte castrorum, quae vergat in hostem, relictos, taber-
nacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relictæ; argen-
tum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut objectum
ad praedam vidisse. Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate
animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et elamore orto
a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, hand-
quaquam dux defuit: nam extemplo Varro signum
dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte con-
tanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari
iam efferenti porta signa conlegae iussit. Quod quam-
quam Varro aegre est passus, Flaminii tamen recens
casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata
navalis elades religionem animo incussit. Di prope
ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere inminen-
tem pestem Romanis; nam forte ita evenit, ut, cum
referri signa in castra iubenti consuli milites non pare-
rent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis,
qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores
excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad
dominos. Deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem
exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montis sedere
in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules
imperi potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam pri-
num apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem solvisset.
Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequaquam detecta fraude in castra reedit. Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercennarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepsse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut relecto peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia inpeditiors levibus ingenii essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relietis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contenret Romanos. Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque moutis exploratis cum relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari coepit. Cum utriusque consulis eadem, quae ante semper, fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo praeter Servilium, prioris anni consulem, adsentiretur, ex maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturno vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare
praecipue futurum erat, cum aciem derigerent, ipsi aversi, terga tantum adflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere offuso hostem pugnaturi.

44 Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum, ut ventum ad Cannas est, et in conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiumt codem ferme intervallo, quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divisis.

2 Aufidius amnis utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidium erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium.

3 Hannibal spem nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, derigit aciem lacesitque Numidarium procursatione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro Paulo speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque, hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu cepisset Italianam; se constrictum a conlega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus; ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque inprovidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore dicaret: videret, ut, quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aeque in pugna vigerent manus.

45 Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum dici tenue-rat instructam, cum in castra ceteras recuperet copias,
Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romano-
rum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam incondi-
tam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac
tumultu fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo 
locatam atque ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero 
adeo indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam 
castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne ex-
templo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem, tenerit 
Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum 
fuerit. Itaque postero die Varro, cu cuius diei 
imperi erat, nihil consulto conlega signum proposuit 
instructasque copias flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, 
quia magis non probare quam non adiuvere 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; 
laevom cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, 
ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenerunt; 
iaculatorum cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima 
acies facta. Consules cornua tenuere, Terentius lae-
vom, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna 
tuenda data.

Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus levique alia arma-
tura praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque tra-
duxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites 
prope ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equi-
tatum, dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media 
acies peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua 
essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. 
Afros Romanam [magna ex parte] eredes aciem: ita 
armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex

47 Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevom cornu cum dextro Romano concurririt, minime equestris more pugnæ: frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad evagandum relicko spatio hinc annis hinc peditum acies claudebant. In rectum utrimque nitentes, stantibus ac confertis postremo turba equis, vir virum amplexus detræhebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acerius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par,
dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisqve; tandem Romani, diu ac saepè conisi, obliqua fronte acieque densa inpulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Inpulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institerere, ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen in medium primum aciem inlati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominentem acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, inruentibusque incaute in medio Romanis circumdederunt alas; mox cornua extendinge clauserent et ab tergo hostis. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequiquam proelio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, et adversus Afros integram pugnam inuentunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnavant. Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consortum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, prater solita arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis in medium aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni parte consideritur, quieti manse-runt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam ado-
riuntur Romanam aciem, tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientis mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

49 Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equom vires deficiebant. Tum denuntiante eundam, iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt "quam mallem, vinctos mihi traxeret." Equitum pedestre proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent, quis pellere non poterant. Pepule-runt tamen iam paucos superantis et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum cum praetervelens eum sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, "L. Aemili" inquit, "quem umum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium alicui superest, et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctus-que est." Ad ea consul: "Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli,
macte virtute esto; sed cave, frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam munitam ac, priusquam victor hostis advenit, praesidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio Aemilio praecipitum eius memor et vixisse adhibe et mori. Memet in hae strage militum neorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator conlegae exsistam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam.” Haec eos agentis prius turba fugientium civilium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes, quis esset, obrure telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt; qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equites nullo munimento tegente vicum circumventi sunt. Consul alter seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equites Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septimeque equites, et tantadem prope civium sociorumque pars, caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bicaeclus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii — inter eos Cn. Serviliium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul fuerat — , octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur. — Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate par,
2 ceterum ut illis, quae post pugnam accidere, levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem pro-
didit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta seculi sunt, alterius mori-
entis prope totus exercitus fuit.
4 Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine duci-
bus esset, nuntium, qui in maioribus erant, mittunt, dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies
nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transiret: uno
5 agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii
totam asperrari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos
non venire, cum aequeconiungi possent? Quia vide-
licet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum
6 quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis
non tam sententia dispriciere quam animus deesse.
P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum "capi ergo
mavultis" inquit "ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste,
aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab inter-
rogantibus, Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut
ex tua contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur?
7 Non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene
mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum
virorum, qui circa eum cumulati iacent, eives estis.
8 Sed ante quam opprimit lux, maioraque hostium ag-
mina obsaepiant iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque
9 incomposite obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque
audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostis. Cuneo
quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil
obstet, disicias. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet
10 ipsos et rem publicam salvam vultis." Hae ubi dicta
dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios
vadit hostis; et, cum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in maiora castra ad sescentos evaserunt, atque inde pro-
tinus alio magno agmine adiuncto Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Haec apud victos magis impetu animo-
rum, quos ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio eiuisquam agebantur.

Hannibali victor cum ceteri circumfusi gratularen-

Postero die, ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insi-
stunt. Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cru-
enti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vul-
nera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et iacentis vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque inveneurunt, nudantis cervicem iugulumque et relicum sanguinem iubentes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effos-
sam terram capitibus, quo sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentisque ora superiecta humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes substratus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus naso auribusque laceratis, cum, manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa laniando dentibus hostem expirasset.

52 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et omnium primum brachio obiecto flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore vigiliis vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis, in socios dueninis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostis acceperunt, traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugerissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem conditione qua altera tradita hosti. Praeda ingens parta est, et praepter 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.

6 Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit. Ad octo milia fuisset dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

7 Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier Apula no-
mine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum
tectisique a Canusinis acceptos, frumento veste viatico
etiam invit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello per-
fecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt. Ceterum cum
ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Fabius Maximus
de legione prima, cuius pater priore anno dictator
fuaret, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et
P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius
Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat, omnium consensu
ad P. Scipionem admodum adulescentem et ad Ap.
Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consul-
tantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P.
Furinus Philus, consularis viri filius, nequiquam eos
perditam spem fovere; desperatam conploratamque
rem esse publicam: nobiles iuvenes quosdam, quorum
principem L. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naves spec-
tare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant.
Quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super tot clades
etiam novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos de-
fixisset, qui aderant, et consilium advocandum de eo
censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio iuvenis,
fatalis dux huiusce belli; audendum atque agendum
non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse: irent secum
extemplo armati, qui rem publicam salvam vellent:
nulla verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra
esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium
Metelli et, cum concilium ibi iuvenum, de quibus
adlatum erat, iuvenisset, stricto super capita consul-
tantium gladio "ex mei animi sententia" inquit "ut
ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram, neque
alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens fallo, tum me, Iuppiter optimus maximus, domum
familiam remque meam pessimo leto adficiat. In haece verba, L. Caeceili, iures postulo ceterique, qui adestis: qui non iuraverit, in se hune gladium strictum esse sciat." Hand secus pavidis, quam si victorem Hanniballem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipionis tradunt.

Eo tempore, quo haece Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenerunt. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accepiendos curandosque eum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos et pediti denos et arma, quibus deeerant, dederunt, ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque, ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius omus Busae multitudo faciebat, et iam ad decem milia hominum erant. Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, muntium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum 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, moenibusque se certe, etsi non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum eum consulibus duobus exercitum deletasque omnes copias addatum fuerat. Numquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque, ne succumbam oneri, neque adgrediar narrare, quae edissent minora vero faciam. Consule exercituque ad
Trasumenum num prior anno misso non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consularis exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem nec militem esse; Hannibalis Apuliam Samnium ac iam prope totam Italian factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Compares aut cladem ad Aegatis insulas Carthaginiiensium proelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cesseret et vectigalis ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit: nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod minore animo latae sunt. P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de urbis custodia consularentet: neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandum Romam, quod unum opus bellii restaret, venturum. Cum in 3 malis sicuti ingenti sitt ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expediretur, obstreperetque clamor lamen tantium mulierum, et nondum palam facto vivi mortuique per omnes paene domos, promiscue conplorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunc tando—aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore—referant, quae fortuna consulum atque exercitum sit, et, si quid dii immortales, miseriti imperi, relicum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscenda que per inpigros iuvenes esse: illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumulum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas
publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque
limen cogant, conploratus familiarum coercceant, silen-
tium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad
practores deducendos curent, suae quisque fortunae
domi auctorem expectent, custodesque praeterea ad
portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe,
cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus
salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit [recte] tu-
multus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulen-
dumque de urbis custodia esse.

56 Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, sub-
moataque foro per magistratus turba patres diversi ad
sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum denum litterae
a C. Terentio consule adlatae sunt: L. Aemilium
consulem exercitunque caesum; sese Canusii esse
reliquias tantae cladiis velut ex naufragio colligentem;
ad decem milia militum ferme esse inecompositorum
inordinatorumque; Poenum sede ad Cannas in
captivorum pretiis praedaque alia nec victoris animo
nec magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatae
quoque per domos clades vulgatae sunt, adeque
totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium
Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere
est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona exprs
luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia
quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus
consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum
cum sedato urbis tumultu revocati in curiam patres
essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae adlatae sunt ab
T. Otacilio propraetore, regnum Hieronis classe Punica
vastari; cui cum operm inploranti ferre vellet, nuntia-
tum sibi esse aliam classem ad Aegatis insulas stare
paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur: itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

Litteris consulis praetorisque lectis censuerunt praetorem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum scribendumque consuli, ut, cum praetori exercitum tradisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri convartae, et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat: L. Cantilius scriba pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices adpellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera expiraret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum, quibus precibus suppliciiisque deos possent placare, et quaenam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus librís sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro bovario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaep tum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, inbutum. Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione

58 Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victorios magis quam bellum gerentis intentus euris, cum captivis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasmumnumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset. Romanos quoque vocatos, quod numquam alias ante, satis miti sermone adloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse, et se id admitti, ut suae in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere; pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquan-
tum adiecibatur equitibus ad id pretium, quo pepige-
rant dedentes se, laeti tamen quacumque condicio-
em paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum
decem deligi, qui Roman ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei, quam ut inrarent se redituros, acceptum. Missus cum his Carthal, nobilis Carthaginensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti aliquid obitus, iuris iurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites adsequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis. Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatorre 59 datus est. Quorum princeps "M. Juni vosque, patres conscripti" inquit, "nemo nostrum ignorat nulli unquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam nostrae: ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus neclegendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed, cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulìs caesorum corporum proelium extraxissesmus, in castra recepimus nos; diei relium ac noctem sequentem fessi labore ac vulneribus vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arcemur, nec ulla iam per confertos hostis crumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus quinque aginta milibus homínem ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc deum pacti sumus 6 pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil iam auxili erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores 7 quoque acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia
8 Tarentum misisse. Atqui et ad Aliam eum Gallis et ad Heracleam eum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannensis campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui ne in acie quidem refugerunt, sed praesidio castris relictis, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicione invidio, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim—: ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquid praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusi constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. Sed et illis bonis ae fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restitutis fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia servorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi possimus, quam ii emuntur—: nam si conferam nos eum illis, injuriam nomin 13 Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam durores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet, qui hospitum numero captivos habuit? An barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existi- 15 mari potest? Si videatis catenas squalorem deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex altera parte cernatis
stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque responsum vestrum. Cum iis pro nobis proque iis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? [Sed] si, me dius fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, cum indigni ut redimeremur vobis visi simus. Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio capti; sed re videam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? Suum quisque animum habet, patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse vitam corporisque meum: magis me famae periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus: neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba, quae in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes, ut sibi liberos fratres cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro turbae virorum innmiscuerat. Senatus submotis arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice insensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi, si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam, praedibusque ac praediiis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscæ ac nimis durae, ut plerisque videbatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur: "si tantummodo postulassent legati
pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redime-
rentur, sine ullius insectatione corum brevi senten-
tiam peregissem. Quid enim aliud quam admonendi
essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad
rem militarem exemplo servaretis. Nunc autem, cum
prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus dediderint, praef-
ferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus sed etiam
iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque
ipsi C. Terentio consuli aecum censuerint, nihil vos
corum, patres conscripti, quae illie acta sunt, ignorare
patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus
sum, Canusii, apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum
testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic
saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem
seuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non
captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed cum fessis
pugnando hostibus tum victoria laetis et ipsis ple-
risque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum
liberam habuissent, et septem milia armatorum homo-
num erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent,
neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium
sequi volnerunt. 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 tuta loca, in
sociorum urbes posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P.
Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si, ut nobis
adulescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma
trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum
situm inter medios duceret hostis, dixit “moriamur,
milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione cir-
cum ventas legiones,” si hoc P. Sempronius diceret. 12 nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem, si nemo tantae virtutis exstitisset comes. Viam non ad glo-13 riam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam ad parentes ad coninges ac liberos facit. Ut servemini, deest vobis animus: quid, si 14 morientium pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non moveant, nihil umquam movebit; si tanta elades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. [Et] liberi atque incolones desiderate patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis. Serio nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure civium, servi Carthaginiensium facti. Pretio redditis estis eo, unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem; Hanniballem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. Quamquam quid ego ignaviam istorum accuso, cum scels possim accusare. Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertis submovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio 18 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 milibus septem 19 armatorum sescenti exstiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam libri atque armati redirent, neque his sescentis hostes obstitere: quam tum inter duorum 20 prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusii
fortia fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quem ad modum hi boni fidelesque—nam fortres ne ipsi
21 quidem dixerint—cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest aut favisse erumpentibus, qui, ne erumperent, obsistere conati sunt, aut non invidere eos cum incolumitati tum gloriae illorum per virtutem partae, cum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis
22 ignominiosae causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. At ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda
23 fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot essent vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia vitae deessent adfectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis
24 quam armis victi sunt. Ab orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos.
25 Haec vobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, in castra refugerunt; cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos redima-
26 mus? Cum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere, castra tutari armis necesse est,
27 et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostis e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriae restituerunt."

61 Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter
exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit, quia nec aerarium exhaeriri, magna iam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Cum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset novusque super veterem luctus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.

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

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re, quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, praeter hos Uzentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen cae clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum, nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis; 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 actae, quod de re publica non desperasset; qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

PERIOCHA LIBRI XXII.

Hannibal per continuas vigilias in paludibus oculo amisso in Etruriam venit; per quas paludes quadriduo et tribus noctibus sine ulla requie iter fecit. C. Flaminius consul, homo temerarius, contra auspicia profectus, signis militaribus effossis, quae tolli non poterant, et ab equo, quem conscenderat, per caput devolutus, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventus ad Thrasymenum lacum cum exercitu caesus est. Sex milia, quae eruperant, fide ab Atherbale data perfidia Hannibalis vincta sunt. Cum ad nuntium cladis Romae huctus esset, duas matres ex insperato
receptis filiis gaudio mortuae sunt. Ob hane cladem ex Sibyllinis libris ver sacrum votum. Cum deinde Q. Fabius Maximus dictator adversus Hannibalem missus nollet acie cum eo con-figgere, ne contra ferocem tot victoriis hostem territos adversis proeliiis militae pugnae committeret, et opponendo se tantum conatus Hannibalis impediret, M. Minucius magister equitum, ferox et temerarius, criminando dictatorem tamquam segnem et timidum effecit, ut populi iussu aequaretur ei cum dictatore imperium; divisoque exercitu cum iniquo loco confligisset et in maximo discrimine legiones eius essent, superveniente cum exercitu Fabio Maximo [discrimine] liberatus est. Quo beneficio victus castra cum eo iuxsit et patrem cum salutavit idemque facere milites iussit. Hannibal, vastata Campania inter Casilium oppidum et Calliculam montem a Fabio clusus, sarmenstis ad cornua boum alligatis et incensis praesidium Romanorum, quod Calliculam insidebat, fugavit et sic transgressus est saltum. Idemque Fabi Maximi dictatoris, cum circumposita ureret, agro pepercit, ut iium tamquam proditorem suspectum faceret. Aemilio deinde Paulo et Terentio Varrone consulibus [et] ducibus cum maxima clade adversus Hannibalem ad Cannas pugnatum est, caesaque eo proelio Romanorum XLV cum Paulo consule et senatoribus XC et consularibus aut praetoribus aut aediliciis XXX. Post quae cum a nobilibus adulescentibus propter desperationem consilium de relinquenda Italia iniretur, P. Cornelius Scipio tribunus militum, qui Africanus postea vocatus est, stricto super capita deliberantium ferro iuravit se pro hoste habiturum eum, qui in verba sua non iurasset, effecitque, ut omnes non relictum iri a se Italianum iure iurando adstringerentur. Propter pancitatem militum VIII servorum armata sunt. Captivi, cum potestas esset redimendi, redempti non sunt. Praeterea trepidationem urbis et Iuctum et res in Hispania meliore eventu gestas continet. Opinia et Florentia Vestales virgines incesti damnatae sunt. Varroni obviam itum et gratiae actae, quod de re publica non despe-rasset.
NOTES TO BOOK XXI.

In the references to editors, F. = Fabri; L. = Luterbacher; Mg. = Madvig; T. = Tücking; W. = Weissenborn; Wfl. = Wolfflin. Other names are given in full. Näg. = Nägelsbach's Lateinische Stilistik. In references to the grammars, A. & G. = Allen & Greenough; G. = Gildersleeve; H. = Harkness.

1. 1–5. Preface and historical introduction.

1. parte: ten books of Livy's history, 21–30, containing the account of the Second Punic War, form so important and integral a part of the whole as to deserve a special introduction. — in principio summae totius: corresponds to in parte; the simple abl. is also used, especially in temporal expressions, e.g. with veris, belli; cf. ch. 15. 4; 48. 10. — totius: attributive to summae. — pleurique: used by Caesar, Cicero, and Sallust as a superlative, by Livy and the later writers often weakened to multi, nonnulli. — rerum (sc. gestarum, 2. 1. 1; praef. 1. 3) scriptores: writers who paid some attention to rhetorical form in distinction from the annalists (auctores, 10. 9. 12), who contended themselves with the bare statement of facts; perhaps Coelius Antipater, certainly Thucydides, 1. 1; cf. Sall. Jug. 5. — quae . . . gesta sint: not quod . . . gestum sit; cf. Sall. Jug. 14. 2, Jugurtha homo omnium quos terra sustinet sceleratissimus. By umquam the view is extended beyond Roman history. — Hannibale duce: although Hannibal was the leading spirit in the war, as implied in the position of these words and in the fact that the war is often called the "Hannibalic War," cf. bellum Mithradaticum, yet the Carthaginians, by accepting his leadership, publico consilio (ch. 18. 1) and by actually supporting him (ch. 21. 11; 49. 2 and 4; 23. 13. 7) were responsible for it. — Carthaginienses: placed first to represent them as the aggressors, refers to the state, the body politic; Poeni, as a name, to the people generally. At the close of the war the Carthaginians attempted to throw the blame upon Hannibal; cf. 30. 22. 1.
2. neque ... neque ... et ... et: four reasons are given for the importance of the war, two negative and two affirmative; then follows a sentence introduced by etiam, giving the subjective reason for the fierceness of the struggle. — opibus: material resources, the ability to provide money and provisions, etc. — virium aut roboris: vigorous national strength, consisting in the unity, bravery, and patriotism of the orders, the probity of the leaders, and the strictness of discipline. States, like individuals, have their pueritia, adolescentia, iuventus, senectus, and Carthage and Rome were then in their prime. — inter sese, sed: the cacophony is relieved by the punctuation, as in 26. 34. 13; cf. ch. 22. 8, post sese serpentem.

— propius and proxime are often used by Livy and Sallust as prepositions with the acc., as in ch. 24. 3; 25. 1. 11, propius inopiam; 2. 48. 5, proxime formam latrocini. — fuerint: Livy often uses the perf. for the imperf. in consecutive clauses, to present rather a historic fact than a result; cf. ch. 2. 6; 15. 4; 25. 3; 22. 5. 8, &c. A. & G. 287, c.; G. 513; H. 495, VI.

3. The fifth reason for the importance of the war prepares the way for the historical introduction. — ultro: often denotes what happens beyond or contrary to expectation, and may be approximately translated by "actually," or here, "should presume." — superbe avareque: because the Romans, taking advantage of the straits of Carthage after the "Mercenary War," deprived her of Sardinia, and forced her to pay, in addition to the 2200 talents required at the close of the war in Sicily, an indemnity of 1200 talents ($1,400,000) for the expenses incurred by the Romans in preparing to prevent the Carthaginians from recovering Sardinia, which had revolted against them. Momms. Hist., Bk. III. 3.

4. fama: etymologically of oral tradition; cf. ch. 20. 9; 46. 10; here of the report of historians, as in ch. 22. 6; 22. 61. 5; 25. 17. 4, varia est fama, alii ... alii ... tradunt. The story here in question is variously reported. Pol. 3. 12. 2; Nepos, Hann. 2. 3; only Appian. Hisp. 9 says ἐλέγετο. — annorum: gen. of quality, as in 22. 60. 5. — blandientem: construed with ut as a verb of asking.

— Africo bello: the failure of Carthage to pay her mercenaries at the close of the First Punic War, 241 B.C., led them to mutiny. They were joined by the African subjects of Carthage, and the
five years’ struggle that followed was marked by such atrocious cruelties that it was called the "Inexpiable War." For a powerful description of this war, see Flaubert’s Salammbo; cf. § 5. — hostem fore: the oath, as given in the best sources, was "never to be a friend to Rome" (35. 19. 3; Pol. 3. 11. 7; Nep. Hann. 2. 4), and this was what the father wished and the son could readily swear.

1. 5—2. 7, Hamilcar and Hasdrubal.

5. ingentis spiritus, proud-spirited: implying perhaps that Hamilcar aimed too high and overestimated his strength. — amissae: the use of perfect participles in agreement with nouns instead of verbal nouns with the genitive, though found in all writers, is specially characteristic of Livy; ch. 2. 6; 15. 2; 28. 5, &c.; A. & G. 292, a; G. 667, Rem. 2; II. 549, n. 2. With the loss of these islands went the control of the Mediterranean. Of Sicily, only the western part was given up; the eastern part was the kingdom of Hiero. — nam, for he felt that: a common brachylogy in Livy; cf. ch. 16. 3. Hamilcar was still unconquered on Mt. Eryx when Sicily was given up by treaty; hence nimis celeri. — concedam: evacuated by surrender in opposition to Sardiniam fraude interceptam, because the Romans then joined the revolted subjects of Carthage, and dishonorably kept the island; cf. § 3; 26. 51. 12, iurto; 36. 31. 10, per fraudem intercipere. The dative is usually joined with concedere to denote the person benefited by the action. — insuper: besides the seizure of the island. The compound superinponere is used only in the literal meaning; e.g., 38. 56. 3, statuam monumento. See on 22. 2. 8; 51. 9.

2. 1. his anxius curis: resumes the thought of angebant, interrupted by the inf. clause; cf. ch. 57. 1. Hamilcar’s distress was not solely on account of the Carthaginian losses, though these words do not refer to the future, but arose from his perception of the inevitable struggle between his country and Rome. Carthage’s naval supremacy was gone, and Hamilcar’s campaigns in Spain were for the purpose of creating a new base of operations against Rome. There were already Phoenician colonies in Spain, and the country was rich in mines and soldiers, so that here new armies might be provided without exhausting Carthage. — sub recentem, immediately after. In temporal expressions sub means "just before"
or "just after"; cf. ch. 18. 14; here strengthened by recentem.—
quique annos: from 241 to 237 B.C. According to Diodorus (25. 6), the war continued four years and four months; according
to Pol. 1. 88. 7, three years and four months. Livy includes the
time for the pacification of Africa, extending to Hamilcar's depart-
ure for Spain.—novem annis: so Pol. 2. 1. 7. In these years,
to 228 B.C., Hamilcar had almost independent authority, and sub-
due for Carthage all the Spanish coast lying toward Africa.—
se . . . gessit: as statesman and general.

2. Hamilcare duce: he had in fact prepared plans for a cam-
paign against Rome, and advised with his son upon their execution.
Pol. 3. 10. 7; 14. 10.

3. mors Hamilcaris peropportuna: the death of Hamilcar,
who fell in battle (caedes, 24. 41. 3), was opportune for the Romans,
as they were soon after engaged in the Gallic war in northern Italy,
225–222 B.C., but the delay was also helpful to the Carthaginians,
as it enabled them to extend and consolidate their conquests in
Spain, and as the Gauls in Italy, embittered by their defeat by the
Romans, were the more ready to become the allies of Hannibal.
—pueritia: an exaggeration, since Hannibal was eighteen years
old. —Hasdrubal: he had come to Spain with Hamilcar as ad-
miral; Pol. 2. 1. —octo ferme: till 221. —flore aetatis, by his
personal beauty: causal abl. This story which Livy gives as a
rumor, uti ferunt, is expressly said by Nepos, Ham. 3. 2, to have had
its origin with the scandal-mongers. —primo: adverb correspond-
ing with inde.—conciliatus: similarly Curtius, 7. 38, admodum
iuvenem aetatis flore conciliatum sibi.

4. animi: in opposition to flore aetatis is with profecto epexegetic
to aliam indolem.—Barcinae: this party named from Hamilcar
Barca (lightning), and finding its support in the army and the
common people, was the Upholder of the national feeling against
Rome. It wished to renew the war, and gained the upper hand
after the weakness of the aristocratic party was shown in the
Mercenary war. —plus quam modicae: like ch. 4. 9, perfidia
plus quam Punica; cf. 2. 58. 5, odisse plebeem plus quam paterno odio.
—haud sane voluntate, entirely against the will of: cf. 22. 40. 1. —
principum: rich merchants and capitalists whose gains depended
on the continuance of peace with Rome.
5. **hospitiis**: a means of special influence with the pleasure-loving Spaniards. — **regulorum**: petty kings or princes ruling small districts. The diminutive also implies the ignorance of Rome concerning them. Even Thurrus, the most powerful of the Spanish princes, is called *regulus*; 40. 49. 5. Hasdrubal’s second wife was the daughter of one of them. — **principum**: chieftains of tribal republics. — **armis**: implies the threat of war. Hasdrubal was a skilful orator (*consilio*), and the ease with which the combined diplomacy and arms of the Carthaginians overran Spain is in striking contrast to the subsequent long and bitter struggles of the Romans.

6. **barbarus**: according to Pol. 2. 36. 1, a Gaul. — **eum**: with *eo* in the same clause as in ch. 60. 5; others write *enim*. — **palam**: in broad daylight on the occasion of a hunt; Appian. Hisp. 8. Pol. l. c. says he was killed in his tent. — **ob**: often used by Livy of feeling as a moving cause. W.; cf. ch. 25. 2; 44. 2; 52. 5. — **obtruncati**: suggests cruelty on the part of Hasdrubal, while *palam interfecit* represents the deed of the slave as just revenge and not an assassination.

7. **sollicitandis**: not with hostile intent that he might subdue them, but corresponding with *conciliandis*, § 5, that he might arouse their interest in the Carthaginians. — **foedus**: Livy represents this treaty as a renewal of the one made at the close of the First Punic War, 241 B.C., by which each party was prohibited from enlisting mercenaries in, or making inroads upon, the territories of the other. This treaty was made by Hasdrubal without reference to the Senate at Carthage; ch. 19. 3. It provided simply for a boundary beyond which in the future neither party should extend its conquests or alliances. At that time the Po was the northern boundary of Roman power, and there were no Roman possessions in Spain. Most of the Carthaginian conquests were south of the Ebro; ch. 5. 3. — **amnis Hiberus**: inversion of the usual order, since the stream was the boundary; ch. 56. 7; 22. 2. 2; 1. 3. 5. — **mediis**: Livy as well as other old historians had an incorrect idea of the geographical position of Saguntum, since it lay a hundred miles south of the Ebro; yet the word does not mean “neutral,” as in 40. 20. 4. — **libertas, independence**: Livy here passes over the fact that the Saguntines had made a compact
with Rome, according to Pol. 3. 30. 1, many years before; hence, ch. 6. 4, *sociis populi Romani*; 7. 3, *jidem socialem*; 19. 9, Periocha 21.

3-4. Hannibal.

3. 1. *in Hasdrubalis locum*: the natural conclusion would have been *quin Hannibal succederet*, but there is an anacoluthon, and the opening clause means "as to Hasdrubal's successor," a turn in the simpler style often given by *de*. — *praerogativam*: the word indicates both the century that voted first and also the first choice. The right of voting first was considered at Rome as one of great importance, and was determined in the elections by lot. Generals for the Carthaginian armies were at an earlier time appointed by the Senate, but on the decay of aristocratic influence after the Mercenary war, the right was to a certain extent transferred to the army; Pol. 1. 82. 5, 12. The rise of the Barcine party and the absence of the army in Spain led to the custom that the choice of the commander-in-chief should be made provisionally by the higher officers in the army (senators?), subject to ratification (*favor*) by the commonalty at Carthage. It is hardly probable that the popularity of the young Hannibal could have been so great as to warrant the statement of the text, though judicious use of the wealth obtained in Spain may have gained him many supporters. The word *praerogativa* is transferred by Livy from Roman to Carthaginian usage. Similarly in this section, *praetorium, imperator, plebis*; § 2, *senatus*; ch. 5. 5, *socii*; 12. 7, *praetor*; 14. 2, *cohors*; 54. 3, *turmis manipulisque*; 22. 6. 3, *legio*; and others. — *exemplo*: immediately after Hasdrubal's death; reverts to ch. 2. 6. — *iuvenes*: Hannibal was twenty-six years old. — *seque- retur*: cf. 3. 51. 8, *ne comitiorum militarium praerogativam urbana comitia sequentur*; 10. 22. 1.

2. *vixdum*, when scarcely; cf. *nondum, haudcum, nescit* and the Livian *nullusdum* in 29. 11. 1. Livy here follows a different tradition, and one inconsistent with his other statements. This account makes Hannibal return to Carthage after the death of Hamilcar, but in 30. 37. 9 Livy represents Hannibal as saying to the Carthaginians, *novem annorum a vobis prefectus, post sextum et tricesimum annum redii*. — *ad se*: to Spain. — *accesserat*: at least three years before (triennio, ch. 4. 10). — *senatu*: this body (*γερουσία*)
consisted of the *Suffetes*, the two "judges" elected annually (28. 37. 2; 30. 7. 5), and twenty-eight *Gerusiasts*. — *nitentibus*: the common word for party strife, both lawful and unlawful, also *adniti*. — *adsuesceret*: corresponds like *florem aetatis* and *rudimento*, § 4, with *vixdum puberem*.

3. **Hanno**: the leader of the Roman party in Carthage called the "Great," the unsuccessful rival of Hamilcar in the Mercenary war. — *et... et*: the sharp contrast of the two statements is emphasized by the following *ancipitis*. — *quod petit, his request*: the clause is used as a substantive; hence the indicative.

4. **admiratione**: in Livy *mirari* means "to be surprised," "to wonder at"; *admirari* is "to admire"; *admiratio* is "admiration," and also "surprise," hence joined, 7. 10. 12 and 39. 4, with *pacor* and *timor*. — *iusto iure = suo iure*: ch. 17. 8. — *pro, as if that were*. — *praetorum, leaders, generals*, with its original meaning from *praeire*.

5. **an hoc timemus**: the second reason for *non censeo*. — **Hamilcaris filius, the son of an Hamilcar.** — *nimis sero*: corresponding to *parum mature*, and forming the real predicate, *that he may be too late in seeing*. — *regni*: the Carthaginian generals in Spain, supported by the army which they themselves maintained, gained a practically independent position. Therefore Livy does not apply to their power the word *potestas* (official authority), but calls it, § 2, *opes*, here, and in ch. 10. 4, where party spirit colors the speech, the word, so hateful to Roman ears, *regnum*, to which *serviamus* corresponds. The work of Hamilcar was so great and permanent that Cato, reviewing it a generation later, exclaimed that there was "no king like Hamilcar Barca." Hanno would indicate the danger of this power to Carthage by the climax *inmodica regni, hereditarii, serviamus*. In opposition to *inmodica stand sine legibus*, to *regni, sub magistratibus*, and to *serviamus, aequo iure*.

6. **quandoque**: a shortened *quandocunque, ever*.

4. 1. **optimus quisque = omnes boni**, in a political sense the *optimates*, and from Livy's standpoint in a moral sense, hence *meliorem*. — *statim*: as often for emphasis, see on 22. 28. 9; yet oftener *primo adventu* without *statim*. — *missus... convertit*: the account of Coelius, who brings Hannibal to Spain in response to the call of Hasdrubal (cf. *accessierat*, ch. 3. 2, and *domi tenendum*, ch. 3. 6, not
26. these. —

2. veteres: veterans of the First Punic War who remembered Hamilcar’s coming to Sicily. Hannibal’s assumption of the chief command in Spain and his entrance upon the stage of universal history is taken by Livy as an opportunity to characterize him with special reference to his qualities as a soldier and a general. Similar characterizations occur elsewhere, 22. 26. 1–4, and in other writers, notably Sallust. In recording a person’s death, Livy often adds a review of his character, e.g., of Fabius, 30. 26. 7–10. Polybius with his fondness for excursus often puts such characterizations into the middle of his story, but Tacitus enlarges them to a genuine necrology. — vigorem . . . vim, the same commanding expression, the same fiery eye. Note the alliteration, for which Livy had a special fondness; ch. 10. 12; 24. 4; 26. 3; 58. 2 and 10; 22. 5. 2; 30. 4; 43. 3; 45. 1 and often. The four members are arranged in pairs joined by que, the first two indicating the distinguishing personality, the last two the simple gift of nature. Acies oculorum (cf. 40. 58. 4) in distinction from vis means “sharpness of vision.” This description is apparently taken from two sources, one friendly and one hostile to Hannibal, and is marked by its lively style. The historical infinitives introducing it, the short, crisp main sentences, their balanced arrangement, the many antitheses, and the frequent use of asyndeton give it great vigor. — pater in se, his resemblance to his father; se is abl. — minimum momentum: the most unimportant factor; momentum is seldom used of persons; 3. 12. 6; 28. 17. 10.

3. diversissimas: not “different,” but “contradictory.” — parendum: the common opposite of imperare. The word implies the habit of obedience, while obaedire refers to the single act; for the construction, A. & G. 301. R. — discerneres: the frequent vivid impf. for the plupf.; cf. 2. 35. 5; 43. 9; 22. 7. 12; 46. 4; A. & G. 311, n. 2; G. 252; H. 485, n. 1.

4. praeficere: without militibus, which would weaken the contrast between Hasdrubal and milites; also used absolutely; ch. 12. 1. — fortiter ac strenue: these two ideas, originally distinct (hence always connected by ac, atque, never by que), the former referring to mental quality, courage, the latter to energy in action, gradually
united to form the pattern of the *vir vere Romanus* (22. 14. 11). Cicero used more often *bonus et fortis*; see on 22. 37. 4 and cf. *καλὸς καγαθὸς*.

5. *audaciae ... consilii*: Pol. 3. 47. 7, says that Hannibal was a general of incomparable daring and judgment.


7. *id*: sc. *temporis, only that*; position often gives such emphasis; cf. ch. 5. 11; 22. 38. 1; 42. 7. — *quieti*: cf. 22. 9. 5; Frontin. 4. 3. 7, *surgere de nocte solitus, ante noctem non requiescebat*. — *sagulo*: the diminutive implies that the simplicity of Hannibal's dress was below his rank; *sagulo gregali*, 7. 34. 15. — *custodias*: the extreme outposts. — *stationes*: the stronger pickets, from which the others were relieved; often of whole cohorts, and even of cavalry. Neither has necessary reference to the daytime, but *vigiliae* is not mentioned since Hannibal is represented as weariest by some expedition at night, and then sleeping in the day where all could see him.

8. *vestitus*: abstract, his general style of dress, often joined with *habitus*; *vestimentum* is concrete, a change of clothing including hat and shoes; cf. ch. 12. 5; *vestis*, clothing, also collectively in the singular, "wardrobe." — *inter aequales, among that of his comrades*: a common brachylogy. — *arma*, what attracted attention was; the antithetic asyndeton makes the sentence very vivid. — *conspiciebantur*: more forcible than *conspexerant*; cf. § 7; 5. 23. 5; 22. 40. 4. — *equitum*: usually follows *peditum*, but its position is due to the preceding *equi*, and also to the fact that Hannibal was then the cavalry commander and a noted horseman. Nepos, Hann. 3. 1. — *idem*, alike. — *princeps*: temporal, but also local, as in 1. 26. 2, *princeps ibat, in the van*.

9. *has ... aequabant*: the Romans never forgave Hannibal for the humiliation of their terrible defeats, or the extremity to which he reduced them. They rarely mentioned him without an epithet like *dirus, durus*, or *perfidus*, and their accounts of him are colored by their feelings. Livy's own accounts, however, 22. 7. 5; 25. 17. 17; 27. 28. 1, show the nobler side of Hannibal's nature in the
treatment of fallen enemies. See Momms. Hist. Bk. 3, ch. 4, and Niebuhr's Lectures on the Second Punic War. — *vitia*: the following were the national vices of the Carthaginians, but of one, *avaritia Poenorum*, 29. 6. 17, Hannibal was free. — *crudelitas*: cf. ch. 19. 9; 22. 50. 6; 59. 14. Yet in ch. 14. 3, Livy excuses Hannibal, and Polybios expressly says that this charge of the Romans is exaggeration. On the other hand, Livy commends *elementia* as the virtue of his people in ch. 60. 4; 26. 14. 2; 36. 27. 6. — *perfidia . . . Punica*: so 30. 32. 7; 42. 20; *P. versutiae*, 42. 47. 7; *P. fraus*, ch. 34. 1; 22. 48. 1; *P. astu*, 35. 14. 12; *P. religio*, 22. 6. 12; cf. § 9. On the contrary, *fides Romana* in 5. 27. 12; 33. 2. 5. If, however, Hannibal had broken his word, as charged, e.g., at the surrender of Victumulae, ch. 57. 13, it is incomprehensible that other towns, like Nuceria, 25. 15. 3, or that the Romans, after the battle of Cannae, 22. 52. 3 (also 23. 6), should have entered into negotiations with him. — *plus*: see on ch. 2. 4. — *nihil veri, nihil sancti*: *nihil* with a partitive gen. or *nullus* frequently supplies the lack of negative adjectives and substantives like "untruthfulness," "irreligion," "irreverence." — *nulla religio*: a lack of conscience; cf. ch. 21. 9.

10. *indole*, birthright; some of the qualities appeared only in his later life. The plural of this word is not used in good prose, and in Cicero always in connection with a genitive. — *vitiorum*: zeugma, since *indoles* is almost never used except in a good sense. — *meruit*: served as subordinate officer. — *videnda*: joined with *que* as a supplementary and less important idea.

5. Hannibal's operations in Spain, 221, 220 B.C., freely after Pol. 3. 13 and 14.

5. 1. *ceterum*: resumes ch. 3. 1 interrupted by the digression about Hannibal. *Ceterum* is used by Livy for *sed*, particularly in indicating the use of a new authority; ch. 57. 5. — *ex quo die*: the attraction of *dies* into the relative clause is common, especially in the phrase *quo die magistratum inuit*, as in 22. 9. 7. In ceremonial formulas the noun stands in both the main and the relative clause; so in a consular edict, 34. 55. 4; in a treaty, 34. 35. 3; cf. 6. 1. 11, *diem ante diem XV Kal. Sext. quo die Fabii caesi*. — *declaratus*: confirmed by the Carthaginian people in distinction from the nomination of the army (*appellatus*, ch. 3. 1). For *declaratus,*
provincia (field of operations), mandatum and sociorum (§ 5), see on praerogatiam, ch. 3. 1. The Carthaginian Senate gave Hannibal no instructions, but silently acquiesced in his plans.

2. prolatandum: in Livy only temporal = differre, synonymous with cunctantem. Proferre elsewhere mostly local, e.g., fines.

3. quibus oppugnandis: simpler than quorum urbe oppugnanda, causal abl. but since.—movebantur, would certainly take up. The indicative is often used of actions that are represented as certain to occur under given circumstances. — Olcadum: on the upper Anas (Guadiana). — ultra: not often of a river boundary, as here and in ch. 7. 2; trans is more commonly used of a boundary line, e.g. trans flumen, montem, vallum, maceriam; see on 22. 43. 7.—induxit: from New Carthage in the direction of Toledo. — rerum serie, by the course of events, explained by finitimis . . . gentibus. — iungendo: absolute, “enlarging his possessions by successive additions of neighboring tribes”; Plin. Epist. 3. 19. 2, sollicitat ipsa pulchritudo iungendi; Hor. Ars. Poet., 242, series inucturaeque.

4. Cartalam: called Αλβαία by Polybius. — quo metu = cuins rei metu. A relative pronoun is sometimes put in agreement with a substantive, in a suggestive sense, instead of adding that which is suggested in the gen.; A. & G. 195, d. ; G. 613; H. 450. 4, n. 3. — stipendio imposito: a war contribution, not the annual money tax imposed by the Carthaginians on the subject peoples. Note that the agent of imposito, i.e., Hannibal, is not the same as the subject of accepere. — victor . . . praeda: a common mode of speech (4. 34. 5; 35. 1. 11), without strict application, since Polybius, Livy’s authority, says nothing of the plundering. For the adjective use of victor, see on ch. 40. 11. — Carthaginem novam: New Carthage, founded by Hasdrubal, 242 b.c., on a rocky promontory of southeastern Spain and strongly fortified, was the chief centre of the Carthaginian power in Spain. It was taken by the Romans 210 b.c.

5. civium: perhaps officers, since the army consisted almost wholly of subjects and mercenaries. — vere primo: of the year 220 b.c. In reverse order, ch. 21. 6. — Vaccaeos: the name of the people from the lack of a territorial name; cf. Olcadum fines, § 3; Vaccaes, § 8, and Brutii, in Bruttios, ager Bruttii, not Bruttium.

6. Hermandica: now Salamanca. Arbocala is not identified.
7. \textit{profugi}: substantival, yet modified as an adjective by \textit{ab Hermandica}; otherwise a genitive would have been used, cf. ch. 46. 2. This substantival use of adjectives is restricted in Cicero to \textit{boni, improbi, docti, mortales}, and a few others. — \textit{cum iunxissent}, having joined. One of the substitutes for our past active partic.

8. \textit{agmen}, \textit{column}; grave \textit{praeda} synonymous with \textit{inpeditum}, a statement lacking in Polybius; cf. ch. 47. 5.

9. The following description, compared with Pol. 3. 14. 4–9. shows that Livy made much freer with his authorities in such matters as this than in others. The Roman reader desired in these accounts the most detailed and lively report possible. Tac. Ann. 4. 33, \textit{situs gentium, varietates proeliorum clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum}. — \textit{quies} and \textit{silentium}: joined, as in 1. 13. 4; 4. 18. 6. — \textit{ab hostibus}: local, on the side of. — \textit{ita . . . ut}, in such a way . . . that: the front of the ford was left open, and the infantry arranged behind a rampart above and below.

10. \textit{inpeditum}: by the river; antithetic to \textit{liber}; § 14. — \textit{elephantos . . . quadriginta}, \textit{the forty elephants}; parenthetical clauses, in which numerals and superlatives are placed, often replace the English “the.”

11. \textit{Carpetanorum}: one of the most powerful peoples of central Spain, composing the bulk of the enemy; hence \textit{adpendicibus, contingents}. — \textit{centum}: Polybius says, “more than ten myriads.” — \textit{invicta}: the conclusion of \textit{si . . . dimicaretur}.

12. \textit{multitudine}, \textit{superior numbers}; as elsewhere, \textit{numero}. — \textit{freti}: often implies a misplaced confidence. — \textit{id}: see on ch. 4. 7. — \textit{ullius}: substantive, in place of \textit{cuuisquam}; cf. 9. 2. 10.

13. \textit{at}: for \textit{et}; so. 10. 29. 3; Catull. 64. 252; Verg. Aen. 10. 362, at \textit{parte ex alia}.

14. \textit{quippe ubi}: refers to \textit{medio alveo}, and is equivalent to \textit{quippe in quo}, which Livy avoids, as \textit{quippe qui} is seldom employed except in the nom. and acc. The infantry could gain no firm footing, but the cavalry raised above the stream had free use of arms and weapons. \textit{Vado}, the shallows with a swift current, is opposed to \textit{gurgites}, the deep places.

15. \textit{a pavore}: the preposition is wanting in the manuscripts, but is supported by 2. 50. 10, \textit{resperandui spatium recipiendique a pavore tanto animum}; 4. 25. 12, \textit{respirare a minis}; 22. 18. 10, \textit{ab continuis}
cladibus. — fugam fecit: fugam facere means both "to put to flight," as here and ch. 52. 10, and "to run away," as in 8. 9. 12.

17. et iam: seems to imply the conclusion of the campaign (220), though nothing is said of winter quarters. — omnia: so Nepos, Hann. 3. 2, omnes gentes Hispaniae bello subegit; but the tribes in the extreme north and northwest were still unsubdued. — trans Hibernum: see on § 3 and ch. 11. 3, and cf. ch. 19. 7; 26. 6.

6-15. 219 B.C. The siege and capture of Saguntum; the narrative, except ch. 15, is independent of Polybius.

The eight months' siege cannot be placed in the same year as the campaign against the Vaccaei and the Carpetani, and must belong to the following year, 219 B.C., since the march over the Alps and the battles on the Trebia and the Ticinus were in 218. Livy fell into error by following Coelius Antipater, but later he attempts to rectify the mistake, ch. 15, 3 f., and arranges events according to Polybius; cf. ch. 21. 1; 30. 9.

6. 1. certamina: at first only disputes about rights, in which the Saguntines became so involved that the Turdetani could demand redress; see ch. 12. 5. Appian, Hann. 3, says that Hannibal hired persons to accuse the Saguntines. — serebantur: sc. ab Hannibale, as shown by litis sator, § 2. Serere is a favorite metaphor, certamina, 2. 1. 5; discordias, 3. 40. 10; criminam, 24. 23. 10; conloquia, 24. 32. 4; leges, instituta, rempublicam, Cic. de Or. 1. 14. 31. In 27. 41. 5, certamina serere has the meaning of "to engage in." — Turdetanis: a people of southern and southwestern Spain, and therefore not neighbors of the Saguntines, described in 34. 17. 2, as inbelles. Perhaps the name is wrong. Polybius 3. 1, represents Hannibal as claiming to attack Saguntum because the Romans had violated their treaty obligations by interfering in its affairs.

2. orantes: Livy often uses the present participle like the future to denote purpose; cf. 24. 29. 1; 25. 13. 2.

3. et: usually omitted between the names of consuls in announcements of elections (2. 16. 1; 19. 1), or when they serve the purpose of a date; cf. ch. 15. 5 and 6. These consuls belong to the year 218 B.C. In 219 the consuls were M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus; cf. ch. 15. 4. — de republica rettuliissent: the formula for introducing a discussion on the condition or policy of the state. The subject of debate was introduced by the
consult or presiding officer, who called upon the senators to express their opinions. The envoys had retired before the discussion began; cf. 22. 60. 2. — inspiciendas: with aspicere, the standing expressions for diplomatic interference; cf. 27. 21. 7, missus qui rem inspicaret ac si digna videretur (then) bellum transferret; 39. 48. 5, sociorum res aspicere.

4. quibus si = qui, si iis; a combined relative and conditional clause, or a clause containing two relative words, is a favorite construction in Latin; cf. quibus cum, § 2, qui cum, § 3. A. & G. 201, e.; G. 612; H. 453, 3.

5. hac legatione: resumes the thought of placuisset, and makes the close of the period clear. — spe, expectation.

6. Africam: the senators who wished to declare war at once could not believe that Hannibal would attack Saguntum without the consent of his government. — decernentes, proposing to decree. — intenderant: merely to vary censebant and censerent, § 7. The plupf., because the purpose preceded the voting, “they had thought and therefore voted.”

7. non temere: the deliberation of a single session of the senate was not enough; cf. 23. 20. 9, vicit ea pars quae nihil raptim nec temere agendum consulendumque de integro censuit. The Romans in the year 219 were also engaged in the Ilyrian war. — exspectandosque legatos: the return of the envoys who should be immediately sent (maturius, § 8), possibly an embassy of the Saguntines who should confirm the report of the siege; in that case addatum est, § 5, would imply rumor, not official report. Que is adversative, as usual when connecting an affirmative and a negative clause, both being parts of a general statement.

8. ad Hannibalem: of course with the demand of § 4, modified to suit the altered circumstances, ut a Sagunto recederet. Ad ducem deposcendum refers only to Carthaginem. — absisteretur: Caesar and Sallust use only desistere; Livy also has desistere bello in 7. 40. 12; Curtius, 10. 7. 18, absistere bello. — deposcendum: the instructions of the first embassy, which Polybius says left Rome in the winter of 220–219 before the siege of Saguntum, were not so far reaching, but limited to a military examination at Saguntum and to diplomacy at Carthage; cf. the report of the second embassy; ch. 16. 1, and ch. 18. 4 and 5; 30. 3; Cic. Phil. 5. 10. 27.
7. 1. **parant consultantque**: the Romans prepared to send an embassy, and deliberated on the best course to pursue. The two words, however, merely denote a general state of unreadiness in contrast to the activity of Hannibal. Livy commonly joins *parare* with *agere* (*agitare*), cf. 22. 55. 5; 23. 39. 1; 26. 41. 6; 29. 4. 7. This expression conveys a reproach, intensified by *summa vi*, for the sluggishness of the Romans. It is directly expressed by a speaker in 31. 7. 3. — **Saguntum**: always neuter in Latin prose; in poetry and in Florus, *Saguntus* or *Saguntos* (fem.); in Strabo, Σάγουντος; in Pol. Ζάκανθα; cf. *Ilium* and *Ilios*. The Latinizing of the name belongs to a time when the different *k*-sounds were not distinguished, and the Romans lacked *v*, ζ, θ. The town lay in a fertile country. It was afterward rebuilt and famous for its red pottery. Its ancient walls, *muri veteres*, gave rise to its modern name Murviedro.

2. **oriundi**: sc. *cives* from *civitas*, synesis frequent in Livy; cf. *iurentus obsistebant*, § 7. — **dicuntur**: the Grecian origin of the town, even if there had been an earlier Phoenician settlement, is established beyond doubt by historical proofs (Strabo, 159, Appian, Hist. 7), and by existing coins similar to those of Massilia. — **ab Ardea = Ardeatum**, join with *Rutulorum*, which limits *generis*. The dependence of the Saguntines is thus made more apparent.

3. **tantas**: without the following *ut*, because it refers to *opulentissima*. “The state had such resources that it was the richest.” The cause of a statement already made is often introduced by *tantus or adeo*; cf. ch. 11. 1. — **maritimis**: of trading, in 34. 36. 3 of piracy. — **terrestribus**: of agriculture and mining. — **multitudinis**: the regular word for *population*. — **disciplinae sanctitate, their national integrity; commercial and political uprightness. — fidem socialem, plighted word; fides Saguntina became almost proverbial; Sall. Hist. 2. 21 D. Saguntini fide atque aenumnis incluti prae mortalibus; Pliny, N. H. 3. 20, *Saguntina fide nobile*.

4. **Hannibal**: as champion of the Turdetani. — **pervastatis**: apparently an addition of Livy’s authority (Coelius?), since wasting the country could hardly have been in the interest of the besiegers, but so Appian, Hist. 10; cf. ch. 5. 4 and 16.

5. **angulus**: a three-cornered bastion. — **circa**: the use of the adverb, especially of *circa*, as an adjective or clause is a charac-
teristic of Livy; cf. ch. 8. 5; 11. 12; 36. 1; 46. 3, etc.—per quas, under cover of which.—aries: a single ram; in ch. 8. 2, collective.

6. ut... ita, although... yet; as in ch. 8. 1; 11. 5.—locus procul, the ground at some distance from the wall.—ad effectum: the attempt to bring up the ram, admovere, was hindered by the uneven ground and the circumstances mentioned in § 7, and the efforts of the enemy to repel the attack, (submovere). Livy makes very frequent use of verbals in us.—succeedebat: impersonal as in 25. 37. 19, si successisset coeptis. An adverb, parum, propere, or satis is usually added.

7. ut... loco, as was natural; ut often introduces a circumstance to be taken into account either as an explanation or a restriction, as in ch. 12. 4, ut victore; 34. 1; 22. 5. 1; 26. 5. 7, ut in re trepida. Cf. 34. 25. 5, loca opportuna (to the attacking party) aut suspecta (to the defenders) praesidiis firnavit; 32. 16. 15.—ceterae, the rest of the wall, one of Livy's condensed expressions.—eminitus, raised high above: a new compound.—ubi: conforms to ibi.—timoris, the apprehension of danger; so Tacitus often joins periculum (objective) and metus (subjective); cf. Hist. 4. 69.—maior: instead of maxima for variety.

8. missilibus: as an adjective with lapides, saxa, cf. i. 43. 7; 5. 47. 5, oftener with telum, but most often as substantive, as here and in 23. 37. 3; 26. 39. 12; see on phalarica, ch. 8. 10.—munitibus: those who were preparing the way for the vineae and aries toward the wall. The subject of submovere and pati is Saguuntini.—pro: local, along the front of.—micare: with tela as subject, in imitation of Vergil, instead of volare; cf. i. 13. 1; 26. 44. 7. More commonly used of swords, but here with reference to the iron points, and perhaps to accensus; ch. 8. 12.

9. tumultuariis: engagements hastily begun (per occasionem, ch. 8. 7) with no regular order of lines, and quickly given up; opposed to instus.—ferme: always shows that the statement is not exact, and may be rendered, "on the whole," "in general," "about," etc.

10. adversum femur, the front of his thigh; the so-called Greek accusative not elsewhere used by Livy; cf. 24. 42. 2, Cn. Scipionis femur tragula coníxum erat; Caes. B. G. 5. 35, Balventio femur tru-
gula traicitur. — tragula: a heavy javelin thrown by the aid of a leathern thong, used by the Spaniards and Gauls.

8. 1. obsidio, blockade; often in distinction from oppugnatio, active siege, here further explained by ut . . . ita; cf. 26. 4. 1, Capua obsidebatur acris quam oppugnabatur. — dum: with the subjunctive implying purpose; A. & G. 328; G. 574; II. 519. 2.—quies certaminum: also with the abl. with ab; cf. ch. 11. 5; 1. 31. 5; 7. 22. 6; 26. 45. 5.—apparatu, construction; also used concretely of engines of war, as in ch. 49. 7; 26. 47. 5, captus est apparatus ingens belli, catapultae, ballistae, scorpiones, arma, tela, signa militaria. — munitionum: the fortifications of the besiegers, like munientibus in ch. 7. 8; those of the besieged are first mentioned in ch. 11. 5.

2. bellum, struggle: see on 22. 51. 1.—pluribus partibus: local abl., without a preposition, common in Livy, especially with pars. The unsuccessful assault upon the angulus was followed by a more general attack along the wall, in which all the reserve troops were brought up; hence coortum, omnia, multifariam, § 4, and, the plurals muri and arietes, § 5, instead of the singular as before. — vix accipientibus: on account of the uneven ground.

3. centum quinquaginta milia: shows how greatly Hannibal had increased the army in a short time. Hasdrubal had 60,000 foot, 8000 horse, and 200 elephants (Diod. 25. 17). Hannibal, after detaching the contingents for Spain and Africa of more than 30,000 men, led over the Ebro 102,000 men (ch. 23. 1); cf. Eutrop. 3. 7, Saguntum adgressus est copiis congregatis centum quinquaginta milium, probably after Fabius Pictor.

4. coepti: participle, elsewhere in Livy only in 24. 7. 10, Puteolos per bellum coeptum frequenter emporium communii. — oppidani . . . sufficiebant: chiasitic to abundabat . . . Poenus. The verb is not absolute, but modified by the gerundive expression.

5. quassatae erant: the plupf. marks the success of the continuous battering (feriri) before one part (una. sc. pars) was actually thrown down. — deinceps, successive; as an adj.; see on ch. 7. 5; cf. ch. 52. 5.—quantum . . . erat: in military phrase, “the curtain,” the connecting wall between two bastions; cf. 32. 24. 3, cum quantum inter duas turres muri erat prorutum cum ingenti fragore ac strepitu nudasset urbem.

6. ruina: means either a wide breach, in which case qua is
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local, through which, as in ch. 14. 2, or abstractly, the crash, like casus, as in 34. 29. 6, in which case qua means in consequence of which; cf. ch. 11. 5. — velut si: as in ch. 16. 2, but in ch. 5. 1 only velut. — utrimque: usually only the assailants press forward.

7. quales: refers to pugnae by synesis. — alterius = huius aut illius, one or the other. — inter ruinas: the besiegers pushed through the breach, while the Saguntines held the first line of houses.

8. hinc . . . hinc: ενθα, ενθα; first used in prose by Livy for hinc, inde or hinc, illinc.

9. magis: a necessary periphrasis since there is no adverb con-ferte. — vano, without effect; so close were the combatants; so 10. 29. 2, vana incassum iactare tela; 30. 18. 11, nullo ferme frustra emisso pilo.

10. phalarica: collective, a weapon used both in sieges and in the open field (cf. 34. 14. 11), like the smaller malleoli, fire darts, of the Romans; 42. 64. 3. — cetera: adverbal acc. (so in i. 32. 2; 35. 6, cetera egregium), an imitation of Sallust, afterward avoided by Livy, as in 37. 7. 15, virum ad cetera egregium. In Curtius and others, alioquin and ceteroqui are used with an adjective. — ad extre-mum: elsewhere in Livy only temporal, as 22. 23. 5. — sicut in pilo: the similarity was limited to quadratum. The shaft was square where it joined the iron, elsewhere round.

11. ferrum . . . pedes: interlocked order, as in 26. 4. 4, iacula quaternos longa pedes. — id: not ferrum, but the circumstance that, quod, etc. — ipso motu: the motion through the air fanned the flame, and spread the fire from the tow to the whole shaft, so that the shield to which the javelin clung had to be thrown aside.

12. arma omitti: see on ch. 58. 3.


2. in ruinas: the battle thus far had been in the open space between the wall and the houses, corresponding to the Roman pomoerrium. The Carthaginians were forced back among the ruins of the wall, there confused, inpeditum, and at last driven in utter rout, fusum fugatumque. — fusum fugatumque: a frequent alliteration, also with asyndeton, as in 23. 11. 10 (though Mg. adds que), less often with ac; cf. 22. 25. 9; 28. 4. 6.
3. interim: Livy skilfully breaks the narrative of the siege to introduce the account of the diplomatic negotiations at a point where the hopes of the reader are aroused for the success of the Saguntines; cf. ch. 12. 3. — tot tam: without a connective since tot, as an indefinite numeral, modifies the whole expression, tam effrenatarum gentium, which is analogous to multae effrenatae gentes; cf. ch. 28. 7, pluribus validis retinaculis; but also tot tamque when tot is an adj. like our "many and." — effrenatarum, unbridled; refers to the insubordination and lack of discipline resulting from a terrible war; in 3. 9. 4, joined with solutus, — in . . . rerum, at such a crisis; rerum may be omitted in translation (as in ch. 1. 5), yet it marks the contrast between action and words, the latter implied in legationes audire; cf. ch. 42. 1. — operaes: sc. pretium, as 29. 17. 19. It was not worth his while; he had no time.

4. quid: Hannibal feared that, though the dominant popular party (ch. 2. 4; 11. 1) should carry the day, yet some concession might be secured by the opposition (pars altera) that would hinder the carrying out of his plans for a war against Rome. Ne quid, not even a single point.

10. 2. causam: the legal claim of the treaty of 241 B.C.; cf. ch. 2. 7. — non: yet Hanno had a small following; see on prope, ch. 11. 1; cf. 3. 72. 1, non silentio modo, sed cum adsensu etiam audiri.

3. testes: to be joined with foederum; cf. 44. 15. 5. — monuisse praedixisse, had warned, had hidden betimes; so 2. 10. 4, monere, pruidicere ut pontem iinerruptam. Asyndeton between words of similar meaning is uncommon (usually et or ac), except in speeches, where the earnestness of the speaker justifies it, and in certain religious and political formulas, as ch. 17. 4; 63. 9; 22. 10. 2. — progeniem: i.e. Hannibal; the word is used both in prose and in poetry of individuals, as ch. 53. 5; 3. 54. 12, Sicinium, progeniem eius. — mitterent: follows the view that Hannibal was sent to Spain only to take command of the army (ch. 4. 1); Sil. Ital. 2. 286, removes the contradiction, ne castris innutrietur . . . monui. — conquiescere, keep quiet; quietura, be left in quiet; cf. the negative use of quiete, 22. 18. 9.

4. cupidine regni: see on ch. 3. 5. The charge of aspiring to be king, regnum adipeterc, was the most fatal that could be brought
against a Roman citizen, and many patriots suffered death under this charge falsely made. The accusation by Hanno is the reflection of Roman ideas. The figure begun in flagrantem and carried through the sentence is a favorite one in Latin, (cf. ch. 3. 6,) and the change from indirect to direct speech, often introduced by inquit, is frequent in Livy; cf. ch. 53. 5. The direct speech introduces the arguments against the war: (a) the endurance of the Romans (§§ 6, 7 to saeviant); (b) the weakness of the Carthaginians (§§ 7, 8 to volunt); (c) controlling and avenging fate (§§ 8, 9 to dedit). Recalling then the fear of disaster, Hanno wishes to take every measure to placate the Romans (§§ 11-13). — ex bellis bella serendo, arousing war after war; so in 2. 18. 11; 31. 6. 4.

5. foedere: the agreement of Hasdrubal supplementary to the treaty of 241; see on ch. 2. 7. — rupta: the speaker forgets the help given to the Mamertines by the Romans and the taking of Messana as casus belli. — ulti: sc. Romani.

6. fortunam: each people had its guardian deity or genius; that of Rome was worshipped as Dea Roma, the fortuna populi Romani; cf. 2. 40. 13, fortuna populi Romani duos exercitus confecit; 38. 46. 4, magna fortuna populi Romani est magnum et terrible nomen; see on 22. 29. 1. — sociis: the Latin never, like the English, permits one noun to be governed by two monosyllabic prepositions, but always repeats the noun even though the case is the same with each preposition. — bonus: ironical, hence prepositive; yet the ius gentium justified Hannibal in referring the ambassadors to his government. — tamen: emphasizes the forbearance of the Romans. — pulsi: the climax of non admissi, arcentur. — res . . . repetunt, demand restitution.

7. coeperint: as perfect of incipio. — Aegates insulas: off these islands the Carthaginians suffered, in 241, the disastrous naval defeat that ended the war. Eryx, where Hamilcar had been unsuccessfully besieged for three years, was then surrendered; see ch. 41. 6. — quae, and in general what; summarizes with asyndeton.

8. puer: contemptuous exaggeration; cf. ch. 2. 3; correctly, iuvennis, §§ 4 and 11. — Italia: Hanno implies that the Carthaginians were forbidden by treaty to sail to Tarentum, but Polybius, 3. 26, shows that this was incorrect by quoting the treaties. Iapygia, the district about Tarentum, was not then included under the name
Italia, which was applied to Brutii and Lucania. —ut isti volunt, as these very opponents will have it; i.e. assert. The contemptuous sense of iste arose from the habitual employment of it in addressing opponents in debate.

9. di homines: instead of the customary di hominesque; for the thought, cf. § 5 and ch. 40. 11. —Id, de quo, as to the subject of dispute; may be taken absolutely like id quod. —unde = a quo populo; not ubi, because the Romans said ab aliqvo stare; cf. ch. 5. 9; 24. 45. 3, qui aliunde set semper, aliunde sentiat, so constantly hinc.—ei . . . dedit: anacoluthon instead of an expected predicate like diindicavit, cum . . . dare.

10. ariete: collective.

11. levem: of the same Hanno, it is said in 23. 13. 6, simultas cum familia Barcina leviorum auctorem faciebat. His personal position assured him a hearing (§ 2), but exercised no influence on the decision. —in eo, in his case; note the four different meanings of eo in §§ 7, 11, 12. —paternas inimicitias, my hatred of his father; see ch. 3. 3.—iam haberemus: cf. ch. 2. 2.—furiam facemque: see on ch. 4. 2 and cf. ch. 40. 9; 22. 39. 14.

12. dedendum: the infinitives depend on a verb like puto to be supplied from detestor, perhaps purposely omitted on account of the excitement of the speaker. —ablegandum: in a military sense, "to despatch" (cf. legatus), "to remove to," without the idea of disgrace or penalty; so in 22. 25. 5; 23. 31. 7; 24. 26. 9; 25. 41. 3, praefectum ab obrectatoribus ablegatum, but cf. 27. 9. 3, in exsilium verius quam in militiam ablegari.—ad nos . . . accidere: i.e. ad aures nostras; cf. 8. 24. 11, quod ubi ad aures accidit regis; so fama, vor, clamor, sonus accidit; cf. ch. 61. 1.

13. ego: the thought of the dominant party leads the speaker to emphasize himself as spokesman of the minority, as in ch. 3. 6. —Hannibalem: repeated for clearness that ipsum may not be referred to exercitum.—res reddendas: corresponds to res repetere, § 6.—decerno: variation on censeo; cf. ch. 6. 6.

11. 1. omnium: strengthens nemini; oftener with unus and primus.—nemini . . . fuit: a rhetorical turn to avoid presenting the Carthaginian side, which is briefly done in ch. 18. 4. That Livy was disposed to present in the briefest terms what would be disagreeable to his readers, and to enlarge upon whatever was
favorable to Roman national pride, is shown further by the one-sided report of a debate in the Carthaginian senate in 23. 12 f. Other writers speak of a reply. — adeo: see on ch. 7. 3. — prope: among the leaders of the peace party was also Hasdrubal Haedus; cf. 30. 42. 12.— **Flaccum Valerium**: the genitive name follows the family name, sometimes in Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust, oftener in Tacitus, mainly to distinguish members of the same family, or when the praenomen is lacking; cf. 22. 40. 6; 45. 8; the usual order occurs in ch. 6. 8.

2. si: instead of quod, implying the hope that the Romans will not prefer. — vetustissimae: the answer is a piece of casuistry, for since 241 an alliance (societas) between Rome and Carthage was impossible, and the question was merely one of treaty stipulations. For the date of the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, see Momms. Hist., Vol. I., Appendix II.

3. ferunt: see on ch. 7. 1.— habebat: a near approach to the English auxiliary "had"; see on ch. 13. 6.— operibus: the operations of siege.— ira: corresponding to spe; cf. 10. 31. 6, hinc ira stimulante, illine spe; 10. 41. 1, Romanos ira, spes, ardor in proelium rapit. — ira in hostes: parallel with praemiorum spe. Ira cannot take an objective genitive as can odium, which is derived from a transitive verb; cf. ch. 25. 2. The harshness of the construction is due to the desire for balanced form.

4. ut vero, but when; as the stronger motive; ch. 7. 10. — contione: the regular word for a gathering in camp, even of other than Roman troops; cf. ch. 30. 1; for concilium, see on ch. 14. 1. Contio also means a speech (2. 38. 2, in contionis modum) and the platform from which the speech is made (2. 7. 7, in contionem escendit).— videretur posse: the order is intentional. Cicero's frequent use of esse videatur to close a sentence was blamed; see Tacitus Dial. 23.

5. ut . . . ita: see on ch. 7. 6; 8. 1.— nec lacessentes nec lacessiti, without attacking or being attacked. — aliquot: implying that the Saguntines had time to complete the inner wall; in § 3, paucorum (only a few) was used of the same thing to mark the energy of Hannibal. The acc. with per denotes continuous duration. — re fierent: on the old foundation.

6. oppugnatio . . . adorta: personification. — primum aut
potissimum: see on ch. 4. 2.—satis: in negative sentences, "fully," "with certainty"; cf. ch. 26. 4; 47. 3; less often in affirmative clauses, as 22. 15. 3, cum satis sciret.

7. turris mobilis: a wooden structure mounted on rollers and pushed against the walls by help of cattle and men. Its several stories (Hirtius Bell. Alex. 2 mentions one of ten) were supplied with tormenta, artillery, of which the two chief kinds were catapults for shooting arrows point blank, and ballistae for throwing stones at an elevation. These machines were not intended to injure the wall, but to strip it of its defenders.

8. tum: in a conclusion after a preceding cum to emphasize the time of the chief event and its accompanying circumstances; cf. ch. 18. 3; 22. 6. 9; after ubi, ch. 25. 12; after postquam, 26. 5. 17.—occasionem: always implies a favorable opportunity, as ch. 8. 7. —caementa: shortened from caedimenta, rough stone, distinguished from lapides quadrati, dressed stone. The wall having been laid in clay (luto) had not hardened (durata) into a solid mass.

9. caederetur: not ferire, quatere, quassare, which are used of aries; cf. ch. 8. 5; 10. 10; 14. 2. The subjunctive is generally regarded as the iterative, like agendum esset in ch. 4. 4, but it is rather the subjunctive expressing a conception not realized as fact. The wall fell beyond the place where it was undermined, where the pick had not struck; see on ch. 31. 2.—ruebat: se. marus. Livy often omits the subject of a main clause even when it changes; cf. 22. 61. 3.—patentia ruinis, the breaches; the participle as a noun, often in Livy; cf. ridentis, ch. 2. 6, and see on ch. 45. 9. The modifiers are adverbial; ruinis is abl. means.—vadebant: expresses the danger and difficulty of the advance.

10. velut: because the real arx was still held by the Saguntines. —inminentem: from which they could see better to direct operations, and the artillery was more effective; the verb is absolute, as in ch. 7. 7; with the dative, ch. 46. 2; 27. 41. 4.

11. sed . . . faciunt: rather an advantage; cf. ch. 8. 4, ad omnia tuenda multifariam distineri coepti.—in dies: merely rhetorical. In §§ 5, 10, the reconstruction of the wall is mentioned, and it is hardly possible that this should have been done several times.

12. inopia omnium: oftener with an added rerum, as 25. 26. 2; 28. 35. 2, penuria omnium rerum. Scarcity both of munitions of war
and of provisions, though Livy does not urge this. Cf. Florus, 2. 6. 19, Saguntini fessi fame; Eutropius, 3. 3, fame victi sunt, and the proverbial Saguntina fames in Ansonius Epist. 22. 42.—Romani: at that time (219) engaged in the second Ilyrian war. —unica, only; more often with the meaning "only of its kind," "excellent" (cf. 22. 14. 9; 27. 3, where it is ironical).

13. Oretanos: south of the Carpetani around the sources of the Baetis (Guadalquivir). —Carpetanos: annexed with que to avoid the jingle of the trisyllabic rhyme. —consternati: here and in ch. 24. 2, of men; of the fright of horses, ch. 33. 4; of elephants, ch. 56. 1.—omiserunt, abandoned; different from arma omitti in ch. 8. 12.

12. 1. nec = neque tamen. —Maharbale: afterward Hannibal’s famous cavalry leader in Italy, commanding the right wing at Cannae; see 22. 51. 2.—cives: the Carthaginian army; not sui, because Maharbal is not the subject; cf. ch. 5. 5.

2. tribus: proof of Maharbal’s activity in preparing for the final storm, and showing that aries, in ch. 8. 2, is not collective.

3. ipsam, the real; cf. velut, ch. 11. 10. Livy again breaks the narrative at a critical point to arouse the reader’s interest by a renewed hope of peace; see ch. 9. 3.

4. Saguntinum: forms a contrast to Hispanum, as the Saguntines were Greek immigrants (ch. 7. 2), and implies that Alc. knew better than the Spaniard the real nature of the Saguntines. —movebant: absolute; see on ch. 28. 4.—ut, as might be expected; see on ch. 7. 7; especially common before prepositions beginning with a vowel; cf. ch. 34. 1.—ferebantur: equivalent not to referebantur, as in ch. 13. 1, but to offerebantur, as in ch. 13. 5.—oratore: commonly a negotiator; here a self-appointed mediator, not a duly commissioned messenger (legatus). —moritum: sc. cum esse, often omitted by Livy; cf. moturum above.—sub: rarely found in the sense of under condition of till after the time of Livy.

5. postulabatur: the proposed terms (somewhat reduced in ch. 13. 6 and 7) were not harsh for the times. Rome imposed similar terms upon Carthage at the close of the third Punic war, and severer ones upon Capua after its recapture from Hannibal; see 26. 16. In this case Hannibal needed the money (omni auro . . .
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tradito) for his intended campaign against Rome, and it was necessary that there should be no large hostile city behind him, nor one that would serve as a basis for Roman influence in Spain. — **reddent**: so the Romans demanded for the Saguntines in ch. 10. 13. — **singulis**: one besides that worn; cf. ch. 13. 7; a common condition; cf. 22. 6. 11; 52. 3; 23. 15. 3, etc. — **ibi**: probably at a distance from the sea to destroy their commerce, or in different places to break up the community.

6. has pacis leges, such terms of surrender. — **alia, everything else**: weapons, walls, etc. — **interpretem**: not merely did he give the terms in Greek, but he recommended them (ch. 13. 9; cf. 2. 33. 11, *huii interpreti arbitroque concordiae*). — **publice**: because *hospitium* existed between the Spanish *civitas* to which he belonged and Saguntum; cf. ch. 13. 2.

7. **munimenta**: see on ch. 8. 1. — **praetorem**: *στρατηγός*, who received him as president of the Senate. Livy commonly uses this word of the chief magistrate or general of foreign states. **Consul** was restricted to Roman officers. The Saguntine magistrate had no colleague, and in speaking of the two co-ordinate Carthaginian magistrates, Livy calls them *suffectes*; cf. 28. 37. 2; Nepos, Hann. 7. 4, calls them *reges*. — **et ipse** = *καλ ἀντίς*; it was his wish also, as well as the impulse of others. *Et ipse*, not used by Caesar and Sallust, and rare in Cicero, is common in Livy; cf. ch. 17. 7; 23. 6; 26. 7 and 9.

8. **omnis generis**: descriptive of *hominum*, therefore placed before it; cf. 22. 9. 3; 23. 30. 3.

13. 1. **sicut . . . ita**: conditions corresponding to his hopes. — **venit**, went; cf. ch. 19. 7.

2. **nunc**: according to Livy's constant usage, who never places *sed* after conditions contrary to fact, *nunc*, and not *sed*, is inserted as the necessary adversative particle: cf. 22. 39. 3; 2. 28. 3, *si essent magistratus . . . nunc*; 34. 15. 1, *si privati processissent, ego quoque tacitust expectassent; nunc*; cf. ch. 40. 3; 22. 60. 7; 23. 12. 9; Gk. *εἰ . . . νῦν δέ*.

3. **alterius**: the usual substitute for the genitive of *alis*, meaning Hannibal. — **vestra . . . quod**, that I speak in your interest and not another's (Hannibal's) you may believe from the fact that; cf. 22. 61. 10. The inf. with *fides* is rare and not found before Livy. — **T**.
4. postquam . . . est: the arrangement is chiastic to the preceding sentence. *Est = relicta est.*

5. cuius . . . audietis, but of this there is no hope unless, as conquered men, you listen to the terms which Hannibal as victor offers you. With *ita . . . si,* cf. ch. 19. 3. — *quemadmodum:* as often, to avoid a double *ut;* so 22. 1. 16; 24. 8. 6; 27. 45. 9. — *ut victor:* since he now regarded himself as actually victorious, thus different from ch. 12. 4; *ut ab irato victore.* — *fert:* see on ch. 12, 4. — *vos:* added for antithesis to Hannibal.

6. *ex magna parte:* so. ch. 56. 8; Curtius, 7, 3, 7; much more commonly *magna ex parte;* cf. ch. 46. 6; 62. 11; rarely *magna parte,* 24. 34. 14. — *captam . . . habet:* almost a strong perfect of *capere,* "has taken possession"; A. & G. 292, c; G. 230; II. 388, 1. n; see on ch. 11. 3. — *adsignaturus:* the standing expression for the assignment of lands; cf. ch. 25. 3. — *oppidum:* merely a variation on *urbem* (cf. ch. 11. 5), and not to make a depreciating contrast.

7. *corpora . . . liberorum,* yourselves, your families. *Coniugum ac liberorum* form one member of the pair; hence the asyndeton. — *servat,* guarantees. — *binis:* with the same meaning as *singulis* in ch. 12. 5, but the speaker to make the conditions seem more lenient reckons the garments worn. The preposition *cum* is used both of that which one has with him (*cum telo esse*) and of what he wears, as 35. 34. 7, *cum sordida veste.* — *ab Sagunto:* see on ch. 15. 3.

8. *haud:* as commonly before compounds with *in* negative; so also before *dissimilis,* 28. 5. 11; *dificulter,* 25. 36. 3; *dispar,* 30. 28. 10; *dissimulare,* 3. 36. 2; *despero,* 2. 46. 1; *segniter,* 25. 35. 1; *neglegenter,* 41. 18. 12; *abnuo,* 1. 56. 8; *sine,* 6. 38. 11.

9. *corpora:* of man on his exclusively physical side, often joined with *libera* or *captiva;* contemptuously in 22. 22. 7; in a favorable sense, "person," 24. 22. 15; see on ch. 41. 16. — *sinatis:* note the change of mood. In a comparison of clauses with *potius quam* the second member regularly takes the subjunctive, as it expresses a conception, not a fact (see on ch. 11. 9); A. & G. 332. b; G. 647. 4 (where the principle is incorrectly applied to this case); II. 502. 2. In this sentence, however, *sinatis* may be taken directly with *censeo,* which as a verb of advising requires the subjunctive with or without *ut* instead of an active infinitive; A. & G. 331, d; G. 546; II. 498, 1. n.
14. 1. circumfusa: because the Saguntines apparently thought there was a truce during the negotiations of Alorcus; hence § 2, nudatum custodiis urbe. — concilium: applied by Livy especially to the political assemblies of foreign states and civic communities; cf. ch. 19. 8; 20. 1 and 7, while contio is mainly reserved for Roman relations; as Caesar uses res publica only of the Roman state, and applies civitates to the Gallic states; cf. praetor, ch. 12. 7. — argentum aurumque: an unusual order.

2. quassata: Livy does not think of any interruption of the siege. Other writers mention a desperate sortie of the Saguntines at night, preceding the final assault of the Carthaginians. — cohors: see on ch. 3. 1; cf. cohors Hispanorum, 22. 18. 2. — signum, announcement; usually "command," as § 3, followed by ut or ne with subjunctive.


4. concremaverunt: that the city was not entirely destroyed, or the inhabitants all massacred, is shown by the fact that afterward the city was used as the residence of the Spanish hostages (22. 22. 4), and that after it was taken from the Carthaginians by the Romans, in 213 B.C., it was restored to the survivors of its original inhabitants; cf. 24. 42. 10; Sall. Hist. 2. 21. D., in the account of the war with Sertorius, moenia etiam censura semiruta domum intectae paretosque templorum ambusti manus Punicas ostentabat. — mortientes = mortui sunt; cf. 3. 51. 13, ante quam . . . perlatis legibus.

15. 1. The whole account of the siege is like a drama in three acts (the first, to ch. 9. 2; the second, ch. 11. 3 to ch. 12. 3; the third, ch. 14. 1 to ch. 15. 2), with two interludes, the Roman embassy and the attempts at peace by Alco and Alorcus. — ingenti praedia: in accord with Pol. 3. 17. 10. — quamquam: this sentence is an attempt to harmonize the account of Polybius with the statement of the Roman historians, that the rich destroyed their most valuable possessions. The heroism of the Saguntines was used by Roman writers as a favorite topic for declamation, but Livy avoids the statements (see Cic. paradox, 24; Diod. 25. 20) that sons killed their fathers and mothers their children, and then hung themselves, as inconsistent with the assertion that an army of 150,000 men was enriched by a sale of the prisoners. He is also
shy of giving many examples of _Saguntina rabies_; see 31. 17. 5. — _corrupta_: as Diodorus and Appian report by melting the gold and silver with lead and copper. — _militum praeda_: at Rome such gains went to the public treasury.

2. _constat_: from Polybius. — _vestem_: clothing, curtains, tapestry in general; see on ch. 4. 8; _pretiosum_ is joined with it in 26. 21. 8; 31. 17. 6. The plunder accomplished the double purpose of gaining support at Carthage (hence _missam Carthaginem_), and of contenting the army.

3 ff. A critical excursus on chronology. — _quam_ = _post quam_; cf. 3. 8. 2, _tertio die quam interregnum inierat_. A. & G. 262, n. 2; G. 566; H. 430, n. 1, 3. On the fact, see ch. 30. 9. — _quidam_: by this word, as in ch. 38. 1; 22. 36. 4, Livy avoids the name of Polybius, his constant authority, whom as a Greek he does not wish to mention too often. — _in hiberna concessisse_: Livy's own statement in ch. 21. 1. — _ab Carthagine profectus_: _i.e._, from New Carthage. Cicero generally omits the preposition except in referring to the surroundings of a city, but Livy, after Greek usage, preferably has _a_ or _ab_; cf. ch. 13. 7; 23. 17. 9; 18. 14; 25. 22. 11.

4. _legati_: those mentioned in ch. 6. 1. — _ambo . . . ad Trebiam_: according to both Livy and Polybius, Scipio had no part in the battle, being forced to remain in camp by his wound, but his troops were engaged, and after the battle he conducted the retreat; see ch. 56. 9.

5. _breviora_: _i.e._, less than thirteen months. Livy here corrects the chronological error of ch. 6. 3 by adopting the chronology of Polybius who put the siege of Saguntum in 219 (instead of 218), Hannibal's winter at New Carthage in 219-218, and his march to Italy and the battles of the Ticinus and Trebia in 218. At that time the consuls entered on their office in March, so that Scipio and Sempronius were consuls from March, 218, to March, 217. It will be seen that the Romans had abundance of time in which to aid Saguntum, had they wished to do so, but they did not suspect Hannibal's designs upon Italy.

6. _excessisse_: "fallen out in the course of events," hence _in annum_, not the abl.: cf. 30. 26. 1. — _ad Trebiam_: without _facta_ or _commissu_ (ch. 58. 11), as frequently Livy joins a prepositional phrase of nearer definition directly with a noun; cf. ch. 5. 17; 11. 3; 21.
8 and 10; 43. 13; 50. 8; 53. 4 and 8; 61. 1; 22. 37. 1; 50. 3; 53. 4; 58. 1.—annum: 217 B.C.—quia . . . reedit: see ch. 63. 2; 57. 4.—creatus: i.e., Sempronius presided at the election, and declared Flaminius elected.


16. 1. idem: it is not possible that the envoys should have taken eight months for the journey to Saguntum, Carthage, and back, and Livy implies, partly by fere and partly by the position of the clause, that their report came first; but by joining it with the announcement of the fall of Saguntum he gives a better motive for the intense excitement at Rome. The statement falls in with the wrong chronology of the writers who assigned only two months to the siege of Saguntum.—omnia hostilia: in Carthage and in the army before Saguntum; ch. 9. 3.—excidium: from excindere with short stem vowel.

2. tantusque: this chapter and this sentence in particular are excellent examples of Livy’s mastery of style. He is at his best in describing exciting events and disturbed feelings (cf. 22. 7 and 8), and the student may note here, as matters of style, the order of the words, e.g., indigne after peremptorum, non lati before auxilii, uno tempore between tot . . . motibus like an adjective, corresponding to simul before the polysyndeton que . . . et . . . et . . . que, by which each feeling is added with cumulative force to the one before, and the use of nam with the infinitive (see on ch. 1. 5). The whole chapter is a climax culminating in the idea of a struggle for universal dominion carried on upon the soil of Italy. The feelings ascribed to the Romans are a rhetorical exaggeration, for the fact that they only slightly increased the usual levy of troops (ch. 17), although Rome had at her disposal a nominal force, including allies, of 770,000 men (Pol. 2. 24), and that they sent the consuls of 218, one to Spain and one to Sicily, shows that they did not expect Hannibal in Italy.—summa rerum, the existence of the state; cf. ch. 29. 4; 22. 53. 4.—ad portas: premature allusion to the later proverbial Hannibal ad portas; see 23. 16. 1; Cic. de Fin. 4. 9. 22; otherwise ante portas, as 35. 46. 8.—uno tempore: as adj., simultaneous (see above).

3. desidem . . . inbellem: in reference to Saguntum, antithetic to acriorem bellicosioiremque. The praise of ch. 1. 2 is for the war as a whole.
4. **Sardos**: the wars with the Sardinians and Corsicans occurred in 238–234; with the Illyrian pirates in 229–219; with the Istrians in 219, and with the Gauls in 225–222, all in the interval between the first and the second Punic wars, and all with enemies outside of Italy, foreigners like the Carthaginians. — **Gallis**: the Ligurians might also have been mentioned. — **tumultuatum**: wars with the Gauls were as a rule called tumultus, “disorderly raids,” since they were usually begun on the side of the Gauls with noisy demonstrations, carried on without deliberation, and therefore quickly ended; cf. ch. 25. 3, armis repenter arreptis; ch. 26. 1; 28. 4; 5. 37. 8, nata in vanos tumultus gens Gallorum. The passive use of tumultuari occurs in Caesar B. G. 7. 61, nuntiatur in castris tumultuari. — **belligeratum**: here only in Livy, archaic, used to correspond with tumultuatum; Ennius in Cic. de Off. 1. 22. 28, belligerantes.

5. **trium et viginti**: as if the Carthaginians had been fighting in Spain during all the time since the close of the first Punic war. — **recentem ab, fresh from**: flushed with victory. — **excidio**: hyperbolic; see on ch. 14. 4.

6. **concitatum**: carries on the idea of concivisse implied in the preceding excitos. — **Gallicas**: those in Gallia Cisalpina rather than in Gallia proper.

17. 1. **nominatae**: before the consuls entered on their office; at that time an uncommon occurrence; see 26. 28. 3. The *lex Sempronia de provinciis consularibus*, 123 B.C., first provided that the Senate should determine the provinces before the consular elections, and that after the elections the consuls should divide them by agreement or by lot (inter se conponere, comparare).

2. **sex**: the usual number was four. In 211 Rome raised twenty-three; see 26. 1. 13. — **socium**: this form of the genitive is common with praefectus and Latini nominis; cf. ch. 55. 4; 22. 27. 11. — **ipsis**: the consuls. The contingent of allies was usually determined by the Senate, but sometimes left to the consuls, as in 23. 24. 8. The Roman legion regularly consisted at that time of 4000 Roman infantry and 300 cavalry. The allied contingent of infantry was usually the same; of cavalry larger; see 22. 36. 3. — **parari, equipped**: the vessels which had been used the year before in the Illyrian war. This verb also means “to build,” as 37. 50. 5, naves quoque idem consul quae priore anno paratae erant, ornare iussus ac ducere secum.
3. **quinqueremes**: the customary war-ship, *navis longa*, from the time of Alexander the Great; first built by the Romans in the first Punic war after the model of a stranded Carthaginian vessel. — **celoces**: a swift spy boat, a sort of cruiser.

4. **vellent**: the usual asyndeton in putting a question to the people: for the direct form, see 22. 10. 2, and for the *supplicatio*, 22. 10. 8 and 9. — **eiusque bellii causa**: part of the formula as in 22. 9. 9; different from ch. 6. 1. — **bellum**: for the attraction, see on 22. 10. 2, and cf. ch. 5. 1; 1. 32. 13; 31. 8. 2; 36. 2. 2; 42. 28. 7.

5. **ea**: for eae, attracted by *milia*, often with the relative, as 33. 1. 1, *Thebis quod caput est Boeotiae*.

6. **transmissurus**: in accordance with the view of the war held at Rome Sempronius' purpose was clearly to cross into Africa, the *ita...si* (ch. 19. 3) being an addition of Livy's. That Cornelius received the smaller army shows that the Senate neither feared Hannibal nor intended to make conquests in Spain.

7. **quia**, etc.: also an addition of Livy's. Hannibal was not expected in Italy. — **et ipse**: see on ch. 12. 7. — **praesidio**: the two legions of § 9, but weaker in allies than those of the consular army; for the litotes with *haud*, cf. ch. 1. 2; 22. 1; 29. 4; 49. 11, and see on ch. 13. 8.

8. **ea parte**: i.e., the sea; cf. 25. 32. 10; more commonly *pars copiarum, armorum, virium* refers to a definite arm of the service, usually the cavalry; see ch. 41. 4; 53. 1; 54. 6; 22. 44. 4. — **suo iusto**: also *suoi* or *iusto* alone.

9. **duas**: quartered partly at Mutina (ch. 25. 8), partly at Clastidium (ch. 48. 9) and Victumulae (ch. 57. 9), but principally at Cremona and Placentia, so that at a later time, according to Pol. 3. 40, only the fourth legion was available for suppressing the insurrection.

9. **versa**: agrees with *provincia*. *Eodem versa* means lying in the same direction, i.e., toward the north; cf. 38. 51. 3. Two armies operated in the north, while Sempronius alone was in the south. Some (Wfl. Weis.) regard *versa* as neuter plural, agreeing with the several objects, in which case *eodem* means "to the same end," i.e., the war, and in *Punicum bellum* is epexegetic to it (cf. 23. 34. 2, *eodem ad Iunonis*). — **habuit**, received: the troops were not there before, or *habebat* would have been used; cf. 26. 1. 12.
18. 1. conparatis: so that the Carthaginians would have to pay, as in the case of Sardinia (see on ch. 1. 3), the cost of the preparations for war made by the Romans. — insta: the Romans were very punctilious in declaring war by ferial priests and especially appointed messengers: see 1. 32. 5-10. — legatos: the number increased from two, ch. 6. 8, to five. The princeps legationis, Q. Fabius (according to others M. Fabius Buteo consul, 245 b.c.) was afterward known as "Cunctator." Q. Baebius belonged to the first embassy. — maiores natu: as in the case of Jugurthan war first adulescentes, then, to give more weight, maiores natu were sent; Sall. Jug. 21. 4; 25. 4. — ad . . . ut: two final expressions, for inquiring . . . to declare; cf. 33. 16. 4, non ad tollendum modo decretum . . . sed ut.

2. id . . . videbantur, as seemed probable; from the controlling influence of the Barcine party; see ch. 2. 4. In expectation of such a reply the military preparations had preceded the diplomatic move. — defenderent, justify; like a verbum dicendi followed by an inf.

3. datus: the usual dative, iis, is here unnecessary as in 22. 19. 4. — unum: Roman statesmen understood the imperatorius brevitas (Tac. Hist. 1. 18) better than the art of discussion. — tum: following cum for clearness shows that the clause is not the conclusion of postquam; see on ch. 11. 8. — unus: Polybius says the ablest orator of the Barcine party.

4. praeceps . . . fuit, your former embassy was also hasty; the haste of the Romans was in first demanding the surrender of Hannibal, and then in peremptorily demanding whether the attack upon Saguntum was sanctioned by the state, before it was settled whether the attack was in violation of any treaty stipulation, and in both cases in declaring the penalty before the decision was known. — et prior: as 34. 44. 4, quem et priores censors legerunt: more commonly et ante, as 26. 40. 9, quod et ante acciderat, analogous to καὶ πρὶν, καὶ πάλαι, καὶ πρῶτερον instead of ἡδη πρὶν, etc. Before such expressions, especially before ante, antea, and pridem, iam is commonly placed, but often supplied from the context, as 22. 1. 1. — tamquam: the assumption of the Romans, but as the speaker blames the Romans for their haste, there is an implied admission that Saguntum was besieged with the consent of the Carthaginian government. — adhuc: as far as Fabius has spoken, but the declaration of war is foreseen. — asperior: inasmuch as a confession of
wrong forced by a series of crafty questions is more harmful than a simple accusation, and as the claim for restitution would lay upon Carthage a heavier burden than the surrender of a single person; ch. 6. 8.

5. repetuntur: the present of vivid realization, as the demand had been already made; cf. ch. 10. 6.

6. ego . . . non . . . censeam: with ironical tone, I should hardly think; cf. 22. 59. 13.

7. quid . . . fecerit: join with quaestio. — arbitrio: appropriate with suo, but implies consilio with nostro. — per foedus: general, referring to different treaties.

8. utrorumque sociis: the customary form of such treaties included the allies of both parties. — necdum (= etenim nondum), includes the idea of nondum, and serves as a conjunction.

9. at enim: introduces the reason of an implied objection, “but you will say that makes no difference for.” Then follows the reply. — excipiuntur: by a special exception, though they lived south of the Ebro; see ch. 2. 7.

10. foedus icit: Livy probably took the form icit from his authority, Coelius (frag. 6 P. qui cum is itu foedus icistis), as besides this he uses only the partic. ictus, and for other forms of icere he employs (foedus) facere, fierere, sancire, iungere, inire; cf. 2. 33. 4, foedus ictum, ad id fieriendum; 42. 25. 10 f, foedus ictum, facere, fieret, fuiendum.

11. ex auctoritate: sc. senatus, and so iussu vestro = iussu populi. — insciis: since the Barcidiae in Spain were in general independent of the Carthaginian government, and Hasdrubal in particular is described as uncontrolled; see ch. 12. 4.

12. parturit . . . pariat: Cic. Phil. 2. 46. 118, ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat quod iam diu parturit. The speech is the Carthaginian answer to the Roman view in ch. 10. Polybios, 3. 30, after quoting the treaties, says that the attack on Saguntum was unjustifiable, but that there were other grounds for the war “by which the conduct of the Carthaginians may be fully justified.”

13. Romanus: Fabius. — sinu: not the well-known fold of the toga, for that was wanting among the early Romans (Quint. 11. 3. 137, veteribus nulli sinus), but Fabius made a fold by lifting the
lower edge of the part of the toga that fell in front (*sinu facto*), and then again dropped it (*effuso*).

14. **sub**: see on ch. 2. 1.—**ferociter . . . subclamatum**, the fierce murmur ran around. According to Pol. 3. 33, the Carthaginian magistrate (*βασιλεύς*) gave the reply, and this was greeted with loud assent by the majority (*παρείοις*, not *all*) of the Senate.


1. **percunctatio**: like the deponent in ch. 18. 1 and 3, a demand for explanation.—**quam . . . disceptare**, then a wordy controversy over the validity of treaties; the plural *foederum* refers to the original draft and the subsequent modifications.—**Verbis**: stands in opposition to *derecta*, and the idea of "wordy strife" lies also in *disceptare*. —**excisa**: fem. by synesis, *urbe* to be supplied; see on ch. 7. 1.

2. **quid, in what particular?** —**priore foedere**: defined by the relative clause; the first draft made by Lutatius subject to ratification at Rome. In § 4 the same words refer to the accepted treaty of Lutatius in comparison with that of Hasdrubal.—**conparandum erat, would be compared**: in statements or questions containing a direct or implied negative, and with *vix*, the gerundive has the modified meaning of what may be done.

3. **diserte**: seldom before Livy. Cicero generally employs words like *aperte*. —**ita . . . si**: restrictive, *not . . . unless*. —**censuisset**: one would have expected *inassisset*, since Livy uses *censere* of the Senate and senators, *iubere* of the *populus*, *sciscere* of the *plebs*; but cf. 35. 50. 2, *amicos quos populus Romanus censuisset*. —**fuerit . . . sit**: not referred like *additum esset* to *conparandum erat*, but to Livy's own time and express his own view. Weis.—**mortuo**: if Hasdrubal's treaty was a personal one, then at his death the Carthaginians should have disowned it. Their failure to do so made them responsible, on the principle, *qui tacet, consentire videtur*, but it is possible that the Carthaginians were never officially informed of this treaty by Hasdrubal, or, in the five or six years after his death, by the Romans.

4. **etsi, even if**. —**qui tunc essent, existing**: a common periphrasis to supply the lack of adjectives of time and space; cf. *qui circa erant, 22. 3. 12; 30. 1; qui ibi erant, 23. 32. 1.—**ne . . . adsumerentur**: according to the rule that what is not expressly forbidden is allowed.
5. aecum: Livy’s defence suggests that the Roman alliance with the Saguntines was not due to their services, but to the wish of the Romans to raise an obstacle to the extension of the Carthaginian power. — tantum ne: sc. cantum erat. — desciscentes: as did the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia, whom the Romans supported.


6. imperatum: not elsewhere stated. — ut . . . perlicerent: a final clause depending on ut adirent.

7. Bargusios: an independent people living north of the Ebro, (cf. ch. 23. 2) in the neighborhood of Bergium (Vergium) identical with, or related to, the Bergistani (34. 16. 9), but for the moment Livy seems to place them south of the Ebro as subjects of Carthage (see ch. 22. 1). The Roman envoys going first to them were successful in attempting to spread disaffection among the peoples south of the river, trans Hiberum, but after reaching the Volciani, a people otherwise unknown, they met with a decided rebuff. — venerunt, went; cf. ch. 13. 1; not accidentally, but purposely. — imperii: they were independent, but dreaded the advance of Carthaginian power. Perhaps, however, the causal clause is to be joined with erexerunt.


9. quae verecundia: almost our colloquial “What a shame!” — postulare, to expect us to; the milder shades of “demand” are poorly represented in Latin; cf. ἐξηκόνευν with its various translations. — crudelius: see on ch. 4. 9.

10. censeo: parenthetical without affecting the construction, as often in hortatory clauses, so opinor, credo, puto and faxo. — clades: not only the destruction of the city, but the accompanying horrors; see on ch. 57. 14. — sicut . . . ita, indeed . . . but, or as . . . as; cf. ch. 7. 6. — documentum, warning; Florus, 2. 6. 3, Saguntos, fidei erga Romanos magnum quidem sed triste monimentum.— fidei Romanae: of which the Romans boasted as their national virtue; see on ch. 4. 9.


20. 1. His: sc. Gallis from Galliam above. Those nearer the
Spanish border in distinction from ceteris, § 7, but perhaps the
name of a people has dropped out, whose concilium is opposed to
ceteris conciliis. The custom of assembling in arms (cf. Caes. B.
G. 5. 56) once existed at Rome when the people as an exercitus met
in the comitia centuriata (cf. 1. 44. 1), but had long gone out of use.
—mos gentis: the genitive only with collectives, as in 5. 28. 3, mos
erat civitatis; the dative with names of persons and peoples as in 29.
16. 6, ut Graecis mos est and often; rarely apud as in 29. 29. 6.

2. petissent, made the request; since they had no claim; see on
postulare; ch. 19. 9.—inferenti = si inferret; as the envoys at that
time could not have known of Hannibal’s plans, Livy probably
used the word ex eventu; see ch. 16. 6.

3. tantus cum fremitu risus, such loud (derisive) laughter; sc.
mixtus; see on ch. 15. 6.

4. stolida, absurd. — censere: a loose appositive to postulatio,
because the following final and object clauses could not easily be
joined to the noun; but censere may be taken as an exclamatory in-
finitive carrying out the idea of stolida inpudensque, “that they
should think of!” The Gauls regard the request of the Romans
as a demand. — avertere: from the Romans.

5. tandem, at last, with difficulty: corresponds to vix, § 3.—ob:
see on ch. 2. 6.

6. contra ea, on the contrary. — audire, they were hearing; the
stories of the expulsion of the Senones from Picenum, in 232 B.C.,
were revived by the defeats of the Boii, in 224, and the building
of the fortresses of Placentia and Cremona in the territory of the
Insubrians, in 219 B.C. — gentis suae homines: cf. 6. 17. 3, popu-
lares suos; gentilis as a substantive in the meaning of countrymen of
belongs to later writers. —agro: of the individual, “from his house
and land”; finibus is rhetorical exaggeration. — cetera indigna,
other humiliations, which fall to the lot of a conquered race,—en-
forced service, giving of hostages, etc.; see Tac. Agr. 31.

7. pacatum: attracted from the genitive to the construction of
hospitale; cf. ch. 31. 11; Tac. Agr. 18. 20; the gen. in 28. 3. 5.—
satis, at all; postpositive like admodum; cf. ch. 36. 2.

8. sociis: the friendly relations of Rome and Massilia dated
from 390 B.C, when the Massilians, after the sack of Rome by the
Gauls, sent to the Romans a friendly contribution; see ch. 25. 1;
26. 5; 22. 19. 5; 26. 19. 13.—inquisita: participle; cognita: verb; cum cura ac fide are to be taken together and belong to inquisita; cf. 32. 1. 7.—praeoccupatos...ante, already won over; a common pleonasm in Livy; cf. ch. 32. 7; 40. 4. 13, molto ante praeoccupatum; 23. 6, ante praeoccupatum.—subinde, from time to time; oftener in the meaning of deinde; cf. ch. 62. 6, probably a word of the popular speech, and hence transferred to the French (souvent).—cuius...est: Livy’s remark.—principum: in the states whose organization was more democratic, in opposition to reguli; see on ch. 2. 5; cf. 31. 7; 34. 2.

9. peragratis: without nequiquam (ch. 19. 11) perhaps because theenvoys succeeded in influencing the Volcae against Hannibal. —haud ita molto: cf. 24. 29. 1. Cicero writes non ita molto; similarly in ch. 24. 5, haud gravate stands for Cicero’s non gravate, and in general haud is more common from the Augustan age. The statement here is not in accord with that of ch. 6. 3. Perhaps Scipio was still at Rome, though Sempronius had gone to Sicily.—consules...profecti; Scipio set out considerably later than Sempronius; see ch. 26. 3.—fama, rumor: hence fama invasit, adfertur and other similar expressions; ch. 1. 4.—Hiberum...transisse: as ch. 25. 1; 44. 6.

21-24. Hannibal’s military preparations; passage of the Ebro and the Pyrenees.

21. 1. concesserat: the winter of 219-218.—auditis: sc. iis, though in a sense the next two clauses are substantives in the abl. abs. with auditis; quae is repeated to mark the different proceedings in the two cities.—forent: common in Livy, especially in conditional clauses, as ch. 28. 6; 31. 3; 22. 41. 3.—causam. occasion; since he had not been surrendered to the Romans; cf. 22. 61. 14; 32. 30. 12, Hamilcar belli causa fuisse.

2. partitis: passive; cf. 22. 27. 6, and so used in the classic writers before Livy; rarely active in the abl. abs., as 23. 26. 2; in other constructions dividere praedam is more frequently found; so 27. 32. 9; 37. 5. 3.—reliquis: articles that at first were found superfluous, or could not at once be sold; see ch. 15. 2.

3. credo ego vos: a similar beginning of a speech in 24. 38. 1 and Cic. pro Ros. Am. 1. 1. Ego stands in contrast to et ipsos.—socii: Hannibal having grown up in Spain regards himself as a
Spaniard; cf. § 9, auxilia. — **pacatis**: from Hannibal’s standpoint. — **in alias terras**: compared with § 4, *ex aliis gentibus*, made it probable that the campaign would be against peoples farther removed than those north of the Ebro, but Hannibal’s real object did not appear till the crossing of the Pyrenees (ch. 23. 4), and then the rumor that he was to attack Italy rapidly spread through Gaul (ch. 24. 2).

4. **ita enim**, only so for, or the latter is preferable for; cf. ch. 17. 6.

5. **longinqua**: often temporal (5. 6. 8, *oppugnatio*; 7. 16. 3, *pax*), is shown to be local here, partly by its association with *a domo*, partly by § 3, *in alias terras* and ch. 23. 4, *longinquitate viarum*. Polybius, 3. 16, says “a protracted and distant war.” — **cara**: the neuter not of things only, but of persons as well.

6. **dis bene iuvantibus**: common formula, as ch. 43. 7; in later decades *dis volentibus* and *propitiis*. — **futurum**, that will bring. — **gloriae praedaeque**: predicate genitives of quality.

7. **potestas**: permission. — **iam**: already. — **desiderium**: homesickness.

8. **hiemis**: the adjective *hiemalis* is wanting in Livy; Nepos, Dat. 6. 1, *hiemale tempus*. — **quies**: is modified by two prepositional phrases, *per... hiemis* and *inter... hauriendos*. — **renovavit**: like *recreare* and *reficere* of both bodily and mental refreshment; cf. ch. 26. 5, — **vere primo**: so ch. 5. 5; commonly reversed, § 6, just as *prima luce* and *luce prima* change. The departure was delayed for some weeks; see ch. 38. 1. — **convenere**: at New Carthage where they received their furlough.

9. **recensuisset**, had reviewed; not *lustrassett*, because with the mustering of the troops was connected the allotment to their several positions and the separation of those unfit for service. — **auxilia**: the troops from outside of Spain. — **Gadis**: Cadiz, an old Tyrian colony, conquered by the Carthaginians after the first Punic war, and famous for its temple to the Phoenician Melcarth, identified with Hercules. — **exsolvit**: for his success at Saguntum. — **si**: the conclusion of the conditional clause after *vota*, here *quae ita exsolvenda essent*, is regularly omitted. — **prospere evenissent**: see on 22. 40. 3, and cf. 23. 27. 12.

10. **inde**: at the conclusion of his religious service, which Livy
must have supposed took place in Gades (ch. 22. 5), but Pol. 3. 33
more correctly places the events in New Carthage.

11. pro eo, in place of this; the following statement regarding the
troops is taken with unessential variations from Pol. 3. 33 and 56,
who says that he first found and copied it from a tablet of brass set
up by Hannibal in the temple of Juno at Lacinium, near Croton in
Italy. The untravelled Livy did not see it (28. 46. 16), but simply
followed Polybius, changing the order of the forces to the usual
Roman one of infantry, cavalry, and fleet, while Hannibal placed
his favorite cavalry first.—iaculatorum: those armed with jave-
lins, Numidians, 28. 11. 13, Mauretanians, 23. 26. 11.—levium
armis: slingers, bowmen, and all troops armed with light missile
weapons were included under the term “light-armed.” The abl.
with levis is rare; Tac. Germ. 6 sagulo leves.—petit: implies the
consent of the Carthaginian government.—pigeribus: the sold-
diers themselves were not the securities, but their families, rela-
tives, and property which each left in the care of the other; cf. 2.
1. 5, pignera coningum ac liberorum.

12. caetratos, targeteers: the castra was a small wicker shield
covered with leather used by the Spaniards; cf. ch. 27. 5; 28. 5.
11.—Baliare: Livy periocha, 60, a teli missu (βάλακα) appellati;
28. 37. 6, fiandis, ut nunc plurimum, ita tum solo eo telo utebantur, nec
quisquam alterius gentis unus tantum ea arte quantum inter alios omnes
Baliare excellant.

13. conquistoribus: cf. ch. 11. 13.—civitates: sc. Africae;
those subject to, or allied with, Carthage. The recruiting officers
gathered the sons of prominent families to serve at once (eosdem,
repeating milia) as a garrison and as hostages.

22. 1. neque, also not.—id, i.e., Hispanicam neglegendam.—haud:
see on ch. 17. 7 and 29. 4.—circuitam, traversed by the envoys
mentioned in ch. 19. 6 f.

2. Hasdrubali: the brother who in 207 entered Italy for Hanni-
bali’s assistance. He was defeated and killed on the Metaurus by
Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator.—provinciun: second ob-
ject.—firmat, secured it; the province and not Hasdrubal, since
Livy never joins praeidis firmare with aliquem, but with Africam,
urbem, arcem, muros, saltum, etc., and also since praeidis is used of
garrisons for places and not of personal body guards; cf. ch. 21.
10; 57. 6; 22. 15. 11; 49. 10. — Afrorum: elsewhere in Livy a substantive. — Liguribus: these, like the Ilergetes, § 3, were mercenaries and not contingents from subject peoples. The Ligurians, who had served on the Carthaginian side in the first Punic war (Pol. 1. 67), had been at war with the Romans in 238, and again in 223.

3. auxilia: see on ch. 21. 9. — Libyphoenices: the word indicates that Livy followed a Grecian source. Momms. Hist. Bk. III, ch. 1.— ad milia octingenti: see on 22. 41. 2. — Ilergetum: a people living between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, attached to the Carthaginians, as shown by their insurrections against the Romans; see ch. 61. 5. For the name, cf. 22. 21. 6; Pol. 3. 33, Λεργητῶν, and the present name of Lerida = Ilerda.— trecenti: changed to accord with Polybius from ducenti of the MSS. The Carthaginian squadron probably consisted of 150 men, so that the Ilergetes formed two squadrons, the Libyphoenicians three, and the Numidians and Mauritanians twelve. — elephanti: though L. Caecilius Metellus led 120 elephants in his triumphal procession, 250 B.C. (Livy Periocha, 19), and Hasdrubal had 200 of them (see on ch. 8. 3.), yet they were used but little in the second Punic war. In the battle of Zama there were 80; see 30. 33. 4; at Pydna, nomen tunatum, 44. 41. 4.

4. parte: see on ch. 17. 8. — vicerant: the three great naval victories of the Romans in the first Punic war off Mylae, Ecnomus and the Aegates Islands were offset by but one severe defeat, that off Drepanum. The fleets here mentioned are insignificant in comparison with those of the former war, when nearly 350 ships contended on each side. — aptae: as past partic. from apisci (apere) = aptatae, ready for sea; cf. ch. 27. 8; 49. 11; different in ch. 28. 8. — triginta, only thirty; see on ch. 4. 7.

5. ab Gadibus: reverts to ch. 21. 9. The muster there described Livy has taken from Polybius, who, however, puts it at New Carthage, and knows nothing of Hannibal’s journey to Gades; Livy, in here turning from Polybius to another authority, involves the chronology. — Onussam: according to 22. 20. 3, a coast town between New Carthage and the Ebro, perhaps the old Iberian name of the modern Valenta. — ora: ablative of road by which, like via; A. & G. 258, g.; G. 403; II. 420, n. 1. 3.
6. *ibi:* at the Ebro, the treaty boundary the crossing of which is thus, as it were, excused. — *in quiete:* so 8. 6. 9. equivalent to the *in somnis* of 2. 36. 4. Cicero has *secundum quietem;* later writers, *per quietem.* — *visum ab eo,* appeared to him; the Latin prefers the passive since in sleep one receives impressions which he cannot oppose. — *iuvenem . . . ducem:* Livy perhaps thinks of Ἄρεας ἡγεμόν (ch. 21. 9; 41. 7). Cicero in reporting the dream, De Div. i. 24. 49, says that Hannibal was summoned to an assembly of the gods, and being directed to invade Italy, was given as a guide unum e concilio (deorum). — *proinde:* introduces a command or exhortation, given as the inference from the preceding statement.

7. *cura ingenii humanii,* with the curiosity natural to man. *Curiositas* occurs once in Cicero (ad Att. 2. 12. 2), and afterward in Apuleius, Gellius and other late writers. Sallust, Jug. 93. 3, has *more humani ingenii.*

8. *serpentem:* the symbol of war, as nimbum of devastation. Cicero says i.e., belum vastam et immanem circumpliciatam serpentibus. — *mira magnitudine:* the ablative of quality as in r. 45. 4; the genitive is much more common of essential characteristics. A. & G. 215, n. 1; G. 402, Rem.; H. 419, 2. — *virgultorum:* Coelius adds tectorum, referring to the destruction of Italian cities, but this Livy omits as unfulfilled. — *ferri,* rolled along; of its irresistible movement. — *cum . . . nimbum,* a black thunder cloud.

9. *esse,* portended. — *pergeret porro ire:* the words were perge porro ire; cf. r. 37. 5; 9. 2. 8.

23. 1. *tripertito:* abl. abs. used as adverb. A. & G. 255, c.; G. 438, Rem. 2.; H. 431. 4, n. 2. Previous writers seldom use this impersonal form of the participle; cf. ch. 7. 4; 25. 9; 63. 7; 22. 4. 4; 5. 52. 2, inaugurato; 23. 42. 9, explorato. The statement is wanting in Polybius, and is probably taken from the same source as the similar statements in ch. 5. 16 and 7. 4, which casts a doubt on their value. Note that Livy proceeds as if the dream were true (*lactus*), while before it was only *fama.* — *copias:* Appian, Hann. 4, adds 37 elephants. Perhaps two-thirds of the army were Africans and a third Spaniards. — *milia:* more frequently omitted in the second clause; cf. ch. 59. 1, and often, yet added if the smaller number follows; cf. 22. 49. 15.

2. *Bargusiosque:* see on ch. 19. 7. — *Ausetanos:* in the west-
ern part of Catalonia around Vich (= vicus Ausetanorum).—Lace-
tania: see on ch. 60. 3.—subegit: their subjection cost Hannibal
about 20,000 men, so that reckoning 11,000 left with Hanno and
10,000 desertions, his force on crossing the Pyrenees was reduced
to 50,000 foot and 9000 horse.—fauces: the pass by which Han-
nibal reached Gaul was probably that near Juncaria, now Junquera,
over which a Roman road was made at a later time. It brought
him down to Iliberri, now Elne.

3. ad praesidium: so in ch. 60. 5.—Hannoni: who also had
the care of the baggage and valuables left by Hannibal’s army; see
ch. 60. 9.—obtinendae, to be held.

4. Pyrenaem saltum: so in ch. 30. 5; Nepos, Hann. 3. 3;
oftener P. montes, § 2; ch. 26. 4; 60. 2; in other authors also
Pyreneum.—barbaros: Hannibal’s army.—iter averterunt, de-
serted; Livian expression for signa deserere; cf. 22. 8. 1; 9. 3.—
inexsuperabili: this adjective used first by Livy of mountains,
etc., is here applied to the road over them; cf. 5. 34. 6, Alpes in.;
ch. 39. 7 and 9. Insuperabilis, first in the silver age, except in
poetry, is not used by Livy.

5. anceps, dangerous, without a substantive = periculoso
m, in Livy
found only here and in 27. 20. 2.

6. remisit: the Carthaginian version which knows nothing of the
desertion of the 3000; see Pol. 3. 35.—et ipsos: also, as well as
the Carpetani.—senserat, had felt, from their behavior; stronger
than animadvertere.

24. 1. Pyrenaem: sc. saltum, not montem; see on ch. 23. 4;
so ch. 30. 6; 60. 9. The name of the pass, scalae Hannibalis, con-
tinued till the later centuries; Pomponius Mela, 2. 6.—Iliberri:
indeclinable when oppidum is added; cf. 23. 49. 5, Hiturji oppidum;
34. 10. 1; without oppidum acc. fem. Hiberim, §§ 3 and 5; 24. 41.
8, Hiturium oppugnare.

2. Ruscinonem: like Iliberri, a Gallie town on a river of the
same name near the modern Perpignan. There is still an old
tower called La Tour de Roussillon.—aliquot populi: in restrictive
apposition to Galli.

3. conloqui: as often, the oratio obliqua after a word of sending,
implying a message, without an introductory word.—et: inserted
by Livy for euphony.—vel...vel: imply that their choice was
free and Hannibal indifferent, but in § 4 laetum and nec cunctanter suggest that Hannibal preferred the former.—propius: see on ch. 1. 2.

4. hospitem...hostem: see on ch. 4. 2; cf. 23. 33. 7, hostes pro hospitibus; 22. 30. 4.—si...liceat, if the Gauls would permit. Per often denotes a permissive agent.—Italiam: accords with the consideration mentioned in ch. 29. 6.

5. nuntios: the oratores of § 3. The usual order is et haec quidem per nuntios; sc. egit.—ut vero: contrasts the not entirely successful work of the envoys with the personal influence of Hannibal.—haud gravate: see on ch. 20. 9.—Poenum: Hannibal, as ch. 59. 5, Romanus the Roman general; cf. ch. 18. 13.—cum bona pace, unmolested; cf. ch. 32. 6; 1. 24. 3, foedus iictum...ut alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret.—praeter: since the gates were doubly kept closed; cf. ch. 22. 5.

25, 26. Gallic uprising; Pol. 3. 40. 41.

25. 1. in Italiam: the shifting of the scene to Italy and the change of the narrator's position from the Carthaginian to the Roman side is marked by the position of the words, and defined more closely by Romam, to which a Massiliensium legatis belong. Italiam is used in the narrower sense, excluding Cisalpine Gaul; for the Boii, who were in correspondence with Hannibal (see ch. 29. 6; 52. 4), would have received word directly from Hannibal, and not through Rome.

2. defecerunt: the Romans had subdued the Boii on the south bank of the Po in 224, and the Insurians, on the north bank, in 223.—in populum: see on ch. 11. 3; in 4. 57. 9, iram dictatoris creati, the anger is at the election, not the person.—nuper: modifies deductas. In accordance with their general plan for holding conquered lands in subjection, the Romans were establishing in the country taken from the Gauls two military fortresses, one at Placentia (Piacenza), on the south bank of the Po, and one at Cremona, on the north bank. They were colonies of the "Latin right," and consisted each of 6000 men. The amount of land taken for the colonists was determined by the senate or the people, and usually amounted to one-third of the conquered territory, in exceptional cases to two-thirds; see 2. 41. 1; 8. 1. 3. In the midsummer of 218 the fortifications were so incomplete that the commissioners distrusted their ability to hold them, § 3, but by the last
of the year they were so strong that Hannibal, after the battle of the Ticinus, did not dare to attack them; ch. 47. 8. —circa: see on ch. 43. 4; 54. 1. —colonias: separates the two prepositional modifiers.

3. agrum: that taken for the colonists. —terroris ac tumultus: often joined; cf. ch. 55. 9; 22. 28. 14; see on ch. 4. 2. —agrestis . . . multitudo: the Roman surveyors, and those at work in the field. —Mutinam: probably because the Romans south of the river were cut off from Placentia and could not cross to Cremona. The town, now Modena, was taken from the Boii, but though surrounded with walls (§ 8), was not made a colony till 183. —C. Lutatius: Catulus, not the victor at the Aegates Islands, but consul vitio creatus of 220. He was kept a prisoner sixteen years; see 30. 19. 7. —Servilius: released with Lutatius, after he had long been thought dead; see 27. 21. 10.

4. haud dubium: because he is mentioned by Polybius, who indicates the other two simply as ex-praetors.

5. legati, as envoys. —ad Boios: placed after missi to avoid the immediate recurrence of ad. —triumviros, as commissioners; the persons were the same, though confused by annalists, and the alternative here is to put the Gauls in the wrong in either case. Polybius says that after the hostile demonstrations against the colonists the commissioners asked for a conference with the Boii, and were seized on their return.

6. ad . . . rudis, without skill in the art of siege; a not uncommon construction; cf. 24. 48. 5; 28. 25. 8, as here, to avoid two genitives; with gen. 1. 7. 8, rudi artium. —segnis adsideret: the verb in its proper meaning (ch. 53. 6, adsidens aegro) has in opposition to obsidere the idea of inactivity, cf. 24. 36. 9, frustra adsidendo spectandoque; so the simple verb in 22. 3. 10; 24. 10; 56. 3. —intactus . . . muris, without attacking; a substitute for our verbal.

7. evocati: the regular word with ad conloquium; cf. 23. 43. 9; 25. 28. 3; and often of a summons to a besieged garrison, as 24. 1. 5. —legati: Livy takes the alternative, § 5, most favorable to the Romans. —in id tempus: during the negotiations. —obsides: those given by the Gauls in former wars. —eos: the Romans.

8. Manlius: according to the common view his troops were at Ariminum, but more probably they were at Placentia and Cremona
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(Where Pol. 3. 40, says they were diligently at work on the fortifications) for Tannetum, where he was blockaded, § 13, was between Parma and Mutina. — ad: without reaching it. Manlius's army was effusum from over-confidence.

9. inexplorato: see on ch. 23. 1. — praecipitatur: middle as in 22. 6. 5; 25. 16. 15 (where, as in this place, Madvig has praecipi-tat); 38. 2. 14; in the first decade intransitive; see 2. 51. 5; 5. 18. 7, in insidias praecipitare; 7. 6. 9; 25. 11. 5; impersonal passive, 3. 43. 5. One must distinguish from this middle use the transitive praecipitare, 41. 11. 4; praecipitare se, ch. 14. 1; 23. 19. 6, and the passive praecipitari, 22. 12. 11; 25. 24. 5.

10. ad temptanda: instead of the genitive, as with finis, § 13.

11. de integro: this second attack is probably a repetition of the first taken from another source, since the single events, forest, loss, safety in the open plain, and encampment are the same, and since Polybius and Appian know of only one disaster.

12. pavore: a sedito militaris broke out, on account of which Manlius vowed a temple to Concord; see 22. 33. 7. — omnium, general; corresponding to magna.

13. territandi et pavendi: so 22. 5. 4, and often. — Tannetum: Tanneto near Reggio, at some distance from the Po. — contendere: perfect.

14. ad tempus, temporary; see on ch. 15. 6. — commeatibus fluminis: brought by the river. In view of the position of the town, this is a pure supposition on the part of Livy or his authority; see ch. 57. 5. — Brixianorum: under this name Livy seems to have understood not the inhabitants of Brixia (Brescia), whom he classes under the Cenomani in ch. 55. 4, but of Brixellum or Brixillum (Brescello) on the Po. — etiam = vel; implies the unexpected character of the support. — Gallorum: added as in ch. 38. 7; 10. 26. 7, Senones Galli; so Pol. 3. 40, oi Βόιοι καλούμενοι Ταναιται. — in dies, from day to day; used with comparatives and verbs like augere, senescere; cf. ch. 11. 11; 22. 39. 15; with expectare, 26. 12. 9; cotidie, daily, denotes simple repetition; Cic. ad Att. 5. 7, cotidie vel potius in dies singulos breviore litteras ad te mitto. — tutabantur: because the Gauls at first besieged them; see ch. 43. 14.

26. 1. tumultus: see on ch. 5. 4 and 16. 4. — bellum: belongs rather to Punicum, and tumultu is easily supplied by zengma.
2. **una legione**: the statement of Polybius, 3. 40, that a legion assigned to Scipio was sent to Manlius, may be harmonized with Livy’s by supposing that a legion was hastily formed of troops enrolled, *dilecta novo*, but not yet fully organized and equipped. The smallness of the reinforcement shows that the Romans did not suspect an alliance between Hannibal and the Gauls, or did not believe that Hannibal would escape Scipio. — **consule**: Scipio. — **conscriptis**: belongs to *legione* also. — *qui, and he* : Atilius. — **abscesserant**: Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust use *decedere*.

26, 3—29. Scipio and Hannibal on the Rhone; first cavalry skirmish. Mostly from Polybius, but with a different arrangement of details.

3. **cum**, *under the command of*; cf. ch. 40 3; 54. 4; 69. 9. — **nova**: making seven for the year; see ch. 17. 2. Scipio’s departure was delayed by it till August. — **longis navibus**: used also in reverse order. The simple abl. (modal), 28. 46. 1; 30. 24. 6, is more frequent than with *cum*, 22. 22. 1. So with land forces. — **Ligurum**: limits *montis*, as shown by *que et*; cf. 34. 8. 6, *praeter vecti Ligustinos montes*. — **Salluvium**: between the Maritime Alps and the Rhone. The voyage took about a week.

4. **proximum**: sc. *Italicae*. — **pluribus**: the number given varies between two and seven. — **vixdum**: modifies *satis*; see on ch. 11. 6; cf. ch. 57. 9; 22. 4. 4.

5. **animadvertit**, was assured. — **refectis**: see on ch. 21. 8; cf. ch. 25. 10; 27. 6; Tac. Hist. 1. 31, *refecreat*. — **iactura marituma**, seasickness; so *iactura navis*; cf. ch. 48. 7. — **interim, for the time being**. — **ad exploranda omnia**: this construction is preferred to a supine because of the object, as in ch. 32. 9; 46. 3; the supine in 22. 42. 4, *exploratum mitiere*. — **visendos, to reconnoitre**.

6. **ceteris**: the Gauls, except the *Volcae*. — **Volcarum**: a powerful Celtic tribe in two main divisions (*Volcae Arecomici* and *Volcae Tectosages*) dwelling between the Garonne, the Rhone, and the Cévennes. Hannibal’s route from Perpignan probably took him past Nimes to the Rhone, above Avignon, which he probably crossed in the neighborhood of Roquemaure and Orange. — **validae**: in numbers; see ch. 60. 4. — **colunt, dwell**. — **circa**: see on ch. 43. 4. — **suis**: neuter.

7. **ceteros**: implies that Hannibal found other Gallic tribes on
the west bank besides the Volcae, which is improbable since the Volcae extended so far northward, but the addition gives a better ground for *ingens vis naviwm*, § 8. — *eорum ipsorum = Volcarum*, depending on the omitted antecedent of *quos*.— *suae*: the west bank.— *perlicit*: Polybius says he bought boats.— *contrahendas*: which was easy to do as many of the people engaged in commerce on the river.— *simul et ipsi*: the change of subject, as if *accolaes simul perliciebantur* had preceded, emphasizes both Hannibal's acts and the wishes of the Gauls.

8. *vicinalem*: Livy greatly increased the number of derivative adjectives in *alis* in use in good prose before his time, partly by adopting words hitherto poetic, partly by new formations. So ch. 54. 7, *nivalis*; 26. 49. 15, *matronalis* (Cic. *uxorius*); the often repeated *iuvenalis* from Vergil; 1. 28. 1, *lustralis*; 24. 34. 9, *cubitalis*; 44. 46. 7, *intermurialis*, appear new; cf. also 25. 18. 11, *turmalis*, and 41. 13. 1, *sangualem*, apparently taken from the augural language. — *novasque alias*: join with *lintrium*, not *navium*. — *primum... inchoantes*: pleonastic; see on ch. 20. 8.


27. 1. *iam*: i.e. two days.— *ex adverso*, in front; the Latin prefers to express the point from which an action proceeds or an effect is produced, while we prefer the point in or at which, using "where" or "on"; cf. *ab tergo*, § 3, ch. 28. 2; 34. 7; 57. 12; see on ch. 5. 9 and 10. 9.— *equites virique*: for the common *equi virique*, because *equi* would not accord with *hostes*. *Viri* here infantry, in § 5 horsemen.

2. *averteret*: sc. *Hannibal*; see on ch. 23. 4.— *Hannonem*: Polybius says the son of one of the suffetes, not the same as the one in ch. 23. 2, or others of the same name in the third decade. — *noctis*: pleonastic, as in 25. 9. 1.— *Hispanis*: because they were skilful swimmers (ch. 47. 4), and doubtless could better endure long marches than the Africans (ch. 57. 5).— *iter unius diei*: the cognate accusative, if a substantive, is generally accompanied by some modifier, which is omitted only in archaic expressions; cf. 9. 10. 9, *nocere noxam*: 40. 18. 7, *servitutem servire*.
3. *quam occultissime*, as secretly as possible; the construction supposes an omitted *tam occulte*.

4. *duces, guides*. There is now a small island "about 25 miles up the river," just above the mouth of the Ardèche.—*supra, farther up.* — *latiore . . . alveo*: ablative of description with *amnem*. See Appendix. There was no ford, but the greater width and consequent lesser current gave an easier passage. The island also afforded a rest in the middle of the crossing.—*dividebatur*: the indicative is common in the *oratio obliqua* to mark an explanation of the narrator. A. & G. 335, 6; G. 630, R.; II. 524, 2. 1.

5. *ibi*: at the island.—*mole, trouble.* — *vestimentis*: see on ch. 4. 8.—*caetris*: see on ch. 21. 12. As the same account of the crossing of the Po in ch. 47. 5 is taken from Coelius, it is probable that this story is also from him. Caesar gives a similar account of the Lusitanians in B. C. 1. 48. *caetris* is dative.

6. *et*: connects the thoughts of *transavere* and *traiectus*. The Spaniards swam the river, and the rest of the army (*alis = reliquis*, often in Livy) crossed on rafts.—*ratibus iunctis*, by constructing rafts; not *inter se*, but after the analogy of *pontem iungere* (= *iungendo pontem facere*).—*operis labore*: both the making of the boats and the construction of the camp. *Opus* is "work" objectively, the thing done; *labor* is work subjectively, with reference to the toil or pains spent by the individual.

7. *postero die*: the third day of his absence.—*ex loco edito*: modifies *significant*. — *accept* : from the watchmen.—*tempori*: equivalent to *occasioni*; cf. 22. 39. 21.

8. *aptatas*: ready for the boatmen to take the oars. — *ad . . . fluminis, for stemming the current*. — *transmittens*: used absolutely; as in ch. 17. 6; 51. 4.

9. *equorum*: three or four on each side of the stern. Curtius, 7. 36. 4, has imitated this account. — *pars . . . nantes*: synesis, often in Livy; cf. ch. 20. 1; 40. 9; 46. 4; 49. 10, etc. — *praeter eos*: an addition of Livy; Polybius, 3. 43, after the same account as above, adds "so that a large number of horses was taken over at the first passage." — *equiti usui*: two datives, *usui essent* supplying the place of a passive of *uti*.

28. 1. *occursant*: of disorderly movement as in 2. 45. 10; distinguished from *occurrere*. — *ululatibus*: of the Gauls of Brennus
in 5. 39. 5; of the Macedonians in 44. 37. 9; of the Tolostobogii in 38. 17. 4; often of women, but never in Livy of the Romans; Curtius has, 3. 30. 3, barbaro ululatu. — 

cantuque moris sui:

national songs; cf. io. 26. 11, Gallos ovantes moris sui carmine; 23. 26. 9, tripudiantes more suo of the national dance. — 

quatientes:

like concipientes; of a Gaul in 7. 26. 1; cf. 38. 17. 4, cantus inchoavit. 

trium proelium et ululatus et tripudia et quatientium scuta in patrium quendam modum horrendus armorum crepitus, omnia de industria composita ad terrorem; Caes. B. G. 7. 21. —

tela: spears, not swords.

2. et ex adverso: to this et should correspond another before ab tergo in the next sentence, but after the long clauses a change is made. — nautarum militum: Madvig has militumque, but the confusion is indicated by the asyndeton which often marks a contrast (see on ch. 10. 3) as in ch. 34. 6; 26. 13. 18, oculos auris. — 

nitembantur: the exertion of the rowers.

3. terror circumstatabat: the same personification often with an added object; cf. 6. 9. 10, terror Etruscos circumstaret; 42. 65. 8; absolute in 6. 2. 4. This personification and that of adortus clamor make the scene much more vivid; see on ch. 16. 2.

4. vim facere, to make a stand. — pellebantur: the imperfect is used not only of repeated actions, but more often, and especially with postquam, of incomplete ones. As the Gauls were hard pushed, they determined to flee before it was too late. — per otium triaectis: the opportunity was apparently used to count the army; see Pol. 3. 60.

5. consilia: Livy so adjusts the two plans for the crossing of the elephants that the first appears only as proposed, or perhaps tried in a single instance, while the second as the one employed. — 

variant: so in 22. 36. 1; 27. 27. 14, 

canvas variat. — quidam: Coelius, as appears from Frontinus, 1. 7. 2. — congregatis: vocabulum praeprimum on account of the following gregem. — 

ferocissimum: used as superlative of ferus; see on ch. 60. 4. Front. I.c. iussit ferocissimum elephantum sub aure vulnerari et cum qui vulnerasset, transnato statim flumine procurrere. elephantus exasperatus ad sequendum doloris sui auctorem transnavit annem et reliquis idem audendi fecit exemplum. — 

nantem: join with elephantum, but in § 12 Livy seems to believe, as did Polybius, that elephants cannot swim (so Pliny N. H. 8. 28, gaudent annibus cum aliquo in nare propter magnitudinem corporis non possint). They refer the action of the animals in the
water to *ferocia* (anger at the driver), or fear, *urgentes*, § 11. —
*destituere*: iterative subjunctive. A. & G. 309, b.; G. 569, R. 2; H. 518, 1. How the current could take them across is not clear. Perhaps Livy had in mind that a jutting point threw the stream from the right toward the left bank.

6. *foret*: subjunctive with condition implied in *ante rem*: see on ch. 21. 1. — *pronius est*: like *magis inclinat*, while *pronus in aliquid* is used of men.

7. *unam*: made of two parts according to Polybius, 3. 46. —
*longam*: cf. the order with ch. 8. 11. — *secunda aqua, down the current*: cf. *adverso flumine*, ch. 21. 2. — *validis*: without *que*; see on ch. 9. 3. — *parte superiore*: to trees; Pol. 3. 46. — *modum*: so in ch. 41. 4; *modo* is also used with a following genitive in comparisons as in ch. 30. 8; 33. 7.

9. *actuariis*: light boats with at most not more than thirty oars; see 38. 38. 8. *ab* with reference to the rowers.

10. *agerentur*: “whenever they were taken,” or perhaps it refers to the feelings of elephants, “as long as they felt,” etc., the subjunctive with *donec* expressing an iterative or perhaps causal idea. A. & G. 328, a.; G. 574, R.; H. 519, 2, n. 1. — *ceteris, everything else*: neut. plural. — *in altum*: used generally of the deep sea.

11. *trepidationis*: the uncertain, purposeless movements often resulting from fear; the motions of one who has “lost his head.” *pavor* is “panic.”

12. *excidere ... saevientes*: reverts to *trepidationis*; some in their blind fear and fury fell into the water. — *pedetentim*: probably from *pes* and *tendere*; not simply slowly, but carefully feeling their way along the bottom and selecting the shallows. Polybius says they breathed by raising their trunks above the water.

29. 1. *dum ... interim*: with the historical present in the main clause as in ch. 47. 7; with the perfect, 22. 31. 1; 52. 4; see on *cum ... tum*, ch. 11. 8. — *quinzones*: Carthaginian cavalry divisions of similar strength are mentioned in ch. 45. 2; 22. 48. 2; 26. 38. 11, and also in other authors (Pol. 3. 44), so that the composition of the Carthaginian cavalry regiment seems to have corresponded in its three squadrons (see ch. 22. 3) to the Roman *ala*; see 10. 29. 12. — *miserat*: after receiving the report, though Livy does not mention it. of Scipio’s landing in ch. 26. 3.
2. **ut ante dictum est**: Livy's references to previous statements are usually in the passive; see 1. 37. 4; 22. 24. 1; 23. 8. 2; less often with *diximus*, 22. 28. 8, and still more rarely and first in the fourth decade with *dixi*, 35. 15. 2. — **trecenti**: besides its Roman cavalry each legion had at least an equal number of auxiliaries (§ 3, etc.; 26. 5), so that the Roman force in this skirmish could not have been less than 600. — **atrocius**: the regular adjective for "bloody," "sanguinary." Disproportion is expressed by *quam pro* and a comparative.

3. **vulnera**: metonymy for *vulneratos*. — **caedes, the loss in killed.** — **fuga et pavor, panic-stricken flight**: an expression that does not accord with the preceding. Livy often joins two words of similar meaning for rhetorical effect; see on ch. 7. 1; cf. 17. 8; 26. 3; 31. 12; 33. 8, etc. — **amplius**: modifies the number, not the construction. A. & G. 247, c.; G. 311, 4; H. 417, n. 2.

4. **summae rerum = summae belli, the war as a whole**: see on ch. 16. 2. — **haud sane incruentam**: "by no means bloodless," "very bloody," since the Romans lost in this first skirmish nearly a third of their number in killed, and in the whole war perhaps 300,000 men; cf. *haud incrinento*, 2. 56. 15; on the other hand, 40. 32. 7, *magna victoria, non tamen incruenta fuit*, "not quite without loss," about 200 from two legions. It is not clear whether Livy made a difference between *haud* and *non*, or in the later books occasionally employed *non* for variety; cf. *non iniquus*, 32. 11. 3, with *haud*, 28. 2. 7; *non incertum*, 33. 10. 10, with *haud*, 4. 45. 1; and similar contrasts in 33. 11. 8 and 2. 1. 2; 33. 21. 2 and 23. 42. 13; see on ch. 22. 1.

5. **re . . . gesta**: of a single engagement; *res gestae* of a whole campaign. — **ad utrumque . . . sui**: hypallage for *ad suum utrique*. The usual *suus quisque* would not give the idea of the two sides. — **sententia**: sc. *alia*. Scipio had expected to intercept Hannibal, but now found that he could only follow the leadings of his enemy. — **et ipse conatus**: more forcible than *sua* (sc. *consilia*). — **nec . . . et**: the sentence would naturally have read *et Hannibal incertus erat . . . sed avertit*, but the change in the subject and the chiasmus make it much more vivid.

6. **exercitus**: noticeable attraction; see on ch. 32. 5. Adjectives like *primus* and superlatives are regularly attracted into the relative clause to prevent the ambiguity arising from the lack of
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"the," but the antecedent itself is not often attracted. Hannibal
does not seem to have had any intention of fighting till he reached
Italy, and the introduction of the Gallic messengers was doubtless
for the effect upon the army.—integro bello: i.e. without fighting,
more exactly explained by libatis viribus. Hannibal had now 38,000
foot and 8000 horse.—nusquam: for nec usquam, asyndeton corre-
sponding to that with duces... socios.

7. timebat: probably very few of Hannibal's soldiers had any
remembrance of the first Punic war. timere is fear, subjectively,
timidity arising from a sense of weakness against an enemy or
danger; metuere is objective, dread, apprehension in view of the
magnitude of the danger.—superioris: prins is oftener applied in
this decade to the first Punic war as in ch. 10. 5; 40. 5; primus in
ch. 1. 2 is not taken in historical connection, and in 22. 42. 9 is
absolute.—magis: a similar thought in ch. 23. 4.—iter... Alpes-
que: almost a hendiadys, the long journey ending with the Alps,
reckoned from the Rhone and not from Spain; see ch. 30. 5.—
fama: modifies horrendam.—utique: common in Livy. The que
gives indefiniteness to uti, and the compound means "anyhow,"
"at all events," and hence "especially," "certainly." Capses:
cf. ch. 38. 8; 48. 5; 54. 9; 22. 23. 3.

30. Hannibal's speech to his soldiers.

Polybius relates a similar speech at the passage of the Rhone,
but Livy gives it greater rhetorical effect by placing it after the
defeat of the cavalry. This chapter, like ch. 16, deserves careful
attention for its style, both in respect to the choice and arrange-
ment of words and to the arrangement of the subject-matter. Be-
ginning with a slight expression of surprise, sufficient to arouse the
soldiers' interest, the speaker recalls their past victories, and then
turns to encouragement. The dangers already passed are skillfully
massed in opposition to the one danger of the passage of the Alps,
and this danger is still further belittled by a reference to the ex-
plants of others. The peroration by a happy reference to Sagun-
tum sets Rome before their eyes as a prize immeasurably superior
to all others. The union of statement, question, and suggestion is
very striking. Note among many points the force of the position
of indignatos, militi, Saguntum (§ 9), Romam, cepisse, and the vigor
of the break, subsistere... quid Alpis.
30. 1. **sententia stetit**; in opposition to the indecision of Scipio; see ch. 29. 5. The same expression with the infinitive in 34. 12. 3; 44. 3. 1; in *sententia*, 4. 44. 9.—**Italiam**: not Scipio.—**varie**: explained by *castigando adhortando*, so 2. 2. 9.

2. **terror**: owing to the defeat of the Numidians. —**omnes**: see on ch. 5. 17; 21. 3.—**que et**: not uncommon in Livy (22. 44. 5; 23. 26. 8; 25. 16. 19), but in Sallust and Tacitus almost never used except when the first member is a pronoun, mostly *seque et*. —**diversa, opposite**: Atlantic and Mediterranean.

3. **quicumque**: one of the many exaggerations in which the speech abounds.—**obsedissent**: not *expugnassent*, since Livy represents the first embassy as coming during the siege; so. ch. 44. 4.—**nomen Romanorum**: to balance the sentence instead of *nomen Romanum*; again in ch. 43. 12.—**orbem terrarum**: applicable to Livy’s time, but not to that of Hannibal.

4. **exortus**: poetic plural with reference to the daily marches.—**intenderent iter**: as in ch. 29. 6.

5. **maiorem partem**: the basis of the story that only this fact kept Hannibal from turning back.—**emensam**: an evident reference to *inmensum* in ch. 29. 7. First used passively by Vergil, Georg. 1. 450; cf. Livy’s use of *expertus*, ch. 1. 2; *depopulatus*, ch. 51. 4; *auspicato*, ch. 63. 9.—**prohibitibus**: concessive.—**conspectu**: only in the distance (*prospectus*); cf. ch. 32. 7.

6. **quid . . . credentes**: the interrogative pronoun is occasionally joined with a participle to express displeasure, as in 6. 23. 5; 24. 26. 7.—**montium altitudines**, mountainous heights; so 27. 18. 9.

7. **Pyrenaei**: see on ch. 24. 1.—**nullas . . . terras**, no portions of the earth.—**paucis**: the envoys of the Boii.—**exercitibus**: the Gallic migrations. The argument was for present effect only; cf. 40. 21. 3, *viam exercitul nullam esse paucis et expeditis per difficillimum aditum*.

8. **pinnis**: a rare secondary form of *penna*; in the plural “wings,” different from *pluma*, the feathers as a covering; see Quint. 1. 4. 12.—**sublime**, through the air; in imitation of Verg. Georg. 3. 108; also in Cicero; not in *sublime ferri*.—**advenas**, from other countries; used adjectively with *cultores*; cf. 1. 34. 5, *exule advena*; 2. 1. 4, *plebs transfuga*; ch. 39. 3, *exercitus tiro*; see on ch. 40. 11.—**agminibus**: modal abl.—**liberis**: placed first as more effective,
often reversed, as in ch. 13. 7 and 9; 14. 4; 41. 16. —modo: see on ch. 28. 7. —transmisisse: in good prose used only of waters, here freely for transire, transgredi or transcendere, following Verg. Aen. 4. 154, transmittunt cursu campos.

9. nihil: their condition was thus better than that of emigrants. Their baggage has been left in Spain; see ch. 60. 9. —inexsuperable: see on ch. 23. 4.

10. caput: an anachronism like orbis terrarum, § 3. —quicquam: implied negation, nihil tam asperum. Note the following alliteration; the same in Sall. Cat. 7. 5, and similar ones often in Livy. —quod: oftener ut id after adeo.

11. ea: Rome and its possessions, taken by the Gauls under Brennus, 390 b.c. —proinde: see on ch. 22. 6. —totiens: hyperbole. —campum: se. Martium, about which Hannibal and his soldiers could have known but little. —moenibus Romanis: more impressive than Romae, so in ch. 16. 6; 35. 9; 41. 15. Note the change of tense cedent... sperent, corresponding to the wishes that they should not and should.

31–38. The passage of the Alps, mainly after Polybius, 3. 47–57, but with portions from other authors (ch. 31. 9–12; 32. 7; 37. 2 and 3).

31. 1. corpora curare: usually cibo somnoque; sometimes by bathing or oiling the limbs. The command was often given preparatory to a night action as in ch. 54. 2.

2. adversa ripa: instead of the more common adverso flumine of ch. 27. 2; opposed to secundo flumine; see ch. 28. 7; 47. 3. —mediterranea Galliae: the substantival use of the adjective, singular or plural, with a genitive, not common before Livy, is frequent with him. —non quia... esset: in accord with its concepitive character the subjunctive is regularly used in clauses in which a given reason is said not to be the effective one. A. & G. 321, R.; G. 541, R. 1; H. 516, 2. —quantum... minus, the farther... the less; the regular construction in comparative clauses, quanto... tanto, is often varied when a verb with an accusative takes the place of the adjective; as 6. 38. 5, quanto inre potentior erat tantum vinceretur favore = tanto inferior esset. In such cases tanto or eo is usually omitted before minus or magis; cf. ch. 54. 8.

3. cum quo: never quocum or quibuscum in Livy or Nepos. —priusquam... foret, not till he had.
4. **quartis castris,** *four days' march*; abl. abs., a current expression, used by Caesar, B. G. 7. 36.—**diversis ex Alpibus,** *from several Alpine sources* (not opposite, as in ch. 30. 2). —**agri:** this route afforded better supplies for the army.—**confluent:** hence the name "Confluentes," cf. 1. 27 4.; 4. 17. 12, "Confians," "Coblenz." *In unum* often joined with verbs compounded with con.—**inditum:** again in ch. 38. 6 and 9; Sall. Jug. 78.

5. **prope:** on the north bank of the Isère, in Dauphiné and Savoy.—**iam inde,** *from then* (stronger than *iam tum*), till their subjugation by the Romans, 121 B.C., under Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus. The student will recall their connection with the conspiracy of Catiline.

6. **et qui prius:** a second description, hence *et:* omitted in translation.—**pellebatur:** the quarrel was in progress. Polybius says that the elder brother asked and received the assistance of Hannibal, and then accompanied Hannibal with his forces to the foot of the Alps. By *delegata* Livy seems to think that the two parties jointly submitted their case to Hannibal.

8. **rerum omnium:** especially weapons according to Polybius.—**vestis:** collective, including shoes (Polybius); see on ch. 4. 8. —**frigoribus:** incident to the advanced season; ch. 35. 7.

9. **Hannibal:** Livy rarely encloses the subject in an abl. abs. (ch. 48. 5; 22. 17. 7), a usage common in other writers.—**ad lae-vam:** many unsatisfactory conjectures have been made to explain these words, which, if taken literally, indicate an opposite direction from that actually taken by Hannibal. It would seem that Livy, who here abandons the narrative of Polybius for Coelius, was himself in uncertainty. The discussion over Hannibal's route was very sharp in Livy's own time (ch. 38). The route here given by Livy was along the Isère as far as the Drac, then up that valley and across the watershed to the Durance by Embrun and Briançon, and over the Alpes Cottiae (Mont Genèvre) to the country of the Taurini, Turin. The much more probable route is that indicated by Polybius, who says that he both received the accounts of persons living at that time, and personally visited the Alps to inspect Hannibal's route. He says that Hannibal went ten days' march up the Rhone. This would have brought him to the neighborhood of Vienne. From there, probably turning eastward, he passed by
Bourgoin, and crossing the foot-hills of the Alps (Mont du Chat) advanced past Chambéry along the valley of the upper Isère. Crossing the Alpes Graiae (Little St. Bernard) he came down into the valley of the Dorea Baltea, by Aosta, and so to the Po. For a full discussion, see Histories and Wickham and Cramer’s Passage of the Alps by Hannibal.—impedita: by natural obstacles.—Druentiam: the Durance. The following description does not apply to its upper portion where Hannibal was.

10. et ipse: as well as the Isère and the Rhone.

11. neque iisdem, shifting, likewise modified by semper.—saxa glareosa, stones and gravel. The meaning is obscure: perhaps the expression is only one of Livy’s pictures; perhaps he had quicksand in mind.—tutum: not tuti; see on ch. 20. 7.

12. imbribus auctus: cf. ch. 54. 9.—super cetera: see on ch. 46. 1.—incertis clamoribus: rhetorical amplification of trepidatione. The direction of the sounds could not be distinguished.

32. 1. facturus: denotes purpose; with ut (§ 10) a feigned purpose; occursurus (§ 2) denotes circumstance.

2. praegressos, gained so much the start; expresses the advantage more forcibly than progressos, “gone forward.”—videt: has here the double meaning of physical and mental sight; hence the double construction of the accusative and the accusative with infinitive; so in ch. 33. 9.—ita: by returning; it was both safer and easier for him to take ship to Italy, and with the army in Cisalpine Gaul, meet the army of Hannibal, exhausted by the passage of the Alps, than to attempt to follow him through the hostile tribes of Gaul.

3. ne tamen: Spain was Hannibal’s base of supplies, and Scipio’s wisdom in attempting to cut off his communication with it was amply justified by the result. The single army that afterward escaped from Spain and crossed the Alps under Hasdrubal to reinforce Hannibal nearly proved the ruin of Rome. “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.” Arnold.—auxiliis = auxilio Romarum, not in opposition to sociis. The plural with reference to the different states to be occupied, at first north of the Ebro.—provinciam: Scipio could not exceed the letter of his instructions which assigned his army to Spain; see ch.
40. 3; 41. 2.—Hasdrubalem: Scipio did not know of Hanno’s command north of the Ebro; see ch. 23. 2.

4. socios: the Grecian towns like Emporiae, whose inhabitants, however, were only amici; cf. 34. 9, 10, sub umbra Romanae amicitiae lutebant.

5. exiguis: according to Appian, with a single quinquereme.—Genuam: this town, of which nothing is known before this time, was in the hands of the hostile Ligures and could not have been his landing-place. In ch. 39. 3, Livy says he went to Pisa, which is the statement of Polybius and Appian.—circa: on the north and south sides, mostly at Cremona and Placentia.—exercitus: the two legions originally intended for Gaul, ch. 17. 9, and the one subsequently raised, ch. 26. 2. For the attraction, see on ch. 29. 6.

6. campestrī...itinere: the description, though applicable to the journey along the Rhone (the country of the Allobroges), does not apply to the upper Durance, and is a rhetorical introduction to the account of the terrors of the Alps.—cum bona pace: see on ch. 24. 5; similarly 29. 1, 6, cum bona renia audire.—Gallorum: called by Polybius Allobroges, as also are the montani (ch. 32. 8), which Livy avoids to escape a contradiction of ch. 31. 9-12.

7. prius: see on ch. 20. 8.—vero: abl. with comparative; cf. 25. 24. 9, maior vero; Sall. Jug. 205. 3, amplior vero. For the thought, see Tac. Agric. 30, omne ignotum pro magnifico est.—ex propinquo: a common use by Livy of neuter adjectives with a preposition for an adjective or adverb; cf. ex aperto, § 10; de integro, 22. 5. 7; ex praeparato, 22. 41. 1; ex insperato, 1. 25. 9; 2. 35. 1.—nīves... inmixtae, fields of snow almost touching the sky. A. & G. 75, c.; G. 195, R.; H. 130, 2. cuius is dative.—pecora: sheep and goats; iumenta: horses and cattle.—torpida, benumbed, perhaps here it implies stunted; cf. ch. 40. 9; 55. 8; 56. 7; 58. 9; 22. 53. 6.—intonsi et inculti: so in 10. 27. 9, integer et intactus; 33. 45. 7, inimicem et implacabilem, but usually adjectives compounded with in negative are joined by que or atque or ac; cf. ch. 25. 13; 5. 38. 6, integri intactique.—animalia inanimaque, animate and inanimate objects alike: sums up the preceding.—cetera: perhaps storms and objects not affected by temperature, rock walls and precipices.

8. dedissent: elsewhere fugam facere, “to put to flight”; cf.
ch. 5. 16; i. 56. 4; 8. 9. 12; on the other hand, stragem dare, edere, facere; ch. 33. 6; 26. 4. 8 and 6. 10; hence here a zeugma.

9. visenda: to avoid the supine; see on ch. 26. 5. — transitum . . . esse, that the pass could not be forced. — omnia, amid places all craggy and broken; though a substantive omnia has the force of our "all"; especially so used with per and inter as in ch. 35. 4 and 7; 22. 6. 5; 39. 13. — potest: rarely omitted by Livy; cf. ch. 41. 4; 22. 3. 6.

10. Gallos: the envoys of the Boii (ch. 29. 6) and perhaps guides from the Allobroges. — abhorrentis: from the mountaineers of the same name; cf. 40. 57. 7, nec enim aut lingua aut moribus abhorrire. — dilabi, dispersed: describes a general, quiet break-up, often of soldiers deserting their standard. — ex aperto, openly; without stratagem; modal, not local. For its use with interdix, cf. luce palam, nocte clam; see on ch. 63. 9. By this account Hannibal seems to have lost a whole day, as the Gauls must have returned on the evening before.

11. simulando: the gerund, to make clear the gender, as usual with neuter adjectives and pronouns. — aliud quam: analogous to expressions with comparatives; so nihil aliud, quid aliud quam, cf. 22. 12. 11, also alius ac analogous to expressions of likeness and unlikeness.

12. digressos: corresponding to dilabi (§ 10). — laxatas: shows that Livy does not lay stress on quemque dilabi.

13. acerrimo . . . viro, all picked men; appositive to expeditis. — evadit, passed the defile; transitive as in 39. 49. 3, and several times in Livy; cf. Tac. Agr. 33, silvas evadere; also used with ex, as in 42. 18. 5, or the simple abl. as in ch. 33. 5.

33. 1. incedere: implies a certain slowness of movement; cf. ch. 35. 7; 28. 14. 14, presso gradu; 2. 6. 7, magnifice; 2. 58. 7, tardius.

2. castellis: on both sides of the saltus, but lower than the arx, the height which closed the pass. — alios . . . alios: the light-armed troops composing the advance guard, and the bulk of the army. — caput: collective. — via: the road under the cliffs.

3. utrque . . . res, the simultaneous perception; see on ch. 1. 5. — oculis animisque: abl. with inmobiles, which is proleptic for ita defixit ut essent in mobiles; cf. 22. 53. 6. It is possible to take oculis animisque as dative with objecta, in which case the translation would be the simultaneous effect on eye and mind. — misceri = turbari.
4. consternatis: see on ch. 11. 13. — quidquid = quantumcumque, thinking that any fright however slight. — diversis: on both sides; cf. ch. 30. 2. — in vias: conjectural for invia of the Mss., which must be joined with adsueti, as Verg. Aen. 6. 832, ne tanta animis adsuæcite bella; it is difficult, moreover, to note any important difference between invia and devia; iuxta = pariter, as in 9. 13. 9, iuxta obsidentes obsessosque inopia veravit; 24. 20. 13, die ac norte iuxta intentus. Accustomed to the mountain paths and windings, the enemy easily ran down from the cliffs on both sides of the pass.

5. ab iniquitate: the preposition is repeated partly for symmetry, partly from the personification carried out in the verb. — sibi . . . evaderet. all striving, every man for himself, to be the first to escape from the danger.

6. infestum . . . faciebant, endangered. — repercussae: often used of sound, hence especially with clamor and similar words, here of the valleys like our "re-echoing," resonantes. — icti: either by the missiles of the mountaineers or the unintentional shots of Hannibal's own men.

7. multos . . . armatos . . . sed . . . iumenta: the climax of stragem; multos refers to camp servants, the mule-drivers. — utrimque: the abysmal precipices on either side do not agree with the idea of an enclosed valley implied in nemora and valles above, but the description is rhetorical. — ruinae . . . modo, like a falling tower. The iumenta, mules, in distinction from equi, carried very high packs. For modo, see on ch. 28. 7.

8. suos: the expediti; cf. ch. 32. 13. — tumultum ac trepidationem: see on ch. 4. 2 and 25. 3, and cf. 22. 55. 6.

9. agmen: of the advance movement. — exutum = si exutus esset; cf. ch. 5. 3. — decurrit: strengthened by ex superiore loco, because the verb is also used of forming on parade and of manoeuvres in drill; cf. 23. 35. 6; 25. 17. 5. — impetum ipso: synonymous with primo statim impetu, congressu, concursu, as 1. 25. 4; 4. 33. 1.

10. momento temporis: see on ch. 14. 3. — liberata, cleared; different from the use of the verb in the silver Latin liberare angustias, flumen, "to traverse," "pass."

11. Castellum: a town of the Allobroges (Pol. 3. 51. 9), perhaps near Chambesy. — cibo: food in the narrower sense of cibaria, or coactus cibus (3. 23. 3; 34. 12. 7), in distinction from flesh,
pecora. Polybius says that Hannibal here took a day’s rest.—
primo: the mountaineers afterward renewed their attack; see ch.
34. 6.—magnopere: in negative sentences, “particularly,”
“especially”; cf. 37. 60. 5, nihil magnopere moverunt; otherwise
“urgently,” especially with suadere, movere, curare, and the like;
cf. 23. 22. 5; 25. 40. 11.
34. 1. frequentem, abounding in; gives to populum the meaning
of “canton” or “district,” whose fertility is implied by cultoribus
rather than incolis.—ut: restrictive; see on ch. 7. 7.—suis: see
on ch. 4. 9, and cf. 22. 16. 4.
2. Poenum: Hannibal; harsh in view of the following Poenos-
rum.—doctos: so Tac. Agric. 19; after analogy of usu doctus; cf.
4. 46. 4; 7. 38. 9. Commonly it means “learned,” “shrewd”; edoc-
tus is the regular word for taught as in 22. 12. 5; 29. 18. 6; 30. 37.
1, cladibus. The corresponding substantive is documentum; cf. 3.
50. 8, aliena calamitate documentum datum.
3. fīdem, guarantee. Nägelsbach gives six different meanings of
fīdes, three subjective and three objective: (a) belief, e.g. facta fide
inmortalitatis, 1. 16. 1; (b) trustworthiness, e.g. quia dubiae fidei vide-
batur, 1. 54. 3; (c) credit, confidence, e.g. ubi fides iis non esset. ch. 35.
4; objective, (d) guarantee, e.g. the passage in the text; (e) credi-
bility, e.g. rem ausus plus famae habituram quam fidei, 2. 10. 11;
(f) pledge, and that for which a pledge is given, allegiance, e.g. cum
fortuna mutaverat fīdem, 22. 22. 6.—acciperet: depends on memo-
rantes, implying a wish.
4. nequaquam: arrange nequaquam (ita) composito agmine ut
inter pacatos {fieri solet). The usual order in passing through a
friendly country was to have the baggage train in the rear. Han-
nibal now placed it in the middle, putting it between the cavalry
and the elephants in front and the infantry behind.
5. erant, formed.—robore: according to Polybius, the heavy
armed.—circumspectans: cf. 22. 22. 8; Sall. Jug. circumspectare
omnia.
6. viam: Polybius describes the place, 3. 53. 5, περὶ τι λευκόπτε-
ρον ὄχυρον, which is usually referred to La Roche Blanche at the foot
of the Little St. Bernard pass.—insuper inminenti: instead of
superinminere; see on ch. 1. 5.—barbari: here first for the pre-
viously mentioned montani, hostes.—a fronte . . . eminus . . de-
volvunt: the twofold asyndeton corresponds with the confusion of the scene; cf. ch. 27. 2. petunt, attack, is absolute, a rare use.


8. tunc quoque, as it was. —Hannibal: the infantry under the command of Hannibal formed the rear guard for the cavalry and the baggage; but Hannibal saw that if they followed the cavalry immediately into the defile, their rear would be exposed to the attack of the mountaineers. While he hesitated, the enemy cut the line. Livy’s account is hardly consistent, as in ch. 35. 1 he represents the mountaineers as having gained no point of advantage, but simply as harassing the Carthaginians. Polybius says merely that Hannibal, in order to defend the rear of the cavalry, was obliged to take his station for a night upon a bare rock.

9. occursantes: denotes the disorderly, repeated attacks; see on ch. 28. 1. —interrupto: as in ch. 33. 1, perrumpere agmen, aciem; cf. 8. 30. 6; 33. 8. 14.—Hannibali: dative of agent, common with perf. pass. partic. of passive verbs, and their compound tenses; joined by Livy even with the present; cf. 22. 34. 8.

35. 1. intercursantibus: first used in prose by Livy; so in 35. 5. 10, interequitare; 36. 28. 4, interfari after Vergil; 22. 30. 6, interiungere. The substantive intercursus in ch. 46. 7 is also first used by Livy. —pernicie: stronger than damno, detrimento, implies that the animals were killed or rendered unserviceable. The loss was exclusive of those mentioned in § 5 as saved.

2. inde, from then on.—latrocinii: i.e. by picking off stragglers and watching opportunities for descents upon the baggage. Often used by Livy in opposition to bellum, as 2. 48. 5, neque pax neque bellum . . . res proxime formam latrocinii venerat.—daret: iterative subj.; so fecissent, and incederent, § 3; see on ch. 28. 10.—progressi: sc. longius.—fecissent: merely to vary daret (other writers use offerre, praebere); so occasionem after opportunitatem.

3. sicut . . . ita: see on ch. 7. 6.—praecipites vias: forming one idea; hence the adjective precedes, and artas is prefixed without conjunction, “narrow defiles.”—insuetis: absolute; adeundi is to be joined with metus.
4. in iugum . . . perventum est, the summit was reached; the impersonal passive, common where the act rather than the actor is emphasized, is here appropriate because the logical subject includes general, soldiers, and animals; cf. ch. 34. 1; 36. 1; 38. 1. On the other hand, pervenit (ch. 32. 6) is used of the unobstructed march through the plain. — per . . . errores, through places mostly pathless and with many wanderings; with pleraque, which perhaps is to be taken with errores, cf. omnia, ch. 32. 9, and § 7, and note the double meaning of per. — ducentium: those of ch. 34. 3; usually dux, dactor itineris. — initae: see on amissae, ch. 1. 5. The valleys seemed to open favorably, but ended in impassable cliffs.

6. fessis taedio: courage affects the physical condition, and vice versa; fessis has a different meaning in § 5 and ch. 11. 3. — casus: here the simple verbal from cadere; similarly 37. 32. 4, casus murorum = ruina; Lucretius, 5. 206, assidus geli casus. — occidente . . . Vergiliarum, as it was about the time of the setting of the Pleiades. According to Pliny, N. H. 2. 47. 125, this occurred about the 26th of October, but the fact that the first snow-fall in the Little St. Bernard usually occurs a month earlier, and a consideration of the time required for the events that occurred before the battle on the Trebia, seem to show that Hannibal crossed the Alps toward the last of September. — Vergiliarum: derived by the ancients from ver, quia corum ortu ver finitur. Their setting marked the beginning of the winter season and the close of navigation.

7. signis . . . motis: not used by Caesar, who writes castra movere or signa ferre; cf. 22. 36. 6; 38. 6. — pigritia, despondency. — eminert, was depicted; the preposition in the verb has lost its force, hence in with vultu; absolute in 42. 62. 2, Thracum insolens laetitia eminebat; the older prose was more exact. Cic. in Verr. 5. 62. 161, has ex ore eminebat.

8. promunturio: from prominere, etymologically promenturium, but already incorrectly given by the Romans promunturium, as if derived from mons. Much labor has been unsuccessfully spent in trying to identify this place. The whole account is a rhetorical flourish. There is no place in the Little St. Bernard or on Mount Genévre where the plains of the Po, much less Rome, are visible. The lower Alpine valleys were in sight, and these were sufficient as a promise of future good.
9. moenia: Cato in the Origines says that the Alps protect Italy muri rice, and Polybius compares them to an acropolis. — tum: the iam of the oratio rectu. — transcendere: depends on ostentat as a verb of saying; cf. videt, ch. 32. 2. — plana, proclivia: only of the country, which he thought would offer no more serious difficulties; not figuratively "easy," since Hannibal could not represent the struggle easy in comparison with that with the mountaineers, and in figurative meaning expeditus, pronus (virtuti) would have been used. — summum, at most; often to avoid the ambiguous ad summum. — altero, in two. — arcem et caput: synonymous repetition for Rome: cf. 22. 32. 5; arx urbis (of the capitol), 22. 37. 12.

10. furta, surprises.

11. tanto: separated unusually far from its comparative, owing to the enclosing of one comparative clause within another. — ab Italia, on the side of Italy.

12. praeceps: co-ordinate with angusta and lubrica, not as in § 3; lubrica is last, giving the main reason for the following clause. — sustinere se a lapsu, keep themselves from slipping; construed like verba defendendi; qui . . . titubassent repeats the idea. — nec . . . occiderent, nor could those, who slipped and fell, keep their position, but rolled one upon another, and the cattle upon the men; vestigio, abl., to be joined with haerere. For alii, see on 22. 6. 5. The reading iumenta in homines is very harsh, following alique super alios. A comparison with 22. 6. 5, armaque et viri super alium alii, suggests et for in, so as to read et iumenta et homines.

36. 1. ventum: the road which up to this point had been quite narrow (ch. 34. 6) became so much more contracted, and the rocky sides so steep (rectis), that a soldier, though unencumbered with baggage, could scarcely work his way down by feeling his way (temptabundus), and by grasping the bushes. Livy's story that the road was broken by a chasm 1000 feet in depth is absurd, considering the time and means taken to get over it (see ch. 37. 2), and probably arose from a misapprehension of Polybius' statement, that for 900 feet in length the road had been rendered impracticable by a landslide for the elephants and beasts of burden. — rectis saxis: ablative of quality, joined by atque to angustirem to avoid a repetition of praeceps: rectus is rare in this sense, as also arrectus in ch. 35. 11. — temptabundus: many adjectives in bundus, like cunc-
tabundus, deliberabundus, mirabundus, peregrinabundus, concionabundus, are found first in Livy, or only in him.—circa: round about; see on ch. 7. 5, and cf. §§ 4 and 7, and infra, § 6.

2. admodum: like our “quite” and “fully,” either prepositive or postpositive; cf. 22. 24. 14.

3. constitisset: verbs of going and standing often lose their original meaning, and are transferred to riding, flying, and navigation as general verbs of motion and rest; cf. 25. 41. 6, Numidae cum quieti stetissent. Most commonly progressus, praegressus, ingressus, transgressus are used of horsemen instead of compounds of rehi, but also praecedere, 22. 51. 2; ire, 22. 2. 4; even vadere, 30. 12. 10; transcendere of ships, ch. 44. 7.—miranti: this verb, followed by an interrogative clause, often has the meaning of “not understand,” “think strange,” “express surprise,” or “ask with surprise.” Fr.

—digressus: the omission of est here and with visa is harsh. One would have expected digreditur or digresso ipsi, with which circumduce-ret would easily join.

4. haud dubia res: the same phrase in ch. 3. 1.—circumduce-ret: the subjunctive often expresses what one is obliged to do.—inexsuperabilis: see on ch. 23. 4.

5. veterem: Livy’s description implies a glacier. There is none in the pass, but there is a deep ravine into which fall the avalanches from the Cramont, and where sometimes the snow lies unmelted during the whole summer. This is on the left bank of La Thuile, where once was a road, now transferred to the right bank to avoid the avalanches.—intactam = integrum, hardened or frozen, the accumulations of years.

6. tabem, slush.

7. non recipiente...fallente: the ice gave no foothold, and on an incline the foot slipped more quickly than on a level.—adiuvis-sent: the subjunctive is iterative with seu; see on ch. 28. 10; it it is also attracted to corrucrrent.—adminiculis: hands and knees.

—prolapsis: the abl. abs. with the perf. partic. of deponents is commonly found only with the intransitives of motion (compounds of gradior, labor, sequor, and profligiscor), and of growth and decay (nascor, orior, morior, defungor); very rarely with the transitives; cf. ch. 61. 5; 4. 55. 4, dilapsis militibus; 3. 42. 3, persecutis hostibus; but 23. 26. 2, Scipionibus partitis copias.—ita...volutabantur,
thus (summing up the preceding) they floundered on the glare ice and in the melting snow. Tantum refers to the lack of stirpes and radices.

8. infimam: the comparative would have been more exact, as only the old and the new snow are mentioned. nivem is the object of secabant, and ingredientia absolute, "as they trod upon it." — conitendo: indicates the desperate struggle to get upon their feet; cf. Cic. De Fin. 5. 15. 42, conituntur ut sese erigant. — alte: the snow was hardened to the very ground.

37. 1. iumentis: placed before hominibus because the animals were last mentioned, and because the preservation of the Numidian horses and the transport of the baggage were of special importance. Losses of men Hannibal could hope to supply from the Gauls. — iugo: a lower ridge than the ingum Alpium in ch. 35. 4. — tantum: see on adeo, ch. 7. 3.

2. rupem muniendum, to make the cliff passable; a new expression for viae munire, iter per rupem munire; cf. Tac. Agr. 31, silvis ac paludibus emuniendis. The expression is better adapted to Polybius' account than to Livy's. — esse poterat, was possible. — caedendum: the following account is probably from Coelius. Polybius merely says that Hannibal made the road wider for the passage of the beasts. — inmanibus: rare in Livy, and elsewhere only of living things; cf. 26. 19. 7, auguis; 29. 17. 12, bellua: 38. 37. 3, barbari. It is difficult to see where the trees came from in a country that produced only virgulta ac stirpes, ch. 36. 1; cf. ch. 36. 7. — deiectis: as 9. 2. 9, deiecit arborem ingentium; oftener caedere, cf. ch. 27. 5; 33. 5. 6; here avoided on account of caedendum. — vis venti, a strong wind; cf. ch. 58. 9, tanta vis frigoris. There is no Latin adjective exactly corresponding to vis, since violens and violentus are more restricted in use. — aceto: vinegar or sour wine was carried by the soldiers as a drink, but that the quantity should have been sufficient, even when mixed with water, as Appian says, to affect a cliff of such size, is fabulous. Yet the use of vinegar by the ancients for this purpose (Pliny, N. H. 33. 71, silices igne et aceto rumpunt) was perhaps the ground for this tradition. — putrefaciunt, crumble; figuratively for molliere, solvere or rumpere.

3. ferro: Appian says with iron hammers. — molliunt . . . clivos, they make the descents easier by moderate zigzags; cf. Caesar, B. G. 7. 46, circuitus ad molliendum clivum, and ambitus, ch. 36. 4.
—clivos, descents, (see ch. 32. 8); lower than tumulus. It is here used in its etymological sense as derived from αλίνεω, clinare; cf. declivis, proclivis. Livy here has in mind the great avalanche.

4. iumentis . . . absumptis: abl. abs. of accompanying circumstance; cf. 22. 41. 2. Polybius says that the horses and smaller animals were taken over in one day, the elephants only remaining three days and nearly perishing of hunger.—cacumina: usually with an added montium, Alpium.—si quid, and what little there was. In translating join pabuli with nuda.—nives, deep snows; cf. ch. 32. 7.

5. inferiora: places between cacumina and planum. § 6. Like planum, used substantively.—apricosque colles, sunny knolls; often with the idea of fertility in opposition to montis. On the summit there was a scarcity of food and water; here was a place for pasture, with brooks, and woods near by. Prope is the preposition.

6. in pabulum: not pabulatum, which is used of soldiers; cf. 25. 34. 4.—iam: implies the progressive improvement, in connection with the comparative mollioribus; cf. ch. 35. 2; 60. 4.

38. A critical excursus, like that of ch. 15. 3, which a modern writer would have put in a footnote. In such matters of detail as those here given, Livy often refers to the other writers than the two (Polybius and Coelius) who here form his chief authorities.

1. hoc maxime modo, in this way for the most part; often used of statements given in outline, as 25. 31. 11; 28. 16. 14; 30. 10. 19.—quinto mense: Hannibal gathered his army in early spring (ch. 21. 8), set out in April or May (Pol. 5. 1. 5), and reached Italy in September or October; cf. ch. 35. 6. Appian, Hann. 4, says scarcely six months.—ut . . . sunt: postpositive, as § 4.—quinto decimo die: so Polybius. Livy’s account makes nineteen: nine to the summit, two there of rest (ch. 35. 5), one of wandering through the snow (ch. 36), four at the cliff (ch. 37. 4), and three from the cliff to the plain (ch. 37. 6), but perhaps the four days at the cliff include the day of wandering, and the last three are not reckoned in the passage.

2. qui minimum; Polybius gives the number as 12,000 African infantry, about 8000 Spaniards, and 6000 cavalry; according to Hannibal’s tablet at Laciniun; see on ch. 21. 11. He also gives
the number crossing the Pyrenees as 50,000 infantry and 9000 horse, on leaving the Rhone as 38,000 infantry and 8000 horse.

3. Cincius: prætor, 211 B.C. He wrote in Greek a history of Rome from its foundation to his own times. — moveret: absolute, would be a conclusive authority; yet in § 6 Livy says miror, not objectively mirandum.

4. decem: the number Hannibal had at the Trebia; see ch. 55.

2.—adducta: sc. esse. Cincius seems to have supposed that these peoples came over the Alps with Hannibal, whereas they flocked to him (adfluxisse) after he reached the valley of the Po.—Italia: this name was not applied to Cisalpine Gaul till about the end of the republic. Join magis with verisimile.

5. audisse: sc. sc.; with amississe sc. cum. — postquam = ex quo connecting with amississe. — Taurini Semigalli: formed after the analogy of semigermanis (§ 8), and supported by the fact that Strabo and Pliny reckon the Taurini with the Ligurians, though Appian, Hann. 5, calls their chief town, Taurasia, πόλις Κέλτωκή. The Gauls in their migration under Bellovesus passed through the country of the Tricastini and the Taurini to Italy (see 5. 34. 8), and a later company took the same route; see 5. 35. 1.

6. omnes: on the contrary Polybius expressly says that Hannibal came down among the Insubrians, who were then at war with the Taurini. Hannibal invited the Taurini to become his allies, and on their refusal attacked and captured their chief city, thus inspiring all the Celts with eagerness to join him; see ch. 39. 4. — credere: the change from passive to active is noticeable in Livy. — Poenino: sc. monte or ingo, abl. of road by which (see on ch. 22. 5), the Great St. Bernard. This fanciful derivation was then current at Rome. Pliny, N. H. 3. 17. 123, Alpes Peninas . . . his Poenos transisse memorant.

7. Cremonis: the name cannot be identified, though an unsuccessful attempt has been made to identify it with Cramont, in the neighborhood of the Little St. Bernard. Coelius would then agree with Polybius. — Salassos: this tribe, living on the modern Dorea Baltea, was afterward noted for its brave struggle for independence. It was finally subdued under Augustus when 42,000 of its number were sold into slavery. — Montanos: see Plin. N. H. 3. 134, Va- gienni Lignes et qui Montani vocantur. — Libuos: a people south
of the Salassi, along the Po, whose original home, according to Livy, 5. 35. 2, was on Lacus Benacus (Lago di Garda); cf. 33. 37. 6.

8. _ea tum_: yet in 5. 35. 2 Livy represents the Gauls as entering Italy by this pass. A road was first made over it by Augustus. — _utique_: see on ch. 29. 7.

9. _hercule_: often in Livy to give confirmation, in speeches also _hercules_, as 28. 44. 12. — _montibus his_: the chain from the Great St. Bernard to the St. Gotthard. _Juppiter Poeninus_ was worshipped on the summit, and his name has been found on votive tablets discovered near the top. — _Seduni Veragi_: regarded by Livy as one people (cf. ch. 25. 14), but according to Caesar, B. G. 3. 1, two peoples living near Martigny in the Canton Wallis. — _norint_: a softened indicative with an ironical turn, "nor will they be found to have known." — _ab eo_: _deus_ is purposely avoided since Poeninus might be only a hero. — _Poenimum_: named after the _"Αλπεις Ποιναί_ (Ptolem. 3. 1. 1), hence the spelling _Penninae_ is incorrect.


39. 1. _ad ... rerum, for the opening of the war, in Italy._ — _Insu-bres_: Gauls, apparently long at enmity with the Taurini because they were Ligurians or a mixed race; see on ch. 38. 5. — _armare_: not as usual, "to provide with arms" (though in ch. 40. 9, Scipio speaks of _fraeta arma_), or "to take arms," but "to prepare for service." — _alteri_: the Insubrians, who had already revolted against the Romans, see ch. 25. 2; not _alteri ntr_, which would have implied that Hannibal had the choice. — _reficiendo_: as an abstract noun, _in recruiting_; cf. 37. 10. 10, _subducturum per simulationem reficiendi quasdam naves_. Caesar, B. G. 1. 48. 7.

2. _copia_: food; cf. 22. 39. 14. — _cultus, comfort_; including care of the body, bathing, clothes. — _inluvie, filth_. — _tabe_: not wasting, which would refer to _inopia_, but _drenched clothes_ (cf. ch. 36. 6), in opposition to warmer clothing. — _squalida_: of clothes; cf. ch. 40. 9. — _efferata_: especially of the hair; cf. 2. 23. 3. — _varie_: some were cured, some were made sick.

3. _Pisas_: see on ch. 32. 5. — _exercitu_: see ch. 25. 8; 26. 2. — _ignominiss_: the two defeats of Manlius; see ch. 25. 8 f. The newly recruited army had lost its morale; see on ch. 28. 11. — _festinandi_: as in ch. 41. 4. Scipio's rapidity is praised, but in fact he came too
late to prevent Hannibal's assuming the offensive, and thereby lost
his advantage; see ch. 44. 3.

4. **cum ... venit**: mere determination of time. Scipio probably
came by way of Felsina and Mutina. — **urbem**, Taurasia, after-
ward a military colony of Augustus, Augusta Taurinorum, now
Turin. — **volens**, free will; like **voluntas** (§ 5), the standing oppo-
sition to **vis**; cf. ch. 58. 2; 22. 27. 9; 34. 31. 9, **urbem volentem non
vi coactum accepi**. — **vi**: Appian says as an example.

5. **iunxisset**, would have brought over to his side; conciliare would
have been inappropriate with **metu**. — **metu**: of his threats.—
**voluntate**: see § 4 and cf. 31. 33. 5, **oppida partim voluntate, par-
tim metu se tradebant**. — **circumspectantis**: temporal, at the very
moment when.

6. **quae = utra**; cf. 22. 23. 6. — **praesentem**: the one who was
near, either Hannibal or Scipio.

7. **convenerant**: in a hostile sense, different from **in unum con-
venire**, a friendly agreement; cf. 4. 43. 11; or **in unum coire**, 25. 35.
6; see on ch. 31. 4. — **sicuti ... ita**: see on 7. 6.

8. **et apud Romanos**: among the Romans as well as the Car-
thaginians and the Spaniards. The **et** is not correlative with that
before **Scipionem**. Two grounds are given for the mutual esteem,
arranged in pairs in the two sentences. As Capes says, this is an
afterthought of history. Hannibal was little known, and Roman
consuls, except in extraordinary cases, were not chosen on account
of their military abilities. — **lectus**: cf. 1. 54. 2, **dux belli legitur**;
28. 42. 5; also **deligere**, 29. 20. 2.

9. **auxerant inter se**, each had increased the other's esteem for him-
self; **inter se**, as often, for **sibi inter se**. — **relictus**: though Hanni-
bal had outgeneraled Scipio in Gaul, yet Scipio was in front of
Hannibal in Italy. — **conatu**: Pliny, N. H. 36. 2, **in portento prope
maiores habuere Alpes ab Hannibale superatas**.

10. **occupavit ... traiere = prior traiicit; tamen** contains a
covert reproach, that he was dilatory, though he did cross the Po.
— **educeret**: with **in aciem** always the compound; cf. ch. 40. 1;
60. 5; 26. 11. 1; 29. 2. 5; so **in proelium**, 37. 16. 11. — **orationem**:
the speeches of Scipio and Hannibal are further illustrations of
Livy's rhetorical power. The generals may have addressed their sol-
diers, though no speeches are given before the battles of the Trebia,
Lake Trasumennus, or Cannae. The circumstances naturally suggested their lines of thought, but the arrangement and rhetorical finish are Livy's, who allows the reader from the tone of the speeches to anticipate the actual result. Note the points indicated in the note on ch. 16. 2. Scipio's argument is as follows: ch. 40. 1-4. Introduction; propriety of an address from a new general. §§ 5-11. The weakness of the enemy. (a) They were conquered in a previous war (5-6); (b) their numbers are diminished and their strength broken by the passage of the Alps (7-10); the gods are their enemies (11). Ch. 41. 1-13. Reasons for confidence. (a) The occurrences of the war thus far show Roman courage and Carthaginian cowardice (1-5); (b) the defeat of Hannibal's father, Hamilcar (6-9); (c) Carthaginian ingratitude and Roman clemency will incite them (10-13). §§ 14-17. The greatness of the stake, the existence of Rome, will give them courage.

40. 1. *supersedissem*: with infinitive like *desinere* or *omittere*. Writers before Livy use it only with the ablative or absolutely. — *apud vos*: as if the condition had been, "if you were the troops," etc.

2. *eos*: here scarcely more than the definite article, since the following subjunctive clause implies the feeling of the cavalry in distinction from the speaker's own act in *habuit. eas* is different. The exaggeration in the case of *equitatum*, for *alam*, is noticeable, as it is in many other cases, e.g., *egregie* in ch. 29. 3. — *secutus*: not *persecutus*, as he did not overtake Hannibal. — *confessionem*: Hannibal's retreat and refusal to fight were an acknowledgment of victory. — *cedentis*: less exact (ch. 41. 4), to vary *fugientem*; cf. ch. 52. 11.

3. *nunc*: see on ch. 13. 2. — *cum*: see on ch. 26. 3; a word implying the equality of republican civic rights. — *meis auspiciis*: the right of taking the auspices, *ius auspicandi*, belonged to the commander-in-chief. His *legati* took them in his name, so that though absent from the field he took the credit of success. The *legati* had *ductus*, but not *auspicium*. Under the empire the *auspicium* belonged only to the emperor. The position of the *meis* betrays the pride of the speaker. — *eum*: the army. — *populusque*: the people had no voice in assigning the provinces (see on ch. 17. 1). They chose the consuls, and thus may be said to have had their part.
4. ego, while I; opposed to exercitus. — apud: cf. § 1, and ch 41. 17. — novos milites: not inexperienced (cf. ch 39. 3) but new to the general as shown by the use of novo; cf. also ch. 43. 14 and § 5, vicistis.

5. ne: indicates, as often, the reason for making the statement. — cum iis: brachylogy, "remember that you." — vicistis: more exactly of their fathers. — viginti: the period named in the preliminaries of Catulus for the payment of the indemnity, afterward reduced to ten. — exegistis: not merely "demanded," but "exacted." — bell i praemia: not applicable to Sardinia; see on ch. 1. 5.

7. nisi: ironical; see on 22. 59. 10. — incolumi: this was not true of Hannibal’s army after the passage of the Rhone. — duabus partibus, two-thirds; cf. 22. 24. 4; 41. 5. Scipio could have had no definite knowledge of the original strength of Hannibal’s army or of his losses on the march, and he purposely omits any reference to the additions of Gauls.

8. At enim: see on ch. 18. 9. — robora: not moral vigor corresponding to animis, but, like vires, referring to physical strength; see on ch. 1. 2; cf. 25. 21. 7; 33. 6. — sustinere: not to say repel.

9. im mo, nay rather; observe the arrangement of this sentence; the chiasmus enecti . . . contusi, and others; the alliteration fame frigore, and the four like endings in "e" and "a." — umbrae hominum, phantoms; in reference to enecti. — squalore: see on ch. 39. 2; 22. 59. 15. — praestii artus, frost-bitten joints; fingers and toes. — nervi, muscles; so that they could not grasp their weapons. — membra: all parts of the body.

10. hoc, such. — vos: the pronoun is expressed in emphatic antithesis to Alpes.

11. foederum ruptore, treaty breaking; the verbal noun in or is often used attributively like an adjective to denote a characteristic; Näg. 54. 4; oftener victor, ch. 5. 4; domitor exercitus, 28. 19. 15; concursator hostis, 27. 18. 14. Livy was the first to apply this word to Hannibal, which fastened upon him as a life-long stain for this single act. — populo: since it had not disavowed the acts of Hannibal and its leaders. — secundum: in its proper meaning of "next to."
41. 1. vestri: this form being in its origin the neuter singular takes the gerundive of the same form. A. & G. 298, a.; G. 429, R. 1; H. 542. 1, n. 1. — ipsum: parataxis; we say "while."

2. licuit: sc. mihi; the indicative as commonly in expressions of duty, obligation, propriety, etc. A. & G. 311, c.; G. 599, 3; H. 511, n. 3. — potius: carries on the idea of Scipio's free choice. He did not yet know of Hanno.

3. ad famam, at the mere report; like verbis, "with mere words."

4. qua parte: synesis, as if equitum had preceded; see on ch. 17. 8. — fudi: the battle was under his auspices; see on ch. 40. 3. — modum: see on ch. 28. 7. — terra: ablative of way; see on ch. 22. 5. — regressus: a participle corresponding to in terram egressus in § 3; in the common reading (neque regressus ad naxis erat) it is a verbal noun, as in 24. 26. 15. — maxime: so in 9. 10. 10; 10. 40. 8; 36. 44. 4. Madvig reads quanta (= quam) maxima, as in 22. 3. 6; 30. 25. 8; 42. 15. 1. in accordance with Livy's usual custom of writing the adjective maximus, instead of the adverb maxime with quantus. — tanto ... circuitu: applies better to the route by Pisa than by Genna; see ch. 39. 3. — timendo: ironical, as appears from fugientium. — obvius fui: leaves it indeterminate whether the meeting was accidental or intentional, i.e., incidere or occurrere, the question of the next clause; cf. ch. 46. 3, obvius fit.

5. cum ... certamen: not temporal, "when I" (cf. ch. 40. 2 and 7), but antithetic, while declining an engagement, = invitus, i.e., have unwillingly and unexpectedly met him; with incidisse sc. in eum; with occurrere sc. ei. — improvidus: like one caught by a stratagem; cf. ch. 55. 9; 5. 45. 3. — occurrere in vestigiis: instead of the common vestigiis sequi, instare, which were not suited to Scipio's case. — lacessere ac trahere: cf. ch. 54. 4; 22. 15. 7. 

6. terra: Scipio forgets the Spaniards in Hannibal's army. — iidem: equally cowardly. — denariis: the denarius (ten asses) was first coined in 268 B.C. at \( \frac{1}{2} \) of a Roman pound. In 217 it was reduced to \( \frac{1}{3} \). On one side was a figure of a two or four-horse chariot; hence the coins were called bigati and quadrigati (22. 52. 3). The eighteen denarii were worth about $3.50. This ransom is not mentioned elsewhere. — aestimatos: like prisoners, since they had lost hope of succor. — emisistis: as if it were an act of grace; cf. § 12.
7. **Herculis**: the myth reported Hercules (Graius) as crossing the Alps after he had stolen the cattle of Geryon, hence the false derivation of the name *Alpes Graiae*; see 5. 34. 6; Nepos, Hann. 3. — *fert = prae se fert, gives out.* — *vectigalis*: one who paid a tax in kind, usually one-tenth. — *stipendiarius*: one who paid a fixed money tax. The two taxes together implied slavery, *servitus*. It is an exaggeration, as in 22. 54. 11, since the Carthaginians paid only the money tax, and that only for ten years. The tenths were exacted from the Sicilian communities taken from the Carthaginians.

8. *si non*: oftener *etsi non*; see on 22. 54. 6. — *certe*: synonymous with *at certe* or *saelem.* — *foedera*: only the preliminaries. — *scripta, subscribed*: note the repetition of *qui* without a conjunction.

9. *deduxit*: so commonly with *praesidium*: not *abduere*, as garrisons as a rule occupied elevated places. — *fremens*, etc.: so Hannibal is said to have left Italy; cf. 30. 20. 9, *deos hominesque accusantem in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exsecratum . . . haec accusans quernque ex divinta possessione Italicae est detractus.* — *pactus est*, bound *himself*; to an adverse condition, as shown by *graves*; oftener construed with *ut*, as 22. 52. 3; 25. 33. 3.

11. **Erycem**: the mountain which, steep and comparatively isolated, formed a natural fortress. — *humanorum*: not a neuter substantive; sc. *suppliorum*.

12. *emisimus*: see § 6. — *tutelae*: predicate possessive genitive sc. *eos*; cf. ch. 44. 5. The Romans allowed the Carthaginians to enlist mercenaries in Italy, and also furnished them with some supplies, but the speaker judiciously keeps silence on other points; see on ch. 1. 5. For *Africa bello* see on ch. 1. 5.

13. **Pro . . . inpertitis**, *in return for these favors*; like a substantive; cf. *sperata*, ch. 45. 9. — *furiosum*: see on ch. 10. 11. — *oppgunatum patriam*: Livy often uses a supine with an object where Cicero uses the gerundive; cf. 28. 39. 13 and 21, *Italiam spectatum ire and gratias actum misit*: 28. 41. 2 and 9. — *atque utinam*: so in 22. 60. 8. — *decere*, honor; from *decus*, since *decor* never means *gloria*; cf. Tac. Agr. 26, *securi pro salute de gloria certabant*.

14. **Pro Italia**, *for Italy*, whose possession is to be maintained by arms; *pugnare de aliqua re*, of that which is to be acquired. Cf. the title of Cicero’s speech, *de imperio Cn. Pompeii* (*pro lege Mani-
lia), and de domo sua (acajoricanda), wrongly called pro domo. de
here has reference to the time of the first Punic war.
15. ab tergo: see on ch. 27. 1. — obsistat: preferred by Livy
to resistere (Caesar), and used absolutely and with the dative; cf.
ch. 7. 7. — obstandum: indicates the holding of a position once
taken more strongly than obsistere, which implies motion (occurrens
is to advance to meet). — velut si: cf. ch. 8. 6. — Romana moenia:
especially in elevated style; again in ch. 30. 11.
16. corpus suum, himself; corpus and animus are often used
where we employ "I," "self," with reference to physical or men-
tal abilities; cf. ch. 31. 1; 11. 4, and see on ch. 13. 9. — domestica-
cas = privata; the antithesis is in populum Romanum.
17. nostra: emphatic chiasmus to illius urbis, which was spoken
with a gesture toward Rome. — vis virtusque: oftener vis ac vir-
tus; cf. 22. 5. 2; 25. 23. 1; 26. 39. 11.
42. 1. rebus: in opposition to verbis: also in 28. 40. 11; 29. 22. 1;
oftener re, as in ch. 18. 4; 22. 39. 7; 35. 46. 6. The plural is here
necessary because Livy speaks of several combats. Polybius men-
tions only one. — decertare: for life and death. It was a Gallic
custom for an individual before a battle to challenge an enemy to
mortal combat; see 7. 26. 1.
2. ferrum pugnamque, the decision of the sword. — deiecta:
perhaps into a helmet, corresponding to exciderat, yet the singular
sors refers collectively to the casting of the lots. — in id: for deter-
mining.
3. cuiusque = et cuus. — sui moris: see on ch. 28. 1; cf. 23. 26.
9, tripudiantes more suo.
4. dimicarent: iterative subjunctive; see on ch. 4. 4. — eius-
dem . . . condicionis: fellow-prisoners. — spectantes: the partic-
ciple of temporary, single occurrences, different from the verbal
substantive; cf. 24. 34. 2, Archimedes unicus spectator caeli siderumque:
cf. legentes and lector, and without appreciable difference, scribentes in
ch. 57. 14, and scriptores in ch. 1. 1. Näg. § 54. 5. — non . . . magis
quam: throws the emphasis on the second member. — bene, bravely.
43. 1. sic . . . affectos: se. ut . . . landarent. — dimisisset: the
arrangement of soldiers at the contio was different from that during
the combats. In Polybius the speech immediately follows the
combats. — locutus: the arrangement of the speech is as follows:
(a) the conflict inevitable (2-4); (b) its rewards (5-10); (c) it will not be difficult, owing to the character of the two armies and the two generals (11-18); (d) the Carthaginians have greater courage as the attacking party, and their courage will be increased by recalling the insults of the Romans (44. 1-7); (e) the necessities of their situation inspire courage (8-9).

3. nescio an, perhaps. — maiora, stronger; cf. its use with vox (loud), 8. 9. 4; agmina, 22. 50. 8; fletus, 22. 61. 3; vinculum, 23. 4. 8; argumentum (convincing), 26. 31. 6; amicitia, Cic. pro Mur. 4. 8. Näg. 70. 2.

4. dextra: ablative. — claudunt, form a barrier; absolute; cf. 22. 5. 6; 36. 18. 4; 37. 27. 7. — navem: not even one boat, much less a fleet. — habentibus: dative of reference; sc. robis, which precedes and follows.— circa: often denotes, not an enclosing on all sides, but on more than one side; see on ch. 25. 2; cf. 26. 2; 22. 47. 8. circa is thus more than contra = ex adverso, a fronte, 22. 5.

6. According to Polybius, 2. 16, the Po first flows toward the south, then makes a bend, so that it was on the south and west of Hannibal. Se. est, not claudit or urget.— maior Padus: rhetorica for isque maior. Vergil, Geor. 1. 482, calls it fluviorum rex. — integris: before your numbers were diminished or your health injured; see ch. 39. 1; for dative, see on ch. 34. 9.

6. nostra virtute: the adjective comes first from the opposition to parentibus, but parentibus nostris because the emphasis lies in the noun.— pretia: to change with praemia.— nunc: see on ch. 13. 2. — quidquid . . . partum: not merely Rome, but all the Roman possessions.

7. In, for. — agite dum: with an imperative plural of the second person six times in the first decade; less often agedum with a following plural; cf. 2. 29. 11; 38. 47. 11.— dis bene iuvantibus: see on ch. 21. 6.

8. Satis adhuc, long enough: opposed to iam, § 9. — vastis, wild: not simply of local extent; cf. 3. 52. 5. Sall. Jug. 48. 3, mons vastus ab natura et humano cultu. The presence in Hannibal’s army of Lusitanian soldiers (ch. 57. 5) does not necessarily imply that the Carthaginian power was supreme in that country.— pecora consectando, in the pursuit of wandering cattle, in order to bring them back to the herds; cf. 40. 27. 12, pecorum modo fugientes per saltus
invios consectati. The velocitas of the Celtiberians was celebrated; see 22. 18. 2; 28. 2. 7. The ablative of the gerund often denotes way or manner. A. & G. 301; G. 432; H. 542, IV, n. 2.

9. tempus est: with inf., as in ch. 54. 2, or with accus. and inf., "it is high time"; but with the gen. of the gerund tempus usually means "occasion," "opportunity." The distinction is not strictly maintained, and the gerund is generally avoided when a doubt as to the gender or a disagreeable assonance would arise; thus 25. 32. 3, id agi instead of eius agendi; 6. 18. 12, maiora conari for both reasons. A. & G. 298, n.; G. 429, 3; H. 533, n. 3.

10. mercedem: Livy perhaps thought of the assignment of lands to the veterans of Augustus in his own time, and makes Hannibal suggest this as a reward to his soldiers; see ch. 45. 5. — dedit . . . dabit: repetition to strengthen the anaphora. — dignam: when your campaigns are over.

11. nec: not ne, because the confidence of victory expressed in § 10 is connected with the suppression of ill-grounded anxieties. — magni nominis: supplies the want of an adjective corresponding to μεγαλῶνυμος; cf. 31. 8. 6; § 12, fulgore nominis. — existimaris: perfect subj.; so transiit in ch. 44. 6. — momento: has its original idea of "impulse," in moving the balance.

12. dempto: simple removal without thereby taking to one’s self (the meaning of adimere), again in § 10. — conparandi, comparable; the gerundive often is equivalent to the verbal adjective in bilis, especially in a sentence containing a negative, direct, or implied in vix, or in a question implying a negative; cf. ch. 19. 2; 39. 52. 7. Similarly Sallust in Cat. 10. 2, and Jug. 64. 1 has optandum; optabilis only in the later histories.

13. ut . . . taceam, not to mention your twenty years of brave and successful campaigning; for the omission of the participle with militiam, see on ch. 15. 5. — ab Herculis columnis: rhetorical exaggeration (cf. ch. 30. 4) not applicable to the soldiers. — vincentes, in a continuous course of victories.

14. caeso . . . circumsesso: an anti-climax in form, but a real climax in respect to the defeated army, for an army might be cut to pieces while fighting bravely, but to be surrounded (cf. ch. 25. 14) showed weakness or bad generalship. — ignoto: see on ch. 40. 4; the same thought again in § 18.
15. praetorio: see on ch. 3. 1.—eductum, brought up; cf. i.
39. 6; 2. 9. 6; but also in reference to intellectual training = educare, as 30. 28. 4, cum Hannibale prope nato in praetorio patris, fortissimi ducis, alito atque educato inter arma.—domitorem: verbal noun, because the glory was a life-long one, as was the reproach in desertor Scipio; see on ch. 40. 11.—semestri: since the consuls then entered on their office on the Ides of March, this word, if used exactly, would accord with the view of those who place the battle of the Ticinum in September; see on ch. 53. 6.

16. signis: the eagles were first used as legionary standards by Marius in his second consulship, 104 B.C. Perhaps Livy here refers to signa manipulorum. The remark on the similar appearance of the equipment of the two armies seems inappropriate since the Carthaginians did not adopt Roman arms till after Trebia and Trasumennus; cf. 22. 46. 4.—certum habeo: often in Livy; in Cicero, Sallust, and others; also pro certo habere.—consul: he was consul and therefore commander; the word is purposely chosen to mark the inexperience of Scipio.

17. cuius non: note the position of the negative, different from
the English.—idem, also; as eundem, § 15.—decora, his glorious deeds of arms: Hannibal skilfully exaggerates both in depreciating Scipio (semestri, desertore, cui . . . consul), and in commending himself (cui . . . decora, miliens, omnium). The veterans of ch. 44. 1 formed the smallest part of his army.

18. laudatis . . . donatis: a frequent collocation; cf. 25. 18. 15; 38. 23. 11.—aciem: Hannibal’s determination to offer a decisive battle was frustrated by Scipio’s hasty withdrawal.

44. 1. veteranum: see on ch. 43. 13.—generosissimarum: of noble descent, like γενεαίωs, referring to worthy character and action, praise intended to keep the good-will of the Numidians, Hannibal’s favorite troops.—frenatos: the heavy-armed Spanish cavalry.—infrenatos: the Numidians; see ch. 46. 5; 35. 11. 6 and 7, Numidae . . . sine frenis. The word in a negative meaning, here clearly apparent, appears again only in the late Latin.

2. socios: all except the Carthaginians (see ch. 22. 2 and 3), described by the stock phrases, fidelis, fortis, used by Rome of her worthy allies, especially in the expression forti fidelique opera uti; cf. 23. 46. 6; 16. 1; 24. 47. 11; 28. 9. 20.—pro patria: see on ch. 41. 14.
3. infestis: suggests in this connection a perf. pass. partic. of inferre. It is a favorite word with Livy, who uses it both actively and passively. Actively it always implies hostile act or intent. exercitus infestus means "a plundering army"; ager infestus, "a plundered field." — inferentis: Hannibal was in general the aggressor, and by his entrance into Italy was assuming the offensive; see ch. 39. 6.

4. Ad supplicium: an addition by the speaker; see ch. 6. 8; 18. 4. — primum deinde: not in the two embassies, but in the first (see ch. 30. 3) as leader and accessories. — deditos = si dediti essamus.

5. arbitrii: predicate possessive genitive. A. & G. 214, c.; G. 365, R. 1; H. 403; for the sentiment, cf. Tac. Agr. 30, raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scru-tantur ... soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. The charges of cruelty and arrogance were mutually bandied by the Romans and Carthaginians; see ch. 4. 9; 29. 6. 17; 8. 6. — modum: referring to Saguntum. — fluminum: like montium, a rhetorical exaggeration, since only the Ebro could have been meant. — neque = nec tamen; again in 22. 24. 9.

6. ne ... moveris: these commands represented as spoken by Rome personified to Carthage or to Hannibal present Rome's superbia in the form of a climax. "Do not cross the Hiberus" is Rome's first command. Then overstepping the bounds which she prescribes (neque observaret) she says, "Have nothing to do with the Saguntines." Carthage replies, "But Saguntum is free" (ch. 2. 7), when Rome breaks forth, "Don't stir from your tracks." In prohibitions addressed to the second person the perfect subjunctive is regularly used instead of the present; cf. 22. 49. 8. A. & G. 269, a.; G. 266, 2; H. 484, IV. n. 1.

7. veterrimas: in opposition to newly conquered Spain. — adimis: present of vivid speech. — decessero (Mss. cesserlo): as in ch. 41. 9, because the compound, commonly used of an official leaving his province (cf. 32. 7. 7; 8. 3), expresses more sharply the permanent withdrawal from a previous authority. — autem: often in a correction when the speaker repeats by question a word already used, implying that it has not been correctly employed and substituting a more exact expression; cf. Cic. Epist. 1. 9. 10, inimicium
meum . . . meum autem? immo vero legum, indiciorum, patriae. — trans-
scendisse: Hannibal could not have heard of Sempronius’ recall, and
takes the intention of the Romans stated in the next clause as an accomplished fact.

8. timidis: dative by attraction after licet; so viris after necesse
est. A. & G. 272, a. 1 and 2; G. 535, 2. — respectum, a way
of escape; visible to the mind’s eye, stronger than receptum; so
9. 23. 12; respicere, 27. 12. 3. He returns to the thought of ch.
43. 2 and 3. — certa desperatione, the fixity of despair. — dubi-
tabit, shall waver; euphemistic for adversa erit.

9. fixum: cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 15, animo fixum immotumque.—
 omnibus: dative. — si . . . si: an asyndeton common in speeches
especially with anaphora in comparative or contrasted clauses.—
iterum dicam: referring to vicimus in ch. 43. 2. — telum: often
figurative, as 3. 69. 2, detractationem militiae acerrimum telum adver-
sus patres; 4. 28. 5, necessitate quae ultimum ac maximum telum est.

45. This chapter and 46. 1 and 2, lacking in Polybius, are proba-
bly taken from Coelius Antipater.

45. 1. animi: omit in translating; see on ch. 41. 16, and cf.
§ 3. — ponte: the ablative is instrumental, as if the expression
were ponte fluminis ripas iungere. — insuper: see on ch. 1. 5.

2. ala: see on ch. 29. 1. — depopulandos: as in 31. 16. 2; 33.
15. 2. Livy did not use the supine populatum. — sociorum: in
distinction from Gallis these could not be the Cenomani (ch. 55. 4),
but rather the Laevi, who in 5. 35. 2 are spoken of as Ligures
incolentes circa Ticinum.

3. quinque milia passuum: the usual distance of hostile camps;
40 stadia, Pol. 3. 68. 7; 50 stadia, Pol. 3. 66. 11; cf. ch. 47. 8.—
Victumulis: the name, more exactly written by Diodorus, 25.
22, Ὀὐκτὸμελα, was composed of the name of the river Victium
and a Ligurian word, associated in popular etymology with tumultus.
The town probably was in the neighborhood of Vercellae. It
seems to have been a fortified depot of the Romans in the Gallic
war, 225–222, and was now besieged by Hannibal; see ch. 57. 9.
Polybius, 3. 65, represents the two armies as approaching each other
on the left bank of the Po.

4. castra habebat: perhaps a centre of operations, since Poly-
bius, 3. 61, says that Hannibal besieged several towns, though Livy,
ch. 39. 4, speaks only of one.—certa: the digna merces of ch. 43. 10 were indefinite.—in . . . spem: their hope is represented as an object for whose realization they were to fight rather than as a moving cause. It could be fulfilled not after one victory, but at the close of the campaign.

5. velit: for vellet. The change of tense is a mere stylistic variation, making a temporary change in the point of view. For illustrations, see Kühnast, Livianische Syntax, pp. 220–222.—inmunem: free from the land tax and such other imposts as Carthage usually exacted from her subjects. This promise, as that of Carthaginian citizenship, shows that Hannibal was acting in accord with his government.—liberis: not posteris, because limited to the next generation.—argento: a variation for pecunia, as we say "money" or "cash."

6. daturum . . . vellent, he would see to it that they should not wish to change lots with any of their countrymen. fortunam, with reference to a happy lot, is more than condicionem.

7. servis: slaves as persons; mancipia: as property.

8. retinens: belongs rather to agnum; tenens would be more appropriate with silicem.—si falleret: here absolute; also used with spem and fidem. The form of imprecation is Roman (cf. i. 24. 8; 22. 53. 11), and Livy retains the Roman Jupiter, while Hannibal would have sworn by Baal or Melcarth.—precatus: participle, unconnected with retinens, owing to their different time-relations to elisit.—mactasset: the special word for the killing of a victim.—secundum, immediately after; corresponding to its derivation from sequi; so in ch. 50. 7; 59. 10; 22. 58. 1.

9. velut . . . acceptis, as if they severally had received the gods as sureties for their hopes. quisque in distributive apposition with omnes, by being enclosed in the abl. abs., is made a kind of logical subject of acceptis used actively.—id: cf. ch. 5. 12, and see on ch. 4. 7.—potienda: gerundive, a relic of the early transitive use; cf. 22. 13. 3.—sperata: substantive, partly to change with spem, partly to supply the rare plural of spes (6. 28. 7); cf. inpertita, ch. 41. 13; conata, 50. 9. promissa, coepta, responsa, facta are more often used substantively. The word is here concrete, not hopes, but things hoped for.—una voce: more commonly uno ore.

46. i. super cetera, over and above other things (more than
praeter, "besides"); used as a neuter substantive, without supplying prodigia; as in ch. 31. 12; 22. 6. 11.—prodigiis: from the year 218 B.C. Livy regularly recounts the prodigies, while Polybius entirely omits them; see on ch. 62. 1.

2. lupus: the mere appearance of a wolf, aside from its tearing any one, was an evil omen. Livy reports it seven times, and the appearance of bees or wasps four times; see ch. 62. 5.—obvis: used as a substantive, as in 22. 7. 11; 55. 4; a rare use of the adjective except to denote a class, e.g. boni, docti, mortales; see Näg. 25.—apum: an evil omen (a portent in 24. 10. 11). Under the circumstances perhaps the wolf and the bees were emblematic of Hannibal and his army.

3. procuratis: cared for before the threatened ill became a reality, averted by religious observances, prayers, and offerings; cf. 22. 9. 8–10.—ex peditibus: conjecture for the common reading expeditis, since the Romans had no iaculatorum gravis armaturae, and Polybius, 3. 65, speaks of these troops as τῶν πεποίητων ἄκοινοιστῶν; cf. ch. 52. 9.—speculandas: so 36. 6. 2; 42. 17. 1; the supine without object is used in ch. 29. 1; 27. 27. 2; 42. 12; 29. 28. 10.

4. oriens: describes more clearly than the perfect the rising cloud of dust.—propinquantium: poetic for adpropinquantium as in 28. 37. 7, and in Sallust.—expediebant: Livy always uses ad and the accusative with this verb, others use the dative; the expression is synonymous with arma aptare pugnae in 22. 5. 3. Note the synopsis.

5. Gallos: light-armed auxiliary cavalry (see ch. 48. 1), to whose treacherous flight people in Rome ascribed the disaster; Pol. 3. 68. 10.—subsidis: not the reserves, but the second line supporting the first. In § 6 secundam aciem is explanatory of subsidia. Livy gives to the first rank an undue prominence in order to make their responsibility for the defeat greater.—frenatos equites: were those who fought in compact order; cf. ch. 44. 1.—firmat, forms, not "strengthens"; as in 22. 46. 3. Numidis is instrumental ablative.

6. fugerunt: Polybius says without resistance.—inter subsidia, through the openings of the second line: Polybius says, more exactly, "to the rear of the second line," as Livy implies in § 9.—quia . . . intermixti: the cause of labentibus as ubi . . . vidis-
sent is of desilientibus; chiasmus. Many fell from their saddles owing to the fright of the horses; others leaped off to aid their comrades. — pedites: the iaculatoris above. — ad pedes. a contest on foot; cf. 2. 46. 3, pynna iam ad gladios venerat; 22. 49. 3.

7. donec: refers not solely to venerat, but to the idea of ali-quamdiu anceps, a common brachylogy in Livy. — tum primum pubescentis, just reaching manhood. He was seventeen years old, and obtained the command in Spain when he was twenty-four, according to Seneca de Ben. 3. 33, praetextatus.

8. erit...est: i.e. we shall meet this young man again in possession of the glory of completing the war. Yet one would have expected est...erit, but Florus, perhaps in imitation, wrote (2. 6. 11) hic erit iuvenis qui in exitium Africae crescit. — de Hannibale: without participle, see on ch. 15. 6.

9. maxume: postpositive to iaculatorum. Some of the cavalry fled (the statement of Polybius), but mainly the spearmen. — alius = reliquis, i.e. those who did not run away; cf. ch. 27. 6; 22. 5. 7.

10. Coelius: i.e. Coelius Antipater, whose divergence is the more remarkable, as C. Laelius the Wise, to whom Coelius dedicated his work, expressly states (Pol. 10. 3) that Scipio was saved by his son. On the other hand, it is characteristic of Coelius to represent the Ligurians as faithful to the Romans. Cf. the statements of Scipio’s landing at Genna (ch. 32. 5) and the fidelity of the Laevi (ch. 45. 2 and 3). — delegat, ascribes; similarly used in 10. 19. 3. — plures: Livy often forms his judgment, especially in the early history, upon a simple majority; see 1. 46. 4; 6. 42. 6; in later times he discriminates, see 22. 7. 4; 29. 14. 9. — obtinuit: Livy uses the simple verb tenere in the same way; cf. 1. 4. 6; 23. 12. 2. It is then intransitive; quod therefore is not the object of fama obtinuit, but is accusative with an infinitive (factum esse) to be supplied. It may be regarded as a conjunction. fama in contrast to auctores, see on ch. 1. 4.

47. 1. equitatu meliorem: a superiority which Hannibal maintained till the year 210 (26. 38. 14). Cavalry had little part in the first Punic war; probably Hannibal had much to do in developing that arm of service; see ch. 4. 8.

2. proxima nocte: the night of the same, not the following, day (cf. 3. 4. 8, proxima nocte et postero die; 22. 41. 6;) a distinction
Livy always maintains. *insequens* is joined with *nox, dies, biduum, annus, mensis*; cf. ch. 48. 1 and 4. — *silentio*: not only was the signal with the *tuba* (22. 30. 1) omitted, but the soldiers were to preserve quiet; so in 48. 4. — *ab Ticino*: as Scipio had gone beyond the Ticinus (ch. 45. 3), this means that he gave up that river as a line of defence for the more important one of the Po; hence *festinatumque ad Padum.*

3. **Placentiam**: so Appian, Hann. 5. Scipio may have entered Placentia, but after reorganizing his army, he established a camp (see ch. 48. 1) on the west (left) bank of the Trebia. — *satis*: as in a negative clause (see on ch. 11. 6), because *prinsquam* has the force of a negative, cf. 22. 8. 1. Hannibal doubtless expected a renewal of the engagement. — *moratorum*, loiterers; from *morator*; cf. ch. 48. 6; 24. 41. 4; according to Polybius a detachment left to guard the bridge, that had not received seasonable orders to retire, though he refers to the bridge over the Ticinus. — *citeriore*: on the northern bank. — *ratem*: collective, the whole bridge; as in § 6. — *extrema*: the end on the south shore. — *secundam*: see on ch. 28. 7.

4. **Magonem**: Hannibal's younger brother (cf. ch. 54. 2) who, says Polybius, 3. 71, "was full of youthful enthusiasm and had been trained from boyhood in the art of war." Shuckburgh. — **in ordinem**, in line. — *sustinendam*, breaking; cf. *exciplendum* in ch. 27. 8.

5. **peritis**: Livy had a personal knowledge of the Po, having crossed it on his way to Rome. — *nam neque* . . . *et, for on the one hand it is not* . . . *and on the other*. — *vim*: instead of an adjective; see on ch. 37. 2. — *ut, even if or although*. — *iam*: concedes the possibility.

6. **vix**: join with *biduo*; it is postpositive like *admodum, amplius, minus* with expressions of number; see on ch. 36. 2. — *ea*: sc. *rate.* — *cum, under*; see on ch. 26. 3. — **Hispanorum expeditos**: from § 4 one would have expected *Hispanorum pedites*, which, however, would have been contrary to § 7.

7. **traicit, threw over.** — *gravius*: partly from the baggage (§ 5), partly from the absence of the Spanish light infantry (§ 5, *ut iam*).

8. **sex milia**: see on ch. 45. 3. Polybius says 50 stadia; Hannibal took a strong position on the west bank of the Trebia, as Scipio
had at first done. But Scipio had moved his camp to the east bank with his front toward the river, his left toward the hills, and his right defended by the fortress of Placentia; see ch. 48. 4.

48. 2. portas: probably the porta praetoria and the porta dextra near which the auxiliaries encamped. — quemque suas: the usual order is reversed to emphasize suas. Words regularly joined are often separated for rhetorical effect; cf. 28. 22. 15, ut mori in vestigio quemque suo vidit; regular in ch. 32. 10; 45. 9.

3. contactos: as if by the contagion of a plague. — rabie: marks the growth of ira to the point of loss of reason, by which a man sinks to the level of a brute; cf. 22. 51. 9; furor in 22. 17. 2. is weaker.

4. gravis, suffering; weaker than aeger; cf. ch. 53. 2. — tacito: see on ch. 47. 2.

5. fefellit, escaped notice; Scipio’s change of camp left the country west of the Trebia open to Hannibal, but defended the road to Ariminum by which his reinforcements would come. He could not, however, aid Clastidium; see § 9. — Hannibal: see on ch. 31. 9. — utique: see on ch. 29. 7. — vacua: not simply deserta, relicta by men (cf. ch. 32. 2; 22. 41. 8), but empty of objects of plunder (cf. 25. 19. 7).

6. morae: objective genitive with pretio like operae pretium. digno is absolute; cf. ch. 43. 10; at least Livy never follows Vergil in using dignus with the genitive. — de manibus: also joined by Cicero with compounds of ex as extorquere, excutere, eripere, elabi. It is found in Livy again only in 37. 12. 3; oftener ex manibus; with emittere, 22. 3. 10; 41. 3; eripere, 26. 9. 8; elabi, 28. 8. 3; also the simple ablative, 24. 18. 12, manu emittere. Similar variations appear in Livy between emergere de and ex, and eici de and ex senatu. — interceptos: caught on the passage, e.g. a letter.

7. iam enim et, already also; etiam after iam is avoided. — revocatum: Sempronius, before he had left Sicily for Africa, had been recalled by the Senate on the report of Hannibal’s entering Italy; see ch. 51. 5.

8. procul: about five miles, on the west bank of the Trebia; see Pol. 3. 68. 7. — hostium: in ch. 52. 3 the country between the Po and the Trebia is spoken of as in the possession of Gauls, who had not yet decided which party to follow. Polybius says
that the country was rich, and that the Gauls brought Hannibal
an abundance of supplies.—excipiebat: our more common meta-
phor is "stare in the face."

9. Clastidium: on the south bank of the Po, opposite the Tici-
nus, now Casteggio, as shown by inscriptions. A town of the
Ligurians occupied by the Romans in the Gallic war; see 32. 29. 7.
—numerum: for vim of the next clause. Perhaps modium is to
be supplied. It is used of supplies that can be counted or mea-
ured.—nummis aureis: according to Pliny, N. H. 33. 3. 47, the
regular gold coinage of Rome began in 217 B.C. along with the
depreciation of silver (see on ch. 41. 6). The gold reckoning
of the second Punic war was usually auri pondo; see ch. 62. 8; 22. 1.
17; 27. 10. 11. Livy adopts the terms of his own time, and the
coin was probably worth about $5.50. The capture of Clastidium,
following the retreat of Scipio, brought many of the Gauls to the side
of Hannibal.—Dasio: belonging to a powerful clan of Apulia, in
Brundisium, Arpi, and Salapia, friendly to Hannibal from the outset.

10. in principio rerum: see on ch. 1. 1.—colligeretur: oftener
conciliaretur; cf. ch. 60. 4.—nihil . . . est, no severity was shown.

49-51. Operations in Sicily, from Roman resources.

49. 1. constitisset: partly from the approach of winter, partly
because Scipio acted on the defensive, and Hannibal was occupied
with negotiations with the Gauls looking toward the maintenance
and increase of his army; see ch. 55. 9-11; cf. 22. 32. 4.—interim:
refers to bellum, not to constitisset, i.e. in the course of the war that
had come to a standstill on the Trebia.—inminentes: see on 22.
51. 11, and cf. 41. 1. 2, inminet mari is lacus.—terra: the customary
formula is retained though only naval operations are described.

2. viginti . . . novem, of the twenty . . . nine; novem is in partitive
apposition.—armatis: troops for making descents upon the coast,
not the socii navales.—Liparas: the largest of the group of islands
north of Sicily. Accusative of limit of motion.—Vulcani: also
called Hiera, now Vulcano, just south of Lipari; described by Ver-
gil, Aen. 8. 416 f. The group was called both Lipareae and Vulca-
niae.—tenuerunt; held toward; with the object cursum omitted as
in English, a poetic phrase.—fretum: sc. Siculum; often used of
this strait, cf. ch. 50. 7; less often of the straits of Gibraltar, cf. 23.
5. 11.
3. eas: the last three. — conspectas: the participial construction, so often in Livy, for ad conspectum curum; see on ch. 1. 5. — Hierone: Hiero II., king of Syracuse, 269–215 B.C., was from 263 the ally and unswerving friend of Rome; see 22. 37. 5; 23. 21. 5. — nullo repugnante, without conflict.

4. cuius ipsi classis essent = classem cuius ipsi essent, composing the fleet to which they belonged. The others doubtless came from Carthage, not from Spain. The Carthaginian allies of earlier times lived in the western part of the island. — sollicitandos: for the meaning, see on ch. 2. 7.

5. Lilybaei: now Marsala, an impregnable fortress, unsuccessfully besieged by the Romans in the first Punic war, but given up with the island in 241 B.C. — credere, they believed; the sudden turn to indirect discourse is common in Livy. — disiecti: indicates that they had been permanently separated from the fleet. — deiectam: indicates a temporary failure of purpose.

6. Aemilio: resident in Lilybaeum; see ch. 51. 1. — provincia: the praetor governed Sicily; for Sempronius it was merely a base of operations against Africa; see ch. 17. 1. — monetque: followed by the subjunctive as in 25. 9. 4; 33. 35. 9.

7. circa civitates: the towns along the coast like Panormus and Agrigentum; cf. 27. 28. 4, circa civitates miserat nuntios. — legati: military officers. — suos: the Roman garrisons, including 300 Campanian horsemen. The infinitives are historical. — ad curam . . . intendere, incited to diligent watchfulness, as in 24. 37. 3, intendere cum ad carendi omnia curam; likewise curam intendere, cf. 25. 9. 7. — apparatu belli: concrete, as in 26. 47. 5, captus est apparatus ingens belli, catapultae, ballistae, scorpiones, arma, tela, signa militaria; abstract in ch. 8. 1; in 29. 19. 1, it means military preparations. — socii navales: these were the sailors (see ch. 50. 5) and rowers; the milites and classici were Romans. — cibaria: rations of flour; in Livy often with cocta, cf. 24. 11. 9; especially ship bread that would keep a month; also uncooked, as 3. 27. 4, cibaria coquire inssit.

8. ut . . . ne: rarely separated so far, but not infrequently used to express an affirmative purpose that takes a negative turn; cf. ut . . . ut in 22. 11. 4. — speculis: these were erected on promontories, especially along the coasts of Africa and Spain; cf. 22. 19. 6; 29. 23. 1. — dimissis: abl. abs. closely connected by que to
edicto proposito; all these accessories tended toward the defence of Lilybaeum.

9. morati: of an injurious delay, as in ch. 36. 3; 48. 6. — accederent: instead of adipellere, advehii; see on ch. 34. 3. — pernox: a poetic word; found also in 5. 28. 10. — sublatis armamentis, with sails spread; cf. 22. 19. 6; opposed to demere in § 11; armamentis, as in § 11, includes tackling, cordage, masts, etc.

10. datum signum: probably by fires; in the same sense in 44. 29. 3, ex speculis significatum; cf. 22. 19. 7.

11. haud: the negative placed as in 27. 44. 9, haud cum ignoto duce; similarly haud is used with dubius after the preposition. — demendis: i.e. taking down the sails, lowering the masts, and in general "clearing the decks for action" (vela contrahere, malos inclinare); componere is also thus used, as in 26. 39. 8.

13. circa: the battle of the Aegates Islands, 241 B.C. — multitudine: for the meaning, see on ch. 5. 12.

50. 1. evecti sunt: both parties, the Carthaginians before (see ch. 49. 12), and now the Romans. — conserere pugnam, come to an engagement. — vires conferre, to measure strength.

2. eludere, to avoid an engagement; a word taken from the gladiatorial exercises signifying to foil or parry an adversary's blow, generally transitive; cf. 3. 10. 10; 22. 18. 3. The historical infinitive corresponds to the conative imperfect. — arte: manoeuvring. — viorum aut armorum: hendiadys.

3. inopem: a comparison of § 5 with ch. 49. 2 shows that the Carthaginian quinquereme had here about 200 sailors and rowers, and 50 soldiers. The customary number of the Roman crews was 300 or more sailors and rowers, and 120 soldiers (Pol. i. 26. 7). The Romans had a decided advantage in boarding. — conserta: analogous to manum conserere; probably made fast by the use of a boarding bridge, such as Duillius had used. The subjunctive is iterative; see on ch. 28. 10.

5. circumventae: not surrounded, but captured, as in ch. 34.

2. — nautae: including the rowers.


7. gnaris: for the construction, see on ch. 21. 1. — qui Messanae erant: periphrasis for a lacking noun Messanenses. The Ma-
mertini of Cicero had reference to the mercenaries of Agathocles rather than the inhabitants of the town.—ei...intranti: when the dative of the participle denoting circumstance stands at the beginning of its clause and refers to a person just mentioned, ei is seldom added; cf. ch. 50. 7; when it occupies a later position, the pronoun is still omitted and connection made by ita, etc.; cf. ch. 51. 2; 57. 3; 63. 13; 22. 61. 6; here the consul is in strong contrast to rer. —instructam: joined with ornatus of ships in 42. 45. 7, and often in Cicero, the former referring to the necessary equipment and coming first, and the latter referring to comfort and beauty and occupying the second place.

8. praetoriam navem: the admiral's ship, like cohors praetoria, porta praetoria, recalling the consul's early function as leader (a praeceundo); cf. 3. 55. 12, consulem praetorem appellari mos fuerit.—exercitu: this had come by land to Rhegium.—in Siciliam: note the position between the noun and the adjective.

9. conata, past undertakings; conatus might have referred to the future; cf. ch. 29. 5; see on ch. 45. 9. —iuvenis: he was then over forty, now nearly ninety. —senem: se, which is rarely omitted (cf. 28. 23. 6 with ch. 12. 6; 26. 30. 5; 50. 12), is left out here, perhaps to avoid cacophony.

10. frumentum: which he sent in 216 and 215; see 23. 21. 5; 38. 13.—vestimenta: regularly of soldier's dress (uniforms) as in 23. 48. 12; 27. 10. 13; see on ch. 4. 8.—volentibus: a kind of predicate possessive dative, in imitation of the Greek ὠμοὶ ἕστη, a construction found in Sallust and Tacitus, but in Livy only here, though analogous to putuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, in 1. 54. 9. The quidem implies a Carthaginian party still existing in the island.

11. ob haec: corresponding to quamobrem; again in ch. 53. 11; 63. 5; Caesar and Xepos use ob eam rem (cansam); Sallust uses ob id (cf. ch. 47. 1) and ob ea; Livy has also ob hoc; cf. 25. 37. 17; 34. 4. 15; in later writers these phrases are generally substituted for propter, propter ad.—profecti: synesis.—navigantes, on the voyage; along the north coast.

51. 1. Melitam: now Malta, 88 miles south of Sicily, left to Carthage in the peace of 241. For the order see on ch. 2. 7; regular, ch. 7. 2; 22. 31. 2.—tenebatur: sc. praesidio.
2. *milibus*: depends on *cum, minus* like *amplius* having no influence on the construction.—*traditur*: has a middle force with Hannibal but not with *oppidum*. —*a consule*: join with *capitivi = capti*. The preposition is repeated in the second member with *et...et, aut...aut, nec...nec, simul...simul, non...solum...sed* *etiam*. —*sub corona venierunt*: were sold as slaves at public auction. The expression arose from the placing of garlands upon the heads of those offered for sale, as upon animals for sacrifice.

3. *stare, was anchored*; see on ch. 36. 3. This is the fleet of 17 ships mentioned in ch. 49. 2.

4. *Iam forte*: they had just crossed. *forte* is joined as an enclitic to *iam*, as often to other words; cf. ch. 49. 3; 54. 7. The descent on Italy was intentional (see ch. 49. 2); the time of their departure just before the Roman arrival was accidental.—*urbem*: Vibo, in opposition to *agro*, on the west coast of Bruttii, now Monteleone. The name is the Latin form of Hippo = *ἱππόδρυον*.

5. *Repenteni*: strictly “on the return,” like *navigantes* in ch. 50. 11; in the lack of a perf. participle “it is used as an aorist (cf. *advenienti* in § 2). —*facta*: omit in translation. Participles are often used to tie prepositional phrases to a noun when they would otherwise drift to the main verb (*litterae ab senatu missae, “letters from the senate”*). Sometimes the change of meaning is unimportant, often essential.—*nuntiatur*: at the same time as *traduntur*, excusing Sempronius for his change of plan.—*litterae*: see on 22. 56. 1. These must have been sent as soon as the report of Hannibal’s entrance into Italy reached Rome, before the news of the battle on the Ticinus, and could not have reached Sempronius before the last of October or the first of November.—*in Italian*: see on ch. 15. 5. —*primo*: like a superlative with *quisque*: cf. 42. 10. 15, *Latinus feris in primam quamque diem indicis*.

6. *anxius*: see on ch. 2. 1. Sempronius had been diligently preparing supplies and means for a descent on Africa. The transports prepared for this purpose were doubtless used for sending the army to Ariminum. Polybius states, 3. 61. 10, that the army went by land, the consul breaking up the military organization at Lilybaeum, and requiring the soldiers to take an oath to be present at Ariminum in forty days. He himself passed through Rome with some of his troops, and greatly encouraged the city by his presence.
—maris supero: the Adriatic (ablative of road by which), safer than the Tuscan Sea (*mare infernum*), which was beset with Carthaginian cruisers; and Sempronius rightly judged that Scipio, if forced to retreat would, retire by way of Mutina and Ariminum to the via Flaminia.

7. *explevit*, enlarged to.— *compositis*: so that an uprising of former Carthaginian subjects and the descents of fleets might not be feared.— *legens*, coasting; as in Verg. Georg. 2. 44, and not infrequent in the following books of Livy, and in the later prose.— *coniungitur*: this was possible only under the condition (see on ch. 47, 8) that Scipio had moved his camp to the east bank of the Trebia.

52-57. 4. Battle of the Trebia; to ch. 55 exclusively from Polybius, 3. 68 f.; the description of the battle has additions from Roman sources.

52. 1. The subject of *declarabat* is the clumsy expression *ambo . . . oppositum* (cf. *litterae . . . missae*, ch. 51. 5), in which *oppositi* is to be supplied with *consules* (see on ch. 1. 5). *The fact that both consuls, etc., . . . made it clear.*— *quidquid*: all the troops opposed to Hannibal.— *aut . . . aut*, either . . . or else.— *spem nullam*: if after a victory Hannibal should push forward, the Romans might not have time to equip a new army; see ch. 41. 15; 53. 3; 57. 1. The whole is grossly exaggerated.

2. Tamen: notwithstanding the union of the two armies.— *uno*: that on the Ticinus, not that of ch. 29. 2 f.— *minutus*, discouraged; in opposition to the confidence of his speech in ch. 40 f. The participle usually joined with *animus* (ch. 50. 4) is here transferred to the person, to balance the clauses *alter . . . alter*.— *patiebatur*, would not hear of.

3. Quod . . . est: on the left bank of the Trebia, as appears from § 9 and from Polybius, 3. 69. 5, from whom the statement is taken.— *favorem*: refers not merely to feelings, but to the fact that they gave actual assistance to both parties.— *spectantes*, watching for; the participle is in sense the main predicate; rare for Galli, qui incalcent, spectabunt.

4. modo . . . moverent, provided only they (the Gauls) made no movement.— *satis*: weakens *aequum* as per strengthens *iniquum*.— *acciditum*: as described in ch. 29. 6.
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5. ob eam rem: see on ch. 2. 6 and 5. 4. — Numidas: belongs only to equites. — deinceps: an adjective (see on ch. 8. 5) describing the country stretching from his camp to the river. West of the Trebia the Po makes a great bend, enclosing a large extent of country.

6. ad id. up to this time. — consules: the plural in view of the fact that the two held different opinions. — laboranti. harried: referring to populari in § 5.

7. ut: see on ch. 47. 5. — obsolevissent: as in 38. 43. 8, veterem viam et obsoletam; in the first decade oftener abolesci; cf. 1. 23. 3, cum re nomen vetustate abolerit. — recentem: see ch. 25. 7.

8. continendis . . sociis: dative of purpose; cf. 22. 35. 2. — maximum: see on maiora. ch. 43. 3. — primos . . defensos, the defence of the first who needed: see on ch. 1. 5. — censebat: indicates that his view was formally given in a council of war.

9. peditum: limits iaculatoribus, and ferme limits mille. It is possible to join peditum with mille, in which case iaculatoribus ferme is an explanatory appositive. Sempronius as yet controlled only his own forces. The general command passed to him in ch. 53. 7. — admixtis: so Scipio, ch. 46. 3. — trans: on the west side.

10. Sparsos: without eos; see on ch. 50. 7; the Numidian and Gallic foragers. — inopinato: also ex inopinato; cf. inproriso and ex inproviso, 25. 9. 11 and 30. 10. — stationes: see on ch. 4. 7. — fugam . . . fecere: see on ch. 32. 8.

11. cedentes: an orderly retreat in distinction from rout or disorder, fugere: cf. ch. 34. 4. The noun fugae means both flight and retreat. A corresponding difference exists between sequi and insequi; cf. 27. 43. 2, cedentem sequi; 31. 35. 3, insequentes refugientesque.

53. 1. iustior. more complete; not fama, but victoria; so iust(a) pugna, acies, bellum, proelium (cf. 22. 28. 13), in opposition to latrocinia, furti belli. — efferi, was beside himself; the exaggerations of the speech are characteristic of an over-confident temper, and the passage such a description as Livy loved to make; see on ch. 16. 2. — parte: for the meaning, see on ch. 17. 8.

2. magis . . aegrum: the comparative in ior is lacking; cf. 40. 56. 9. — memoria, from thinking of; the ablative is causal with horrere.
3. senescendum: figurative for the loss of energy when comfort is an excuse for indifference; cf. i. 22. 2, senescere civitatem otio.

3. Quid . . . tempus, why long postpone or waste time? tempus is the subject of differri in the sense of occasio, or differri may be considered as impersonal, "delay." — alium exercitum: it was the existing practice to raise only two consular armies, and from their characteristic difficulty in adapting themselves to new conditions the Romans were actually in the straits described.

4. in conspectu urbis: like in media Italia (§ 5), an expression of passion. — cis Hiberum: Northern Spain; sc. sitam (see on ch. 15. 6); owing to its omission the prepositional phrase precedes the noun. — foent: often in the oratio obliqua, even outside of conditional clauses, as in § 1 and ch. 21. 1; formed from the root fu (φύω, fio), "become."

5. ingemiscant: the liveliness of the present corresponds to the change to the direct speech (see on ch. 10. 4), and the difficulty arising from the lack of a supine of ingemisco is avoided. — soliti: exaggerated reference to the expedition of Regulus to Africa, 256 B.C., which after temporary success ended in failure. — paventis: because Scipio acted on the defensive after the battle of the Ticinus. — quod . . . agri: the western part of Cisalpine Gaul Hannibal had not yet occupied, much less subdued; dicitionis, for the construction, see on ch. 41. 5. — Appenninum: not used in the plural by the Romans.

6. adsidens, at the bedside; often of the care of the sick, and in connection with curare. — praetorio: the open space in front of the general's tent, where he loudly talked in the presence of officers and men (22. 14. 15), almost as if there were a regular assembly, contio, which there was not, as in camp this never took the place of a concilium; see on ch. 14. 1. For contionabundus, see on ch. 36. 1. — tempus . . . comitiorum: this touches the weak spot in the Roman military system, the frequent change of commanders, determined, not by fitness, but by popular elections. The elections took place at least a month before the consuls entered on their office, but owing to the disorder of the calendar, the actual date differed about two months from the assigned date. It was then about the middle of December; see ch. 57. 4; 22. 1. 4; 26. 1. 1.
7. **parari**: so in § 11, instead of *se parare* in ch. 31. 1, because no actual order was issued to prepare for a contest, only a general direction to be in readiness. — **optimum**: to act on the defensive and gain time.

8. **cum** = *cum autem* — **percitum**, excitable; often joined with *ira*. — **ferox**: like *audax*, a *vox media*, yet oftener implying blame; cf. 22. 3. 5; 12. 12. — **cum praedatoribus**: see on *in Siciliam*, ch. 50. 8. — **haud**: litotes; see on ch. 13. 8. — **fortunam**: the favorable opportunity arising from circumstances; *tempus*, the moment in which the opportunity is to be seized.

9. **dum . . . dum . . . dum**: anaphora; join with *ne . . . praetermitteret*. — **meliorem**: in general Polybius, Coelius, and Livy praise, or at least excuse, Scipio and blame Sempronius, as they also do Flaminius in 217 and Varro in 216.

10. **vigerent**: before their enthusiasm cooled.

11. **speculatorum**: substantive, not used adjectively like *ruptor* in ch. 40. 11. Hannibal was well informed by spies, even of what went on in Rome; see 22. 33. 1. — **militabant**: among the Romans as *auxiliares*; see ch. 48. 1. That the Gauls in Italy joined Hannibal’s army is probable and proved by Polybius, 3. 68. 8, but nowhere actually stated by Livy; see ch. 38. 4. Perhaps Livy had in mind the Alpine mountaineers; see ch. 42. 1. — **insidiis**: dative of purpose. A. & G. 233, b.; G. 350; H. 392, 2, n. 1.

54. 1. **medio**: between the Carthaginian camp and the Trebia. — **circa**: see on ch. 43. 4. — **herbis**: reeds and marsh grass. — **quibus . . . vepribusque**, the usual growth in waste places, shrubs and brambles; note the position of the relative clause. — **equites . . . tegendo**: the dative of the gerund with an object is so purely poetic that Madvig, saying that he knows of no certain instance in prose, reads *equiti*. — **quoque**: the concealment of infantry is implied. — **hic . . . locus**: these words, indicating Hannibal’s presence at the spot (Polybius says he had long had this place in mind), are hardly consistent with *praetorium missum*, unless we suppose that the staff officers accompanied Hannibal in his reconnoissance and were considered as constituting an informal council of war. — **Magoni**: see on ch. 47. 4.

2. **pedite**: the light armed, as in ch. 46. 6. — **corpora curare**: see on ch. 31. 1. — **tempus est**: see on ch. 43. 9. — **praetorium**:
the military council, so called from the place of meeting, as *curia* for the senate. *missum*, analogous to *senatum mittere* (26. 36. 11), = *dimissum*.

3. *robora virorum*, these are picked men, *I see*; abstract for concrete.— *turnis*: refers to the cavalry, *manipulis* to the infantry; see on ch. 3. 1.— *vestri similes*: in comparing inanimate objects Livy uses *similis* exclusively with the dative except in the phrase *verisimilis*; in comparing persons the genitive predominantly, and always with the pronouns *mei, tuui, suiu*, *nostri, vestri*, etc.; cf. i. 22. 2; 22. 12. 5; 39. 1; 60. 18.

4. *inecto . . . certamine*, when a battle had been drawn on; cf. 26. 36. 11. — *pertrahere*: again in 22. 15. 7.

5. *signum*: with the trumpet; as in ch. 59. 4.

6. *tumultum. fient.— ferox*: often like *fretus* of over-confidence; cf. 22. 12. 12.— *destinatum*: in accordance with Livy’s fondness for the participial construction this is substituted for *ad id quod iam ante consilio (animo) destinaverat*; cf. ch. 44. 9; 27. 47. 9, in *destinatis iam ante animo latebris*.

7. *forte*: belongs also to *nivalis dies*; see on ch. 51. 4.— *brumae*: for *brerima = brevissima*, the shortest day.— *nivalis*: see on ch. 26. 8.— *fluminum*: the many tributaries of the Po, both north and south.— *paludium*: more commonly *paludem*. Charisius rejects the genitive form *iun* for all nouns of the third declension, in *lus* and *tus* with a long ultima, like *virtus, pahus*.

8. *Ad hoc*: for *praeterea*, like *ob hoc* for *propterea*; see on ch. 50. 11; cf. ch. 55. 7.— *hominibus*: dative.— *ope, means*, such as Hannibal employed; see ch. 55. 1.— *quidquid . . . vis, the nearer they approached the (atmosphere of the) river, the more cutting became the frosty air*. The neuter pronoun is used with intransitive verbs to denote the compass or extent of the action, perhaps with a kind of agreement with the substantive implied in the verb “whatever approach”’; cf. 25. 6. 23; 31. 15; Näg. 32. A. & G. 240, a.; G. 331, 2; H. 371, 11.— *acrior*: corresponds to the implied comparative in *adpropinquabant*.

9. *refugientes*: agrees with *Numidas*; for the meaning, see on ch. 52. 11.— *erat . . . imbri, the water was breast high, swollen by the rains of the night*.— *aucta*: is an adjective.— *tenus*: post-positive, as in 26. 45. 8, *umbilico tenus*; also poetically with the
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genitive in 26. 24. 11; 44. 40. 8. — tum: does not refer to *ut vero*, as *ingressi* and *egressi* would be contradictory, but implies an ellipsis. They felt the cold on entering the water, but were especially benumbed on stepping out upon the bank; cf. ch. 11. 8; 29. 7. — simul: joins *rigere* and *deificere*.

55. 1. Hannibalis . . . procedit: an excellent instance of the Livian period. Note the vivacity given by the successive ablative absolutes, each with a different subject, by the omission of the subject of *mollirent*, by the logical order of thought culminating in the expression *in aciem procedit*.

2. Baliares: properly slingers (see ch. 21. 12), are here made to include all the light-armed (cf. §§ 6 and 9), from which they are elsewhere distinct; 22. 4. 3; 46. 1; 28. 37. 6, *fandis ut nunc plurimum, ita tum solo ex telo utebantur, nec quisquam alterius gentis unus tantum ea arte quantum inter ealius omnes Baliares excellunt*. The Baliares proper could hardly have numbered 8000. — dein: almost local in this connection; cf. *deinceps*, ch. 52. 5. — quod . . . erat, comprising the flower of his army; see on ch. 1. 2. — circumfudit: sc. *peditibus; in cornibus* refers to the whole battle line, not merely to the infantry, otherwise the dative would have been used. — decem: besides the 1000 detailed for the ambuscade, a proof of Hannibal’s care in keeping up that arm of his service by Gallic reinforcements; see ch. 38. 3. — ab cornibus: not as usual “on the wings” (see on ch. 27. 1), but “from.” “in front of.” in contrast to *in . . . partem*. The arrangement was as follows: the centre was composed of the best African, Spanish, and Gallic infantry. In front of it were the light-armed troops. Cavalry composed the wings, while the elephants stood a little in front of the spaces separating the centre from the wings. The battle was begun by the Baliares and the cavalry, though Livy does not mention this fact; but the rapid movement of the light-armed from the front to the wings (§ 5) brought the centre against the legions, and on the rout of the Roman cavalry gave the light-armed an opportunity to make a flank movement, one of the most favorite manoeuvres of Hannibal. Polybius puts Hannibal’s infantry at about 20,000, cavalry at 10,000 including Gauls, and light-armed troops at 8000.

3. circumdedit: the Roman cavalry was usually on the right wing, the allied cavalry on the left.
NOTES.

4. Romana: for Romanorum or Romani; lit. eighteen Roman thousands; so Caes. B. G. 1. 49, sedecim milia expedita. Polybius says 16,000, but according to Livy there were five legions, two under Scipio, two under Sempronius, and one under Manlius, all of which, however, had suffered losses; see ch. 17. 9; 26. 3; 32. 5. — socium: for the form, see on ch. 17. 2. — nominis Latini: this name, in use before the Social war, 90 B.C., was applied to the old towns of Latium which were in alliance with Rome, and to the many colonies enjoying the same rights scattered throughout Italy (ch. 25. 2). It thus became more of a political than an ethnic name. — auxilia: not a regular addition to the legions; see 22. 37. 7. — Cenomanorum: a Gallic people living between the Addua (Adda) and the Athesis (Adige), whose capital was Brixia (Brescia); see 5. 35. 1. They were often hostile to the Insubrians, hence friendly to Rome.

5. legiones: according to Polybius the Roman light-armed troops were placed in front of the centre, but having discharged nearly all their javelins in the pursuit of the Numidians, they were forced to retire by the first onset of the Balaares, leaving the legions uncovered.

6. propere . . . extemplo: the manoeuvre of the Balaares, retiring to each wing, was a complete surprise to the Roman general. — nam . . . se: such a succession of monosyllables is usually avoided. — quattuor milia: Sempronius originally had 2400, and 1600 were raised for the Gallic army (see ch. 17. 5, 8, 9), so that the cavalry of Scipio's later legions must have about made good the losses at the Ticinus and the losses from absence. — plerisque: all except the Numidians. — velut nube: the metaphor was poetical (Verg. Aen. 2. 424; 10. 808; Ennius, Ann. 287, ferreus imber), and not common in prose at that time, hence softened by velut; cf. 38. 26. 7; 36. 18. 5, nimbus: 28. 37. 7, grando of stones; a similar figure in 22. 39. 7, procella. We say "storm," "rain," or "hail" of bullets.

7. Ad hoc: like insuper in § 6. This threefold attack upon the Roman cavalry was unknown to Polybius, and was entirely improbable in view of the arrangements of the troops. — odore: the same statement occurs in Appian, Hann. 7, and other writers.

8. quas . . . contra: the two reasons for the inequalities of the
battle, but the second is made independent to avoid two contrasted relative clauses. — pedite: the heavy infantry in which the Romans were superior.

9. et . . . et . . . et: this threefold attack is given by Polybius, who joins Numidians with the Baliares. — tulerant: poetic for intulerant. — praeterlata: except in this place Livy has only praeferri, which he uses with the accusative in 5. 26. 7; or with praeter in 6. 29. 3; or most commonly absolutely, but not with a dative. For the medial passive, cf. ch. 61. 11; similarly praevehi.

10. Tamen, nevertheless; contrasted with in . . . malis; the preposition in might be omitted.

11. velites: an anachronism since the velites, light-armed skirmishers, were not organized till 211 B.C., but troops for similar service existed before that date. Livy also mentions them in 23. 29. 3; 24. 34. 5. — locati: after being withdrawn from the front, § 3. — fodiebant: with both spears and swords.

56. 1. Trepidantis: i.e. elephantos; see on ch. 28. 11; for the meaning of consternatos, see on ch. 11. 13. — sinistrum: Hannibal's left, the Roman right, the side most exposed to attack since the shields were carried on the left arm.

2. in orbem: having formed a square facing in all directions, a common arrangement against the attacks of cavalry; cf. 22. 29. 5; 23. 27. 6. — decem milia: probably the hastati and principes, the triarii having been cut down by Mago's cavalry. Sempronius probably fled with these troops; see ch. 57. 3. His services are passed over in order to extol Scipio's in § 9. — Afrorum = Poenorum; not of the "centre" in general, but the middle part of it, otherwise qua must be put for quae. — acie: ablative of road by which; see on ch. 22. 5; 51. 6. It is probable that as at Cannae the Gauls occupied the centre of the infantry, enclosed on the sides by Hannibal's veteran Africans and Spaniards, and that the weakness of the Gauls opened the way for the legions; see 22. 46. 3; 47. 7. For firmat, see on ch. 4. 65.

3. decernere: oftener discernere, cf. ch. 4. 3. — Placentiam: the retreat of the Romans to a fortress not only confessed defeat in battle, but abandoned the open country, though Livy seeks to disguise the fact, which Polybius admits. — recto itinere: with Livy's apparent belief that the battle was fought on the right bank
of the Trebia, this describes a direct march to Placentia. If the battle was on the left bank, as it undoubtedly was, this can only mean "by the shortest way," which would be down the Trebia and then across the river, perhaps by a bridge that was at Placentia. It was this bridge, perhaps, that allowed Scipio to have his first camp on the west bank; see on ch. 47. 3.

4. eruptiones: others besides the 10,000 attempted to cut their way out; cf. 22. 6. 8.

5. passim: opposed to flumen petiere. Those fleeing north or west followed the track of the 10,000; those fleeing south had eventually to cross the river. — cedentis: not fugiuntis; see on ch. 52. 11. — contendere: perfect. — aliis: implies an alii before vestigia. — ingrediendi: ad ingrediendum would be more common.

6. homines: the Carthaginians. — prope omnis: of the original 37 elephants, according to Polybius 3. 74. 11, all but one died; according to Livy, ch. 58. 11 and 22. 2. 10, at least eight survived.

7. flumen Trebia: for the order, see on ch. 2. 7.

8. The statements of this and the following sections, wanting in Polybius, betray a Roman origin favorable to Scipio at the expense of Sempronius, probably Coelius Antipater. They involve the following difficulties: (a) The placing of the Roman camp on the west bank of the Trebia (b) The existence, or preparation in a single night, of rafts sufficient to transport across the river a large body of men. (c) The ability of Scipio, in spite of the wound that prevented his taking any part in the battle, to direct the evacuation of the camp in a stormy night, and to lead his army, in the face of the enemy, to Placentia. (d) The ignorance or culpable oversight of Hannibal. — sauciorum: those from the battle on the Ticinus.

9. prae: as often of a hindering cause: cf. 22. 3. 13. — Pado: ablative of road; cf. acie, § 2, and ch. 57. 5. — Cremonam: being on the river, it could easily be provisioned.

57. 1. Romam: placed first, changing the scene from the Trebia. — Romanam: for the adjective, see on ch. 30. 11. Polybius says that, after the battle on the Trebia, Sempronius merely reported that he had fought, but the weather had deprived him of his victory, and after the truth was known no extraordinary preparations were made, only the ordinary number of legions was raised, and detachments sent to exposed coast towns in Italy and Sicily.
In this account the same rhetorical exaggerations appear as in Scipio's speech in ch. 40 and 41. — *arcercent*: with the simple ablative, always in local references; cf. 5. 8. 8, *munimentis vim arcere*, ch. 17. 6; 26. 6; the preposition *ab* is used only with persons, as in 6. 9. 7; 10. 11. 13, *vim ab se arcere*.

2. *revocatum*: this was in fact before the battle, on the report of Hannibal's entrance into Italy; see ch. 51. 5.

3. *territis*: dative; for the omission of *iis*, see on ch. 50. 7. — *periculo ... audacia ... spe*: the ablatives bear different relations to *transgressus*; *periculo* is abl. abs. of attendant circumstance, *audacia* is causal, and *spe* denoting the condition of the consul's mind is one of those mixed ideas that unite both cause and circumstance and cannot logically be referred to any one form; *per spe* might have been used. — *fallendi*: τραβάνει; cf. ch. 48. 5; transitive in § 6. — *transgressus*, making his way through; the participle cannot be referred by a change of punctuation to *advenit*, since *id quod* could not begin the next sentence.

4. *id quod*: the relative clause precedes that to which it is an appositive; cf. ch. 18. 2; 22. 4. 5. The election of consuls could be conducted only by a consul or a dictator appointed for that purpose; see on 22. 8. 5. — *in praesentia*: ablative; cf. 22. 60. 4, and often, as also in contrast to *in posterum, in perpetuum, in futurum*; so in *praesens* and in *praesens tempus*.— *hiberna*: Placentia. — *et*: for this use, see on ch. 6. 3. — *Flaminius*: as Flaminius had been consul in 223, *iterum* would have been expected, since from the fourth book Livy uses it in reporting elections; cf. 22. 25. 16.

57. 5–59. Military operations in the winter of 218–217, from a Roman source.

5. *Ceterum*: for this use, see on ch. 5. 1; cf. 22. 36. 6; 41. 1. — *Romanis*: in Placentia and Cremona. — *quaeque ... erant*: *sc. loca, wherever the country was too difficult for their operations*, owing to marsh or wood or mountain; cf. 22. 18. 3, and ch. 27. 2.

6. *Emporium*: not a proper name; a market place on the Po, probably the port of Placentia, which Hannibal would thus cut off. Placentia remained in the hands of the Romans, and in 207 resisted an attack of Hasdrubal; see 27. 39. 11. — *opere*: collective, with *strong works*; for *magno*, see on ch. 43. 3. *magno opere* is adverbial.
—castelli: like that mentioned in ch. 45. 1. —cum...habuis-set, since his greatest hope for the accomplishment of his undertaking lay in his success in concealing it; join spei with plurimum. The lack of a siege train and his consequent inability to capture fortified places was one of the chief obstacles to Hannibal's ultimate success; see 22. 9. 2; 23. 18. 9. —adortus: concessive.

7. consul: Sempronius' return is not mentioned till ch. 59. 2, and Scipio was said to be at Cremona; Livy apparently left the reader to solve the riddle.

8. in...quia: one would have expected Hannibal vulneratus est to follow, but see on ch. 6. 4. —saucius: his second wound; see ch. 7. 10. —pavore: Appian gives Hannibal's loss as 400. —praesidium, the post; so in §11.

9. Victumulas: for the word, see ch. 45. 3. A depot of Roman supplies, which Hannibal wished to capture in order to lessen the pressure of his drafts upon the Gauls. —pergit ire: for the meaning, see on 22. 19. 4. It is clear from paucis, in §12, that Hannibal had only a small part of his army with him, and his name is probably introduced only to lay upon him the burden of the cruelty; cf. ch. 4. 5.

10. emporium: also a depot of the Romans. —munitum: it therefore had a Roman garrison. —frequentaverant: and therefore made important. —mixti: Láurians and Gauls.

11. ad Placentiam: because the town was at some distance. —arreptis: with their usual impetuosity; see on ch. 16. 4.

12. agmina: loose lines of march; acies: the ordered line of battle. The expression implies a surprise to Hannibal. —ex...in: the first is simply local (see on ch. 27. 1), the second is partly descriptive, while in the other, yet the variation is mainly stylistic; cf. ch. 41. 14.

14. scribentibus: as in 22. 7. 4. Livy avoids historicus and historia; see on ch. 1. 1; 42. 4. —ulla...clades=ullum genus cladis; cf. 22. 4. 1; Tac. Agr. 16, nec ullam saeritiae genus omisit IRA. —adeo: for this use, see on ch. 7. 3. —exemplum: such as had been given in the capture of Turin; but since some of the inhabitants of Victumulae were Gauls, Hannibal's conduct is strange; see ch. 48. 10. —hibernae: the operations of ch. 59 seem to belong here. Polybius knows nothing of these movements.
58. 1. frigora: the plural of abstract nouns often denotes the repetition or variety of a given exhibition of the quality; see on ch. 31. 8; cf. 22. 1. 1; calores, 2. 5. 3; so we say "frosts," "snows," and with a different application, "colds."

2. hibernis: the connection shows that they were near the Po; see ch. 56. 9; 57. 5.—Ligures: their adherence to Hannibal has been only incidentally mentioned in ch. 38. 3; cf. 59. 10; ch. 39. 4 and 5.—vi aut voluntate: note the alliteration (the same in 29. 3. 10; 31. 41. 2), and the reference of the words to different subjects; see on ch. 39. 4; cf. opem . . . inaps, § 10.

3. transeuntem: without eum, which is added only occasionally in the first decade, e.g. 1. 35. 6; 4. 14. 6; see on ch. 50. 7. As usual in Latin the order renders an adversative particle unnecessary.—tempestas: the following description is strongly rhetorical, and even poetic. Note the climax ventus, imber, nivosae grandinis; primo, dein, tum vero, tandem, de integro, and constitere, considere, procumberent, and also the poetic expressions, vertice intorti, reciprocare, ignes, perscindente, nivosae. —ora: sc. militum; cf. 22. 46. 9.—arma omittenda: to lay aside the arms in order to take them up later; cf. 5. 47. 5, armis omissis saxa manibus amplecti; often equals abicere; cf. ch. 8. 12; 22. 49. 3; for a different meaning, see ch. 11. 13.—aut . . . adfligebantur, or in striving to stand against it they were dashed to the ground by the whirling blasts; the Latin often puts into the subject an idea (intorti) which we put into the predicate. vertice is usually said of water, here of wind. Lucretius, 6. 444, venti vertex.

4. includeret, took away their breath, for the moment; intercludere is used mostly of suffocation: cf. 22. 51. 8; 23. 7. 3.—reciprocare: of the ebb and flow of the tide, a new metaphor for breathing; they could breathe neither in nor out.

5. strepere: of thunder.—ignes: for fulmina.—capti . . . oculis, deafened and blinded. capere is used of both temporary and permanent loss of power; cf. 22. 2. 11; of paralysis captus omnibus membris, 2. 36. 8.

6. accensa, intensified; the favorite Latin metaphor of fire is transferred to wind. For eis, as in § 9, see on ch. 37. 2.

7. explicare: of the tents; statuere: of the poles.—quod = si quid; the subjunctive is iterative.

8. levata: the rain-drops broken by the wind froze in fine parti-
cles; sleet; cf. 37. 41. 2. *nebula matutina crescente die lerata in nubes.* —nivosae: perhaps from Coelius, who was fond of adjectives in osus, like morbosus; cf. ch. 31. 11, glareosus. —tegminibus: oxymoron with tecti.

9. strage: with the literal idea of its primitive sternere, a lying along the ground. —attollere ac levare, to raise and lift himself up; cf. Verg. Aen. 4. 690, ter sese attollens cubitoque annixa levavit. —nervis, muscles. —artus: for the meaning, see on ch. 40. 9.

10. movere ac recipere: sc. coeperunt; courage came back with the ability to use their limbs. —fieri: as a formal passive this infinitive is joined by Livy with coeptus sum 14 times (the construction occurs in books 21 and 22, 10 times); on the other hand, as originally intransitive (φείνω), in 2. 21. 6, and in the early classical writers it is joined with coepi. —alienam: the opposite of suus; which is usually joined with quisque. —quisque inops, every one in his helplessness; quisque is rarely used absolutely, excused here by the lack of a superlative of inops; the order is also unusual. The common construction would have been ut quisque maxime inops erat ita maxime tendebat. T. —tendere: usually with manus; absolute in ch. 31. 9; 4. 31. 2.

11. facto: the addition of the participle is the exception rather than the rule in Livy. —superfuerant: for the number, see ch. 56. 6.

59. 1. The events of this chapter, not given by Polybius, are probably taken from some annalist. They offer the following difficulties: (a) That Sempronius with his weaker army, on an open plain, should have been able unmolested to make a camp seven miles from Placentia, and only three from Hannibal, § 2. (b) That in a fierce battle lasting three hours, as long as was required for the great battle of Trasumennus (22. 6. 1), the loss was comparatively slight. (c) That Hannibal should have retired to Liguria, so far from where he afterward crossed the Apennines (22. 2. 2 and 3. 3). (d) The insufficient time. Between the winter solstice of 218 (ch. 54. 7) and the 15th of March, 217 (ch. 63. 1), occurred the battle of the Trebia, Sempronius' journey to Rome and his return, his journey to Lucca (§ 10), and return to Ariminum (ch. 63. 1), —events that could hardly have been included in so short a time, especially if, as Livy implies, Sempronius was accompanied by
troops to Lucca, though in ch. 63. 1 the legions are said to winter in Placentia. If the account is not to be regarded as a repetition of the earlier battle, the action was perhaps a feint to secure a seasonable retreat to Etruria in obedience to the command of the new consul; see ch. 63. 1. — *quinque*: for the omission of *milia*, see on ch. 23. 1. The extraordinary proportion of cavalry, and also their loss, § 9, is justified by the open country about Placentia.

2. *detrectavit*: that day was merely a preparation for the battle of the next. — *tria*, *only three*; see on ch. 4. 7. — *passum*: synezeisis in the genitive plural especially with this word is common, and in Livy particularly in the first decade.

3. *vincerent*: subject supplied by synesis from *res Romana*.

4. *media castra*: the arrangement of the Roman camp is adapted to the Carthaginians; so in *porta dextra*, *laeva* of § 6. — *exspectare*: the signal from the trumpet; cf. 24. 38. 6, *intenti signum espectabitis*; 5. 45. 1, *intenti quam max signum daretur*; 22. 42. 7. The *spectare* of the Mss. would refer to a banner.

5. *postquam*: with the imperfect, see on ch. 28. 4.

6. *accepit*: from the reports of his officers; he being in *media castra* could not see. — *recessum*: impersonal; *sc. esse*. — *robore*: the heavy infantry; cf. ch. 55. 2.


8. *nox*: the strong contrast to *dies* renders *sed* unnecessary. — *diremit*: so Sall. Jug. 60. 8; Caes. B. C. 1. 40. 7. — *aequat*: i.e. Hannibal had driven the Romans back nearly to their position of the morning. — *plus cecidit*: instead of *plures cecidere*, corresponding to the singular with *dimidium*. *plus* is not to be taken with *dimidium*, which is an independent subject with *ab utraque parte* to be supplied; *eius* is neut. substantive; cf. 30. 12. 5, *non plus quinque milia occisa, minus dimidium eius hominum captum est*.

9. *tribuni militum*: roughly corresponding to the modern colonel. The *praefecti sociorum* held a similar rank. In *equestris ordinis* is an anachronism, as an *ordo equestris* was not formed till 122 B.C., but Livy here means the members of the eighteen centuries who received horses from the state and served at their own
charges, in distinction from those who furnished their own horses and received pay, the equites legionarii.

10. *concessit*: *concedere* is especially used of going into winter quarters; cf. ch. 21. 1; 15. 3.—*Lucam*: an incomprehensible move from Livy’s standpoint, but intelligible if Sempronius wished to block Hannibal’s entrance into Etruria either by way of Bononia and Pistoria, or by the road along the coast.—*intercepti*: by the Ligures.—*senatorum . . . liberis*: since as a rule the senators had the highest census their sons entered the centuries of the knights.—*traduntur*: it is not known what Hannibal did with them. The *triumvirī* surrendered to him (ch. 25. 5), he returned to the Boii, see Pol. 3. 67.

60, 61. Affairs in Spain during 218, according to Polybius 3. 76; the second campaign, ch. 61. 5–11, from a Roman source.

60. 1. *Dum*: refers back to ch. 32. 4, an interval of about six months.

2. *Emporías*: now Ampurias, on the gulf of Rosas, an ancient colony of the Phoceans (see 26. 19. 11; 34. 9. 1), and favorable to the Romans.

3. *Lacetanis*: the district of Lacetania, of which the chief town was Jacca (now Jaca), lay back from the coast at the foot of the Pyrenees, outside the immediate operations of Scipio. Perhaps Livy mistook the name, or, as Hübner suggests, it may be Laetanis (Strabo, 3. 4. 7; Pliny, N. H. 3. 22), a people living around Barcelona.—*societatibus*: first with Emporiae, then perhaps the Bargusii; cf. ch. 19. 7.—*dicionis*: in a limited sense; cf. *sociorum*, ch. 61. 5; for the construction, see on ch. 44. 5; cf. 53. 5.

4. conciliata . . . fama, *the report gaining ground*. Clementia is often noted as the special virtue of the Romans, and of the Scipios; cf. 28. 34. 3; see on ch. 4. 9.—*ad*: differing little from *apud*; both prepositions are used with *valere*; cf. 31. 48. 1; 38. 28. 6.—*populos*: the peoples civilized by commerce, in distinction from *gentes*.—*mediterraneis, the interior*; like *montanis*, neuter plural; see on ch. 31. 2.—*iam*: join with *ferociores*. The tribes grew more fierce the farther they were distant from the coast. *iam* often stands with a comparative to denote that the increase rests upon a progress in space or time.—*ferociores . . . gentes*: especially the Ilergetes. Notwithstanding a slight difference of meaning *ferocior*
and fero
cissimus are used as the comparative and superlative of 
ferus; therefore in 33. 12. 10, gentes feras; Curtius, 9. 4. 16, fer-
cissimus. — parta: conjecture for parata of the Mss., since Livy says 
only pacem, victoriam, gloriam, etc. parere; cf. 3. 24. 11; 10. 38. 1; 
34. 44. 5. — cohortes: socii and auxilia were never formed into inde-
pendent legions.

5. eum . . . eius: for the repetition, see on ch. 2. 6.— ad . . . 
praesidium: for ut praesidio esset; cf. ch. 23. 3.— obviam eun-
dum: often of countermovements; cf. 3. 59. 4.— eduxit: for its 
use, see on ch. 39. 10.

6. Romano: for Scipion, see on ch. 45. 2.

7. Nec . . . fuit, the struggle was not a severe one, certaminis is geni-
tive of quality. The general idea (res) is repeated in both cer-
taminis and dimicatio. — cum, besides. — principibus: Polybius 
mentions Iulibilis, the chief of the Ilergetes, afterward freed; see 
22. 21. 3. Livy omits him either to spare his readers so many 
names, or that the campaign may not seem the same as that 
related in ch. 61. 5 f. — Cissis: probably the vanished town of 
the Cessetani (Pliny, 3. 3. 21), not far from Tarraco. — expugna-
tur: the lively historical present following expugnata sunt implies a 
difficulty in the capture of the town which is not borne out by the 
context.

8. barbarica: vasa fictilia instead of gold and silver. Note the 
number and order of the genitives in the sentence. mancipiorum is 
in the same construction as rerum, instead of being an appositive 
of praeda, like supeller. — vilium, cheap; as compared with edu-
cated and skilful Greek slaves.

9. caris rebus, articles of value; cf. 22. 42. 6.— citra: from 
the captor’s point of view.

61. 1. accideret: of rumor, as in ch. 10. 12.— mille: the 
ablative of mille as a substantive is rare, attracted here by milibus 
(cf. 28. 3. 2); the nominative and accusative are common, and 
often used with a genitive; see on 22. 31. 5; cf. 37. 8.— tamquam: 
often used with a future participle to mark a purpose unfulfilled or 
merely assigned. — adventum: at their landing. — lostitas res, 
rout or catastrophe; stronger than clades, because the country was 
lost with the battle; see on 22. 6. 9; cf. 26. 18. 6, perditas res des-
peratumque de republica esse. — iter: Hasdrubal’s route lay inland
through friendly tribes, where he might gain reinforcements, and
then either unite with Hanno or take the Romans on the flank.
Failing in the latter, he turned upon Tarraco.

2. *vagos*: aimless wandering as impulse led; *palantis*: wander-
ing in scattered companies. — *quod* . . . *creent*, with the care-
lessness generally begotten of success. *quod* (used to avoid a repetition
of *ut*) finds its antecedent in *ut* . . . *creent*, and *quod* . . . *creent*
modifies the preceding clause adverbially. — *maiore*: sc. *tamen*; cf.
ch. 48. 1.— *passim*, in all directions.

3. *ne*: follows *ausus* as a verb of fearing; or as a final clause
may be joined to *recepit*. Scipio was pressing inland.

4. *raptim* . . . *acto*: the same phrase in ch. 41. 4.— *praefectos
navium*: here the commanders of single ships, as in 23. 26. 4; 30.
10. 21; *praefectus* (*classis*) is the commander of a fleet; cf. 23. 38.
7.— *Tarracone*: inserted here to avoid the recurrence of so many
endings in *u.* — *modico*, *sufficient*; not "scanty," "moderate";
the next step would be *firmum*, *validum praesidium*; similarly
*admodum*, "quite," "fully," "complete."

5. *aderat*, *appeared*; in the neighborhood of Tarraco, certainly
not of Emporiae.— *Ilergetum*: see on ch. 22. 3.— *ipsorum*:
sharply contrasts the faithlessness of the Ilergetes with the fidelity
of the Roman allies. The emphasis given to this alliance (ch. 60. 3) implies a Roman source, which turns from the Ilergetes as
*socios et ipsos* *Poenos*, § 8.

6. *Excito*: marks the unexpectedness of the inroad; *excitatus*
refers mainly to the feelings, "excited." — *Atanagrum*: not else-
where mentioned, probably feminine. — *quae*: refers to *urbe*, as
in 22. 20. 7; *quod* is also used with *caput*; cf. 5. 8. 4; 33. 1. 1.

7. *intraque*: Livy appends *que* without hesitation to disyllabic
prepositions like *circa*, *contra*, *extra*, *inter*, *intra* (27. 37. 9), *praeter*;
to but few monosyllables, *in*, *per*, *pro*. — *ius dicionemque*: this
and similar phrases express complete subjection on surrender.

8. *et ipsos*: as earlier the Ilergetes.— *urbe*: *Ausa*, afterward
*Vicus Anusetanorum*, now *Vich*, north of Barcelona.— *ferentes*:
purposing to give.

9. *duodecim mília*: an incredible number, in view of the fact
that they were a detachment seeking to enter the city secretly. —
*exuti*: they had to throw their arms away. — *quam*: sc. *magis*. —
tutabatur: cf. 38. 19. 5, *cum altitudo locorum eos tutaretur*; elsewhere only of men.

10. **tutamentum**: here only in classic prose; Verg. Aen. 5. 262, *tutamen*.

11. **viginti talentis**: ablative of price; about $23,000.—*duntur*: middle voice = *se dederunt*. —*reditum*: does not imply a return to the place of departure (Emporiae, § 4), but at the close of the campaign a retirement to winter quarters.

62, 63. Affairs in the city in the winter of 218–217.

62. 1. **prodigia** were indications of the displeasure of the gods, which it was necessary to avert (*procurare*) by sacrifices, offerings, and ceremonies. If they occurred in a house or on private grounds, the individual only was concerned; if in public places or anywhere on the *ager publicus* (the suburbs were regarded as belonging to the city), the state was called upon to act. The catalogue-like form (*et ... et ... et*) in which both the prodigies and the averting ceremonies are given shows that Livy copied them from the *commentarii pontificum*. Henceforward they are given with great regularity; cf. 22. 1. 8–20.—*motis*: Livy recognizes the readiness to believe prodigies as an occasion for their being reported; cf. 24. 10. 6; 27. 37. 2; 29. 14. 2; Cic. de Div. 2. 27. 58, *Haec in bello plura et maiora videntur timentibus, eadem non tam animadvertuntur in pace. Accedit illud etiam, quod in metu et periculo cum creduntur facilus tum finguntur inpunius*.

2. **quis = quibus**, the ablative form often used by Sallust and Tacitus in this formula.—*olitorio*: the vegetable market between the foot of the Capitoline and the river. The cattle market lay between the Palatine and the river at the end of the *Vicus Tuscus*, the busiest street of ancient Rome.—*triumphum*: the vocative of the shout *io triumphe* is the accusative of the object, analogous to *clamorem clamare*; cf. 22. 1. 20; Ovid, Amor. 1. 2. 25, *populo clamante triumphum*.

3. **in**: inserted in accordance with Livy’s constant usage; cf. 22. 57. 6; 24. 10. 7. The simple ablative stands only in connection with an adjective (cf. 23. 10. 7, *foro medio*), or in the plural in the phrases *foris ... domi, foris ... Romae*. —*contignationem*, story, to which the steer climbed by an external stairway.—*sua sponte*: usually applied in the account of prodigies to the strange move-
ment of inanimate objects, moveri, labi, crigi, converti, etc.; cf. 22. 1. 11; here in opposition to tumultu habitatorum. It would be more appropriately joined with se commovisse § 4; cf. 36. 37. 2, boves duos per scalas in tegulas pervenisse aedificii.

4. navium: a fleet, not different occasions, which would call for the plural species. — de caelo: for the preposition see on ch. 27. 1. — adfulsisse: to men; cf. 43. 13. 3, caeli ardentis species adfulserat. — quae est: usually omitted by Livy (see on ch. 15. 6); it is perhaps taken from the pontifical chronicle. — hastam: of the goddess. The Romans were not idolatrous, and in the earliest times had no images of their deities, though a spear stood as a symbol of the deity. In later times statues of gods were made. — Iunonis: Sospitae, whose grove and temple were sacred jointly to the Romans and the Lanuvians. All the places here mentioned must have been regarded as Roman soil. — pulvinari, couch; commonly applied to the lectisternium; different from pulvinus.

5. hominum specie, human forms; ablative of quality, yet in the omission of the noun, as if from a religious scruple of giving an exact description, serving as the logical subject of visos. —ullo: substantive. —Caere: one of the twelve early allied cantons of Etruria, famous for its warm springs. —sortes extenuatas, the lots had shrunken; an omen of misfortune, as the opposite was of good fortune. The sortes (from serere, to join, as foris from ferre) were small oaken tablets, inscribed with ancient characters and words. They were kept in a cave, mixed together and then drawn out by a boy, and their haphazard arrangement was oracular. They were kept at several places besides Caere, as Falerii, Praeneste, and Patavium; see on 22. 1. 11.

6. libros: for the libri Sibyllini and the decemviri see on 22. 1. 16. —novemdiale: a nine days’ holiday, that is from one market day to another, was the standing observance for this prodigy from its first record in the time of Tullus Hostilius; cf. 1. 31. 4, mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque idem prodigium muniaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur. The prodigy plainly indicates volcanic action and the fall of lapilli and scoriae. Being accompanied by subterranean mutterings, it inspired especial dread. Other prodigies were met in accordance with the direction of the Sibylline books. —subinde: directly after the novemdiale sacrum. —operata: ad-
jective, like *intentus*, with the dative; cf. 22. 2. 1. The verb is introduced into prose from Vergil by Livy.

7. *Iam primum omnium*: *iam omnium primum* is also used when a general statement is presented in parts; cf. 22. 37. 5.—*lustrata*: by festal processions and sacrifices.—*hostiaeque maiores*: full-grown victims in distinction from *lactentes*; cf. 22. 1. 15.—*editum*: the regular word concluding the decemvirs' report of things to be done; cf. 22. 10. 10.

8. *pondo*: the usual mode of reckoning in the second Punic war; see on ch. 48. 9; for the form, see on 22. 1. 17.—*Lanuvium*: the indication of the place in opposition to *urbs, Caere, in Algido*, is of importance from the relations of the town to Rome; see 40. 19. 2.—*Iunoni in Aventino*: *Juno Regina*, brought by Camillus from Veii; see 5. 22. 4 f. The two gifts to Juno are coupled, but the present to the Lanuvian goddess is the more important.—*lectisternium*: a solemn occasion when the statues of the gods were placed on couches covered with rich tapestries (*lectus . . . sternere*). Rich viands were also placed before them, and processions came to make prayers to them; see on 22. 10. 9.—*adtenuatae*: not appreciably different from *extenuatae* in § 5; cf. 22. 8. 4.—*Algido*: sc. *monte*, better known for the worship of Diana, while *Fortuna*, besides her worship at Rome (see on ch. 10. 6), was especially honored at Antium and Praeneste.

9. *quoque*: instead of an *et* before *Romae*; it contrasts Rome with other places.—*Juventati*: the wife of Hercules corresponding to the Greek Hebe, in whose honor a temple was built at an earlier time (5. 54. 7), and afterward also by the victor at Sena Gallica; see 36. 36. 5.—*nominatim*, especially, in opposition to *omnia pulvinaria*; Wfl. contrasts it with *universo populo*.—*universo populo*: cf. 22. 10. 8.—*Genio*: sc. *populi Romani*. Civic communities and peoples, like individuals and families, had their own guardian deities.

10. *Atilius*: sent back to Rome by Scipio when he took command in Gallia Cisalpina; see ch. 39. 3; 63. 15.—*eodem stetisset statu*: the same formula in vows in 30. 2. 8.

63. 1. *Flaminius* was the leader of the popular party, and is steadily represented by the aristocratic historians as a demagogue. As *tribunus plebis*, 232 B.C., he carried through the comitia of the
tribes, without the ratification of the Senate, a law, regarded by Polybius as the beginning of the breakdown of the Roman constitution, for the distribution, to the plebeians in severalty (viritim), of the lands in Umbria and Picenum, lately taken from the Sannonian Gauls. In 227 he was praetor, and receiving Sicily as his province, governed it with justice and moderation. In 223 he was consul and conducted a campaign against the Insubrian Gauls. The opposition to him by the Senate was intense, and they sought to drive him from office by alleging a defect in the auspices. He received the dispatches recalling him to Rome just as he was preparing for battle, but suspecting their contents, he left them unread till after the battle, which resulted in his victory. The triumph which he demanded was refused by the Senate, but awarded by the people. His censorship, 220 B.C., was marked by the construction of the Circus Flamininus and the Via Flaminia leading from Rome to Ariminum. His support in 218 of the law of Q. Claudius to prevent the senators from engaging in mercantile pursuits made him more hateful to them and more acceptable to the people, who in 217 made him consul for the war against Hannibal. His previous experience of the tricks of the Senate led him to leave Rome, where custom, not law, required him to perform certain inaugural ceremonies, and to enter upon his office at Ariminum. The Senate threw the blame of his subsequent defeat upon his disregard of custom and of auspices. Modern historians judge him variously. See Mommsen and Ilme. — hibernabant: at the time of the allotment Sempronius had previously withdrawn; see ch. 59. 10. — sorte: both consuls had the same provincia, the war against Hannibal in Cisalpine Gaul; hence they drew lots for the armies, the one in the west and the one in the east. — edictum et litteras: perhaps hendiadys for per litteras, or Flamininus may have given the edictum to Sempronius when the latter was in Rome, and afterward supplemented it by dispatches. — Ariminum: this town on the Adriatic in the district affected by Flamininus’ agrarian law would give him a large body of supporters. If, however, as Polybius, 3. 77. 1, and Cicero, De Div. 1. 35. 77, state, he went to Arretium (22. 2. 1), he must have given up his original plan, or Livy must have been confused here and in § 10 and ch. 15. 6.

2. Hic: at Ariminum, an extraordinary but not unlawful pro-
ceeding; see Suet. Aug. 26, *quartum consulatum in Asia*; *quintum in insula Samo, octovum et nonum Tarracone initi*; Tac. Ann. 2. 53. — *inire*: so in 1. 27. 6; 29. 20. 11, instead of the more common genitive of the gerund.— *prins*: because only a second item follows.— *abrogabatur*: conative imperfect, because he did not accede to the Senate’s demand to abdicate, § 1. The verb here refers to their demand, and not to Flaminius’ actual abdication.

3. *invisus*: joined to the subject of *habuerat*, instead of dative like *memori*. — *novam*: in opposition to * veterum certaminum*. The law did not introduce a new principle, but formulated long-established prejudice. — *tulerat*: without ratification by the Senate, in imitation of Flaminius’ course in 232.— *cuive . . . fuisset*: a senator’s son after his father’s death might still be only a knight. — *maritimam navem*, a sea-going vessel. — *amphorarum*: in common speech *amphorum*; cf. Cic. Epist. 12. 15. 2; Charisius. 1. 15, *amforum in consuetudine est*. The measure of capacity of ships, as we say “tons.” Three hundred amphorae would be about eight tons.

4. *vectandos*: frequentative, from the annual harvest of crops. — *omnis*: not simply trade in grain; probably the *lex Claudia* also contained the requisition, known in later times, that the senators should not engage in farming the revenue (*redemptio*). — *patribus*: depends on *indecorus*. Aside from the view, apparently not shared by the Senate, that trade was improper for senators, the law arose from a desire to prevent the monopoly in foreign trade from falling into the hands of the richest class, the senators, who were also the political rulers. The vessels allowed them were large enough to bring the produce of their distant farms in southern Italy and Sicily to Rome. — *nobilitatem*: the same as *patres*. — *inde*: the election in 218 was the immediate result of the advocacy of the law of 220.

5. *ementiendis*: falsification of omens was not uncommon (Cic. Phil. II. 80), and slight things were sufficient for nullifying omens, as when Flaminius had been made master of the horse by the dictator M. Minucius Rufus, and both were forced to resign because a mouse had been heard to squeak immediately after the election; see Plutarch, Marcel. 4. On setting out for a campaign the consul consulted the augurs, and by unfavorable omens they
could prevent his departure (retinere); see 22. 1. 7. — Latinarum-
que feriarum: a four days' celebration which took place each year,
after the accession of the new consuls, on the Alban mount at the
temple of Jupiter Latiaris (the presiding deity of the Latin league).
Its time was not fixed, but was annually determined by the Sen-
ate.—privatus: in citizen’s dress, before putting on his official
robes.

7. inauspicato: not without, but against, the auspices: a vitium
appeared. The reference is to his first consulship; see § 1; 22. 3.
13. For the construction, see on ch. 23. 1. — spretorum: sc. deo-
rum. The following clauses refer to the customary ceremonies at
the inauguration of a consul. On the day of entering upon office the
consul rose at daybreak, took the auspices and put on the purple-
bordered robe (toga praetexta) at his own house. Then, attended by
the Senate and the priests, he proceeded to the capitol, where he
sacrificed the two white steers, vowed by his predecessor, and with
prayers for the national prosperity vowed two for the next year.
He next held a meeting of the Senate at which religious matters
were first settled, then the time of the Latin festival determined,
and the internal and foreign relations of the state considered.

8. monte: sc. Albano. This sacrifice is especially mentioned
because it was the concluding act of the four days’ festival.

9. paludatus: the putting on of the general’s cloak (paluda-
mentum) marked the entrance on the military command as the
toga praetexta on the consulship; see 25. 16. 21. — clam, furtim:
scornful asyndeton, common between two synonymous words, and
in archaic style retained in later prose; see on ch. 10. 3, and cf.
2. 3. 7; 8. 16. 5, forte, casu; 9. 38. 14, nocte, silentio; 22. 22. 15,
clam, nocte; 22. 24. 6, luce, palam; 23. 3. 3, forte, temere, and the
often recurring Jupiter optimus maximus.

10. videlicet: ironical, like scilicet.

—praesentem: in person, not by proxy.

12. legationem, mission.—legatos: more confidence was placed
in oral than in written demands.—moverunt . . . moverant: the
regular repetition of the verb where we say “did” or “had.”

13. Paucos: as soon as he had reached his destination.—in-
molanti: dative of disadvantage. While he was sprinkling salted
meal upon the victim's head, in distinction from those who were performing the sacrifice.

14. fuga: the word means not only flight, but the mental state that produces flight; cf. ch. 61. 2. — procul: at some distance, in opposition to circumstantes. — quid trepidaretur: what the occasion of the confusion was. — in omen . . . acceptum: taken to be, regarded as, an omen; cf. Tac. Ann. 12. 43, fames in prodigium accipiebatur.

15. duabus a Sempronio: the two legions that wintered at Placentia (see ch. 56. 9; 59. 1 and 2), but afterward went to Luca; see ch. 59. 10. Flaminius must have taken command of them in Arretium, not in Ariminum, since they could not have marched from Placentia to Luca, then to Ariminum and back over the Apennines to Etruria. — duabus a C. Atilio: these may have been two newly enrolled legions brought up from Rome, where Atilius was in ch. 62. 10, or perhaps they were the remains of Scipio's army, which had been at Cremona and had been brought to Ariminum by water, where Servilius took his command, though Appian says that he took command on the Po. Livy's account of the troops is very confused, and seems to show that he followed, without harmonizing, two different authorities. — per Appennini tramites: not using the great roads, the via Flaminia and the via Cassia. — exercitus duci est coeptus: the anacoluthon, instead of exercitum ducere coepit, shows clearly a lack of care in the close of the book.
NOTES

to

BOOK XXII.

1, 2. Hannibal’s departure from winter quarters. Prodigies; ch. 1, 1–4, and ch. 2 according to Polybius; ch. 1, 5–20, from Roman sources.

1. 1. *Iam ver*: the spring of 217 B.C.; see notes to 21. 59. — *itaque*: instead of the *que* of the Mss., as in 10. 20. 9, *iam lux adpetebat*; *itaque signa canere iussit*; cf. ch. 19. 11; 35. 8. 1. — *ex hibernis*: according to 21. 59. 10, these were first near Placentia, afterward in Liguria. Polybius, 3. 87, speaks of them as mere bivouacs, not permanent quarters. — *frigoribus*: for the plural see on 21. 58. 1.

2. *pro eo ut*, instead of, found only here with this meaning; elsewhere in or *cum eo ut* T. — *raperent agerentque*: *ferre* oftener occurs with *agere*; cf. ch. 3. 7. — *hibernis*: the remnants of the Roman legions were first quartered at Placentia and Cremona, afterward (see 21. 59. 10) at Luca. — *videre*: instead of the Mss. reading *viderent*, which was assimilated to the preceding clause; cf. 37. 27. 5, *postquam videre classem, in fugam verterunt*: 24. 30. 2; on the other hand, an undoubted example of *postquam* with the imperfect subjunctive is wanting in Livy.

3. *insidiis*: denied by Polybius (23. 13), but asserted by Just. 34. 4. 12. — *tegumenta capitis, wigs*: by which he appeared as an old man, or again as a young man; see Appian, Hann. 7. 6. — *errore*: the uncertainty of the Gauls about his person.

4. *idibus Martis*: owing to the irregularity of the calendar (see on 21. 53. 6) the Ides of March were then actually in January, and not in the spring time just mentioned.

5. *invidia*: of the aristocracy; see on 21. 60. 1.

6. *Latinis feriis*: for the festival, see on 21. 63. 5 and 7.
7. **concipere**: usually "to take in due form," e.g. *votum, ius-
irandum*; here "to begin in official form," as in 5.17.2, *magi-
stratus vitio creatus sacrum non vite concepisse*. A general whose
auspices for any reason were declared informal was obliged to
return to Rome for their renewal.

8. **metum**: because the circumstances mentioned in §§ 6, 7,
were of a disquieting nature.—**prodigia**: see on 21.62.1.
Observe the arrangement by which the name of the place comes
first. Each new prodigy is introduced by *et*, except *sortes* ...
*adttennatas*; a second prodigy in a place already mentioned by
*ac*, and enlargements and more exact accounts by *que*. — **militi-
bus**: sc. *Romanis*; see 21.49.6.—**spicula ... arsisse**: electric
flames on the spear-points (St. Elmo’s fire), commonly taken as
an indication of victory; see 43.13.6; Cic. De Div. 2.36.77.—
circumeunti, making his round; the duty partly of the knights,
partly of the tribunes; see 28.24.8; Pol. 6.35.

9. **sanguine**: so 27.4.14, *signa sanguine multo sudasse*; cf. ch.
36.7. Valerius Maximus, 1.6.5, has the accusative.—**minui**: so 30.
38.6, not *deificere*, which is regularly used of an eclipse.—**ardentes
lapides**: meteoric stones, distinguished from the fall of volcanic
stones; see on 21.62.6.—**Arpis**: in Apulia. The other prodigies,
in §§ 9-11, occurred near Rome, but perhaps this is mentioned with
reference to the battle of Cannae; see on ch. 12.3.

10. **aquas Caeretes**: renowned warm baths; see on 21.62.5.—
**ipsum**: one of the most important at Caere. The mixture of
blood, in reality the effect of colored earths, was a striking prodigy.
— **metentibus**: the participle is used instead of the verbal noun
*messoribus*, because the action is only temporary; cf. 28.11.2.

11. **sortes**: a striking asyndeton; yet it is not probable that the
name of a town, having an oracle, has dropped out, since Plutarch,
Fabius 2, refers this prodigy to Falerii, although there is no other
tradition of an oracle there. See on 21.62.5, where *sua sponte* was
omitted.— **scriptam**: for *inscriptam*.

12. **signum**: probably in the temple mentioned in 10.47.4, in
front of which statues of wolves may have stood.—**cadentis**: a
large shooting-star; see Plin. N. H. 2.35.100.

13. **minoribus**: less foreboding than the foregoing, in which
conflict, weapons and blood had the principal part. The former
were natural phenomena distorted by a superstitious imagination; the latter natural monstrosities. — lanatas: i.e. the hair had become wool. — sese vertisse: commonly verti, converti; cf. 21. 62. 4, hastum se commorisse; for the more common motam esse. 

14. sicut: without underrating or exaggerating. — expositis: by the presiding consul; see § 5.

15. triduum: as in 31. 8. 2; 40. 53. 3, and often. For the sacredness of the number three, see 21. 62. 6; 23. 31. 15, novemdiale; 27. 37. 7, decreverent pontijices ut virgines ter novenae carmen canerent; and see on ch. 10. 7.

16. decemviri: i.e. the decemvirs sacris faciundis, a college of five patricians and five plebeians, originally of two, and afterward of fifteen members; see 10. 8. 2. — libros: the Sibylline books, written in Greek verses (carminibus), contained no prophecies, but declared the ceremonies of atonement, and the means of averting the anger of the gods. — quem ad modum: to change with ut; see on 21. 13. 5. — praefarentur: edere is more common; cf. ch. 10. 10; 37. 3. 5; praevire is also used, cf. 43. 13. 8.

17. primum = iam primum omnium, which, as in the report of prodigies in 21. 62. 7, is not followed by deinde, but by et . . . et, usual in the religious style. — pondo: originally ablative, "according to weight," with ellipsis of librarum.

18. commodum, convenient; also said of free-will offerings, in 25. 12. 14. These contributions were originally asked for the service of the gods that were not Roman. — ut: to recall the dependence of the subjunctives upon the distant decretum est. — libertinae et ipsae: as well as the matrons. Their association in financial burdens corresponds in time (Macrobius, Sat. 1. 6. 13) to the enrolment of the libertini in the legions; see ch. 11. 8. — Feroniae: according to Varro, libertorum dea, in whose temple at Tarracina deserving slaves received their freedom. Perhaps, however, the gift here mentioned was made at the shrine of Feronia, near Mount Soracte, near which a great fair was annually held.

19. Ardeae: no prodigies were announced from there, but the decemvirs probably sacrificed to Venus at that place, as on other occasions to foreign gods; see 43. 3. 11. W. — Decembri: of 217 B.C. — lectisternium: see on 21. 62. 8.

20. Saturnalia: a festival founded at the beginning of the
republic at the consecration of the temple of Saturn; see 2. 21. 2; now reformed at the direction of the Sibyline books, and enlarged to include a *convivium* and *lectisternium*. Afterward, owing to the change in the calendar by Caesar, it was extended to three days. — *clamata*: for the construction, see on 21. 62. 2.—*diem*: December 19th.

2. 1. *placandis*: customary before departure from the city; see ch. 8; 27. 11. 1; 33. 26. 6.—*Romae*: placed between *placandis* and *dis*, because a wider application is given to *habendo dilectu*.

— *dilectu*: dative as with *operari* in 21. 62. 6. Each consul raised the customary two legions, perhaps strengthened from 4000 to 5000 men, besides a contingent of allies of at least equal strength. Servilius had the remnants of the army of Scipio, and Flaminius those of the army of Sempronius. The raising of the two consular armies to four legions each was apparently not considered necessary, even though Appian, Hann. 8, says the Romans had thirteen legions. He includes those on the Po, and reckons the legions of 218 which existed scarcely but in name; see Momms. Hist. Vol. II. bk. iii. ch. v. and Ihne, Hist. Vol. II. bk. iv. ch. viii.—*dat ope-

ram*: this order appears to be the common one when the words mean “to take pains”; see 2. 44. 4; 21. 45. 6; but *operam dare*, when they mean “to be occupied in”; see 3. 34. 1; 23. 35. 17. F.

2. *aliud longius*: two roads led from Gallia Cisalpina, one by Ariminum, a strong Roman fortress; the other from Faventia to Faesulae. This was doubtless the *aliud longius* of the text, but Hannibal, to surprise the Romans, did what they least expected (see 21. 31. 9), and took another route not definitely known to us.

— *fluvius Arnus*: for the order, see on 21. 2. 7.—*solito magis*: as in 25. 7. 8, but in reverse order in ch. 14. 2; for the ablative, see A. & G. 247, b.; G. 399, Rem. 1; H. 417, n. 5.— *inundaverat*, overflowed its banks; elsewhere transitive; see 24. 9. 6. Polybius does not mention the overflow of the Arno; and though one might think he was speaking of the swamps along the southern tributaries of the Po, a view maintained by Strabo (5. 1. 11), yet he clearly implies that Hannibal did not find firm ground till he reached the neighborhood of the Roman camps.

3. *et omne*, etc.: Polybius, 3. 79. 1, says, “He placed the Lybians and Iberians and all his best soldiers in the van,” in general the
troops brought from Spain, perhaps mercenaries (Ligurians and Baliares; see 21. 22. 2 and 3), in opposition to the newly enrolled Gauls. — ipsorum, their own; Polybius implies that all the baggage train was there; 3. 79. 2. — necubi: lest . . . anywhere; the word is compounded of ne and cubi, the original form of ubi, and the indefinite portion cubi modifies consistere coacis.— usus: provisions, hardly tents; cf. nec usibus, 24. 1. 2. — medium: for the construction, see on 21. 31. 2.

4. Magonem: according to Polybius, Mago commanded the third column, which was composed of cavalry. Livy's expressions, primos, medium, novissimos, inde, cogere, are hardly consistent. Note the chiasmus primos ire, sequi Gallos, and in general the involved character of the sentence. — ut: often introduces a well-known fact to explain a statement. — mollis: the same weakness is ascribed to the Gauls in 21. 16. 4; 25. 6. — dilaberen: used especially of soldiers breaking ranks without orders; see on 21. 32. 10.

5. modo: restrictive, provided only, or supposing that.— praealtas: joined with rupes, mous, ripa as well as with flumen, alveus, vorago. — profundas: preferably used of seas, swamps, and the like, is here used for nearer definition and emphasis. — limo: the swamps had a solid bottom under the mud.

6. prolapsi, having slipped; Livy seems to say that the ground became more slippery by the march of the advance guard, while Polybius says that the mud became deeper. — alii . . . alii: distribute the subject of sustinebant and correspond to the preceding aut . . . aut.

7. et ipsa: cf. ch. 1. 18; because iacentia and proculuisissent correspond in meaning.— conficiebant: the object is to be supplied from the connection.

8. aquis: like the English plural "waters," suggested by omnia. The singular aqua is used three times in the following clauses because unda, fluctus, etc., cannot be used of swamps.— in sicco: the substantival use of the adjective, singular and plural, governed by a preposition is characteristic of Livy; cf. ch. 3. 1; 4. 3; 47. 8; 21. 22. 9; 42. 1; 60. 4. — insuper incumbebant: superincumbere is avoided in classical prose; see on ch. 51. 9; 21. 1. 5.

9. passim: belongs to acervi, as itinere toto to prostratorum.
10. *inus*: one of the original thirty-seven; see on 21. 56. 6; 58. 11. Note the attraction of the numeral into the relative clause; so *in sicco*, ch. 3. 1. A. & G. 200, d.; G. 618; II. 445, 9. — *quo = ut eo, that the*, is used in final clauses that contain a comparative. A. & G. 317, n. b.; G. 545, 2; H. 497, II. 2.

11. *caelo, air.—gravante caput*: because diseases of the eyes are often accompanied by severe headaches. Note the use of the abl. abs. and a causative clause; cf. the use of *freti* in 21. 5. 12. — *capitum*: so Polybius, 3. 79, and others; see Tac. Hist. 4. 13; Juv. 10. 158. Nepos, Hann. 4, merely says that one eye was seriously weakened. For *capit*, see on 21. 58. 5.

3—7. 5. Battle of Lake Trasumennus, mainly from Polybius, 3. 80—85, with some rhetorical additions from Coelius Antipater in ch. 3. 11—14; 6. 1—4, 11, 12; 7. 1.

3. 1. *de paludibus*: instead of the more common *ex* or simple ablative of separation; cf. 23. 23. 8: *de manibus* is oftener joined with *emittere, extorquere*, and the like; see on 21. 48. 6. — *ubi . . . potuit*: in the neighborhood of Faesulae; for the construction, see on 21. 5. 10. — *certum . . . habuit*: for the form, see on 21. 43. 16; *pro certo*, 23. 17. 10; usually followed by the accusative and infinitive; cf. *quicquam certum adjurare*, ch. 36. 1.

2. *consilia, policy*: the plural indicates the various plans and views that formed Flaminius' system of strategy and military operations; cf. 42. 29. 4, *belli pacisque consilia.—regionum*: commonly *locorum*, as in ch. 38. 9. — *copias*: sources of supply. — *in rem, advantageons or to his purpose.*

3. *Italicae*: limits *primis*. The neighborhood of Florence was surpassed in fertility only by Campania. — *inter*: inexact, as the most fertile part of Etruria did not lie between these towns. This anastrophe is not common before Tacitus except after relatives.

4. *ab consulatu*: both temporal and causal. After *non modo, sc. non*, A. & G. 149, e.; G. 484, R. 1; H. 552, 2. — *civilibus*: for Flaminius' career, see on 21. 63. 1.

5. *deos*: the description of Flaminius as a despiser of the gods and the account of prodigies (§ 11) come from Roman sources.

6. *Faesulas*: a geographical mistake of Livy's, who seems to have thought that Faesulae was in the southern part of Etruria. Flaminius at Arretium could not tell whether Hannibal's *march*
southward was directed toward Rome by the Via Cassia, or toward Perusia to intercept Servilius. The position of the two Roman armies was that which had been successful in the Gallic war, 225 B.C., when the consul who was not attacked came to the assistance of his colleague, and thus placed the enemy between two fires.

7. Flaminius... sunt: the long period is carried on by tum vero, ratus, suadentibus, and iratus.—quieturus: it is generally considered, even by Polybius, 3. 82, that Flaminius wished a battle at all hazards, but at the outset (see inriture, § 5) he remained quietly in his camp, and left it only when Hannibal had passed him. Perhaps the Greek expression of an author (Fabius Pictor?) by which συνάπτειν ("to keep near," "to press on the heels of an enemy") was applied to Flaminius was misunderstood as equalling μαχεσθαι, or his political opponents ascribed false motives to him.—suum: for the emphasis, see on 21. 4. 7.

8. omnibus: rhetorical exaggeration; Polybius says, "some thinking." —exspectandum: on military grounds their advice was unjustifiable, for though Flaminius was safe in his intrenched camp, his colleague was exposed to defeat.

9. signum: the signal for march or assault was given by a trumpet; see ch. 30. 1; 21. 59. 4; for battle by a red flag, see ch. 45. 5.

10. sedeamus: the simple verb, in distinction from obsidere, gives, like adsidere in 21. 25. 6; 53. 6, the idea of inactivity; cf. ch. 24. 10; 56. 3.—patria et penates: a common alliteration.—ab Veii: Camillus was at Ardea when appointed dictator, but he advanced with his army from Veii; see 5. 46. 7.—acciverint: future perfect.

11. ocius: means the quicker, the better; often in place of the unused positive without the idea of comparison as in 10. 40. 6.—equus: according to Plutarch, Fabius 3, and to Coelius in Cic. De Div. 1. 35. 77, this scene took place on Flaminius' departure from Rome, near the statue of Jupiter Stator.—caput: of the horse.

12. circa: for this use, see on 21. 7. 5; 19. 4.—velut: expresses the subjective view of the bystanders, not a doubt on the part of Livy.

13. effodiunt: ut is omitted, as generally after nuntia, etc.; cf. ch.
39. 20; 49. 10. — obtorpuerint: the plural, as according to Cicero after Coelius, several tried in vain to help the standard-bearer.

14. superquam quod: nearly the same as praeterquam quod in ch. 7. 4; in other connections also super takes the place of praeter, as the English "above" that of "besides"; cf. ch. 6. 11; 21. 31. 2; 46. 1.

4. 1. inter Cortonam: he also wasted the country between Arretium and Cortona.—Trasumennus: for the spelling, see Appendix. — hosti: Flaminius.

2. nata: so in ch. 28. 6. — maxime = proxime. — campus: on the northwest side of the lake. The narrow entrance to this plain was on the west, at the modern village of Borghetto, formed by the Spurs of Mount Gualandro. The exit on the east was between the lake and the hills above Passignano.—inde: on the east. — insurgunt: implies a marked degree of steepness (Tac. Ann. 2. 16); while adsurgere indicates a gentler slope, and is often modified by clementer and similar adverbs.

3. in aperto: for the construction, see on ch. 2. 8; the plain was closed on the south by the lake, on the north by the hills. On a projecting spur near the centre of the arc, where is now the village of Tuoro, Hannibal had his headquarters, in aperto, explained by conspexit in § 4. — Afris: with only the heavy infantry, protecting, doubtless, the baggage-train. — post montis: on the east, above Passignano. When the Romans attacked Hannibal near Tuoro, the Gallic bowmen fell upon their uncovered right flank, —fauces: behind the Spurs of Mount Gualandro, on whose slopes toward Tuoro were the Gauls. — apte, well, conveniently; cf. ch. 28. 7 and 23. 1. 6, in insidiis, quacumque apte poterat, disposit.

4. solis occasu: partial explanation of the failure to perceive the enemy. Flaminius did not wish to lose sight of Hannibal, but he did not wish, as his political enemies charged, to force him to battle; see on ch. 3. 7. — inexplorato: Flaminius' first, but unpardonable, mistake. Impersonal abl. abs., see on 21. 23. 1. — coepit: cf. Casilinum oppugnari coepit, 24. 19. 6. Regularly the passive inf. is used with the passive of coepisse (see on 21. 58. 10), but perhaps pandi has a medial force, deploy.—id . . . hostium: Hannibal's heavy infantry. — ab tergo . . . super caput: the cavalry and light-armed, concealed at the ends of the pass.
6. sederat: from *sido = consido*; cf. 2. 5. 3, and Suet. Aug. 97, *aquila . . . nomen Agrippae* (an inscription on a temple) *sedit.*— *pluribus collibus*: not only from the opposite heights of Mount Gualandro and above Passignano, but from the height on which Tuoro lies. — *satis conspecta*: as far as the dusk and the mist allowed. — *pariter*: so as to fall simultaneously upon the Romans.

7. prius . . . sensit: construe *clamore undique orto prius se circumventum esse sensit quam satis cerneret.* — *satis*: in the negative sentence, *fully*; see on 21. 47. 3. *se circumventum esse* is to be supplied, or *satis cerneret* refers without modification to § 4, *vixdum satis certa luce.* — *expediri*: anticipates *aptare* in ch. 5. 3.

5. 1. *ut in re . . . pavida*: for the use of *ut*, see on 21. 7. 7. Denotes relative, not absolute, fearlessness. Plutarch represents the consul as weak and despondent.


3. *consilium . . . imperium*: correspond to *adhortatur* and *iuget* in § 1. — *acci pi*: used figuratively of seeing and hearing. — *tantum . . . aberat, ut . . . ut*: A. & G. 332, d.; G. 556, Rem. 1; H. 502, 3. — *signa*, the maniples; *ordines*, the centuries; *locum*, the individual’s place. — *caligine*: of thick fog, as in ch. 6. 8.

4. *ictus . . . armorum*, *crepitum*, *din* of *arms.* — *mixtos . . . clamores*, the mingled cries of onset or of panic. Terrentium refers to the Carthaginians. The genitive plural of participles is often used where we employ nouns; cf. *spirantium miraculo*, ch. 17. 5; A. & G. 113, and 188; G. 438; H. 441.

5. *fugientes . . . redeuntes*: conative, like the imperfect tense; so *adhortatur* and *iuget*, § 1.

6. *impetus capti*: so 2. 65. 5; probably an extension of the phrase *consilium capere* ("to start," and hence "to execute"), more commonly *impetus facere*, as in 6. 4. 88. — *ab lateribus*: the Romans, turning from their advance toward Tuoro, were seeking to escape by Passignano. — *a fronte*: the Baliarees and light-armed. — *ab tergo*: the cavalry and the Gauls.

7. *nova de integro*: the same pleonasm in 24. 16. 2; 30. 34. 12;
and threefold in 37. 19. 5, instauremus novum de integro bellum. It is not to be supposed that the battle had ceased, but a new phase appeared. For the arrangement of soldiers in battle consult a classical dictionary. — nec ut: for nec ina instructa ut.

8. ardor animorum: cf. 8. 6. 7, tantum ardoes animis fecit, and 44. 36. 3. — animus: the threefold repetition of this word is careless rather than intentional. — Italiae: Coelius, in Cic. de Div. 1. 35. 78, represents the earthquake as extending to Gaul, Liguria, and the islands. — avertit: formed new channels, as 41. 11. 3, annem novo alveo avertit; but the superstitious Coelius says, ut flumina in contrarias partes fluererint.

6. 1. Tris . . . horas: so Coelius, whom Livy follows in the next paragraph.

2. Eum et . . . et ipse: one of the many anacolutha by which Livy gives vivacity to his style. — robora virorum: so in 21. 54. 3. Scipio Africanus, the younger (?) was the first to have a body-guard composed of horsemen. Statements like 2. 20. 5, manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, transfer to earlier times the arrangements of later times.

3. insignem: belongs more to petebant than to tuebantur. — noscitans: the frequentative, common in the first decade, is elsewhere found only here and in 26. 41. 24. — legiones: see on 21. 3. 1, and for the fact. 21. 63. 1. — Iam ego: cf. 4. 19. 3, iam ego hanc mactatam victimam legatorum Manibus dabo.

4. armigero: elsewhere rather a poetic word, used by Curtius in the plural for “bodyguard.” — infesto venienti: the personal construction is more lively, and avoids the rare impetui; cf. sequentis effusos, 21. 55. 3, and sospiti filio, ch. 7. 13. — lancea: a Celtic word. The weapon was then strange to the Romans.

5. per . . . evadunt, in all directions, even over the cliffs and through defiles, as if blind, they tried to escape; cf. 21. 32. 9. — alii: rare for alius; so in 21. 35. 12; but cf. ch. 7. 8; 19. 8.

6. inpulerit: perfect instead of imperfect; cf. senserit, ch. 5. 8, and see on 21. 1. 2. Livy never joins the indicative with sunt qui.

7. immensa: the size of the lake, 30 miles in circuit by 8 to 10 in width, rendered escape by swimming impossible. Livy does not seem to have known of the two islands (see map). — animis: courage, distinct from bodily strength, to which loss fessi refers.
The derivation from *anima* "breath" (see 21. 58. 4) would well fit the sense if the plural could be thus used.—trucidabantur: Livy passes over the statement of Polybius that the Romans begged for quarter with extended hands.

8. *ex saltu*: the pass by Passignano.

9. *liquida*: has reference to the fog on the plain; *certa* in ch. 4. 4 has reference to the twilight; see 26. 17. 14.—*perditas res*: cf. 21. 61. 1, and see on 21. 1. 5.


11. *super cetera*: *super* for *praeter*; see on 21. 46. 1, and ch. 3.

14.—*extrema fames*: explained by *postero die*; not mentioned by Polybius, who implies that their capture was the same day.—*equestribus*: Polybius says the Spanish cavalry and spearmen.

12. *singulis*: often a concession at the capture of towns; see on 21. 12. 5. Here less appropriate and not mentioned by Polybius.—*Punica religione*: see on 21. 4. 9.—*omnes*: corrected by ch. 7. 5.

7. 1. *inter paucas = in primis* (not before Livy) modifying *memorata*. Livy does not mean that the Romans have suffered few defeats, but few such memorable ones as this.—*memorata = memorabilis*; so in ch. 42. 9 and 23. 44. 4; cf. *conspecta*, ch. 4. 6; *invictus*, ch. 44. 4. According to Ovid, Fasti, 6. 765, the date of the battle was June 23; actually by the reformed calendar it was two months earlier.

2. *Quindecim*: also the statement of Polybius, who speaks of 15,000 prisoners, besides the 6000 who surrendered to Maharbal, and gives the Carthaginian loss as 1500.—*decem*: if the 10,000 fugitives, not mentioned by Polybius, were safe, the loss was not much greater than it was at the Trebia; see 21. 56. 2.

3. *Multiplex, much greater*; used of fractional increase by a half, etc., as well as of increase by whole numbers.—*traditur*: implies doubt.

4. *auctum ex vano, idle exaggeration*: with reference to Valerius Antias; see 30. 19. 11.—*scribentium*: without distinction from *scriptores*; see on 21. 1. 1, and 42. 4.—*temporibus*: belongs to *aequalem*, as in 8. 40. 5, *not to auctorem habui*. Fabius is cited only on the question of loss, not as an authority for the whole war.
5. *dimissis*: see ch. 13. 2, and 58. 2. Polybius, 3. 77. 7, makes a similar statement of the prisoners at the Trebia. Hannibal wished to isolate Rome by detaching her subject peoples. — *sepeliri*: Polybius speaks only of the burial of 30 of Hannibal’s chief officers, making no reference to Flaminius.— *non invenit*: Flaminius as a despiser of the gods was not worthy of the honor of burial, while Marcellus (see 27. 28. 1) received it from Hannibal. Note the irregular form for *Flaminium quoque*. . . *inquiri iussit, sed non invenit*.

6. *Romae*: the following description, which is picturesque rather than historically exact, is a masterpiece of rhetorical skill. The student should note the order of words with the occasional alliteration (e.g. *Pomponius praetor pugna* and *portas maior prope mulierum*), and the arrangement of details; see on 21. 16. 2.

7. *repens = repentina*, implying unexpectedness; cf. ch. 8. 1 and 21. 6, and 21. 26. 1. The analogous *recens = recenter* is used only with perfect participles; cf. 2. 22. 4. — *obvios*: used as a substantive; see on 21. 46. 2; cf. § 11; ch. 55. 4. — *contionis*: implies the orderly character of the gathering. A *contio* was called only by a superior magistrate. Polybius says that the magistrate called an assembly.

8. *solis occasu*: the note of time, unmentioned by Polybius, emphasizes the impression which must have been made upon the feelings of the anxious crowd.— *praetor*: sc. *peregrinus*, as M. Aemilius was *praetor urbanus*; see ch. 33. 8. The two additional praetors of 217 were assigned to Sicily and Sardinia; see ch. 25. 6.

10. *Quot casus*: refers to the forms of death (see ch. 6. 7) and the miseries of the fugitives.— *distracti*: marks the tension of the feelings more sharply than *dispertiti*. The oldest Ms. has the corrupt *dispracti*. — *cuiusque*: drawn to the interrogative from its usual position with *suus*. A. & G. 202, e.; G. 305, Rem.; II. 569, 1, 2.

11. *deinceps*: used attributively, as a participle or temporal adjective (cf. 3. 39. 4), or as a local adjective (21. 8. 5, and 52. 5). The crowd of women was more noticeable from the absence of so many men in the army. Compare the account of the scenes in the city after Cannae, ch. 55. 3 and 6.

12. *cenereres*: the potential subjunctive of past actions common with *discernere* and a negative; cf. ch. 46. 3, and see on 21. 4. 3. —
nuntiabantur: Livy supposes that the returning fugitives were not only personally acquainted with those for whom inquiries were made, but could give information of their fate. — gratulantis, with congratulations. — gaudia, expressions of joy.

13. ferunt: Livy does not wish to be responsible for a story that does not appear in Polybius. — alteram: according to Pliny, N. II. 7. 53. 180, this happened after the battle of Cannae.

14. praetores: the praetor urbanus and the praetor peregrinus, and also T. Otacilius, to whom Sicily had been assigned; see ch. 10. 10, and 23. 21. 2.

8. 1. consilia: referring to consultantes in ch. 7. 14. — quattuor milia: this extraordinary force of cavalry for two legions is explained by 21. 47. 1, and from the fact that Servilius had needed more cavalry to cover the Via Flaminia than Flaminius to defend the passes of the Apennines. — propraetore: Nepos, Hann. 4. 3, mistakenly calls him praetor (see ch. 7. 14). He was legatus pro praetore. — missa: along the Via Flaminia which at Fulgin branched to Etruria. For the plan of operations, see ch. 3. 8. — auditam: see on 21. 1. 5; more emphatic than ad jamam (cf. 21. 41. 3; 61. 4), which immediately follows. — averterant iter: so in ch. 9. 3; elsewhere with the meaning “abandon”; see on 21. 23. 4. — circumventa: another account, given by Nepos, Appian and Zonaras, represents Centenius in command of 8000 men, sent from the reserves in Rome (perhaps confused with 22. 57. 11), to defend the road to Rome at the Plestinian swamps (exact locality now unknown) in Umbria.

2. adiecit: applied here to the mind, as in § 3, and in 21. 39. 2 to the body. — ex conparatione this use of the preposition is closely allied to the instrumental ablative; cf. coniectans ex viribus, ch. 9. 2, and magnitudine, § 4.

3. id, quod acciderat, the event. — sed, but that; as if dicere or putare had preceded. For the sudden change to oratio obliqua, cf. dimicandum esse, § 7, and see on 21. 10. 4. — causa, sickness. — magis: join with sentiretur, not gravior. — in valido: the preposition, fallen out of the Mss., is desirable in the second member of the comparison; cf. ch. 15. 1; 60. 13; 21. 5. 3 It is not indispensable, as Fabri shows, quoting with other passages, 3. 19. 4, non in plebe coeurenda quam senatu castigando vehementior fuit, and comparing tamquam in 21. 28. 8
4. *inciderit*: instead of *incidisset*, one of those changes of tense that do not follow or require a definite rule, but denote a momentary change in the speaker's point of view; cf. *iudicaverint*, ch. 32. 8.  A. & G. 287, h, n.; G. 519, Rem. — *non rerum magnitudine*, not by its actual importance; *rerum* is used because *quodcumque* refers to various misfortunes. — *extenuatis*: *adtenuatis* is also used: see on 21. 62. 5.

5. *iam diu*: not since 249 B.C., when A. Atilius Calatinus was dictator. — *dictatorem*: sc. *rei gerendae causa*. Dictators for holding elections had been several times appointed within a few years. For the gerundive in apposition, see on 21. 4. 3. — *Italianum*: the country between Rome and Ariminum, through which Servilius must pass. — *praetor*: the *praetor urbanius*, the usual substitute for the consul in his absence; see ch. 9. 11; 33. 9; Cic. ad Att. 9. 15. 2.

6. *dictatorem*: that Fabius was dictator and not pro-dictator, as Livy supposes in ch. 31. 8 f., and that Minucius was not *pro-magister equitum*, but was afterward co-ordinate dictator, appears from the inscription cited on ch. 25. 10. See on *nobis*, ch. 14. 9. — *Fabium*: the one whose conservative policy had delayed the declaration of war, but who had finally declared it in person in Carthage; see 21. 18. 3.

7. *fluminum*: especially the Tiber, Nar, Anio, and Liris. — *pro urbe*: the Romans could not comprehend why Hannibal did not march directly upon Rome, and believed that they were indebted to the favor of a god for his turning to Apulia; Appian, Hann. 12. The real reason is given in the note on ch. 7. 5. — *urbe ac penatibus*: so 30. 42. 19; elsewhere *patria* or *domus ac penates*. — *quando*: often strengthened by *quidem* when it has a causal meaning.

9. 1. *recto itinere*: in the direction of Rome. After leaving the road by Clusium Hannibal's shortest way was by Spoletium, the route taken now by the railroad. — *Spoletium*: the form used by Livy instead of Spoletum. The town became a Roman colony 241 B.C.

2. *perpopulato*: passive; cf. ch. 13. 1. The repeated complaint of general devastating does not harmonize with the purpose of besieging Spoletium; see on 21. 7. 4, and cf. *equites*, § 3, and Cic. Phil. 5. 9. 25, *vastationes, caedes, rapinas non faciebat, quia multa ad usum*
NOTES.

reservabat. — oppugnare adortus: a favorite expression of Livy's (cf. 2. 51. 6), implying difficulty or boldness of design.— unius: others had surrendered; see Zonaras, 8. 25.— haut [minus] prospere: minus is scarcely genuine. parum would rather have been expected, as in 7. 4. 6; 29. 2. 9. haut prospere are often joined, as in 6. 30. 9; strengthened by satis in 1. 32. 2; 8. 8. 11.— moles: used of a difficult task; see 21. 22. 9; 25. 11. 17, and Verg. Aen. 1. 33, tantae molis erat Romanam condere urbem. — Romanae: an unusual order justified by the connection; cf. ch. 32. 5; 37. 12; 49. 10.

3. agrum Picenum: so 23. 14. 3; in Cicero, ager Picens, which adjective Livy uses with populus; see 10. 10. 12. Commonly Picenum is a substantive.— omnis generis: a genitive of quality with frugum, hence it precedes; cf. 21. 12. 8.

4. stativa: Hannibal remained here for several weeks during the heat of the summer, and not only recruited his army, but, according to Polybius, 3. 87 and 88, remodelled his tactics by arming the Africans, the flower of his troops, with Roman weapons taken at the Trebia and Trasumennus, and by training them in the Roman manoeuvres; see ch. 46. 5. He also sent messengers by sea to Carthage to announce his success.— hibernis itineribus: referring to the attacks upon the market and Victumulae (see 21. 57. 5 f.), but especially to the attempts to cross the Apennines in early spring; see 21. 58.— levi, without great loss.— facili, without hard fighting.

5. praeda = the late praedatio; so in 3. 63. 4; 7. 16. 4.— Marsos: there was no name for the district; see on 21. 5. 5.— Apuliae: genitive with regionem.

6. Servilius, whom Livy had left at Rome (see ch. 2. 1), had gone to Ariminum to block the Via Flaminia, but on Hannibal's invading Etruria, he started to join his colleague; see ch. 8. 1 and 3; Pol. 3. 87. — Gallis: those who wished to throw off the Roman yoke. — uno: more like the indefinite article than a numeral; cf. 21. 39. 4.

9. 7—12. Dictatorship of Fabius; religious and military measures.

7. Q. Fabius: loudly praised by Fabius Pictor, Ennius, and Coelius, but Polybius, the friend of the Scipios, treats him more
coolly and ascribes the saving of Rome to the stability of its constitution and the fidelity of its allies. Chapters 9-18 do not therefore agree with Polybius, except in the account of Hannibal's stratagem in ch. 16 and 17. —iterum: first in 221 B.C., comitiorum habendorum causa. — quo die: for the attraction, see on 21. 5. 1.

—ab diis: as generally, religious matters took precedence of political. —caerimoniarm: of these, Fabius Pictor, who after Cannae was sent as an envoy to Delphi, and the religious Coelius give extended reports, but Polybius hardly mentions them.

8. deum: the form of the genitive often joined with ira, benignitate, etc.; cf. 26. 41. 6; 40. 37. 2.

9. votum: in the report of affairs in the city in the year 218 (see 21. 62. 10) mention is made only of the general vow of the praetor Atilius; an unfulfilled vow, in ch. 33. 7.

10. ludos magnos: also called Maximi and Romani; established by Tarquinius Priscus after the capture of Apioiae (see 1. 35. 7-10), afterward conducted by the aediles curules, extended to several days, and held in the Circus. —Erucinae: her famous temple was on Mount Eryx. She is, perhaps, mentioned here because the possession of Sicily was at stake. —Menti: cf. Ov. Fasti, 6. 245, Menti vota senatus suscipit. The decemvirs acted at the direction of the senate; see on ch. 10. 10. —ver sacrum: an old Italian custom that supplanted human sacrifices. All animals born in the spring were sacrificed (see ch. 10. 3), and all boys and girls born then were obliged, on reaching their twentieth year, to give up their civil life; i.e. to go forth from their country to seek a new home. This last provision was not made at this time. —in . . .

status: Livy both says in status esse, stare (see 42. 28. 8), and also omits the preposition; see 21. 62. 10; 30. 2. 8, and 27. 11; status refers first of all to extent of dominion.

10. 2. Velitis iubeatistine: asyndeton common in the old official style; cf. 21. 17. 4, and the forms Juppiter Optimus Maximus, forte fortuna; see on 21. 63. 9. ne, because rogo is to be supplied. —sicut, etc.: corresponds to the form rem publicam salvam esse; see appendix. —quod duellum: for the attraction, see on 21. 5. 1; cf. 21. 17. 4, and Cic. in Cat. 3. 10. 25, in hoc bello quale bellum nulla barbaria gessit, quo in bello, etc., and also ch. 9. 7. duellum is the old form of bellum, showing its relation in origin to
duo. — tum: in the conclusion of a condition, as in ch. 53. 11 and 36. 2. 4, si duellum consectum erit . . . tum . . . dona dabuntur. — duit: pres. subj. of dare; cf. 10. 19. 17. The alliteration is common in old formulas.

3. profana, unconsecrated to another deity. — fieri = sacrificare, as shown by the added dative and the following fecere. It is a kind of appositive to donum instead of a gerundive construction. — ex qua die: according to 34. 44. 3, the ver sacrum extended from the first day of March to the last day of April.

4. lege = ritu, method of sacrifice; so probe = rite, recte.—favit: fut. perf. of facio, A. & G. 142; G. 191, 5; II. 240, 4. — neque = et ne; so in 21. 22. 6.

5. rumpet, wounds; a legal term for wounds of every description. — fraus, detriment; cf. Cic. de Leg. 3. 4. 11, quid turbassitur in agendo, fraus actoris esto. — clepsit: fut. perf. from archaic clepere, κλέπτειν.

6. atro die, unlucky day; one on which important religious or political acts could not be begun. Such (Gell. 5. 17. 1) were all days following the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, and also anniversaries of disasters, like Allia or Cannae. They were commonly called nefasti; see Hor. Od. 2. 13. 1. — si . . . sive: ante classical for sive . . . sive. — antidea: archaic, like postidea, antidhae, from an early ablative form autid = ante; cf. reditus, seditio, from red, sed, and ire. The use with ac is analogous to expressions of equality and difference. The archaic Latin shows plainly that Livy took his information, not from Fabius, who wrote in Greek, but from Coelins. — faxitur: fut. perf. passive, corresponding with faxit. See Allen’s Early Latin, sec. 163, for the above passage.

7. aeris: sc. assium. These were the “heavy asses,” not those of the reduction of 217 B.C.; see on 21. 41. 6, and see Plin. N. H. 33. 3. 45. — trecentis: for the sacred character of the number three see the prophecy in Verg. Aen. 1. 265 f., by which Aeneas was to reign 3 years, Iulius 30, and the sovereignty of Alba continue 300, in all 333 years to the founding of Rome; see on ch. 1. 15. The abl. is instrumental; sc. fieri.

8. edicta: the official expression of announcements by the prae- tor; of the senate indicta, see 21. 62. 9. — quos . . . cura: who were beginning to feel the danger to the state as soon as their own fortunes
were affected; i.e. patriotism, as well as personal interests, influenced them. Their private affairs, fortuna, were at stake, but they also thought of the state.—publica = rei publicae.

9. Iovi: the dative depends on strata, to be supplied. Minerva, as one of the three deities of the Capitoline, is elsewhere associated with the first pair, but here, according to Greek views, joined with Poseidon. Mars and Venus are joined, like Ares and Aphrodite; Apollo and Diana (in 5. 13. 6, with their mother Latona) are on one couch. The next pair are the deities of fire and the hearth, and the last of trade and agriculture; and the six pairs form the circle of the twelve Olympian gods.

10. vovit: both temples were consecrated in 215 B.C.; see 23. 31. 9.

11. 1. peractis: not at the conclusion of the debate, but after the performance of the ceremonies and the making of the vows; compare ch. 9. 8; with mature, ch. 9. 11.—tum. then only, or then first.—deque: que is regularly joined with monosyllabic prepositions if the same preposition has preceded; cf. ch. 28. 14; 31. 5. 4.—quotve: perhaps quotque should be read.

2. exercitum: two legions besides the half of the remnants of the army of 218 B.C.—equitum: first by emphasis. Servilius' legions had lost their cavalry; see 21. 17. 2.—ere publica, for the good of the state. In this singular, though common adverbial phrase, ex is never used.

3. duas: to supply the place of those of Flaminius, so that the army might again consist of four legions. Polybius' statement, 3. 89, that four new legions were enrolled, is explained by counting the two retained for the garrison of the city and for service on the fleet, § 9.—Tibur: depends on edixit, or perhaps on the whole expression, diem ad conveniendum edixit; "the verb has a double object, one of the time diem ad conveniendum, and the other of the place." T.; cf. 35. 25. 4, Sicyonem concilium edixerunt; 38. 30. 4, Argos conventum edixit; and 23. 31. 3, and 32. 14.

4. ut . . . ut ii: Livy often repeats the conjunction after an inserted clause for emphasis or clearness; cf. 21. 49. 8.—castella: places, like hill-tops, of natural strength.—immunita: negative. —corruptis: according to Fabius Pictor, it was a marked feature of the dictator's policy to subdue Hannibal by cutting off his supplies; see ch. 16. 3 and 4.
5. **exercitu**: dative; cf. *dilectu*, ch. 2. 1.— **Ocricum**: Polybius says (3. 89) that the meeting took place in Daunia.— **viatorem**: a term applied to messengers in the city. We should have expected *lictorem*.— **sine lictoribus**: because he was under the *imperium* of the dictator. A similar scene between the Fabii, father and son, is reported in Plut. Apoph. Fabius, 7.

6. **vetustate**: for the fact, see on ch. 8. 5, and cf. 2. 35. 8.— **exercitum**: two legions under Cn. Scipio, brother of the consul of 218 B.C.; see 21. 60.— **Cosanum**: half way between Ostia and Pisa. Vessels followed the coast by Pisa, Massilia, and Emporiae.

7. **ad urbem**: at the *navalia*. Together with the levy of troops for 217, sixty quinqueremes had been equipped.— **urbem Romanam**: the usual order in Livy; see on ch. 9. 2.

8. **libertini**: they were not employed in the legions till the Social war in 89 B.C. The service here was but temporary in making up the crews of the 120 quinqueremes, which according to Polybius were manned, and the enrollment was restricted to those who had children, in the belief that love of children would lead to fidelity where patriotism might fail.— **aetas militaris**: from assuming the *toga virilis* to the 46th year; see 25. 5. 7.— **in verba**: the accusative because the recruits repeated the words of the oath after the consul; see ch. 10. 2, where the magistrate repeats a formula.

9. **minores . . . annis**: cf. our "less than thirty-five." A. & G. 247; G. 311, 4; 11. 417, footnote 4.— **praesiderent = praesidio essent or praesidium agerent**.

12. 1. **a . . . legato**: because the consul had already (ch. 11. 7) gone to Ostia; see 21. 39. 3. Sometimes *per legatum*.— **transversis limitibus**, *cross-roads* in distinction from *viae*, the great main lines.— **egressus**, *came out*, from the hill towns like Tibur and Praeneste upon the road where he must expect to meet Hannibal.— **summa cum cura**: as in ch. 3. 2; so in Cicero. In Curtius, Seneca, and Pliny, also *summa cura*.— **nisi . . . cogeret**: a conditional clause joined with the future active participle is first found in Livy; cf. 21. 17. 6.

3. **Arpis**: see ch. 9. 5. Polybius says they met at Aecae.— **nulla . . . educeret**, without delay the Carthaginians, etc. This chapter affords an unusual number of instances of Livy's power of concrete and condensed description, §§ 4, 5, 8, 9, 11.
4. Martios: so 38. 17. 18, vobis, Martiis viris.

5. ceterum (see on 21. 5. 1): corresponds to quidem, § 4, as tacita to increpans. — incessit, seized; often used of the feelings, e.g. timor, cf. 1. 17. 4; indignatio, 3. 60. 8; maestitia, 29. 3. 9. — Flaminii: for the genitive, see on 21. 54. 3. — edocti: for the meaning, see on 21. 34. 2. — parem: betrays the influence of Fabius, who placed the dictator on a par with, or above Hannibal.

6. prudentiam: in opposition to the tementitas of Minucius (see § 12 and ch. 29. 1), and in general to the unjustly condemned leaders of the popular party, Sempronius, Flaminius, and Varro. So Diodorus, 26. 3. 3. — hauddum: Livian for nondum.

7. flexu: corresponding to the expression flectere iter. — si, to see if or if perhaps; common in Livy; cf. ch. 13. 1. — occultus: in the undergrowth or woods.

8. Fabius: sed or at is not needed as loca alta expresses the opposition to in aequom. — usus: i.e. need of water and of forage. For the plural, cf. ch. 3. 2, and 5. 47. 8. — ligna, fuel; in opposition to materia, “timber.” Note the connection of the adjective and the adverb, nec pauci . . . nec passim.

9. statio: a picket in front of the camp; cf. ch. 45. 3.

10. universo periculo . . . committebatur, nor was everything staked on a decisive battle; see ch. 32. 2. — momenta: slight successes which gave them courage and were makeweights (movimenta) in turning the scale of fortune; see on 21. 43. 11. — finitimo: implies a greater distance than propinquo. — paenitere, to be dissatisfied with. Here almost a personal verb; cf. si paenitere possint, 36. 22. 3.

11. non . . . magis . . . quam: throws the weight onto the second clause; so in ch. 19. 11. The wisdom of his policy found a more dangerous opponent in the master of horse than in Hannibal. — consiliis: for the meaning, see on ch. 3. 2.

12. Ferox, headstrong; explained by the following; see on 21. 54. 6. — lingua inmodicus: so Tac. Hist. 3. 53. Sallust and Tacitus have animi inmodicus. — cunctatore: Fabius’ subsequent title. — cauto timidum: a standing antithesis; see ch. 14. 14; 39. 20. So the proverb, timidus vocat se cautum, parcum sordidus. — premendo: so in ch. 59. 10. — crevit: Livy perhaps had in mind Marius’ behavior toward Metellus; see Sall. Jug. 64. 5.
13. 1. Hirpinis: dwellers in Southern Samnium. Livy, however, seems to have considered that they lived beyond the Apennines (transit), or at least that they did not belong to the Samnites. The league of the Samnites had been broken on their subjugation by the Romans. Hannibal’s march toward Rome was a strategic move, perhaps for the purpose of forcing a battle, but certainly to advance his policy of separating Rome from her allies. — ducem: perhaps dictatum, though one would have expected Romanum or the mention of Roman soldiers, to which ducem would form an antithesis. — cladibus: often of wasting and plundering. — aecum certamen: on the level ground, hence detrarehere.

2. dimissi: i.e. without ransom, as in ch. 7. 5.

3. nuntiantes: Hannibal’s policy of forming a Carthaginian party among the allies of Rome seems thus to have been partially successful. He had spies even in Rome. — potiendae: gerundive because potiri at an earlier time governed the accusative; cf. 21. 45. 9; A. & G. 296, R.; G. 405, R. 1; H. 421, n. 4. — auctores: Hannibal wished for more than three witnesses, and besides the knights he wished for principes also, members of the aristocratic party that favored Rome. Observe the brachylogy of the expression. — alternis: adverbial, sc. vicibus. It is also sometimes used with an omitted diebus, as in ch. 41. 3. — fidentem: sc. dictis from nuntiantes. The expression explains dubium. — tamen: contrasting an adjective with the main verb, as in ch. 2. 11. — moverunt: Polybius, 3. 91, states other reasons of Hannibal. He expected either to force a battle or else gain a confession of victory, and by securing all the open country persuade the cities to revolt from Rome.

4. etiam atque etiam: often with monere, as in 29. 24. 3, considerare, curare, reputare, etc.; they cannot belong to the dependent clause, hence ut is to be omitted (21. 49. 6) or read before promissa. Weissenborn, however, takes the words with promissa. — aliquibus: more often the form aliquis, as in 26. 15. 3.

5. duci, guide; see § 9. — agrur Casinatem: he would there block the via Latina, but the via Appia would still give Rome communication with the south. The name still remains in Monte Casino, on which is the famous Benedictine monastery. — edoctus: often said of things which one cannot know by himself, but must
learn from others (see on 21. 27. 4, and 32. 10), while docere is to
correct an incomplete or incorrect impression. — exitum: an ad-
advance toward Campania; not differing essentially from aditum.

6. os, tongue. — suo itinere, the right route. — campum Stella-
tem: a part of the ager Campanus north of the Volturnus.

7. circumspexisset = circumspiciendo vidisset; so 37. 41. 4; else-
where commonly like circumspectare, "to look about with anxiety";
cf. ch. 15. 2, locum hibernis; 29. 3, fugam; 21. 39. 5, defectionis tem-
pus; 53. 11, locum. — ubi terrarum: A. & G. 216, 4; G. 371, 4;
H., p. 209, footnote 3.

8. mansurum, would spend the night; a common meaning of
manere, frequent in Cicero’s letters, hence mansio; Fr. maison.

9. reliquorum: they had not been asked. Plutarch, Fabius 6,
speaks of several. — agrum Falernum: north of the ager Stellatis;
renowned for its excellent wines.

10. aquas Sinuessanas: celebrated medicinal warm springs.
The Carthaginian cavalry must have passed beyond the Massic
range. — populatio: following praedatum, since praedatio was not
used by Livy or earlier writers, and the supine populatum was also
rarely used, and not by Livy (see on ch. 21. 3). — latius: the
people fled even from districts where the Numidians did not come.

11. videlicet, plainly; not ironical, as in 21. 63. 10 and often.
— melioribus parere: patriotic and rhetorical rather than histori-
cally true, though the Roman dominion in Italy was not nearly so
oppressive before as after the second Punic war.

14. 1. exurebatur: for the tense, see on 21. 28. 4. — Massici:
just where Fabius was is not clear, since Hannibal’s troops were
plundering both on the west (Sinuessa) and the east. The account
of the advance and retreat also exhibits other geographical difficul-
ties and errors. — de integro: refers to ch. 12. 12. — seditio ac-
censa: so discordia, 2. 29. 8, and often proelium, pugna, certamen,
as in 21. 59. 8. The personal construction is also used, accendi
odio, ira, spe, etc., as in ch. 13. 1, and therefore some read here
seditione accensi.

2. celerius: in order to occupy the passes between Campania
and Latium.

3. ut vero, but when at last; the repetition of the words is a
rhetorical blemish. — extrema: next the sea, or above the plain.
4. inquit: to those mentioned in § 15. — caedes: rhetorical exaggeration, since the inhabitants had fled; see ch. 13. 9 and 10. — alterius: the regular substitute for the genitive of alius, as in 21. 13. 3. Note the negatives in which ne . . . quidem repeats nec. — patres: for maiores, since the colony had been founded eighty years before, in 296 B.C.; see 10. 21. 8.

5. Samnite: adjective, as in § 12, but Samnis following is a substantive and adrena an adjective corresponding to vicinus; cf. 21. 30. 8. Note the chiasmus. — extremis: perhaps Minucius knew of Hannibal’s visit to Gades before setting out for Italy; see 21. 21. 9 and 30. 4. — nostra: not Fabii, because all, as citizens of the republic, shared the responsibility.

6. pro: as interjection rarely used absolutely as here; usually with the vocative, pro sancte Juppiter, with the accusative, pro deum fident. — degeneramus: i.e. the tide of degeneracy is not yet stemmed. — nuper: antithetic to nunc. As to the implied exclusion of the Carthaginians from Italy by treaty, see on 21. 10. 8.

7. ciebamus: we were arousing = called upon; cf. 5. 14. 2; non homines modo, sed deos etiam exciebant. — coloniae: i.e. Sinussa. — laeti: corresponds to fruendam in § 4, and is perhaps to be regarded as a question. Some read lenti.

8. oculos atque ora: the reverse order is more common. — saepius nos: a stronger contrast would be nostram. — nos hic, while we, adversative asyndeton. — pecorum modo: join with exercitium. A simile not displeasing to the ancients; see Sall. Cat. 58 ad fin. — aestivos saltus, summer pastures; wooded heights to which in summer the cattle were driven from the plains. — callis: the winding paths of the cattle. In Livy callis is always feminine.

9. nobis, by us; since in ch. 8. 6 he was chosen by the people; also for us, since he was chosen for our safety; so in Cic. de Off. 3. 9. 38, honesta bonis viris quaeruntur and often. — unicus: as against the two consuls (see ch. 27. 3), but with the ironical implication that the dictator is without a peer. In common speech unus sank to an indefinite article (cf. ch. 9. 6), and unicus took the place of the numeral; cf. 21. 11. 12.

11. vir . . . Romanus, man and true Roman that he was; cf. 7. 13. 9, ut viris ac Romanis dignum sit. — descendit in aecum: scornful reference to Fabius, who stayed upon the heights, while Camillus
did not stay upon the Janiculan, the highest of the hills at Rome, but offered battle in the plain.—busta Gallica, the Gauls' burying-ground, near the Carinae; so called from the Gauls who were burned and buried there; see 5. 48. 3; Varro, de Ling. Lat. 5. 157, locus ad busta Gallica, quod Roma recuperata Gallorum ossa ibi conserta.

12. quid: a word of many meanings, like the English "well"; here it is intensive, "again," or "further." The following example is later than that of Camillus, and the latest is in § 13.

13. Modo, like nuper, has a relative application. The victory of Lutatius was twenty-four years before, in 241 B.C., off the Aegates Islands. modo in § 7 refers to a time only two years previous.

14. sedendo: perhaps with a play on the saying of Varro de Re Rust. 1. 2. 2, Romanus sedendo vinct. For the combination of noun and gerund, see 21. 35. 5.—votis: the excessive piety of Fabius is opposed to the irreligiousness of Flaminius; see ch. 7. 5, and also 5. 2.—debellari credere posse: when three dependent infinitives are used together, one of them must be an auxiliary verb. T.

15. contionanti: cf. contionabundus, 21. 53. 6.—tribunorum: Polybius (3. 93) represents Minucius as the mouthpiece of the officers.—equitum: not simply the knights in service, but the body of knights as a whole.—quoque: belongs to militum and not as usual to the preceding word. The English "too" is often similarly transposed.—evolvebantur: from narrower to wider circles.

—militaris suffragii: so of the Carthaginians in 21. 3. 1.

15. 1. pariter, without distinction; modal, not temporal, like iuxta intentus, 23. 28. 3, and often; carried on by haud minus quam, which join suos and hostes, and exhibit Livy's ubertas dicendi.—in suos: instead of the dative; so 2. 33. 6, in oppidanos intentus.—invictum . . . praestat: he maintains an unflinching attitude toward all; see ch. 26. 7.—probe scit: so in 29. 17. 1, and often; synonymous with satis in § 3.—iam etiam, now also, since in the interval the disaffection had spread from the camp to the city.—consiliorum, plan of operations; cf. ch. 3. 2; 12. 11.

2. perpetuae: not for the year, but only for the summer.—arbusta vineaeque: appositive to regio; instead of arbustis viniisque consita.—magis: because necessarius forms no comparative.—amoenis . . . fructibus: fruits; necessariis: grain. The account is exaggerated, as Hannibal wintered at Capua in 216–215.
NOTES.

3. Calliculam: probably a diminutive of callis, as the mountains of Campania were called calles; see Tac. Ann. 4. 27. It is here to be understood of a pass.—Casilinum: celebrated for its stubborn defence against Hannibal in 216; see 23. 17-19. The modern Capua occupies nearly the same site.—modicis, sufficient; see on 21. 61. 4.

4. dirempta: used of forcible division, implies that the trade of the two portions of the city was hindered by the river (see 42. 39. 3), while dividit indicates that Casilinum was the border town of the two districts.—exploratum: Polybius does not mention this reconnaissance.

5. prospexit: because in the beginning Mancinus kept at a distance. vidit, which is usually supplied, does not express this idea, and makes a disagreeable assonance with occidit.

7. ipsa, almost to the very camp.—pertraxere, enticed; not used before Livy; also in 21. 54. 4.

8. Inde: either local or temporal = deinde.—ad . . . teli, within range. The singular is used collectively; so in ch. 29. 4.—avertisset: see in fugam, expressed in ch. 19. 11.

9. in proelium rediit, turned for battle. in here denotes purpose. —omni parte virium, in all respects. Livy gives the common expression pars (see ch. 19. 3) an unusual turn. Not only were Mancinus' forces inferior in numbers, but both men and horses were exhausted.

10. delecti equitum: as if they were a kind of guard; see ch. 6. 2; 49. 1; and 21. 54. 3.


11. saltum: the occupation of the pass of Lautulae (7. 39. 7) agrees with the view that a part of the Carthaginian troops had passed the Massicus to Sinuessa; see ch. 14. 1.—inminet: often denotes nearness, not height; cf. 21. 49. 1.—ab Sinuessa: by way of Minturnae.

12. exercitibus: Minucius did not receive a separate command till ch. 27. 10, and Polybius does not speak of any division of forces. —Duo: unusually near; see 21. 45. 3.

16. 2. aequioure: according to Polybius, 3. 93, and Appian, Hann.
14. Fabius encamped on a hill commanding the pass. — expeditis: commonly with the addition of pedites or milites, referring to the bowmen and slingers who were most conveniently employed in broken country; but the adjective is also used of cavalry, as in ch. 2. 4; 55. 4. — Carptim: repeated attacks by small detachments. — Poeni: the repetition of the same substantive in a different number occurs elsewhere. — procursando, etc.: the Numidian’s customary mode of fighting; see Sall. Jug. 50. — suo loco: its former favorable position; cf. suo in ch. 13. 6.

3. ab Romanis, on the side of; de, ex, and in, but not ab, with the ablative, are used instead of a partitive genitive; cf. 27. 14. 3, sinistra ala ab Romanis in prima acie pugnabat.

4. Inclusus . . . videri: not in fact, since the road from Suessula to Caudium was open. — commeatus: see on corruptis, ch. 11. 4. — Formiana: shows that Hannibal was not restricted to the south slope of Massicus; see ch. 14. 1. — stagnaque: closely joined with Literi, therefore not the swamps of Minturnae, but of Literum. — per horridas silvas: which he used as a place of encampment, while inter denotes the limits within which he could move. Livy probably had in mind the Silva Gallinaria, a pine forest between Cumae and the Volturnus, which under the empire had an evil reputation as the lurking-place of banditti: see Cic. Epist. ad Fam. 9. 23. — suis . . . artibus: those in which craftiness appeared; see on 21. 4. 9.

6. ludibrium . . . hostem, a frightful stratagem to deceive the eyes of the enemy; cf. 24. 44. 8, where the same words are used of imaginary sights taken as omens.

7. consilii: the Spaniards are said to have employed a similar stratagem against Hamilcar; Appian, Spain 5. — fasces, etc.: resinous wood collected from the forest, rather than the fields; see 6. 10. 4. — indomitos: those under three or four years old, not yet broken to the yoke. — Hasdrubali: the chief of the commissary department. — id armentum: this was divided afterward into several herds; see ch. 17. 2 and 4. — accensis cornibus: a bold hypallage for accensis in cornibus facibus; Sil. Ital. 7. 333 has accensa immittere silvis armenta.

17. 2. ipse: in addition to the urgency of the drivers. — ad imaque: adque is avoided; cf. ac super se, § 4. que is not joined
to ad as to some other prepositions; e.g. 37. 31. 7, ad traiciendas-que; Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 12. 17. 2, ad teque; Nepos, Dat. 7. 1, ad regemque; Tac. Hist. 3. 50, ad omniam.

3. repente: cf. the use of circa, § 3, ch. 3. 12, and see on 21. 7. 5. — haud secus quam: used like tamquam, velut, etc. with the abl. abs. — virgulta: the virgae of ch. 16. 7, there distinguished from faces, now bursting into flame from the motion; cf. 21. 8. 12. The statement (Plutarch, Zonaras) that the woods actually took fire may have arisen from a misunderstanding of ὅλη. If, however, as is commonly taken, virgulta refers to the vegetation on the mountain, the proposed reading, visa ardere, is better; cf. 3. 5. 14, caelum visum est ardere. — inrita: ineffectual in shaking off the torches.

4. locati: 4000 men according to Polybius and Appian; see ch. 15. 4. — praesidio, their post; see on 21. 57. 8. — tamen: as in ch. 13. 3.

5. flammis spirantium, fire-breathing creatures (like dragons). The participle is purposely used to avoid a definite substantive; see Näg. 29. 2. The impression of supernatural creatures is opposed to humana fraus of § 5. — insidias rati: but in § 4 Livy said circumventos se esse rati. The account is singularly confused, and Livy evidently was seeking not so much for exactness of statement as for picturesque and vivid description.

6. levi . . . armaturae: the escort of the cattle-drivers. — incurrere: occasionally with alicui, oftener with in aliquem, meaning to "fall upon," to "attack." Here as shown by timor it is used of accidental meeting, to vary the incidere of § 4. occurrere has the same double use. — neutros . . . tenuit: for utrosque ita tenuit ut proelium non inciperent. A singular transfer of the negative from the subordinate to the main clause. Why the Carthaginians should be afraid is not clear, unless they thought the stratagem unsuccessful.

7. Hannibal: for the position, see on 21. 31. 9, and cf. 48. 5. — Allifano: according to this Hannibal must have returned by the same road by which he came; see ch. 15. 3.

18. 2. suis: i.e. the Carthaginians. suis is carelessly referred to armaturam instead of to the subject; similarly in § 7, and ch. 17. 4, and often. — etenim: this strengthened form contrasts more sharply the preceding suis and the subject of praestabant; i.e. Ro-
manī. — aliquantum: joined with praestare, eminere, etc. in 5. 23. 4; 36. 4 and 6; 42. 52. 10. *multo praestare* is also found; the ablative is preferred with comparatives.—Hispanorum: perhaps Celtiberians; see 21. 43. 8; 57. 5.—supervenisset: the same verb in 28. 33. 5, nisi equites supervenisset, and 34. 29. 10. *subvenire* is similarly used in 31. 30. 9; 33. 5. 2.

3. adsuetior . . . aptior: chiasmus. — campestrem: accustomed to fighting on the plain.—statarium: in 9. 19. 8 used of the Macedonian phalanx and the Roman legion, and explained by *ordinē servans*, in opposition to the mobility of light troops.—elusit: for the meaning, see on 21. 50. 2.

4. aliquot: Polybius, 3. 94, says there were about a thousand.

5. movit castra: referring back to *posuit castra* in ch. 17. 7.—super Allifas: join with *consedit.* — munīto: strong by nature, in opposition to *opere, moenibus, arte munīta*; and different from *castra communit* (*§ 7*) because the dictator was to be absent a long time from the army.

6. absistens: commonly means "ceasing to do something," as in 21. 6. 8, but here, as in 27. 42. 17, *nunquam vestigiis hostis abstiterat*, synonymous with *e manibus emittere* in ch. 3. 10, and *omittere* in ch. 12. 8. *ab eo* is omitted because a different form must be used with *congregiēns*.

7. Gereonium: in the country of the Frentani, south of Larimum.—desertam: Polybius says there was a short siege; see ch. 23. 9.

8. Inde: Polybius says that Fabius went to Rome from Samnium, and that the Roman army was led to Larimum by Minucius. —agens: often used with *vi* and *precibus*, is here joined by zeugma with *imperio.* — confidat . . . imitetur . . . censeret: the two first verbs are joined with *agens*, like ordinary final clauses; while *censeret* becomes the formal *oratio obliqua*, with the proper tense in a historical sequence.

9. ludificationem: see on *eludere*, 21. 50. 2. — quīete, by doing nothing; opposed to *movendo atque agendo*, active treatment, assisting nature.

10. desīsse: often with a passive infinitive, as in ch. 34. 8; desītum, with an infinitive only in the neuter, as in 34. 41. 5. — haec: sums up the preceding statements, and, with a slight anacoluthon
in the use of the perfect participle, allows *est. profectus* to be the predicate of the period. The departure of Fabius is skilfully employed to interrupt the story of affairs in Italy, which is taken up again in ch. 23.

**19–22.** Events in Spain during the summer of 217 B.C. In general, after Polybius, excepting 20. 4—21. 8, which come from Roman sources, and begin at the point where Polybius breaks his narrative to give a brief review of affairs in Carthage and in Italy.

**19.** 1. *aestatis*: the campaign in Spain began later than that in Italy; see ch. 1. 1. — *haec*: the operations of Fabius. — *numerus*: thirty-seven; see 21. 22. 4.

3. *ita*: i.e. having done this. — *Carthagine*: i.e. *nova Carthagine*. For the abl. without the preposition, cf. 23. 43. 6, and 24. 12. 3. — *quacumque* = *utrcumque*; cf. *quae*, ch. 23. 6. For *parte*, see on 21. 17. 8.

4. *Scipio*: not *Scipioni*. For this attraction of the main subject, see on 21. 18. 3. — *propter*: this reason is not given by Polybius; see 21. 61. 4. — *ad naves*: join with *delecto*; *inposito* is used absolutely, like the English “embarked.” — *ire . . . pergit*: expresses the prompt execution of a sudden determination; commonly, therefore, in the historical present; cf. ch. 22. 4; 53. 9; 21. 57. 9. The idea of continuous action is not always contained in the word, and is emphatically expressed by *porro*; see 21. 22. 9.

5. *Massiliensium*: see on 21. 20. 8. — *speculatoriae*: sc. *naves*, as often with *oneraria, liburnica, celox*.

6. *terrore*: produced by the sight of an enemy’s fleet close at hand and in battle order. — *vadit*: see on *constitisset*, 21. 36. 3. — *Multas et . . . positas*: we omit the conjunction. A. & G. 208, 3, c; G. 483; H. 440, I. n. — *turris*: see on 21. 49. 10. The statement is different in Polybius, who says that Hasdrubal had full notice of the approach of the Romans, and was prepared to meet them with both land forces and fleet. He ascribes the defeat of the Carthaginians to a lack of bravery.

7. *Inde*: from the tower, before the fleet was visible to the army. — *exaudito*: heard from a distance. — *aperientibus*: a bold expression, as if the headlands were movable. We speak of a promontory as “closing,” but not as “opening,” a view. Note the difference in ch. 6. 9.
8. *eques*, etc.: an addition by Livy. *eques* is joined with *inbet*, as the singular is strengthened by *missus*. — *nihil minus quam*: a favorite combination with Livy. — *propere*: join with both infinitives. — *procul*: perhaps not found with the simple ablative in prose before Livy: cf. 21. 7. 6; with *ab*, 21. 21. 11. — *passim, in all directions*: often synonymous with *longe lateque*, as in 21. 7. 4, and joined especially with *multi, totus*, etc.; cf. ch. 12. 8.

10. *oris*: the ships were drawn to the shore, to which the sterns were made fast by cables (*oris*), while the prows were held by anchor lines (*ancoralia*). This expression is an adaptation of *oram resolvere*, "to cast off from shore." — *in anchoras evehuntur, rushed to the anchors*, to take them up; synonymous with *ruere*, § 9, and indicates the disorderly character of the action, since some actually cut the ropes. The word is often joined with *temere, incaute, inconsilte*, as in ch. 43. 1. — *agendo*: note that the agent of the gerund here is not the subject of *inpediuntur*; cf. 21. 5. 5. The abl. is modal. — *apparatu*: verbal; see on 21. 7. 6. For *se parare or parari*, used of preparation for battle, see on 21. 53. 7. *paratus* is avoided, as *miratio* in 21. 3. 4. — *aptare arma*, as in ch. 5. 3.

11. *derexerat*: the same verb in ch. 43. 11; 44. 4; 45. 4. — *non... magis... quam*: see on ch. 12. 11.

12. *adversi, in the rear*; cf. 21. 27. 2 and 31. 2. — *vadis*: local abl., as with *accipere and recipere*, but the place is also the means; cf. ch. 52. 7. — *suppressae*: rhetorical exaggeration, since Livy’s authority (Polybius) says that the oars and the arms were lost.

20. 1. *in*: with the ablative of *totus* the preposition *in* is used or omitted indifferently; with *omnis* it is generally used. T.

2. *quae non, except those which*. Some were unseaworthy, some immovable.

3. *Neque = neque tamen, and this was not*. — *mari*: sc. *Baliarico*.

4. *Itaque, etc.*: the following account of predatory warfare is not in agreement with Polybius or with Livy’s own statements of the clemency of the Scipios; see ch. 22. 20, and 21. 60. 4. — *Onusam*: see on 21. 22. 5. — *escensio*: the loose construction betrays an annalistic (Roman) source. — *captam*: see on 21. 55. 11.

6. *Longunticam*: probably south of Carthage, in the *campus Spartarius*, which extended a hundred miles along the coast; Plin. N. II. 19. 2. 30. — *sparti*: a kind of broom, *stifä tenacissima*, which
at a later time became an important article of export. — erat: accords with ubi; if, on the other hand, it were placed before ab Hasdrubale, one would have expected quo, as in 21. 48. 9, quo magnum numerum frumenti conesserant. — sublato: abl. abs. with quod fuit; A. & G. 255, b; G. 438, R. 2; II. 431, 4, n. 1.

7. praelecta est ora: for legere, see on 21. 51. 7; for praet = praeter, see on 21. 55. 9. The common reading, praeter vecta est oram, makes it difficult to supply the remote classis; and, in speaking of the person who sails by, Livy uses only praetervehi; cf. 21. 41. 3, and often. — Ebusum: also called Pityusa, with a town of the same name, distinct from the two Balearic islands.

8. quae caput: elsewhere, after plural names, Livy attracts the pronoun to agree with caput, as in 5. 8. 4.

9. petentes: for the construction, see on 21. 6. 2.

10. Inde flexa retro: the return must have begun on leaving Longuntica. — Citeriora: north of the Ebro. Spain was not yet a province.

11. populi: not peoples, but communities, tribes, civitates. — dicionis: for the construction, see on 21. 44. 5.

12. Igitur: an incredible march considering the shortness of the time. — terrestribus, etc.: repeated from 21. 60. 3 and 4, when Scipio first operated with his fleet and was afterward reinforced by native troops. — saltum Castulonensem: famous for its silver mines, and named for the town Castulo, which lay to the south on the Baetis. — propius Oceanum, in the direction of the Atlantic; for propius as a preposition, see on 21. 1. 2.

21. 1. reliquom: it is surprising that the events already recorded had not consumed the whole summer. — per Poenum, as far as the Carthaginians were concerned.

2. ipsorum, in themselves. — avidaque in novas res: so in 5. 20. 6; 7. 23. 6; Tac. Hist. 2. 56. in omne nefas avidi. Often with genitive, but with novarum rerum, cupidus is more common.

3. ab saltu: referring to ch. 20. 12, yet the report of the uprising of the Ilergetes seems to have been closely connected in the original account with the return of the Romans from the country north of the Ebro to the coast (21. 60. 4–61. 5), and to have been incorrectly referred by Livy's authority to the year 217 and to Castulo. In both cases Hasdrubal comes to the aid of the Ilergetes.—
populandum: Livy does not use *populatum*, but *praedatum*, as in ch. 3. 6; 13. 9.

4. auxiliiis: from the subject peoples mentioned in ch. 20. 11 and 12; see 21. 60. 4. — ut: see on 21. 7. 7. — armis exuta: i.e. they threw away their arms in flight, as in 21. 61. 9.

5. tumultus: for the meaning, see on 21. 16. 4. — cedentem, on his march.

6. Ilergavonensium: so spelled on coins. — Novam classem: probably the *ad Novas* of the *Itinerarium Antoninum*, between Ilerda and Tarraco. — repens: for the meaning, see on ch. 7. 7. — avertit: because Hasdrubal was forced to turn from Scipio against the Celtiberi.

7. Celtiberi: formed like Gallograeci, Libyphoenices (cf. 21. 22. 3), the second part of the compound indicating the main people, the first part those joined by migration. They dwelt south and west of the Ebro.

8. egregie: more energetic than the usual prospere of the analisic style. Note the alliteration expugnant . . . pugnant, the asyndeton and the change of tenses. — milia: the statement of the number of prisoners and of captured standards is a peculiarity of Valerius Antias, whom Livy probably followed (Frag. 31, 32, 34, 39, 41, Pet.); see 3. 8. 10; 5. 12; 23. 49. 13.

22. 1. P. Scipio: the consul of 218 B.C. who had been wounded at the Ticinus and spent the winter at Cremona. — provinciam: shows that Spain had been originally intended as his command. — triginta: Polybius says twenty; they were quinqueremes; see 21. 17. 3.

2. agmine: ablative of cause with ingens. We should say "a great line of." — onerarum: see on ch. 19. 5. — portum Tarraconis: the usual landing-place of the Romans was Emporiae; see 21. 60. 2; Plin. N. H. 3. 20, *colonia Tarraconensis Scipionum opus, sicut Carthago Poenorum.*

3. communi: in opposition to the disagreements of the consuls of the years 218, 217 and 216.

4. nec ullo = et nullo, since the negative does not belong to the verb. — pergunt ire: continues the idea of *haud cunctanter*, and implies the skilful employment of the favorable opportunity. — traditos: sc. in custodiam, as in 29. 21. 3, or custodiendos.
5. *omnium*: exaggerated. — *morabatur*, *ne*: the construction is that of a verb of fearing.

6. *unus*: emphatic contrast to *omnium*. — *sollerti*: used by Curtius also in 7. 7. 39, with *concilium*. — *magis quam*: a softened expression to avoid *perfidia*. The comparative formed, as in 8. 27. 6, and 33. 1. 1. — *erat*: with a locative, means *lived*. — *ante*: till Scipio’s victory. Note the distinction between *fidus* of the character, and *fidelis* of its exhibition. — *fidem*: for the meaning, see on 21. 34. 3.

7. *unum . . . corpus*: an individual like a slave which was regarded simply as a thing; see on 21. 41. 16. — *id agebat*: not in general, but in the particular thing mentioned.

8. *potestatis*: for the construction, see on 21. 44. 5. — *eius poterat*: Livy’s addition; *suae posset* might have been used referring the thought to Abelux. *eius* limits *potestatis*; Livy often makes one genitive depend upon another.

9. *Bostaris*: a common Carthaginian name; see 23. 34. 2. — *praefecti*: Polybius does not represent him as commandant of Saguntum, but as at the head of a corps sent by Hasdrubal to hinder the crossing of the Ebro by the Romans. When he was unsuccessful in this he retired to a camp between Saguntum and the shore; see 21. 7. 2. The condition of the town of Saguntum does not accord with the account of its destruction in 21. 14. — *arte*: Livy avoids the word *dolus* in this connection.

10. *in secretum abductum*, taking him aside; as in 1. 39. 3.

11. *volentibus*: more often *cuperer* or *studere*; see on ch. 21. 2.

12. *id . . . donum*, this gift that could have such a sudden value.

13. *maximum momentum*: so 3. 12. 6, *inveni* *egregium maximum momentum rerum eius civitatis*; cf. 21. 4. 2; 29, 12. 2. On the other hand, *maximum nomen*, the reading of the Mss. (27. 19. 4), the highest rank.


15. *ad cetera*, in comparison with, etc., as in 38. 21. 4. — *callido*: for the Roman estimate of the Carthaginian character, see on 21. 4. 9. According to Polybius, Bostar was called to account subsequently for his weakness. — *nocte clam*: for the association, see on 21. 63. 9, and cf. ch. 24. 6. — *auxiliaribus*: those serving in the Roman army. — *Scipionem*: the elder brother Publius; see Pol. 3. 99, and §§ 1 and 20.
16. **fide accepta**: Polybius says that Scipio promised Abelux immense rewards.

17. **excitatis**: from sleep, since the keepers of the hostages knew nothing in advance of the plan. — **puerorum**: hostages were generally the young children of prominent men.


19. **aliquanto**: in Livy the ablative of measure is often postpositive; cf. ch. 48. 4; 21. 15. 5. — **expertos**: passive, as in 21. 1. 2; see on 21. 30. 5.

20. **Romanus**: P. Scipio, not the Romans collectively, as shown by **incognitus** and the opposition to Abelux. — **haud frustra**: refers not to the reward of Abelux, but to the success of his deed.

23. 1. **quoque**: not appropriate here as it was in ch. 19. 1, and improperly repeated from that place or from ch. 22. 21. — **cladibus**: takes up the thought of ch. 18. 10.

2. **sollicitum . . . habebat, kept in constant anxiety**: so 28. 25. 8, and cf. 2. 64. 10, **sollicitum tenere**. — **magistrum**; like **magistrum populi**, the original title of the dictator (Cic. de Rep. 1. 40. 63), and **magistrum equitum**. Fabius' scornful appellation of παιδαγωγός (Plut. Fab. 5) may have come from this. — **fortuna**: ex eventu; see ch. 39. 10 and 21. The usual *cum* is omitted on account of assimilation to the construction of *ratione*.

3. **laeto**: pleasing for the moment. — **quam prospero**: because the success was the source of a new disaster. — **pugnatum**: the engagement mentioned in ch. 24. 8.

4. **una**: like the English, instead of *altera*. — **fraude ac dolo**: so in 1. 53. 4, to express an act intended for deception and skilfully carried into execution. The ablative is causal. — **perfugis**: desERTERS from the enemy's army; see ch. 28. 1; 30. 16. 10; elsewhere *transfuga*, as in ch. 22. 7; 48. 2; 21. 12. 4, but the difference is slight. — **circá**: for the construction, see on 21. 7. 5. — **uno eo**: an extraordinary arrangement of the words; cf. 8. 25. 13, *praesidio ei*, and Val. Max. 7. 3, Ext. 8, *unius eius fandum*. — **vim omnem, every kind of violence**: since Hannibal is said (Plut. Fab. 7) to have placed guards to prevent plundering or injury. — **abstineri**: a similar stratagem of Coriolanus is told in 2. 39. 6, and of Archidamus against Pericles in Just. 3. 7. — **ea merces**: note the attraction, as in ch. 1. 4; 13. 11.
5. *exspectata*: because the dictator, like the quaestors, was obliged to have the concurrence of the senate for every expense; Zon. 7. 13.


7. *Ducentis*: the exact number recalls Valerius Antias; see 2. 7. 2; 5. 30. 7. — *iactata = agitata.*

8. *inviolatum*: poetic for *intactum.* — *fidem*: the pledge made in the name of the state. — *inpendio*: instead of the more common *sumptu* or *insensa*; so 7. 21. 7.

9. *pauca*: inconsistent with ch. 18. 7, and with Polybius, who says that Hannibal killed the inhabitants because they would not surrender, but saved the walls and houses for granaries (*in usum horreorum*). — *stativis*: Polybius says that Hannibal made an intrenched camp in front of the walls, intending to spend the winter there.

10. *frumentatum*: to obtain the necessary supplies for the winter. — *duas . . . partes*, *two-thirds*, as in 21. 40. 7. — *mittebat*: every day, as Polybius states. — *in statione*: *in command*, as in 2. 10. 3. — *praesidio et circumspectans*: Livy often joins unlike constructions; see ch. 28. 1; 21. 48. 2.

24. 1. *agro Larinati*: in accord with ch. 18. 7.

2. *pro*, *in accord with.* — *calidiora*: a common metaphor; cf. 35. 32. 13, *consilia calida et audacia*, and Cic. de Off. 1. 24. 82. — *ut*, namely that.

3. *ferocius quam consultius*, with more rashness than wisdom; *temere* is synonymous with *ferociter* (cf. ch. 38. 12), but lacks the comparative. For the two comparatives, see A. & G. 192; G. 314; H. 444, 2.

4. *quod . . . crederet*: one would not think that Hannibal would have weakened his force by sending away a large detachment in the face of an approaching enemy eager for battle.

5. *castra . . . movit*: Hannibal formed a new camp without abandoning his old one, where were his baggage and supplies; see § 10 and Polybius. — *propius*: preposition; see on 21. 1. 2. — *conspectum*, *in sight of*; equivalent to late Latin *conspicabilis*, as in ch. 4. 6; 2. 5. 5; 27. 27. 3; the dative *hosti* is used as if with the adjective.
6. **propior**: still nearer to the enemy. — *ei*: refers to Hannibal and depends on *apparuit*. — **ad quem capiendum**: join with *iretur*; see on 21. 6. 4. — **luce palam**: see on ch. 22. 15. — **praeventurus erat**: the union of the subjunctive in condition and the periphrastic forms of the indicative in conclusion is common; cf. § 9; ch. 28. 13; 60. 17; 21. 19. 2; A. & G. 307, d. and f; G. 599, 3; H. 511, 2. — **Numidae**: the troops most dreaded by the Romans and preferably mentioned by Livy when a stratagem is described; see ch. 48. 2. According to Polybius 2000 spearmen were sent to occupy the hill.

7. **deiecissent**, dislodged; a military term.

8. **tum utique**, then at last; forms the climax of *propius* and *propior*; cf. ch. 27. 1. — **exiguum**: explained by *spatii*, just as *multum abesse* is used, as well as *longe*, *procul*, *parum abesse*. — **acies**: the Roman legions. — **per aversa**: through the *porta decumana*, while the heavy infantry went out at the *porta praetoria*; cf. 24. 17. 3, *per aversam ab hoste portam*.

9. **nec** = *nece tamen*. With ausus sc. *est*.

10. **sedendo**: for the construction, see on 21. 4. 3. For the parenthesis, see the appendix. — **priora castra**: these being intrenched, he could act on the defensive. Polybius states that Minucius attacked Hannibal in his advanced camp, and that Hannibal hardly escaping defeat withdrew in the following night to Gereonium.

11. **conlatis signis**: often joined with *insta acie*, *proelio*, or *aequo campo*, to indicate a regular battle in distinction from a skirmish. — **quidam**: among them probably Fabius Pictor, whom Livy seldom followed directly. — **Decimi**: from Decimius; so Quintius, Sextius, Nonius along with Quintus, Sextus, Nonus.

12. **Fabio**: his fear of Fabius is thus represented as the ground of Hannibal's retreat, displaying the partisanship of Livy's authority.

13. **duo castella**: the knoll from which the Numidians had been dislodged, and the advanced camp.

14. **admodum**, fully. — **vannam**: as in 33. 44. 7, *vana spes ex vaniore rumore orta*; cf. 9. 9. 15; 24. 32. 3.

25. 1. **contione**: the singular to balance *senatu*.

2. **nihil nec . . . nec**: note the negative distribution of the gen-
eral negative (A. & G. 209, 2 ; G. 444 ; H. 553, 2), the usual construction, whereas we say "nothing . . . either . . . or." secunda: the thought of ch. 23. 3.

3. Metilius: afterward consul (see 25. 22. 2) according to Plutarch, a kinsman of Minucius. enimvero: an expression of passionate protestation commonly joined with indignum; see 6. 14. 12 ; 25. 14. 1; Cic. Verr. i. 26. 66; it stands at the beginning of the sentence or after a pronominal word like id, ille, tum.

4. in ducendo bello: after tempus terere and similar expressions Livy usually omits the preposition, as in 21. 11. 3; other writers employ it. diutius: Metilius implies that the war could be finished by a stroke, and that Fabius could lay down his command within six months, as other dictators had done, or else he practically charges Fabius with treason in seeking to prolong his power beyond six months.

5. ablegatum: for the meaning, see on 21. 10. 12; for the fact, ch. 11. 6.

6. duos praetores: T. Otacilius (see ch. 10. 10 and 31. 6), and Cornelius Mammula (see 23. 21. 4). in custodia: as if he were a captive enemy.

7. tamquam trans Hiberum: as if the natural boundary between Campania and Samnium was a treaty boundary between the Romans and Carthaginians, as the Hiberus was in Spain; see 21. 2. 7. agrum suum: Livy has already given, in ch. 23. 8, the answer to this impeachment of the dictator's integrity, but before the true state of the case was known at Rome the charge must have had great effect.

8. prope: the pickets were outside the ramparts; see ch. 12. 9. arma adempta: a favorite charge; so in ch. 44. 6.

9. ut . . . ut: the repetition with a change of meaning is harsh. The second = tamquam, as in 21. 18. 5. egressos: as if no further force or stratagem were needed.

10. Quas ob res: quam ob rem is more common even when several grounds are referred to. antiquus, the good old: so with mores in 3. 68. 12. abrogando: that was legally impossible since the election of Fabius could not be assailed; see 21. 68. 2. aequando: reference is perhaps made to the dictatorship of Minucius in an inscription, found in 1802, and given in Corp. Ins.
Lat. 1. n. 1503, _Hercolei Sacrom M. Minucii(us) C. F. dictator voce_.
— _iure_: because the _magister equum_ had no _imperium_.

11. _Nec . . . ne . . . quidem_: note again the persistence of the negative; see on § 10. — _mittendum = dimittendum_, since the Senate could not command the dictator.

12. _in actione_: as a popular speaker. — _audiebatur_: the imperfect because he spoke often in the Senate, hence _orationibus_ in § 16. — _hostem_: not the Carthaginians as a whole, but Hannibal as a general in opposition to _ducum_. — _inscitiam_: so in ch. 9. 7. — _referret_: the sentence combines the use of _referre_, to _lay_ before, as the consuls were said to lay a matter before the Senate, _referre ad senatum_, and _acceptum referre_, to _credit to_. The latter expression is followed by the dative.

13. _dictum = edictum_, command, as in ch. 11. 6.

14. _Si . . . sit_, if he should retain the entire direction of the campaign and its policy; in view of the prospective division of his authority. — _bono imperatore_, with a _good general_; abl. abs. — _fortunam . . . rationemque_: catch-words often recurring in criticisms of Fabius; see ch. 23. 2; 39. 21.

15. _in tempore_, in an emergency. — _sine ignominia_: without an act that indicated cowardice or bad generalship, as, e.g., Scipio's retiring to Placentia and Cremona in 218. A side thrust at Scipio, to whose family Fabius was opposed; see 28. 40–43.

16. _Atilio_: an old man (see ch. 40. 6) who had already been consul. — _rogationis ferendac dies_, the day of submitting the proposition to the people.

17. _tacita, unspoken_. — _magis . . . quam_: an unusual expression in which the excess of one thing is compared with a lack of another; cf. 3. 35. 10, _quod haud scus factum improbabant boni, quam nemo facere ausurum crediderat_. — _superantco_, preponderating. — _auctoritas_: support by some one of recognized influence.

18. _humili_: relates to his family; _sordido = servili_, relates to his occupation. In the Roman view all industrial arts and retail trades belonged to the _artes sordidae_ in distinction from _artes liberales_.

19. _Patrem_: Livy often introduces a new and important character by a brief biographical account; see on 21. 4. 2; cf. 46. 7; 63. 2. In this case Livy's source was plainly hostile to Varro. —
institorem: in the trades, merchants did not always sell their own wares, but sent them out by pedlers *institores*, men of low condition.

26. 1. *animos*: the plural of this word is often used of an individual to denote strong feelings of arrogance, pride, defiance, etc., as in § 4; 2. 39. 11; so also *spiritus*. — *fortunae*: like our "fortune," of a "condition" or "mode of life." — *fecit*: sc. *ei*, often omitted. — *toga et forum*: he wished to become an advocate. The toga, the dress of the higher classes as distinct from the tunic worn by the lower classes (cf. *tunicatus popellus*, Hor. Epp. 1. 7. 65), and the forum were the symbols of public life.

2. *proclamando*, by clamorous championing; a word of contempt; Cic. de Or. 1. 46. 202, joins *proclamator* and *rabula*. *pro* gives the notion of publicity; cf. *declamare*. — *rem*: sc. *familiarem*, i.e. in civil processes. — *populi*, *populace*; limited by the foregoing and by *favor popularis* in § 4. — *honores*: the so-called *magistratus minores*, as shown by the connection; see Dictionary of Antiquities.

3. *duabus*: it was very rare for the same man to hold both the aedileships. — *perfunctus*: he had already filled the successive offices that led to the consulship.

4. *haud parum callide*: almost *nimis callide*, more than crafty, implying that Varro took unlawful means; hence *callide* is too mild. — *dictatoria*: instead of the objective genitive, as in 3. 42. 6, *posito decemvirali odio*.

5. *quiique*: the double -que, not used by Caesar, is found in Livy only with the relative pronoun, as in 1. 55. 6; 25. 22. 12, and in Sallust mostly with the personal pronoun in the first clause. — *atque*, as well as. — *dictatorem*: Plutarch, Fab. 10, compares him to Diogenes. — *acceperunt*, took or regarded, as the phrase *accipere in honauri partem*.

7. *in ipso itinere*: before he reached his camp. — *aequato*: each had equal *imperium*. — *invicto*: as in ch. 15. 1. — *hostibus*: employed solely to form an antithesis to *civibus*.

27. 2. *tum utique*: intensifies without repetition *cum vero*; see on ch. 24. 8. — *inmodice inmodesteque*: two synonymous words of the same derivation were often joined in old Latin and in the common speech. So *modice et modeste* in Plautus, and *modus ac modestia* in Sallust; see on 21. 7. 1. — *non . . . magis . . . quam*,
not so much ... as; cf. ch. 12. 11. — *victo*: instead of a noun: see on 21. 1. 5.

3. *unicum*: see on ch. 14. 9. — *parem*: join with *Hannibali*; cf. ch. 12. 5. The word often implies an opponent, "a match." — *maior-rem minori*: refers to rank, not age. — *memoria ... annalium*: the *annales maximi*, since the "annals," i.e. literary histories, did not then exist. — *virgas ... tremere*: poetic; see Verg. *Aen.* 8. 296. Minucius probably had in his mind the instance of Fabius in the second Samnite war. — *enituisse*: commonly in the perfect; this tense of its synonym *excellere* does not occur in classical prose.

4. *secuturum*: because fortune is considered as a guide leading the way. — *damnata*: by the gods who gave victory to Minucius: by men who made Minucius the equal of Fabius in authority.

6. *alternis*: according to Polybius it was Fabius who made these propositions; see ch. 41. 3.

8. *fortunam ... temeritas*: see ch. 29. 1. — *conlegae*: Fabius scornfully refrains from addressing Minucius directly; so *alio* instead of *illo*. — *communicatum*: this verb is always construed with *cum* and the ablative (cf. the English "share"). The dative is added to the ablative with *cum* to denote a second person, where we say "share between them."

9. *qua posset*: sc. *non cedere*, or *res consilio gerere*; similarly sc. *servare* with *posset* below. — *exercitum*: adversative asyndeton with the verb as usual in the second clause. — *consiliis, policy*; see on ch. 3. 2; 15. 1.

10. *esset*: the subjunctive shows that Fabius referred to the analogous practice of the consuls. — *evenerunt*: by lot. The legions of Servilius were doubtless better men, better equipped and more serviceable than those newly raised by Fabius. The old ones were therefore first allotted, then the new.

11. *pari numero*: the same to each. — *Castris*: Polybius says the camps were about a mile and a third apart.

28-31. Defeat of Minucius; naval operations. The account of the battle agrees with that of Polybius, 3. 104-106.

1. *indicantibus*, betraying, as in ch. 1. 3; for the joining of unlike constructions, cf. ch. 23. 10. — *suos*: Hannibal had spies even in Rome; see ch. 33. 1.

2. *suo modo*: so in ch. 16. 5, and 21. 34. 1. With *captatu-
rum the idea of hope, with decrepit that of knowing, is to be supplied.

3. quem qui: for the two relatives, see on 21. 6. 4. — locum, position.

5. Ager: according to Polybius an uncultivated district. — prima specie, at first sight; the careless look liable to be deceived, while primo conspectu in § 9 is temporal = cum primum . . . conspexerunt. — non modo: supply non; see on ch. 3. 4.

6. re ipsa natus, from the very nature of the place fitted; similar to the expressions natura loci, natura regionis (ch. 38. 9); natus is joined with a dative of purpose in ch. 4. 2, with ad and the accusative in ch. 44. 4. — timeri: used for a passive of suspicari. — et . . . capere, and in the windings of the valley there were hollow rocks, some of them large enough to conceal two hundred armed men; the whole expression is explanatory of natus.

7. apte, comfortably. Note the brachylogy of the clause for tot in quemque locum quot . . . poterant. — conduntur: by night, as in 21. 54. 2, and as Polybius and Plutarch, Fab. 11, expressly state; see also on 21. 7. 1.

8. Necubi . . . detegeret, but lest the imprudent movement of a soldier or the gleam of arms should anywhere in so open a valley disclose the stratagem; unlike § 14 (cuiquum) the negative here belongs to the act and not the person, hence aliquis. — egressi = si egressus esset; cf. invicta, 21. 5. 11. — quem aote: supra also is thus used, commonly in relative or comparative clauses introduced by ut or sicut, seldom with a participle as in our "the above mentioned."

9. Primo statim conspectu: the regular order; see on 21. 4.

1. — deprecere pellendos, demanded the honor of driving out: pellere is weaker than deicere; see on ch. 24. 7. — stolidissimos ferocissimosque: closely related ideas, as in ch. 27. 2; cf. 7. 5. 6, stolide feroecm.

11. increscente certamine, as the conflict increased; note the repetition of mittere, as that of certamen in § 4, and succedere in § 12.

12. Prima: the first to be defeated as well as the first to ascend. — succedens, climbing. In the next line succedentem, which is perhaps unintentionally repeated, means following. — detrusa: a military expression, stronger than deicere, depellere, etc.
13. *perculsos inpavida*: as in ch. 5. 1. — *insta ac recta*, regular and straightforward: *insta* refers to the orderly arrangement of battle; *recta* to the straightforward advance when there are no attacks upon flank or rear. — *haudquaquam inpar futura*: join with *acies*, or *punja* may be supplied, in which case *haudquaquam inpar* will mean not so much "indecisive" as "favorable"; cf. ch. 18. 4. — *tantum*: like *adeo* often introduces a clause that gives the reason of a preceding statement, as in ch. 27. 3, and see on 21. 7. 3.

14. *ab tergoque*: Livy never joins -que to the preposition *ab*, *ad*, *cum*, or *ex*; see on ch. 17. 2. — *animus... spes*: chiasmus.

29. 1. *ita est*, yes, it is as I thought; confirmation of a thought before expressed; see ch. 27. 8; Näg. § 197. — *non celerius*: Plutarch, Fab. 12, is more exact, "O Hercules, how much sooner than I expected, though later than he seemed to desire, hath Minucius destroyed himself." So one may supply "*non celerius quam commeruit, citius quam timui,*," as in 8. 32. 9. — *deprendit*: perfect. — *fortuna*: not fortune in the sense of chance or luck, but of "fate" taking vengeance upon the rashness of Minucius. The word often carries a kind of personification, as we speak of a "genius" or "guardian spirit"; e.g. "Fortuna Romae"; see on 21. 10. 6.

2. *iurgandi*: properly *iure agere*, "to litigate" (according to Ritschl, from *ius* only), more commonly in the modified sense of *obirgare*. — *signa... proferte*, advance, as in ch. 42. 3.

3. *magna ex parte*: join with both participles. — *velut... demissa*, as if *from the clouds*; so 8. 9. 10, *caelo missus*, but oftener with *de*. — *ad auxilium*: join with *demissa*.

4. *ad coniectum teli*: Fabius saved the day merely by his coming; for the expression, see on ch. 15. 8. — *suos*: Minucius' troops. Note the chiasmus with *hostes*.

5. *plures simul*: i.e. in large companies. — *volventesque orbem*: we should say "forming a square." In the lack of a verb, *orbire*, the expression *volventesque orbem* is used, in which *volventes* repeats the idea contained in the substantive, but instead of *volventes* we should expect *facientes* or *conligentes*.

6. *ferente*: like a verb of saying often joined with *laudibus*, *sermonibus*, *fama*. The abl. abs. is allowed from the fact that *Hannibale*, though the same person as *Poenus*, the subject of the sentence, is here taken as the individual, while *Poenus* presents him
as the representative of the Carthaginians. — *victum*: perhaps a feature of the Fabian tradition.

8. *saepe . . . audivi*: because the sentiment was proverbial. It is taken from Hesiod, Works and Days, 293 f. — *ipse*: in contrast with an *alteri* to be supplied with *momenti*. — *consulat*: in the sense of *consilium expedire*. — *in rem*: serviceable, to the purpose; as in ch. 3. 2, and often; cf. *ex re (alicuius*) est.

9. *Nobis*: in opposition to Fabius, whose skill the soldiers recognized; in *imperare* Minucius refers primarily to himself. — *imperare . . . parere*: for the contrast, see on 21. 4. 3. Note the alliteration.

10. *tulerimus*: *signa ferre*, to advance, is commonly used without a modifier, like *ad praetorium* in this sentence; so *castra movere* means "to take up a march." — *parentem*: a more honorable and impressive title than *pater*; like *parens patriae*; ch. 4. 3. 12, *Romulus parens urbis*.

11. *patronos*: those who had established a claim to gratitude. The soldiers probably said *patroni, salvete*. — *gratorum . . . animorum*: classical prose lacks a substantive for "gratitude," so that Valerius Maximus, 5. 1 wrote *de humanitate, clementia, pietate*, but *de gratis, de ingratis*; see Näg. § 31. 2. *ingratitudo* is late Latin.

30. 1. *colligantur vasa*: packing the tents and supplies, as in 21. 47. 2. In Caesar also *vasa conclamare*. If the departure were to be concealed from the enemy, the customary signal with the trumpet was exchanged for a quiet order. — *agmine*: often in Livy as an adverb, meaning only "in order." — **admirationem**: corresponding to the verbal idea of *mirari*, "surprise"; see on 21. 3. 4. — *circa*: the legates and tribunes.

2. *progressus*: to be understood literally, as the *magister equitum* had dismounted. — *eius*: Fabius.


4. *oneratus . . . honoratus*: we may say "burdened rather than benefited," but it is better to avoid the alliteration. — **antiquo abrego**, *I reject and annul*; *antiquare* is used of the rejection of proposed laws; *abrogare* of the repeal of existing laws. The two expressions are, therefore, not quite consistent, but see on 21. 29. 3. — *conservatorii*: more impressive than *servatorii*, which Livy
often uses. — *felix*: cf. Cic. de Div. 1. 45. 102, *omnibus rebus agendis* 'Quod bonum, faustum, felix fortunatumque esset' praefabantur. The full formula appears in 1. 17. 10, and 24. 16. 9.

5. *magisterium*: because *magistratus* formed on the analogy of *centurionatus, decurionatus, tribunatus*, has another meaning.

6. *interiunctae*: see on 21. 35. 1. The common word is *dare*. — *contione*: formed by the soldiers of Minucius; see on 21. 11. 4. — *invitati*: it is taken for granted that the camp was large enough for four legions. — *dies*: everything recorded since ch. 28. 9 is compressed into one day. — *exsecrabili*: like the *dies Allievisis*.

7. *Romae*: not joined with the temporal clause in which one must supply *Romam* or *eo*. — *laudibus* . . . *ferre*: the same in 9. 10. 3.

8. *apud Hannibalem*: the proof is in § 10. — *hostis*: corresponds to *Romae* in § 7.

9. *biennio*: the current year and the one before, though but a little more than twelve months had passed since the battle of the Ticinus, when the glory of the Roman name was destroyed. — *duces*: thus including Scipio; perhaps a feature of the Fabian tradition.

10. *dixisse ferunt*: a statement referred by Plutarch to the occasion described by Livy in ch. 29. 6. — *dedisse* = *edidisse*. An answer to the complaint of Minucius; see ch. 14. 8.

31. 1. *Servilius*: takes up the story of ch. 11. 7. The style of §§ 1–7 recalls that of ch. 20. 4 f. Cf. Polybius, 3. 96 and 97, who does not mention the landing in Africa. It is from him that the number of ships is taken. — *Sardiniae*: see on 21. 1. 5. Servilius had gone in pursuit of a Carthaginian fleet; see ch. 11. 6. — *Corsicae oram*: the coast was occupied soon after the seizure of Sardinia, but the interior was not yet subdued. — *utrimque*: from both islands. — *in Africam*: marks the goal, not the attainment of it.

2. *Menige*: the nominative is Meninx; an island in the Lesser Syrtis. So was Cercina, which had an important roadstead. — *decem talentis*: points to the same source as that of 21. 61. 11, since elsewhere in the second Punic war money is reckoned according to *auri pondo*: see on 21. 48. 9.

3. *iuxta . . . ac si*, as *carelessly as if*: a combination not found elsewhere in Livy; after the analogy of *idem, similis, ac si*; cf.
NOTES.

Sall. Jug. 45. 2; Cic. Red. in Sen. 8. 20. — *culturum egentibus*: *incultis* would mean not “uninhabited,” but “not cultivated,” as in 2. 34. 2.

5. **mille**: substantive. As a noun in the singular *mille*, except in connection with the plural *milia*, and in two instances of the abl. sing. (in Lucil. in Gell. 1. 16, and in Macrobr. S. 1. 5) is used only in the nominative and accusative (see on 21. 61. 1); here it is doubtless in the accusative, and the expression *ad mille hominum* is by loose usage in the abl. abs. with *amisso*.

6. **Lilybaei**: the chief port and fortress of the Romans in Sicily, where at that time 50 quinqueremes lay (see 21. 49. 5, and 51. 6), later the residence of the proprætor. — **Otacilio**: see ch. 10. 10.

7. **pedibus = terrestri itinere, by land. — freto**: sc. Siculo; see on 21. 56. 9. — **conlega**: belongs to *accitus* not to *traiecti*, instead of *ipse cum conlega*, a loose construction in which *conlega* is nominative by attraction. — **semenstri**: the dictator could hold office only six months; cf. Cic. de Leg. 3. 3. 9, *Quando duellum gravis, discordiae civium escent (= erunt), oenus (= unus) ne amplius sex menses, si senatus creverit, idem iuris quod duo consules, teneto.*

8. The following sections of the chapter add a correction of ch. 8 f., in which, as in 28. 40. 10, Livy speaks of Fabius as dictator. For similar explanations, see 21. 15. 3; 2. 21. 4.

9. **Gallia**: not *Gallia Cispadana*, but the so-called *ager Gallicus*, the coast country between Ariminum and Ancona; see ch. 9. 6.

10. **quam moram**: note both the attraction and the brachylogy. — **tertia**: Ticinus, Trebia, Trasumennus.

11. **titulum imaginis**: every Roman who had held a curule office had the *ius imaginum*, the right to place in the atrium of his house his waxen mask, with an inscription, *titulus*, beneath, recounting his official honors. These inscriptions were often falsified; see S. 40. 4, *vitiatam memoriam falsis imaginum titulis. — pro dictatore*: just as *pro consule*, *pro praetore* were originally said; a distinction was made between the election and the authority actually exercised. — **obtinuisset, brought it about**: implies that the knowledge of the exact circumstances is in opposition to *fama*, but *facile* shows that the opposition is unimportant; thus often *fama tenuit, obtinuit*. The infinitive depends upon *fugit*, the intervening *quam* . . . *esset* being a parenthetical explanation by Livy.
32. 1. **Atilius**: note the omission of the praenomen, and the inverted order in Geminus Servilius.—**Fabiano**: those which fell to Fabius in the division of the legions; see ch. 27. 10; yet diversis in § 2 points to separate operations.—**hibernaculis**: probably two; see ch. 44. 1. —**artibus, policy**: cf. § 3 and see on **consilia**, ch. 3. 2.

2. **Frumentatum**: the conclusion of the movements described in ch. 23. 10 f. for the gathering of winter supplies.—**aderant**: appeared at points and in positions where Hannibal did not expect them. Livy avoids an expression like *occurrebant*, *obsistebant*, as these words imply active hostility. —**excipientes**, here = *intercipientes*; see on 21. 61. 8, and ch. 12. 7. —**universae dimicationis, a general engagement**: similar to *universo periculo*, ch. 12. 10.

3. **inopia**: this statement, lacking in Polybius, is strange in this connection, and probably is only a favorite expression of Fabius Pictor, who often repeats it and at unsuitable places, as in ch. 11. 4; 16. 4; 40. 9. —**coactus**, *reduced to straits*, is archaic; cf. Plaut. Mil. 516, Ter. Heant. 669. —**repetitus fuerit**: this is the common form when the apodosis of a past condition contrary to fact is also a consecutive clause.  A. & G. 308, d. and note; G. 599, 5; II. 511, 2. n. —nulla relicta spe: the conclusion of *si . . . gererent*, and equivalent to *cum nulla spes relicta fuisset, si*; see on 21. 5. 11.

4. **ut dicerent, spoke as follows**: the words are used pleonastically in order that the infinitive may depend upon a verb rather than upon a noun or a noun and verb; cf. 36. 28. 1, *orationem ita finivit ut diceret*; Cie. pro Planc. 26. 65, *hac spe decedebam ut putarem*.

5. **exhauriri**: the state had recourse to a debasing of the coinage, lowering the *as* (which had already been reduced to $\frac{1}{3}$ of a pound in the first Punic war), to $\frac{1}{12}$, the uncial rate; see on 21. 41. 6. —**urbibus agrisque**: rhetorical exaggeration, since the towns relied upon their own walls and Fabius had given up the open country. —**capite . . . Italiae**: probably a gloss from 21. 35. 9, since both the unequal balance of the clauses and the double *atque*, especially after *iuxta ac*, are harsh.

6. **fortunae**: *adversae*, a kind of reserve fund (see 27. 10. 11), but not in coined money; it probably consisted largely of votive offerings.
7. **credent**: sc. *Neapolitani*, who would have offered troops, but only Romans and Latins were allowed to serve in the regular army; see ch. 37. 7. The change in the tenses is due to the desire to express the two ideas that in full would require *si crederent... esse oblatus*, and *si credidissent... fuisse oblatus*. — **patres**: recalls the customary form in hexameter *populumque patresque = senatus populusque*. — **Romanos**: belongs to *patres* and *populum*.

8. **suas duxissent**, make free use of; the change of tense in *indicaverint*, though rare in two clauses so closely connected, is not anomalous, and is to be explained by the fact that for the moment Livy ceased to be the historian and spoke as a Neapolitan. Such sudden shiftings of points of view are common in every living language.

33. 1. **Carthaginiensis**: not necessarily a native Carthaginian, but a Greek in the pay of Hannibal; see ch. 28. 1. — **Romae**: belongs also to *fefererat*.

2. **crucem**: the usual *supplicium servile*. — **conjurassent**: if a conspiracy is meant, the place stated is remarkable, unless, as Livy suggests, they were public slaves who took advantage of their occupation on the Campus Martius to form a conspiracy. If the expression refers to a crafty attempt of the slaves to take the military oath (see ch. 38. 3), by which they might obtain their freedom (see Pliny, Let. 10. 30 (39)), the difficulty occurs that the levy was wont to be made on the Capitol; see 26. 31. 11. — **libertas**: a similar reward was given to the slave that disclosed the plot to restore the Tarquins (see 2. 5. 9), and also to the discloser of the Catilinarian conspiracy (Sall. Cat. 30. 6). — **aeris gravis**: the as of ten ounces; hence tenfold the value of the one then current; see on ch. 10. 7.

3. **Demetrius Pharium**: Demetrius of Pharos on the Dalmatian coast, an Illyrian vassal who had gone over to the Romans, and been rewarded by them with a considerable sovereignty. Revolting when he thought they were engrossed in the Gallic war, he was subdued by Aemilius Paulus in b.c. 219, and fled to Philip. — **fugisset**: the subjunctive of informal *oratio obliqua*, because the envoys were to claim that the misuse of the right of asylum was a reason for his surrender; A. & G. 341, d.; G. 630; H. 516, II.

4. **expostulandum**: for either an explanation or satisfaction;
so in 21. 25. 5. For the fact, see 21. 59. 10. — visendum: for a similar diplomatic reconnaissance, see 21. 6. 3.

5. stipendium: the yearly tribute which the Illyrian queen Teuta, the stepmother of Pinnus or Pinna, had bound herself to pay after her defeat by the Romans in 228 B.C.

6. cervicibus: Livy uses this word in a figurative sense only in the plural; see 4. 12. 4; 27. 26. 8; for the singular, see ch. 51. 7. — terrarum: for the construction, see on ch. 13. 7. — longinquae: sc. rei; for the meaning, see on 21. 21. 5; cf. 28. 44. 11, provincia: 30. 29. 10, aquatio.

7. etiam: the use of et ... quoque ... et ... iam in §§ 3, 5 and 7 shows that at the end of the year 217 several matters remained to be noticed, for which there had been no place in the account of the war. — per, on the occasion of; as in 24. 7. 10. — seditionem: mentioned in 21. 25, 12 only as trepidatio. — biennio: in fact a year and a half before; see on ch. 30. 9.

8. in arce: this little-known shrine is to be distinguished from the temple of Concord (9. 46. 6) built at the foot of the Capitol, in area Vulcani, next the forum.

9. si iis videretur: often only an expression of formal courtesy like si placet in imperative sentences, but here a real direction to the consuls to act on their own judgment, as in 21. 6. 4. — creandos: presiding at the election. — quam: note the omission of the preposition, common where the same verb is to be supplied in the relative, as in the antecedent, clause.

11. rectius: the senate determined whether a dictator or an interrex should hold the election. — a consule: probably Servilius, since Atilius was consul suffectus. — comitiorum ... causa: in distinction from dictator rei gerundae; see on ch. 8. 5.

12. vitio: a failure in the formalities would only be known and operative after the election; see on 21. 63. 5.

34. 1. prorogatum: the consuls thus continued in command of the army while the new consuls attended to the new levies. — interreges: the plural because the election was never conducted by the first one appointed, but only by the second or third; therefore also a patribus since every interrex was named by another senator. — inde: after five days, the time during which an interrex held office. — patrum ac plebis: the words here do not distinguish
the patricians and plebeians, as in earlier times, but *patrum* refers to *nobiles* (see on § 7) and *plebis* includes those who were not *nobiles*.

2. **popularibusque artibus**: see ch. 26. 2. — *concusso*: for the construction, see on 21. 1. 5. The noun *concusso* belongs to the silver age. — *extrahere*: the infinitive, as in 21. 28. 2, instead of *ut* with the subjunctive. — *nitetbatur*: with all means; for this use, see on 21. 3. 2. — *aequari*: Varro had been praetor, but would rise to the patrician level only by holding the consulship. — *hominés*: for variety with *plebs* and *volgus*.

3. **cognatus**: a distant relation, since, as the name shows, they did not belong to the same clan. The word implies that the opposition rose from unworthy motives; see on ch. 25. 3. — *augures*: who had brought to notice the informalities in the appointment of the dictator Philo.

4. **hominibus nobilibus, the aristocracy**: neither an honorable appellation like *vir*, nor a contemptuous one, but simply descriptive of a class; so *principum* in § 2, and *homo patricius* in 4. 16. 4. Perhaps the expression contains a hit at Fabius, who in his first consulship (233) challenged the Carthaginians to war; Gellius, 10. 27. — *quaerentibus*: refers to the complications about Sardinia and Corsica, the establishing of the Ebro as an international boundary and the interference in favor of Saguntum; see 21. 2. 7. — *adductum*: in order to silence the dissatisfied people.

5. **universis**: “united,” implying that Fabius’ wish to divide the army was an intentional device to prolong the war. — *pugnari*: in a regular engagement, in opposition to Fabius’ defensive policy, see § 7. — *obiectas*: the result of Fabius’ refusal to alternate the full authority.

6. **pater patronusque**: rhetorical exaggeration; see ch. 29. 10. Yet the association of *pater* and *patronus* is not rare; cf. Ter. Adel. 456; Hor. Epist. 1. 7. 54.

7. **Id foedus, a compact for this**: see on 21. 5. 4. — *hominem novum*: commonly in the reverse order. It is to be remembered that there was no distinct order of nobles at Rome. The *nobiles* were those who reckoned among their ancestry at least one man who had held a curule office, and hence had the *ius imaginum*. One who held such an office for the first time in his family’s history was neither *nobilis* nor *ignobilis*, but *novus homo*, and his descendants were *nobiles*. 
8. initiatos...sacris: figurative for complete merging of interests.—contemni patribus desierint: for the infinitive, see on ch. 18. 10. contemni means "to appear contemptible." The dative is much oftener used with the perfect participle than with other forms of contemnere, as Tac. His. i. 60, contemptus exercitui.

9. ut...ut: the first clause is in explanatory apposition, "namely that"; the second is final.—potestate: by the appointment of successive interreges they could wait for the moment when election intrigues would turn affairs in favor of their candidates.

10. ambos: in translating join with morando, by both remaining.—expugnatum: literally "take by storm," indicates more strongly the forcible means which the senatorial party is said to have used.

11. interregnum: and therefore a control without a determinable end, since once (see 8. 23. 17) fourteen interreges were appointed.—populum: to interchange with plebis.—diu imperare: see ch. 25. 4.

35. 1. Merenda: a rare cognomen meaning the same as prandium.
2. nobilium familiarum: as in 39. 40. 3, plebeios nobilissimarum familiarum; the common reading is nobilibus iam with the adverb after the adjective.—in manu eius: because he presided at the election, and to a considerable degree determined the admission of candidates.—rogando: used of an election, as subrogare of an election to fill a vacancy, since the will of the people was asked, as in the passage of laws, in the formula Velitis inbeatis; see on ch. 10. 2. The dative of purpose after comitia; cf. 21. 52. 8, sociis continendis. A. & G. 299, b.; G. 430; H. 544, n. 3.

3. experta, having learned to their cost.—virium: so we speak of a "strong" candidate.—Aemilium Paulum: consul in 219 B.C., and in the next year a member of the embassy to Carthage (see 21. 18. 1); now eligible by the law mentioned in 27. 6. 7, which allowed the people, during the continuance of the war in Italy, to re-elect any one who had been consul as often as they wished.—M. Livio: Salinator, condemned populi indicio (see 27. 34. 3) for embezzlement in the Illyrian war, or for an unjust division of the spoil; afterward victor over Hasdrubal at the Metaurus.—ambustus: the figure of singeing or burning is often used of condemnation at law; see ch. 49. 2.

4. concedentibus: in order that the votes of the senatorial party
might be united. — in adversandum: the gerund or gerundive with in is seldom used to denote purpose or result, but cf. 21. 21. 10. A. & G. 300; G. 433; H. 542, iii. — conlega: with the idea of harmonious co-operation.

5. Pomponius: the praetor peregrinus of the year 217 B.C.; see ch. 7. 8. The election of praetors regularly followed that of consuls. — Romae: the order is strange, since Romae belongs to both clauses. These two praetors had jurisdiction in Rome, the others abroad. — iuri dicundo: the dative of purpose with sors, for which the genitive might have been used, as with the names of magistrates; see on 21. 53. 11. — urbana: he had jurisdiction in cases between citizens.

6. Additi, elected, as the number was already determined. — in Siciliam: to Lilybaeum. — in Galliam: to Ariminum, since no praetor was needed in Sardinia; see ch. 25. 6. All the praetors except Pomponius were ex-consuls.

7. fortibus ac strenuis: indicated to a Roman the whole man, as bonus ac strenus, the honorable man; see on 21. 4. 4; cf. ch. 59. 11. — novus: explained by the preceding relative clause. Note the alliteration.

36. 1. quoque, and further; general rather than special. — multiplicati: considerably strengthened, almost doubled; as auctus in § 3 of an unimportant increase; cf. multiplex, ch. 7. 3. — variant, disagree; so in 21. 28. 5. — ausus sim: Livy does not use the form ausim in consecutive sentences.

2. alii: sc. scribunt, implied in auctores variant.

3. quoque: in addition to the increase from four to eight legions. Livy distinguishes three variant statements: first, the reinforcement of the existing army by 10,000 men; second, the doubling of the army to eight legions of the normal number; third, the doubling and the enlarging of the legions. According to the last, the army consisted of eight legions of 10,000 infantry each, furnished equally by Romans and allies, and 900 cavalry, of which 300 were Roman and 600 allies, in all 87,200 men. — milibus: used distributively for the lacking millei, and always by Livy in connection with some case of singulos, as in 29. 15. 9; 30. 17. 14. — treceni: according to this, the legions of the earlier time must have had only 200 Roman horsemen, but in 8. 8. 14, and 21. 17. 3,
Livy assigns them 300 each. Polybius agrees with the statement of the text.

4. *auctores sunt*, state, or *is the statement of*; sometimes placed after the accusative and infinitive with its dependent clause, as in r. 48. 9; 26. 16. 4, but when several infinitive clauses follow in succession, it usually follows the first; cf. 27. 38. 11. Polybius is included among the *quidam*; see 21. 15. 3; 38. 1.

5. *Illud, of the following*, as often. — *discrepat*: impersonal, as in ch. 61. 10; 3. 31. 8; 8. 40. 1. — *conatu*: stronger than *apparatu*. It clearly appears that it was the intention of the senate to hazard another battle (Polybins says expressly that they ordered it after the capture of the magazine at Cannae), but after the great disaster, the historians of the aristocratic party placed the blame on Varro.— *vinci*: refers not to Hannibal’s being blockaded at Casilinum, but to the claim of the ch. 29. 6.

6. *Ceterum*: for this use, see on 21. 5. 1. After giving the statements of several authors concerning the strength of the Roman army Livy now returns to an exclusively Roman source (Coelius). — *territos*: varius oracular utterances were also at that time current, like the famous one of Marcius foretelling a coming overthrow on the plains of Diomedes; see 25. 12. 5; Pol. 3. 112.

7. *cruore*: so ch. 1. 9. Join also with *manasse* of the next clause. — *Caere*: see ch. 1. 10.

8. *etiam*: strengthens the comparative. *adhuc* is used in a similar sense in late Latin. — *saepius*: not of earlier instances, but of repeated occurrences at that time. — *via fornicata*, in *Arcade street*; a covered way leading to the Campus Martius, not in existence in Livy’s time, as shown by *erat*.


37. 1. *ab Hierone*: join with *classis*; see on 21. 11. 3.

2. *adlatam*: instead of *nuntium*, etc.; see on 21. 1. 5. — *sua propria*, personal. Hiero stands contrasted with Flaminius, and *regnii* to *exercitus*. *suis* is often contrasted with *alienus*, and *proprius* with *communis*. — *potuerit*: for the construction, see on 21. 34. 7.

3. *probec sciat*: like the phrase “I don’t rightly know”; see
on ch. 15. 1. — prope: note the delicate compliment in the position after admirabiliorem, as if they said "if that were possible." — adversis rebus: the abl. abs. is used with both the adjective and the participle, but with the adjective the preposition in is often employed; e.g. in rebus dubiis, trepdis, asperis, prosperis; yet Livy has no fixed rule; cf. ch. 27. 1, with 30. 30. 16; also ch. 22. 19; 27. 3; 39. 12.

4. se: for the moment the ambassadors speak in the person of Hiero, then return to their own in § 5, but in § 7 again personate the king. — bonis fidelibusque: more often fortis ac fidelis of the allies; see ch. 60. 20; 21. 44. 2. Yet even in Cicero the Roman fortitudo was giving way to the influence of the Greek ἀγαθός, as in Caecil. 4. 12, optimorum fidelissimorumque sociorum.

5. pondo: see on 21. 62. 8. — ducentum: for ducentorum, as in § 6, modium for modiorum.

7. Milite — pedite. — externa: Gauls (the Cenomani), 21. 48. 1; 855. 4; Spaniards, 21. 60. 4; Cretans, 24. 30. 13.

8. mille: according to Sil. Ital. 8. 615, there were 3000. For the construction, see on ch. 31. 5. — funditorum: a class of soldiers henceforth often appearing in the Roman armies. — pugnaces, wont to fight; denotes the skill of the Balears and their partiality for that kind of weapon. pugnax is not usually used with an ablative, but cf. Hor. Od. 4. 6. 8, tremenda cuspide pugnax.

9. laxamenti: so in 10. 39. 9; for the fact, see ch. 11. 6.

10. uno tenore: see on ch. 47. 6; eodem, aequali, perpetuo tenore are also used; see ch. 15. 1. continue is ante and post classical. — ex quo: since the beginning of the first Punic war; see on 21. 50. 9.

11. gratia rei accepta: the Romans admitted their obligation for gratitude. The same idea as our colloquial "I am just as much obliged as if I had taken it."

12. dare dicare: note the alliteration and the asyndeton. See on 21. 10. 3. — volentem propitiamque: the conjunction often omitted with these words is here used to balance the next expression.

13. ad ** navium: the number has dropped out, but since the fleet of 25 ships sent to Vibo (see 21. 51. 6) had no doubt joined the fleet of the praetor Aemilius, there must have been at Lilybaeum 75 quinqueremes, which this addition raised to 100. This was a fleet
similar to that with which Servilius had made a descent upon Africa (see ch. 31. 1), but not large enough for decisive operations; see 21. 17. 3.

38. 1. paucos, but a few; see on 21. 4. 7.—venirent: for the subjunctive, see on 21. 8. 1.

2. nunquam antea: as in ch. 8. 6. The statement probably is taken from the jurist Coelius. Before this time the soldiers had been called upon to take only the military oath, sacramentum, of allegiance to the consuls; see 3. 20. 3, iussu abituros, etc. In addition to this the companies of cavalry and infantry made with themselves the voluntary compact given in § 4. This was now made a required oath and administered by the tribunes.

3. conventuros: a general promise, but here referring particularly to the assembling of Sempronius’ army at Ariminum; see on 21. 51. 6.—decuriatum: for forming into decuries. This word is not found elsewhere, and centurium only with the meaning of the “office of centurion” but Livy often uses words without parallel or for the first time; cf. i. 19. 2, desuetudo; 4. 10. 9, consulariter. Madvig reads ad decuriandum aut centuriandum, since in the early language the gerund was used passively, e.g. ad imperandum, “to receive orders,” Sall. Jug. 62. 8; Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 9. 25. 2, aedes ad imperandum. —coniurabant = una iurabant. They took the oath in their divisions.

4. fugae atque formidinis: standing combination; see 10. 14. 20; Cic. ad Att. 8. 14. 1.—ergo: an antiquated word, used in laws, resolutions of the senate, and inscriptions, and in the phrase virtutis ergo; always postpositive. —sumendi: from supplies in the rear. —repetendi: from the enemies’ ranks, or the space in front where they had fallen. —civis, comrade.

38. 6—40. The consuls go to the seat of war.

6. priusquam: takes up the thread of ch. 36. 6.—denuntiantis: the verb does not have here its usual meaning of threatening, or disclosing a secret, but, in recalling the thought of ch. 34. 4, that of “openly and loudly saying”; so in ch. 39. 8; 49. 3.—arcessitum: perhaps referring to the advantage in assuming the offensive, which Hannibal gained from the delay of the Romans in declaring war, due largely to Fabius, and perhaps from the delay, very excusable as it was, of Scipio’s departure to Spain in 218.
8. pridie quam: construed like praequam.
9. qui, how; an old locative form, parallel to the ablative quo.
   — locorum situm: the more special idea; the ground with refer-
   ence to the position of both armies before and during the battle.
   — naturam regionis: the character of the country with reference to
   means of communication and provisioning. — praedicere: exag-
   geration, since this thought is not contained in § 7.
11. quam homines rebus: added solely for the antithesis, the
    thought being that men must be controlled by circumstances, and
    not vice versa.— satis: a favorite word with Livy in the sense of
    “very,” but here rather weakening, implying that the wisest of
    plans were of uncertain issue. We put the emphasis on the verb,
    “he hoped,” etc.
12. ad id locorum: temporal, equivalent to ad hoc tempus, as in
    25. 19. 11; 43. 5. 4.— sua sponte apparebat, it was self-evident;
    sua sponte is often used of events, and of self-evident facts; cf. 2.
    23. 2, invidiam sua sponte gliscentem, and see on 21. 62. 3.
13. fertur: because the following speech was composed by Livy;
    see on ch. 39. 3.
39. 1. Si... Nunc: see on 21. 13. 2, where, as here, the condi-
    tion is followed by nunc adversative.— conlegae: for the genitive,
    see on 21. 54. 3.— oratio: here and in § 3 sermo would have been
    expected, as in ch. 40. 4, but Livy finds a speech and a reply better
    adapted to the rhetorical and artistic character of his work.
2. boni... mali: conditional, if they were good or bad.—indic-
    cente: archaic, as in Ter. Ad. 507, analogous to inopinans, insperans,
    as in 27. 48. 14. Negative in is never compounded with verbs, and
    in classical Latin usually only with perf. pass. partic. and adja-
    ctives.— fide vestra, the dictates of your own consciences. Tatham;
    see on 21. 34. 3.
3. altera parte claudente (= claudicante), lame on one side; so
    Nep. Agesil. 8. 1, claudus altero pede.
4. nescio: the opposition of the first person to the second (erras)
    is sufficiently expressed without a particle like inmo. The student
    may well note the use of comparison and antithesis in this speech.
    Varro is first shown to be weaker than Hannibal in ability, then to
    be more violent than Flamininus. This violence will endanger the
    advantages of the Romans, which are contrasted seriatim (§§ 11-
with the disadvantages of the Carthaginians, in which contrast the repeated asyndeta produce a kind of climax. The close is an appeal on moral grounds that Paulus should be the superior of Varro.

5. *legiones*: see on *praerogativa* 21. 3. 1. — *equitibus*: there was no permanent division of the troops, as in ch. 27. 9, since the command alternated between the consuls; see ch. 41. 3. *equitibus* stands first since Livy has in mind Aemilius' command of the cavalry at Cannae; see ch. 45. 8; 49. 3.

6. *tuis militibus*: by making them disaffected. — *furere*: for the occasion, see ch. 3. 9. This word denotes a fierce but passing frenzy, while *insaniere* implies a state of madness, but the words are often interchanged.

7. *procellas*: join with *ciet, proelia* with *iactando*. Such talk is not in accordance with Varro's assurance of finishing the war in a single day; see ch. 38. 7. — *proelia . . . iactando*: cf. Prov. 26. 18, "Madman casteth firebrands, arrows, and death." — *iuentutem, soldiery; iuenis*, meaning the man of the age for military service, was the common synonym for soldier.

8. *quod . . . denuntiat*, as *he* loudly declares; for *denuntiare*, see on ch. 38. 6. — *hoc genus*: this defensive system. — *erit*: prophecy *ex eventu*.

9. *gloriandi*: for the construction, see on 21. 43. 9. — *adversus = coram*, to one person instead of in the presence of the senate or people. — *ratio, system*: different from the *ratio, deliberate judgment*, of § 10.

10. *iste*: the parenthesis expresses better than would a relative clause the scorn of this method of judging by results. — *eadem*: not parallel with *hoc*, but belongs to *ratio*. — *futura*: more emphatic than *erit*, and at the same time intensified by the alliteration.


13. *inter . . . infestaque*, where *everything is unfriendly and dangerous*; for *omnia*, cf. ch. 6. 5, and see on 21. 32. 9. — *procul ab domo*: Livy does not say, as the strong antithesis would lead one to expect, that the Carthaginian government could not, or would not, support Hannibal, for that would conflict with 21. 49. 2, but
he refers to the difficulty of transportation. That the home support of Hannibal was very weak is shown by 23. 14. 1, \textit{haec ut in secundis rebus segniter otioseque gesta.}

14. \textit{in diem rapto: }for the fact, see ch. 40. 8; \textit{rapto} is abl. of means. — \textit{tertiam: }Hannibal had lost fully two-thirds of the army with which he set out (see 21. 40. 7), but his reinforcements of Gauls had raised his army to much more than a third of its original number; cf. 21. 23. 1 with ch. 46. 6. — \textit{fame:} Fabius refers not merely to the passage of the Alps, but to the scarcity into which he boasted that he had brought Hannibal; see ch. 11. 4. The same alliteration occurs in 23. 19. 17. — \textit{victus: }for the fact, see ch. 40. 8. — \textit{suppeditat = suppedit, superest, intransitive always in Livy; cf. 1. 55. 7; 26. 45. 1.}


16. \textit{pro Gereonii... moenibus: }in order to hold it; see ch. 23. 9; \textit{ante} would mean that he was besieging it. — \textit{adversus: }the idea here, in distinction from § 9, is that he does not fear that Paulus will object to his statements, but he prefers to bring the consuls forward as witnesses.

17. \textit{ludificati: }synonymous with \textit{eludere; }see on ch. 18. 3 and 9.

18. \textit{cupiet: }stronger than \textit{volent. }— \textit{adversus, etc.: }join with \textit{firmus; }so \textit{firmus adversus convicia, largitionem, etc.}

19. \textit{aiunt: }often of proverbial expressions, as in 7. 13. 7, \textit{compressis, quod aiunt, manibus sedere;} Cic. Lael. 5. 19, \textit{pingui Minerva, ut aiunt. }The figure of \textit{laborare} is of an eclipse. — \textit{vanam: }forms the antithesis to \textit{veram, }as 28. 25. 2, and often.

20. \textit{timidum: }as Fabius had himself experienced; see ch. 12. 12. — \textit{perito belli: }because experience is important in a general. Elsewhere \textit{fortis} makes the contrast to \textit{imbellis.}

21. \textit{fortuna: }which Fabius so greatly scorned that he declared that even Scipio was a mere \textit{routinier. }— \textit{tuae: }favorable to you, as often \textit{suo with loco, tempore, }as in 1. 56. 8; 2. 23. 5.

40. 1. \textit{Adversus ea, in reply. }— \textit{oratio: }see on ch. 39. 1. — \textit{haud sane: }for the meaning, see on 21. 2. 4.

2. \textit{intolerabilem: }see ch. 27. 1. — \textit{virium atque auctoritatis, control and influence. }If the armies were not divided, one consul
could exercise only a moral restraint upon the other during the latter's authority; see ch. 45. 5.

3. semustum: like ambustus; see on ch. 35. 3. — evenirent: preferably used of favorable events, and therefore joined with bene, feliciter, prospere, as in ch. 38. 11; 21. 21. 9. — caderet: here equivalent to accideret or incideret; cf. 35. 13. 9, si quid adversi casurum foret. — caput: with a play on the legal meaning of the word, as in capitis diminutio.

4. Ab, immediately after, as in 21. 16. 5; 23. 6. 1; 26. 15. 5. — sua, his devoted. — conspectior: because conspicus has no comparative. — dignitates, men of distinction; so Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 4. 8. 2, dignitates hominum; cf. our "celebrities," and see Näg. § 14. — deessent: stronger than abessent (not present in the crowd), meaning that the attendants of Varro included no prominent personages known for official honors.

5. bifariam: not binis, as in ch. 44. 1, since the existing camp was only enlarged and one new camp formed. — propius: a proposition; see on 21. 1. 2. — omne robur: descriptive addition to pars, meaning that the great bulk of the army was in this camp, those in the other forming but a small fraction.

6. excusantem, offering as a ground for excuse; cf. 26. 22. 5, valetudinem oculorum excusavit; similarly defendere, "to offer in justification," as in 21. 18. 2. Polybius' statement that M. Attilius remained with the army and fell at Cannae rests apparently upon a confusion of his name with that of the former master of horse, spoken of simply as "Marcus." In 23. 21. 7, Livy mentions Attilius as commissioner for dedicating a temple.

7. auctas . . . cernebat: from the size of the camp, but see ch. 41. 5. — mire: more commonly mirum in modum or mirifice.

8. superabat: different from ch. 25. 17, and equivalent to superesse. as in ch. 49. 5, and 29. 24. 11, qui superabant ex Canneusi exercitu. — erat: the imperfect because Hannibal's risk was a continuous one; see on 21. 28. 4.

9. Hispanorum: they had the least interest in the defeat of the Romans. — parata fuerit: for the construction, see on 21. 1. 2, and cf. ch. 37. 2. The suppressed conclusion of si . . . foret is transissent.

41–44. An engagement. March from Gereonium and Larinum to Cannae.
41. 1. **Ceterum**: as in 21. 5. 1; 57. 5, this word indicates that Livy turns to a new authority (Valerius Antias?), from whom ch. 41 and 42 are taken as well as the conclusion of ch. 40, which forms the transition. This use of two authorities accounts for the repetition in ch. 43 (after Coelius?) of Hannibal's intended retreat to Gaul (ch. 32. 3), the threatened desertion of the Spaniards, the attempt of Hannibal to steal away, and the reconnaissance of Statilius.—**consulis**: the expression is harsh, since in ch. 40. 6, Livy had spoken of both consuls, but his authority had just before spoken of Varro.—**praedoribus**: the Carthaginians.—**procursu** and **iussu** are causal with **orto**, which is connected to **tumultuari** by **ac** as a complementary explanation.—**ex praeparato**: for this use of the adjective, see on 21. 32. 7.—**haudquaquam par**: as in ch. 18. 4; 28. 13.

2. **Ad . . . septingenti**: *ad* is adverbial only when *mille* or *milia* precedes the hundreds; cf. ch. 54. 1; 21. 22. 3; 48. 2; 3. 15. 5; 4. 59. 7; otherwise *ad* is a preposition, as in ch. 50. 11.—**non . . . occisis**, while not more than a hundred Romans and allies fell. Livy often uses the abl. abs. with the perf. pass. part. in an aoristic sense, to add an accompanying circumstance that is really co-ordinate to the main statement (cf. 21. 1. 5; 5. 4; 37. 4), the subject of the abl. abs. being different from that of the main clause; A. & G. 255, d. 5; G. 409, R. 2; II. 431, 1.

3. **cuius . . . erat**: an addition of Livy's, since at that time (ch. 41. 42) Paulus and Varro had a joint command; see § 1, *imperatorum*; § 9, *locis*; ch. 42. 3, *duerent*; § 12, *consules potentes*. Polybius, 3. 110 states that it was the custom when both consuls were in the field for them to command on alternate days.—**alternis**: see *diebus* from the preceding *die*, as in ch. 27. 6; generally it means "alternately" with *vicibus* supplied.—**emissum . . . e**: see on 21. 48. 6.

4. **haud aegerrime**: *haud* with a superlative is very rare, perhaps only here in Livy. W.—**inescatam**: cf. 41. 23. 8, *cum ferae bestiae cibum ad fraudem suam posuitum plerumque aspernentur et refugiant, nos caeci . . . inescamur."

6. **fortunae publicae**: especially the military chest, which could not have been full, since in ch. 43. 3 the soldiers were clamoring for their overdue pay, but also the unsold plunder, as *privatae*
was what the soldiers had kept for themselves or received in the division. Their personal valuables had been left in Spain; see 21. 60. 9.

7. trans, behind; see on ch. 43. 7.

8. impedimenta: whatever was necessary for military operations, and hence not contradictory to § 6.

9. sicut: refers only to falsa imagine (cf. ch. 16. 6, ludibrio ocularum), not to castrorum. In the spring of 217 also, according to Zonaras, 8. 25, Hannibal sought to conceal from the Romans his departure to Etruria by a stratagem. — locis. their positions. Plural with reference to the two camps; see ch. 40. 50; 44. 1.

42. 1. stationes: the Carthaginian pickets stationed in front of the camps. — admirationem: for the meaning, see on ch. 30. 1.

2. nuntiantium: depends on concursus. Livy often uses two words having the same form in such a way as to leave the meaning in doubt, as in 21. 17. 9; ch. 9. 6. — reliquerint: for the construction, see on 21. 1. 2. — quoque = ut eo: the adverbial part eo modifying obscurior, see on ch. 2. 10. — obscurior: separated from the modifying adverb quo, as in 2. 60. 1. So also eo, multo, tanto, quam, tam, etc., are often separated from the words they modify, as in 21. 2. 6; 24. 40. 14; Cic. Lael. 3. 10.

3. signa proferri: so in ch. 29. 2. — protinus, on the way; as in ch. 50. 11; 28. 13. 4.

4. etiam atque etiam: better join with dicere; see on ch. 13. 4. Paulus was compelled repeatedly to urge caution against the noisy haste of his colleague. — Marium: a Latinized Oscan name; see 23. 7. 8; 35. 13. — praefectum: the common title of the commander of the allied infantry, and also of the cavalry, as in 8. 7. 1. — exploratum: absolutely like inexplorato in ch. 4. 4, see note; elsewhere commonly with a dependent clause like ubi hostes esset, quid agatur; see 31. 3. 6; 33. 7. 4. — mittit: Paulus thus had independent action, cf. iussit, § 8; though in the alternation of the days of command this day was Varro's (see ch. 41. 2).

5. cum cura, carefully, with exactness; cf. a similar construction in 23. 11. 6; 31. 15; 33. 8.

6. cara, valuables; see on 21. 60. 9. — in promptu: exposed to view, as in 25. 29. 9.

7. accenderunt, only kindled; see on 21. 4. 7. — signum: that with the trumpet; see on 21. 59. 4.
8. *sua sponte*: independently of the omens. — *cunctanti*: hesitating to join his colleague as he marched out. — *auspicio*: in the sense of *auspicanti* (27. 16. 15), which is avoided for its nearness to *cunctanti*. The auspices were inseparable from the *imperium* (see ch. 30. 4; 28. 9. 10), but on the days of Varro’s command Paulus had *auspicia minora*. — *non addixissent*, had not been favorable, because they would not eat the offered food; see 1. 36. 3; 10. 40. 4. — *nuntiari*: for the more definite *obnuntiari*, used when augurs or magistrates prevented a course of action by announcing unfavorable omens. *qui malam rem nuntiat, obnuntiat, qui bonam, adnuntiat*; nam *proprie obnuntiari dicuntur augures, qui aliquid mali ominis . . . viderant*; Donatus, Ter. Ad. 547.

9. *primo Punico bello*: join with *clades*; accepta understood; see 21. 11. 3. — *memorata*: for the word, see on ch. 7. 1. — *clades*: a specially analogous case, since in the defeat at Drepanum Claudius had defied the omens, for when the chickens had refused to eat he ordered them to be thrown overboard, saying that if they would not eat they should drink.

10. *prope*: “it might almost be said.” — *forte*, providentially; stands in opposition to human striving (*de industria*, ch. 46. 8; *consilia*, ch. 49. 14), and to immediate divine interposition (*divinitus*, 1. 4. 4), and implies only that the two prisoners had not escaped in order to warn the Romans of their danger. Yet in *prope* Livy hints at the divine ordering.


12. *potentes*: the diminished authority of Paulus, though shown by no definite act, is to be inferred from the conduct of Varro. — *apud eos*: the soldiers under his command for whose favor he was bidding.

43. 1. *nequiquam*, without accomplishing anything = *infecta re*; cf. ch. 1. 1; 47. 9; 9. 9. 14; 21. 37. 1; 28. 17. 14.

2. *in dies*: used with comparatives and words implying increase, decrease, or change (see on 21. 25. 14; cf. ch. 39. 15); hence with *novas* and *novare*, as 35. 42. 8; 44. 8. 3. — *conluvione omnium gentium*, the offscouring of all nations, i.e. of every kind, civilized and barbarous; cf. 28. 12. 3, *ex conluvione omnium gentium, quibus non lex, non mos, non lingua communis, alius habitus, alia vestis, alia arma, alii ritus, alia sacra, alii prope dei essent.*
3. **exposcentium**: note the repeated endings in *m*; cf. ch. 59, 16. — **annonam**, scarcity; cf. 2. 51. 2, super bellum annonam premente. — **primo, postremo**: not a variation on *initio* . . . *deinde*, but implies other complaints not mentioned by Livy. — **fama** . . . **dicitur**: these statement have been made before as undoubted, but the author, whom Livy here follows, gave them with caution, or else Livy himself had come to distrust them. Appian, Hann. 17, says, "fearing that his mercenaries would desert because their pay was overdue."

4. **ita ut**: of closer definition, *in such a way that*: different from ἕως τε, so that.

5. **consilia**: Hannibal’s. — **habitus**: the soldiers’. — **messibus**: dative; cf. 2. 5. 3, seges farris natura messi. — **transfugia**: first found in Livy (W.), several times in Tacitus. — **levibus ingeniis**: refers particularly to the Spaniards (see ch. 21. 2), but perhaps also to the Gauls (see ch. 1. 3).

6. **similiter**: shows like *par priori* and *eundem* in § 7, that Livy was aware that he had stated a similar event, but that he regards it as a different one. — **par priori**: refer from the connection to ch. 41. 9, but in Livy’s authority probably to the stratagem of the year 217; see ch. 16. 6.

7. **ultra**: indicates a point or place beyond which one passes, hence often used with the names of towns in accounts of marches; while *trans* indicates a boundary, mountain, stream, or wall, as in ch. 41. 7, but cf. 21. 5. 3; and for *ultra*, 26. 25. 17; 40. 41. 10.

8. **omnes**: all in the military council, consisting of *legati*, *tribuni*, *praefecti*, to whom would be referred all important questions, such as a change in the base of operations. — **Servilium**: Atilius was no longer with the army; see ch. 40. 6.

9. **ex . . . sententia**: as in ch. 9. 11, often associated with *consilii*. — **nobilitandas, for making famous**: cf. *nobilis* in ch. 7. 1; 39. 8, and *nobilitas* in 50. 1. — **Cannas**: Kάννα in Polybius, Kάννα in Strabo. — **urgente fato**: so in 5. 22. 8, after Verg. Aen. 2. 653.

10. **posuerat**: according to Polybius, Hannibal had gone to Apulia before the new consuls left Rome. Livy does not allude to the statement of Polybius that Hannibal had captured the magazine of the Romans at Cannae, lest by so doing he should weaken his favorite representation that the Carthaginians lacked
supplies; see ch. 11. 4; 39. 14; 40. 9; 43. 3.—Volturno: the Euros of the Greeks, the present Sirocco, an east-southeast wind; see Seneca, Quaest. Nat. 5. 16; vento is added because there is also a river of that name; see ch. 15. 4. The name is from voltur (vulture), or according to later explanation from the mountain Voltur in Apulia.—siccitate: cf. Hor. Od. 3. 30. 11, pauper aquae Daunus.

11. pulvere: cf. ch. 46. 9. According to Zonaras, Hannibal ploughed the ground in order to increase the dust.

44–50. 3. Battle of Cannae, mainly after Polybius, 3. 110–117, but with additions from Roman sources, especially ch. 49.

44. 1. Poenum: in the first instance Hannibal is meant, in the second the word is collective. hostem would have been better than the second Poenum. The collective singular of names of peoples occurs in prose only in Livy and later writers. Sallust uses collectively only hostis, miles, pedes, and Maurus, Namidu (= Bacchus), Iugurtha.—ventum est . . . habebant: for the impersonal construction, see on 21. 35. 4; and for its association with the personal, cf. ch. 14. 3.—intervallo: according to Polybius, the lesser camp was about a mile from the larger one, and a little farther from the enemy, but in ch. 40. 5, no distance is mentioned.—sicut . . . divisis: means only that the troops were unequally divided between the two camps; see ch. 40. 6. Polybius places one-third in the smaller camp.

2. Aufidius: so Plutarch, Fab. 15, perhaps in confusion with the Roman gentile name, elsewhere Aufidus.—amnis: because it is the most important stream of Apulia.—ex sua cuiusque opportunitate, as the opportunity offered; i.e. each had to seize the opportunity as best he could.

3. trans Aufidium: for convenience of foraging and obtaining water.—aquabantur: Zonaras, 9. 1, says that Hannibal rendered the water of the river unserviceable by throwing corpses into it, and thus forced the Romans to a battle.

4. natis: the country north of the Aufidus is very flat, and to the south near Cannae and Barletta has only a few unimportant hills; see ch. 28. 6.—invictus: adjective; invincibilis is post-classical; see on ch. 7. 1, and see 21. 47. 1; Pol. 3. 10. 1.

5. discordia: betrays the Roman source; see ch. 41. 3.
6. *nullam . . . esse*, no fault of his; *penes* is used especially with *gloria, victoria, culpa, noxa est*; cf. 21. 46. 8; 35. 33. 3.—*velut usu cepisset*, had a prescriptive right; because he had been in Italy two years, the time allowed by the Twelve Tables for securing ownership by possession; see 1. 46. 1. Similar comparisons from law in 24. 1. 7; 26. 29; 4. 37. 5.

7. *proiectis ac proditis*: see on 21. 29. 3. It will be noticed that Livy joins synonymous expressions much more commonly in speeches, direct and indirect, than in simple narration.—*eventus*: here a *vox media*, "outcome," "fate," *fortuna, casus*. —*lingua prompta*: so 31. 44. 3; *lingua promptus*, 2. 45. 15, not merely of quick, ready-tongued speakers, but of one quick to speak in *malum partem*. Livy commonly uses the singular when the word means "speech" or "gift of speech." —*aeque*: without a corresponding *tam* in the first clause (though it is found in good Mss.) because the opposition is sufficiently expressed in *lingua* and *manus*.

45. 1. *altercationibus*: like the disagreement between Sempronius and Scipio, in 21. 53, of which Livy makes more than Polybius. —*ad multum diei, till late in the day*; so ch. 52. 1; 27. 2. 9; see on 21. 33. 7.

2. *ex . . . castris*: join with *aquatores*.

3. *clamore ac tumultu*, merely by their noisy shouting; *clamor* in opposition to *impetus* in 26. 2. 11.

4. *adeo*: added in accordance with Livy’s common usage; cf. 26. 11. 7; 32. 10. 7.—*auxilio*: elsewhere the singular usually has an abstract meaning, the plural a concrete; cf. 21. 22. 3, where both forms occur.—*iam etiam*: oftener *iam et*, as in ch. 48. 1.—*ea modo*: the same construction in 23. 4. 7.—*tenuert*: for the construction, see on 21. 1. 2.—*penes . . . fuerit, Paulus had*; cf. ch. 15. 8; 25. 14.—*fuerit*: instead of *fuit* by attraction to *tenuert*.

5. *cui*: instead of *cuius* (see ch. 41. 3) to avoid the succession of three genitives.—*diei*: the dependent genitive precedes the governing one.—*nihil . . . conlega*, without asking his advice in the least; cf. 9. 22. 4, *nihil consulto dictatore*. —*signum*: the red flag in front of the general’s tent.—*flumen traduxit*: neither Livy nor Polybius states on which bank the battle was fought, but it was undoubtedly on the northern, as may be inferred from the fact
that the Carthaginian camp facing the north (ch. 43. 10) naturally
opened toward the river and was thus on the south bank, and
that the Romans, who apparently crossed the river first, drew up
their lines facing the south, an arrangement which, if they had
crossed to the southern bank, would have left their rear exposed
to the subsequent advance of the Carthaginians.

6. habuerant: probably under the command of Servilius, as
in ch. 40. 6. — ita, as follows. — dextro: the usual position of the
Roman cavalry. According to Polybius, 3. 113. 5; 117. 2, and
Appian, 17, the Roman cavalry was a little over 6000 strong,
while according to ch. 36. 3, it would have been 7200, but incom-
plete enlistment, losses in the campaign and detachments for other
service may well have reduced the number.

7. intra: as adverb is equivalent to intus or introversus, "within"
or "toward the interior," but here with substantival force cor-
responding to laevum cornu, "the interior space." — facta: the
verb agrees with the predicate noun rather than with a remote
subject, especially if the predicate noun immediately precedes it.
A. & G. 204, b.; G. 202, H. 3; H. 462.

8. Gemino Servilio: see on 21. 11. 1, and cf. ch. 32. 1; 40. 6.
— pugna: for variation with acies. — tuenda: the idea of over-
sight, direction, not of defence; cf. 3. 70. 2; 27. 48. 4.

46. 1. luce prima: so in ch. 18. 2, and often, yet frequently
in reverse order, as in ch. 28. 8; see on 21. 21. 8. — quosque: the
plural indicating the separate divisions.

3. dextrum: on this side the river was not an obstacle to the
rapid evolutions of the Numidians, in which their chief strength
lay, though (ch. 48. 1) they seem to have made little use of them.
— firmata, composed of; cf. 21. 56. 2. Hannibal's relative weak-
ness in infantry justifies the abl. abs. instead of a finite verb.—
ita ut: see on ch. 43. 4. — utraque cornua: i.e. the side lines of the
infantry.

4. [magna ex parte]: doubtless an interpolation from the fol-
lowing line, since Polybius, whom Livy here follows, says that all
the Africans were thus armed. — et . . . ceterum: instead of et
. . . et; the opposition of the second clause is justified by magna
ex parte; cf. 21. 18. 4. — ad Trasumenum: for the fact; see on
ch. 9. 4.
5. *formae*: long and narrow, covering the whole body. — *dispares ac dissimiles*: in use and appearance. — *adsueto*: with inf. in 2. 6. 11; 23. 40. 10; with dat. in ch. 18. 3; 21. 16. 5; with *in aliquid* in 21. 33. 5; 24. 5. 9; in classical prose much more common than *consuetus*. — *Ante alios, above that of others*; cf. 25. 14. 13; 42. 60. 2, *ante alios Thracum insolens laetitia eminebat*. — *harum*: the unusual position after the noun is perhaps for euphony.

6. *nudi*: in 38. 21. 9, Livy says of the Gauls, *nudi pugnant et ... corpora ... quae nunquam nisi in pugna nudentur*. — *purpura*: the red was obtained partly from Carthaginian merchants (cf. Hor. Od. 2. 16. 35, *Afro murice*), and partly from the Balbaric Isles, where the snail was found from which it was made.

7. *Maharbal*: according to Polybius and Appian, Hannibal was stationed here. — *ipse*: in order to turn the charge of the Roman legions upon the other troops and save the Africans as far as possible; cf. 21. 56. 2. — *Magone*: see on 21. 47. 4.

8. *Sol ... erat*: in accord with Polybius. In the battle with the Cimbri at Vercellae the Romans had the advantage of the sun, which shone in the faces of their opponents; Plut. Marius, 26. — *locatis*: abl. abs.; sc. *exercitibus*.

9. *ventus*: Valerius Maximus, 7. 4. ext. 2; Frontinus, 2. 2. 7; Florus 1. 22. 16; Plut. Fab. 16, and Appian, Hann. 20. 22. 23, represent natural causes as having a large share in the Roman overthrow. Zonaras, 9. 1, speaks of a difficulty of breathing (see on ch. 43. 11), but Polybius does not consider it worth while to notice the stories. — *vocant*: the parenthesis without *eum*; cf. 1. 4. 5, *ficus ... (Romularem vocatum feruit)*. — *in ipsa ora*: see 21. 58. 3.

47. 1. *commissa*: this opening move of the battle, as at the Ticinus (see on 21. 46. 6), was completed by the retiring of the light armed between the ranks of the troops behind them. — *deinde*: the second stage was the advance of Hannibal’s heavy cavalry against the numerically inferior and weaker Roman cavalry. — *equestris more pugnae*: usually consisting of charge and evolution; see 21. 52. 11, and Sall. Jug. 59. 3, *equestri proelio, sequi, dein cedere*. The Romans probably chose their position in the expectation of an encounter that would partly offset their inferior cavalry force.

3. *nitentes*: synesis. — *vir virum amplexus*: ancient warfare presents many instances of cavalry dismounting, but it is to be
understood that slaves held the horses, or that a part of the cavalry troop itself performed this service; see 2. 20. 10; 21. 46. 6; 29. 2. 15. Cf. Caesar's account of the British chariots, B. G. 4. 33. — acrius: Polybius says that most of the Romans were killed in the struggle, and that the rest were cut down while fleeing along the river bank. That Paulus suffered this defeat neither Livy nor Polybius expressly mentions; see on ch. 49. 1.

4. peditum pugna: the third stage in the battle. — viribus et animis: a common combination for physical and moral vigor; cf. ch. 52. 4; 21. 55. 8. — constabant, held their ground: stronger than the simple stabant (21. 1. 10), referring to the maintaining of the line of battle.

5. diu ac saepe: exaggeration; Polybius says ἑπὶ βραχὺ. — conisi: used of heavy attacking columns, and therefore often joined with omnis, omnibus copis, etc.; cf. 3. 70. 5; 9. 31. 12. — obliqua fronte: the outside lines of the infantry had wheeled inward that they might better surround the crescent-shaped front of the Carthaginians, and thus their own front became concave. — acieque densa: the Roman lines were made unusually deep, perhaps owing to course of the river, which prevented an extended front, and thus the advantage of their superior numbers was largely lost.

6. tenore uno: a steady, uninterrupted advance; a popular form of speech; cf. Cic. Orat. 6. 21, uno tenore, ut aiunt; see on ch. 37. 10. — praeceps ... agmen, through the stream of those rushing back in headlong panic. praeceps often joined with verbs of motion is also used with substantives of corresponding verbal meaning, e.g. fuga, agmen. pavore is to be taken with praeceps; cf. 3. 15. 6, praecipites pavore. — medium ... aciem: the expression is obscure, since the Carthaginian infantry was not arranged like the Roman in three lines, but probably it is an inexact turn of Polybius' πεπνυμκωνότες ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα, the middle of the space first occupied by the Carthaginians. It is more fully explained in § 8. — subsidia: not reserves, but explained by qui ... constiterant. Polybius, 3. 113. 9, says that it was Hannibal's intention to have the brunt of the battle fall upon the Gauls and Spaniards, and to support them with the Africans.

8. pulsus: like inpellere, § 5. — circa: on both sides; see on 21.
43. 4. — ab tergo: they did not absolutely surround the Romans, whose three lines of hastati, principes, and triarii seem to have advanced, but pushed by the flanks so as to reach the rear. The enclosure was made afterward by the cavalry under Hasdrubal, but that it had not yet occurred is shown by the fact that Paulus joined the centre in ch. 49. 1.

10. fessi: exhaustion from wounds as well as weariness from fighting; cf. ch. 49. 5; 52. 2; 59. 4. The word often recurs in accounts of battles. Livy’s description of the battle is in the main clear. The thin Carthaginian centre, composed of Gauls and Spaniards, formed a crescent supported at each end by the Africans. The Roman charge broke in the crescent, and in their pursuit of the retreating line the legions passed by the Africans, who, facing in toward the centre, thus fell upon the flanks of the Romans, and by extending their lines compressed the Romans into the centre of a circle where their numbers were of no avail.

48. 1. The fourth point of the battle, though the action was contemporaneous with the second and third. The following stratagem is unknown to Polybius. — segne: according to Polybius the Numidians were unable either to rout or to inflict serious loss upon the allied cavalry that opposed them. For the expression, cf. § 5; 27. 2. 8. — fraude: for the explanation, see on ch. 21. 4. 9.

2. Numidae: Appian, Hann. 20, says they were Celtiberians. He further states that Hannibal concealed in a woody ravine a detachment of cavalry and light-armed troops, which after the battle had begun fell upon the rear of the Romans, — a repetition of the stratagem at the Trebia; see 21. 54.

3. in medium aciem: in Appian’s account this is perfectly clear, since the Celtiberians (foot-soldiers?) deserted to the Roman centre, and being received by Servilius, were sent to the rear of the infantry. Livy’s substitution of Numidians for Celtiberians necessarily transfers the scene to the right wing, and yet they appear (§ 4) in the rear of the Roman infantry. — considere: used especially of the triarii, cf. 8. 8. 10, triarii sub vexillis considabant; here to “find a place behind the line.”

4. occupaverat: so in ch. 15. 6. — scutis: according to Appian, those of fallen Roman foot-soldiers, so that as the Romans could not easily distinguish them from friends, their stratagem was all
the more successful. — *ac poplites* : cf. Hor. Od. 3. 2. 16, *nee par-cit inbellis inventae poplitibus timidoque tergo*. Note the fourfold use of *ac* within a few lines.

5. *alibi . . . alibi*: left wing and centre of the Romans. — *Has-drubal*: Livy’s account is here confused since he abandons Polybius in order (ch. 49) to take from a Roman source. Polybius clearly says that Hasdrubal, after his success on the left Carthaginian wing, passed around the legions to the help of the Numidians on the right. At his attack the allied cavalry broke and fled, and assuming command of all the Carthaginian horse, he despatched the Numidians in pursuit of the fugitives, and with his own heavy cavalry fell upon the rear of the Roman infantry. — *subductos . . . Numidas*: not the 500 Numidians as *ex media acie* seem to imply, but those in § 1, to whom the thought is carried back by *quia segnis . . . pugna*. It is difficult to explain *ex media acie* from Livy’s point of view, but it seems to imply, if in fact he was clear in his conception of the situation, that after the union of all the cavalry forces, the Numidians formed the centre flanked by the Gauls and Spaniards, and that from this centre they were now withdrawn. — *fugientis*: the allied cavalry, whose rout Livy has only obscurely indicated in *terror ac fuga*.

49. 1–3. The further progress of the battle is described by Livy from a Roman standpoint, which results in several discrepancies. According to Appian (after Fabius ?), Paulus commanded the infantry in the centre from the beginning of the battle, having about him a body-guard of 1000 picked cavalry-men, that he might support any threatened point. Here also he appears to have been wounded by a sling, but, according to Livy’s account, it is difficult to see how he could have received such a wound in the cavalry engagement on the right wing. Livy says that he often charged Hannibal and the Carthaginian infantry, protected by his mounted body-guard, though ch. 47. 3 represents the Roman cavalry as cut down or scattered. In order to harmonize these statements with those of Polybius, Livy should have stated, as Polybius does, that Paulus passed from the right wing to the centre. In a similar way, in the accounts of the battles at the Ticinus, the Trebia, and Lake Tra-sumennus Livy has joined to the statements of Polybius additions from Roman sources; see Dodge’s *Great Captains, Hannibal*. 
1. **Parte altera**: this does not well accord with the accounts of the battle thus far, since in ch. 47 and 48 the different parts of the battle-field are described, but perhaps Livy meant another part of the field than the one where Paulus first was. — **primo . . . proelio**: during the engagement of the light-armed troops.

3. **protegentibus**: of persons, as in 21. 46. 9. — **omissis**: cf. *omittere arma*, 21. 58. 3. — **denuntianti**: the word is used here with reference to the importance of the announcement. So generally in the older language and in the popular speech verbs compounded with *de* serve as intensives of their primitives. See on ch. 38. 6; cf. 60. 13, and Cic. de Or. 2. 63, 256. — **ad pedes descendere**, to dismount; Plutarch, Fab. 16, and Appian, Hann. 24, give a weaker version, saying nothing of a reported order to dismount, but representing the cavalry as acting on their impression of the consul's wish. — **ferunt**: Livy thus recognizes the statement as doubtful; cf. ch. 7. 13; 25. 19; 30. 10; 21. 2. 3. It does not appear in Polybius. — **quam mallem**: the remark is ironical, meaning that it would have been as well for them to have been surrendered, since now their death was sure. If they had remained on their horses they might have escaped; cf. *quam mallem*, 10. 19. 8; *quam vellem*, Cic. de Fin. 3. 3. 10; Ter. Ad. 532. Plutarch, misunderstanding, says, "This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot." — **traderet**: sc. **consul**.

4. **pellere . . . Pepulerunt**: showing that the rear was not entirely closed; see on ch. 47. 8.

6. **praetervehens**: elsewhere used by Livy of navigation only transitively, with *oram*, 21. 41. 3, *montes, portum, sinum*, etc. (see on ch. 20. 7); of riding only intransitively, *praevelli*, as in 10. 36. 6; 24. 44. 10.

7. **comes**: he would support him by mounting behind him.

8. **feceris**: for the construction, see on 21. 44. 6. — **sine hoc**: oftener *sine hac re*, since the neut. abl. sing. is liable to be confused with the masc. — **lacrimarum . . . luctus**: a common alliteration in other authors; cf. 6. 3. 4; similarly 25. 38. 8, *lamentis lacrimisque*.

9. **macte virtute**: cf. 23. 15. 14, usually joined with the imperative of *esse*; with the infinitive in 2. 12. 14. From the same stem as *magnus*, perhaps equivalent to *aucte*. Perhaps the word is a voca-

10. Abi, nuntia: usually with asyndeton; cf. ch. 3.13; 1.16. 7; 25. 38. 22, ite, corpora curate.—urbem Romanam: so ch. 32. 5; 37. 12; 21. 57. 1. For the order, see on ch. 9. 2; 55. 4.—priorsquam . . . advenit: present instead of future, as in ch. 50. 8; 2. 40. 5.

12. oppressere . . . obruere: the perfect form ere, avoided by Cicero, belongs to the older language, but occurs in historical writings, especially in descriptions of battles, since so much is taken from the annales maximi. In Sallust this form is regularly used in historical narration. —undique = ab omnibus partibus; cf. ch. 29. 5.—fugiunt: see on pellere, § 4.

14. quinquaginta: so. ch. 50. 3, and 23. 11. 9, but in a speech in 25. 6. 13, and in Pol. 3. 117, seventy is the number given.

15. Quadruginta quinque: the loss, according to Eutropius, 3. 10, was 40,000 infantry and 3500 cavalry; according to 25. 6. 13, and to Appian, 50,000; according to Quintilian, 8. 6. 26, 60,000; and according to Pol. 3. 117, about 70,000.—tantadem, equally great; a rare form, the classical writers employing only tantandem and the genitive tantidem, yet the jurists have tantandem summam, partem.—dicuntur: see on ferunt, § 3, and cf. § 18.

16. L. Atilius: not the consul of the year 217; see ch. 40. 6.—undetriginta: of the entire 48; see ch. 53. 1.—consulares: in apposition with tribuni militum. According to Eutropius, 3. 10, (perierunt) consules et praetorii XX, senatores capti aut occisi XXX, nobiles viri CCC. The periocha of this book states the loss as 90 senators and 30 ex-consuls, praetors or aediles.

17. sua voluntate: as volunteers = volentes; cf. ch. 38. 3, and see on 21. 39. 4.

50. 1. Haec . . . pugna: similar to ch. 7. 1.—Aliensi cladi: the famous battle with the Gauls, 390 B.C., whose anniversary was ever after marked as a dies ater in the calendar.—nobilitate: cf. ch. 43. 9, nobilitandas.

3. namque: occupies the second place, as in 2. 36. 4; 3. 44. 6, and elsewhere; so in Curtius and Tacitus, but not in Caesar, Cicero, or Sallust.—sicut . . . ita: as in 21. 35. 11.—prope totus: implies a larger loss than ch. 49. 15.

50. 4—54. 6. Surrender of the two Roman camps: condition of the fugitives. Independent of Polybius.
4. Binis: see ch. 44. 1. — semiernis: because a disorderly crowd (turba inbellis, 23. 16. 14) had been left in the camps, and the fugitives from the battle had thrown away their weapons; see ch. 49. 13; 52. 2; 54. 2. — ex laetitia: join with epulis; see § 3. — fatigatos: literal with proelio, figurative with epulis, equivalent to oneratos. gravatos (1. 7. 5, cum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset).

— Canusium: if the town was nearer the larger camp and this fact was the basis of the request of those in that camp, it is an additional reason for thinking that the larger camp was on the right bank.

5. venire: the rhetorical question is very frequent in the oratio obliqua: cf. ch. 34. 9; 40. 2. A. & G. 338; G. 654, 2; II. 523, II. 2. — coniungi: sc. sibi; passive, as in 21. 51. 7.

6. Sempronius Tuditanus: afterward aedile (see 24. 43. 8). According to Appian, Hann. 26, he was chosen leader by those in the larger camp, and thus speaks as commander. — avarissimo et crudelissimo: rhetorical phrases, cf. ch. 59. 14. — interroganti-bus: because the Romans were treated as prisoners, the socii were released, or ransomed at a lesser price; see on ch. 7. 5; 52. 8. — Latinus: adjective, added only for the antithesis, and with the same meaning as socius, since Livy does not intend to make a distinction between the Italian allies; see ch. 58. 2.

7. Non tua: where we should use an emphatic "no, not." The change from the plural to the singular and the use of tua and tu make the scene very vivid, as if the speaker had singled out an individual, perhaps one who was hesitating, and addressed him personally; sc. males. — bene, with honor; cf. 21. 42. 4.

8. antequam opprimit: see on ch. 49. 10. — maiora: "more numerous"; analogous to magnae copiae; cf. 21. 43. 3. — inordinati . . . inconpositi, with broken lines and disordered companies; these words are often joined, as in ch. 56. 2. — obstreptum: of the Numidians who rode back and forth with noisy shouts before the gates of the camp.

9. via fit: as in ch. 5. 2. The thought is a general one, since the necessity of breaking through the close lines of the enemy was not yet apparent. — quamvis per: for the position of the preposition, see on 21. 49. 11. — ut si: commonly velut si. — rem publicam salvam vultis: a common formula; cf. ch. 10. 2; 53. 7; 34. 25. 9.
10. haec ubi dicta dedit: a half-verse common in Vergil and other poets; but, though the hexameter is here continued even to the second line, it is not necessary to suppose that Livy took the verse directly from Ennius, since according to Fronto, Coelius had already borrowed much from that poet. — vadit: paints the composed bearing and the steady progress over the field of battle with its heaps of corpses.

11. Numidae: these had been sent in pursuit; see ch. 48. 2. — in dextrum: perhaps from Coelius, Frag. 22, dextimos in dextris scuta iubet habere. — ad sescentos: not ad sescenti; see on ch. 41. 2; cf. periere ad septingentos, 10. 33. 6; ad octingentos caesi, 28. 36. 13. According to Pseudo Frontin, 4. 5. 7, only 12 horsemen and 50 footmen followed the counsel of the tribunes Sempronius and Cn. Octavius (see 28. 38. 11). — protinus: see on ch. 42. 3; for events in the larger camp, see ch. 52. 4.

12. impetum: an instinctive impulse, a sudden determination, as in 26. 7. 3, in opposition to consilio, the conclusion reached after long reflection, as in 2. 57. 2; 42. 29. 11. — quos: one would have expected quem referring to impetum. Some were impelled by the strength of their character, some by their great need.

51. 1. bello: only in the later Latin does the word equal proelium; cf. 21. 8. 2. It implies that the campaign was virtually ended by this victory; see ch. 55. 2. — diei . . . esset, the rest of the day; about two hours. For the position of diei, cf. ch. 59. 4 and 26. 10. 10. For quietem, cf. ch. 9. 5; 21. 11. 3; 27. 6. — Maharbal: others ascribe the expression to a Barcas or to Mago. Coelius, in Gellius, 10. 24. 6, si vis mihi equitatum dare et ipse cum cetero exercitu me sequi, die quinto Romae in Capitolium curabo tibi cena sit cocta, et historiam autem et verbum hoc (this expression) sumpsit Coelius ex origine M. Catonis.

2. cessandum: as in 50. 2. — venisse: sc. te from sequere.

3. maior . . . quam . . . posset, too great to be at once comprehended. The emphasis is on statim: for the construction, see on 21. 29. 2. — temporis: so 23. 21. 5, quanti argenti opus fuit, a Graecism; cf. 26. 11. 4.

4. vincere . . . uti: note the simple infinitive with scire and nescire where we say "know how to do," etc. — satis creditur: so 21. 8. 3. This was not the belief of Livy's time merely, but Plutarch ascribes
Hannibal’s delay to a divine influence. In view of Hannibal’s comparative weakness in infantry, his lack of a siege train, the strength of the city’s walls, the season of the year when the heat developed malaria in the country about Rome, we may well believe that Hannibal’s judgment was wiser than Maharbal’s.

5. insistunt: elsewhere with the infinitive or dative; cf. 37. 60. 2; Tac. Hist. 3. 77, perdomandae Campaniae; often with vestigis. It paints the eagerness of the Carthaginians. Appian, Hann. 26, says that Hannibal went straightway from the battle to visit the fallen.

6. ut... iunxerat, under the grouping of chance; literally “as chance put one next to each one.” — pugna... fuga: instrumental abl. — stricta: the pain caused by the cold roused them from their torpor.

7. succisis... poplitibus: cf. ch. 48. 4. Perhaps Ennius had stated this as an act of Carthaginian cruelty; Annal. 8. 5, is (= iis) pernas succidit iniqua superbia Poeni, as many other similar acts were laid to Hannibal’s charge, e.g. Val. Max. 9. 2. ext. 2, captivos nostros prima pedum parte succisa relinquebat. All of these Livy justly and to his credit passes over as unauthentic. — cervicem: the earlier writers and also Cicero and Sallust use the word only in the plural; see on ch. 33. 6. — haurire: cf. 26. 13. 13, sanguinis hauriendi, 7. 10. 10, ventrem ictu. For the omission of the subject, cf. Hor. Od. 2. 3. 16, ferre iube.

8. superiecta: for the participle, see on 21. 1. 5. — interclu-sisse: for the meaning, see on 21. 58. 4.

9. convertit: sc. in se, as often. “The whole passage is strongly characteristic of Livy. Notice especially (1) the way in which Numida is grammatically, while the whole scene is logically, the subject of convertit; (2) the explanatory use of cum; (3) the two ablative absolute, manibus inutilibus and in rabiem ira versa, and (4) the use of laniando (cf. ch. 3. 10; 39. 9) instead of the present participle. In a modern language the sentence would wear a very different aspect, e.g. ‘But what amazed them most of all was the sight of a living Numidian lying under the body of a dead Roman. The ears and nose of the African were terribly mangled, for his enemy, when his hands could no longer hold his sword, had turned from rage to fury, and died tearing him with his teeth.’” Tatham.
— superincubanti: ἄπαξ εἰρημένον instead of insuper incumbenti (cf. ch. 2. 8) since Livy in general uses but few double compounds, mostly those with super and in, and these he usually avoids; cf. superincidido, 2. 10. 11; 23. 15. 13; superinsterno, 30. 10. 5, but insuper inpono, 21. 1. 5. — rabiem: the highest form of fury, the degree above ira; cf. 21. 48. 3; Hor. Od. 1. 15. 12, Pallas . . . rabiem parat; of wild beasts, 26. 13. 12; proverbial, rabies Saguntina, 31. 17. 5.— versa, changing, for which the intransitive vertere is also used.

52. 1. multum diei: for the meaning, see on ch. 45. 1.— bra-chio: an intrenchment either of earth or stone (cf. 31. 26. 8, marus qui brachiiς (τὰ σκέλη) duoibus Piraeum Athenis iungit), so called more with reference to its position than its construction. Its object here was to cut off the camp from its water supply; see ch. 59. 6.

2. Ceterum . . . deditio, since all were exhausted, they surrendered, etc.; Livy avoids his favorite abl. abs. to prevent the use of ab iis in the main clause, but cf. 1. 28. 10, admotis quadrigis, in currus earum illigat, and also to set omnibus in strong contrast to the division in the larger camp.

3. trecenis: abl. of price with pacti, interrupting the ut construction, though it is really co-ordinate with it, i.e. “they agreed to pay 300,” etc. The year before the ransom was set at 210 denarii; see ch. 23. 6. For the construction, see on 21. 41. 6.— servos: as in ch. 42. 11.— singulis . . . vestimentis: see on ch. 6. 11.— traditi: Polybius gives a different account, saying that Paulus left 10,000 men in camp with orders to attack the Carthaginian camp during the battle. This they did and were almost successful, when Hannibal, returning after the battle was decided, drove them back to their own camp, where they surrendered only after a stubborn resistance in which they lost 2000 men.— seorsum = sevorsum, as prorsum = provorsum, etc., in late Latin often wrongly seorsum.

4. Dum . . . interea: see on 21. 29. 1.— virium: “bodily strength,” as the opposition of sauciis shows.

5. si quid: not in a belittling sense, as in 21. 37. 4. erat is omitted owing to its proximity in the parenthesis.— facto: plate for table use.— omnis cetera: only here in Livy in this order, instead of cetera omnis; cf. ch. 20. 6; 24. 22. 15, analogous to reli-
qua, alia omnia. "Cicero twice has omnium ceterarum, De Fin. 5. 20. 57; De Or. 2. 17. 72." Capes. — diripienda: one would have expected militi, since this word is better suited to castra.

6. sepeliendi: used both of burial (humare), in the law of the X11 Tables, hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito, and of cremation (cremare, comburere) in S. 24. 16, sepultum ossaque ad hostes remissa. — dicuntur: leaving Polybins, who says that 4000 Gauls, 1500 Spaniards, and 200 horsemen fell. — fortissimorum: all who fell were veteran troops, not that there were 8000 of these besides others. — conquisitum: Hannibal's custom with honorable foes; see ch. 7. 5; 25. 17. 4; 27. 28. 1.


53. 1. de legione: often in such connection instead of a genitive. The failure to mention the other five legions is noticeable.

3. admodum adulscen tem: now nineteen years of age; see on 21. 46. 7. Appian, Hann. 26, states that Varro, having collected the scattered remnant of his forces, gave the command to Scipio and set out for Rome. — summa imperii: the two had the authority that belonged to the consul who had not yet come to Camusium; see ch. 54. 1.

4. inter paucos: not a regular council of war. — summa rerum, the condition of the state; see on 21. 16. 2. — nequiquam . . . fovere, it was useless for them to nourish a hope which was already destroyed; the figure of fovere is from the care of the sick; that of desperatam from the giving up of a sick man by the physician, and of complo-ratam from mourning for the dead; cf. ch. 55. 3 and 7.

5. quorum = et corum; esse is to be supplied as the clause is a parenthesis. A. & G. 336, c.; G. 638; II. 524, 1, 1. — L. Caecilium Metellum: in 24. 18. 3 and 27. 11. 12 he is called Marcus. — mare ac naves: as in ch. 19. 7; 21. 32. 2. — ad regum aliquem: to serve as mercenaries. So Plautus, Trin. 598, 599, says of a young man who has lost his home, Ibit . . . Latrocinatum, aut in Asian aut in Ciliciam, and 722, aliquem ad regem . . . erus se coniexit meus.

6. praeterquum: Livy uses praeterquam with a single word oftener than praeterquam quod with a clause; cf. 4. 17. 6; 30. 6. 4. — stupore ac miraculo: hendiadys, as 1. 59. 2, stupentibus mira-
culo; miraculo = malum normum. — torpidos: "senseless," "powerless to act"; of those sunk in sleep. 25. 38. 17; here of a condition to which stupor is antecedent, as in 9. 10. 2, stupor ac velut torpor quidam membra tenet; the adjective is thus proleptic, ita defixit ut ex stupore torpido essent. — fatalis, appointed by fate; so 30. 28. 11; cf. 21. 46. 8.

7. audendum atque agendum: as in ch. 14. 14.—ait: emphasizes Scipio's statement more than if the affirmative were to be supplied by zeugma from the preceding negat, as is often the case.

8. ea = talia.

9. Pergit ire: corresponding to irent extemplo, § 7; see on ch. 19. 4.

10. ex mei animi sententia, on my soul; sc. iuro. The formula of an oath, according to Cicero, De Off. 3. 29. 108, quod ex animi tui sententia iuvaris, sicut verbis concipitur more nostro, different from ex sententia, to one's satisfaction. Before ut . . . patiar, supply ita me di ament or iucnet, the antithesis to § 11, pessimo leto; see on ch. 59. 17. patiar is future.

11. si sciens fallo: for the usage, see on 21. 45. 8; Cic. Acad. Pr. 47. 146, maiores primum iuvaris "ex sui animi sententia" quemque voluerunt; deinde ita teneri, "si sciens fallever." — tum me: conclusion to si fallo; cf. ch. 10. 2 and 1. 24. 8 in the formula of a treaty; preferable to the reading tu me of the later Mss. referring to ut ego.

12. postulo: since he had first bound himself by an oath.


54. 1. Venusiam: the birthplace of Horace, made a Roman colony in 292 B.C., as Canusium was in 318 B.C.

2. per: distributive, as in 21. 55. 1.—benigne: the common expression of hospitality; cf. 2. 14. 8; 35. 6; also comiter, 29. 22. 2; more closely defined by curandos; see on 21. 31. 1.—togas: the dress of peace, in opposition to the military cloak, sagum (cf. ch. 38. 9), yet worn by officers and knights in garrisons, and even in the field. The tunic was supplied to the common soldiers; hence in army supplies mentioned in 29. 36. 3, and 44. 16. 4, the proportion of togas to tunics is \( \frac{1}{6} \) and \( \frac{1}{3} \) respectively. — quinos vicenos: according to Polybius, 6. 39, the pay of a knight was one denarius a day; that of a foot-soldier \( \frac{1}{3} \) as much. The gifts here made,
counting the clothing, were in the same proportion and amounted to about a month’s pay for each man, the knight receiving about $4.85 in money.—pediti: the association of the dative and in with the accusative occurs also in 35. 40. 6, and 45. 34. 5.

4. multitudo: the numbers increased from day to day, as implied in et iam . . . erant, and this is the explanation of gravius.

6. consularis exercitus: reckoned as two legions. These legions were afterward known as legiones Cannenses. They were sent to Sicily, and as a penalty made to do garrison duty during the remainder of the war; see 23. 25. 7; 24. 18. 9.—moenibus . . . armis, behind fortifications if not in the open field.—certe, etsi: analogous to 2. 43. 8, etsi non adhortatio . . . saltem flagitium . . . cogere potuit, but elsewhere Livy employs etsi only in short negative concessive expressions in connection with adjectives and participles; cf. 27. 40. 9, gaudium meritum certe etsi non honestum; with substantives he uses only si non; cf. ch. 29. 11; 21. 41. 8, respireret si non patriam victam, domum certe.—defensuri, in the condition to defend. A. & G. 293, 2; G. 279; II. 549, 2.

54. 7—57. Affairs in Rome. The account is taken from a Roman source.

7. occidione occisum: of utter overthrow; so in 2. 51. 9; 3. 10. 11; 4. 58. 9, and often; cf. 29. 27. 3, auctibus auxitis.

8. salva urbe: the terrible day of the battle on the Allia is thus excluded since the city was then destroyed; see ch. 50. 1. The terror Cimbricus was less, since the Cimbri were farther away, and not so great an army was destroyed.—ne = nedum, not to; “this usage arises from the prevention of the occurrence of the greater event being rhetorically regarded as the purpose of the occurrence of the less event.” Roby, 1658; A. & G. 317, c. Rem.; G. 484. R. 2; H. 483, 3, n.; cf. 3. 52. 9.—neque, also not. Livy could hardly have surpassed his description of the state of Rome on the receipt of the news of the defeat at Trasumennus; see ch. 7. He doubtless felt the difficulty of a second description, but at the same time his refusal to say more is a skilful rhetorical device by which he leaves the details of the picture to the reader’s imagination, and yet gives it a basis upon which to work in the following comparison between Trasumennus and Cannae.—edissertando: a complete detailed description. The word is ἄπαξ εἰρημένον in good
prose, but, like *dissertare*, is ante- and post-classical; the classical word is *edisserere*; as in 27. 7. 4.—**minora vero**: like the frequent *maiora vero*; ch. 21. 32. 7; 27. 44. 10.

9. **multiplex**: see on ch. 36. 1. Appian, Hann. 25, states that the loss of the Romans and their allies thus far in the war was nearly 100,000 men. Livy says that this defeat was not simply a second one, but was like the death wound of a gladiator following a previous but not deadly wound.—**castra**: armies in the field. There were garrisons in Rome and other places. The clause depends on a verb to be supplied from *vintiabantur*.

10. **mole**: more vivid than *tum gravi clade*; the adjective *molestus* is not used in this sense.

11. **Sardinia**: not immediately after the conclusion of peace, but by a supplementary article to the treaty in 238 B.C.; hence the Romans regarded it as the result of the war; see on 21. 1. 5; 40. 5.—**vectigalis**: for the meaning, see on 21. 41. 7.—**nisi quod**: yet there was an essential difference in the two cases.

55. 1. **praetores**: see ch. 35. 5.—**curiam Hostiliam**: built by Tullus Hostilius (see 1. 30. 2); it was the oldest, and till the time of Caesar, the most common meeting-place of the senate.

2. **dubitabant**: often used by Livy and Nepos as a *verbum sentiendi* with the accusative and infinitive, but in Caesar, and Cicero it is followed by quin.

3. **sicuti . . . ita, as . . . as**, differing from *ut . . . ita*, indeed . . . but; cf. 23. 34. 12.—**obstreperet**: the preposition implies that the deliberation of the senate was disturbed by the noise.—**facto**: abl. abs. with subject supplied from the context, *qui vivi, qui mortui essent*; cf. ch. 4. 4.

4. **expeditos**: cf. *inigros*, § 6.—**Appia via**: the usual order, as in ch. 1. 12, and as always in prose *sacra via*; cf. 2. 13. 11. On the contrary, adjectives of four syllables are commonly post-positive with *via*; cf. 36. 8, *via fornixata*; ch. 11. 5, *via Flaminia*; 3. 52. 3, *via Nomentana*.—**obvios**: used as a substantive; see on ch. 7. 11.

5. **miseriti**: this participle occurs in 27. 33. 11, but its personal use is rare.—**Romani nominis**, Roman soldiers, as often *Latini nominis*.—**proelium**: of uncertain derivation, and commonly used of unimportant engagements, hence modified by such adjectives as
lere, tumultuarium; but cf. 2. 19. 5, proelium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocios, and Seneca, Controv. 5. 7, proelium Cannense.
— paret . . . agat: see on 21. 7. 1.

6. iuvenes: here equivalent to equites, as often in the earlier books; cf. 2. 20. 11; 3. 61. 7; 10. 28. 7.— illud, the following action; explained by the clauses with ut. The city was declared to be in a state of siege.— tumultum ac trepidationem: for the alliteration, see on 21. 4. 2; terror ac tumultus are also frequent.— intra . . . limen: Plutarch, Fabius, says that funeral rites were to be performed within the houses, and mourning restricted to thirty days; see ch. 56. 5.

7. familiarum: the slaves.— exspectent: change of subject instead of ut suae quemque fortune domi auctorem exspectare iubere. The former subject patres reverts with ponunt.

8. urbe: in classical Latin egredi was construed with the accusative only when it meant “to cross a boundary,” as flumen egredi; cf. Sallust, Jug. 110. 8; fines egredi, Caes. B. G. 1. 44, and figuratively, egredi modum, veritatem.— nullam: flight was thus prevented, as it was not after the battle on the Allia; see ch. 5. 6.

56. 1. pedibus . . . issent: the form in sententiam alicuius ire is also used, as in 23. 10. 4. In voting the senators crossed to the side of the one whose opinion they favored, a method of division similar to that now in use in the English House of Commons.— submota: used of forcible or official removal (cf. 21. 7. 8; ch. 60. 2 and 17), as of clearing the way before the consuls by the lictors (cf. 3. 45. 5; 48. 3), and of removing unbidden persons from a closed session (cf. ch. 60. 2).— magistratus: i.e. minores.— diversi, in all directions; so passim, in 3. 34. 3.— tum demum: a reflection upon the delay of Varro.— litterae, dispatches; the usual word for official announcements, as in § 6; ch. 24. 14; 33. 9; 57. 1; different from epistula, which is rarely used in this sense, though Sallust has epistula Pompei.

2. decem: not in accord with ch. 54. 1 and 4.— incompositorum: with a different meaning from that in ch. 50. 8, here indicating that the scattered remnants of the army were not yet organized into centuries, cohorts, etc., or provided with officers.

3. sedere: implying censure; see on 21. 25. 6.— nudinantem: “bargaining,” “haggling,” strictly “marketing,” since the ninth
day was market-day. Similarly Ennius says (Cie. de Off. 1. 11. 38) *cauponantes bellum*, "making a traffic of war"; but in 23. 1. 1, Livy says, *Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam... confestim ex Apulia in Samnium morerat*. One can hardly avoid feeling that, in putting these words into the mouth of the Varro, Livy intended not only to criticise Hannibal, but to satirize the consul whose folly had led to the defeat, but who now was reflecting upon the judgment of a great and victorious general.

4. *clades*: this can hardly mean complete lists of the lost, but only reports of the missing officers, senators, etc. — *opplevit*: the word implies oppressive fulness; cf. ch. 49. 6; 21. 35. 7. — *sacrnum... Cereris*: the regular *Cerelia* were celebrated on the 19th of April, hence this was some other festival, since the battle was fought (Gellius, 5. 17. 5) on the 2d of August of the current calendar, really in June by the correct calendar. — *in illa tempe-state*, *in that grievous time*; without a preposition in 25. 24. 11, *urbe illa tempestate pulcherrimam*; 26. 11. 8, *templum illa tempestate inclutum*; with the meaning of *tempus* the word is archaic, though often in Sallust; cf. our use of "season." — *fuert = factu erat*, had not been brought into mourning.

5. *triginta*: instead of the customary year (ten months) of mourning for parents, children, husband or wife; see 2. 7. 4.


7. *stare*, was lying off; cf. ch. 19. 5; 57. 1; Verg. Aen. 6. 902, *stant litore puppes*; different from *sedere*, "to be grounded." — *paratam instructamque*: so in 33. 48. 2; often in reverse order, as in ch. 19. 2.

8. *provinciamque Romanam aliam*: the other parts of the island belonging to the Romans; see on 21. 1. 5. Livy often uses *alia for reliqua*, and joins *cetera* by preference with collectives like *acies, multudo, classis, praeda*.

57. 1. *praetoris*: strictly he was propraetor; see ch. 31. 6; 37. 13. — *M. Claudium*: *Marcellum*, called the "Sword of Rome." In his consulship, 222 b.c., he had defeated the Gauls at Clastidium, and later he defeated Hannibal at Nola, though this is denied by Polybius, 15. 11, but in 208 he was himself defeated and killed by Hannibal; see 27. 27. 7. — *quantum... posset*, at the first opportunity consistent with the welfare of the state; *per commodum*, as in
10. 25. 17. Caes. B. G. 5. 46, has commodo.—veniret: to appoint a dictator, which could only be done in agro Romano.

2. Territi: the form of the sentence is noticeable, since it is not the crime of the Vestals, but its punishment, that is represented as the cause of the general fear; quod ... necata ... caesus crat.—super: for the meaning, see on 21. 46. 1.—necata: buried alive; see 8. 15. 8; Festus, p. 162, neci datus propris dicitur qui sine volnere interfactus est, ut veneno aut fagine. See Lanciani's Ancient Rome in the Light of Modern Discoveries, ch. vi. pp. 144-146.

3. pontificis: perhaps pontificius. According to Cassius Hemina in Prisc. 7. 294, 2. scriba pontificius qui cum eulus stuprum fecerat.—quos: refers by synesis to the entire college of scribae.—pontifice: in whose patria potestas the Vestals were.—in comitio, publicly, as a terrifying example; joined with in foro in Tac. Agric. 2.—caesus: sc. supplicio servili; the legal penalty for this crime.

4. nefas: the crime, not the punishment.—libros: the Sibylline books (called futilibus in § 5); see on ch. 1. 16.

5. Fabius Pictor: the earliest Roman annalist, whom Livy calls auctor antiquissimus, 2. 40. 10. His report is given in 23. 11. 1.—suppliciiis: archaic in the sense of supplicatio, but found in Sallust, Cat. 52. 29.

6. foro bovario, the cattle market; see on ch. 21. 62. 2.—locum ... consaeptum: a stone vault.—iam ante: ten years before, in the Gallic war.—minime Romano sacro: as the Sibylline books were of foreign origin and written in Greek, Livy does not hesitate to transfer from the nation to them the responsibility of this horrible measure.

7. rebautur: rather archaic for arbitrabuntur; see Cie. de Or. 3. 38. 153.—scriptos habebat: which he had enrolled and now had united under his command.

8. tertia: this is not opposed to ch. 27. 10, since there was a new division of the army in the year 216, but is opposed to ch. 53. 2; perhaps, however, the reserve and the marine forces were numbered independently of the army in the field. In 23. 14. 2. we hear of two legiones urbaneae, see ch. 11. 3.—Teanum Sidicinum: on the Appia Via in Campania, and key to the passage from south to north.—magnis itincribus, forced marches.

9. M. Iunius: Pera, the last dictator rei gerundae causa.—Ti.
Sempronius: Gracchus, not the consul of 218. The master of horse here seems to have been named by the consul, elsewhere by the dictator; see 9. 38. 15. — iuniores: those from seventeen to forty-five inclusive. At seventeen began the tirocinium, when the toga praetexta of boyhood was put off and the toga virilis was assumed; see 25. 5. 8.

10. ex formula, according to the roll of those capable of bearing arms; see 27. 10. 2, milites ex formula paratos. — spolia: on the custom of ornamenting temples with spolia, see 9. 40. 10; 23. 14. 4, and Hor. Od. 3. 5. 19.

11. novi: the levy was not only new but strange, for it contained both boys and slaves. — Octo milia: these were called volones, "volunteers" (23. 32. 1), perhaps because they answered the question vellentne militare, by individually saying volo. — servitius: for servis, often in Livy; see 1. 40. 3; 2. 10. 8; 11. 5, etc.

12. magis placuit: Seneca, Exc. Contr. 5. 7, populus Romanus Cannensi proelio in summas redactus angustias, cum servorum desideraret auxilia, captivorum contempsit et credidit eos libertatem magis tueri posse, qui nunquam habuissent, quam qui perdidissent. Freedom was first definitely promised and also given in the year 214 (see 24. 14. 5; 16. 9), though Appian, Hann. 27, says it was given at this time. — redimendi: the special word for the ransom of prisoners, by which they were restored to their former condition; cf. ch. 59. 6, 7, 11; on the other hand empta of slaves; cf. § 11, and ch. 59. 12.

58–61. 10. The proposed ransom of the Roman prisoners; cf. with ch. 58; Polybius, 6. 58; Cic. de Off. 1. 13. 40; 3. 32. 113.

58. 1. secundum: for the meaning, see on 21. 45. 8.

2. ad Trebiam: Livy did not mention this in his account of the battle in 21. 57; for the second case, see ch. 7. 5. — sine pretio: in ch. 52. 3, Hannibal demanded 200 denarii a man. — numquam alias: often in Livy, as in ch. 8. 6; 1. 28. 4; 2. 9. 5; 22. 7.

3. de dignitate, only for honor; see on 21. 4. 7. — simul ... et: with this association cf. ch. 23. 10; 21. 21. 10. — virtutii: more general than fortitudini, though fortis and felix are often joined, as in 31. 20. 2. The expression recalls Cicero’s description of the qualities of a great general, Pro Lege Manilia, 10. 28, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem.

4. trecenos: in accord with Polybius, who says three minae,
equal to 300 drachmas or denarii. An old report contained in Gellius, 7. 18. 2, says *darent argentī pondo libram et selibram*.

5. **adiciēbatūr**: at the surrender (see ch. 52. 3) no distinction was made between the cavalry and the infantry. The imperfect expresses Hannibal’s purpose which was not carried out. The whole account gives a basis for *nundinantem*; see ch. 56. 3. — **quo**: for which *quod* might have been used, as in ch. 59. 6, but cf. ch. 52. 3, and Plaut. Bacch. 879, *Ducentis Philippis pepigi*. — **pepigerant**: this and the corresponding perfect are commonly used as tenses of *paciscor*, but *pactus* appears in 59. 6; see Quint. i. 6. 10. — **quamcumque**: in the earlier writers not used without a verb, but in Livy and later writers it equals *quamlibet* or *quamvis*; cf. i. 3. 3; 9. 9. 11; Roby’s Grammar, 2289.

7. **inclinaret**: usually transitive. — **animus**: the feeling in Rome, especially of the senate; commonly in the plural.

8. **unus**: Gellius, i.e. *duo solutos se esse religione dicebant*, where, as in the story of Regulus, an exchange of prisoners is mentioned.

9. **verbis, in the name of**, without giving his exact words; cf. 9. 36. 7 and 14, *consulis, senatus, verbis*. — **excederet**: so of the dismissal of the Volsci in 2. 37. 8, and like that of the envoys of Jugurtha, Sallust, Jug. 28. 2.

59. The following speech and the reply, ch. 60, rest upon the supposition that the Roman state would be called upon to pay the ransom of the prisoners, or at least to advance it, whereas, in the older tradition (Pol. 6. 58, and Appian, Hann. 28) the only question was whether the senate should allow the prisoners to be ransomed by their friends. It is to be borne in mind that from § 3 on, the speaker says much in favor of the prisoners that is exaggerated or untrue. The argument is: (1–6) We deserve to be ransomed; (7–9) such a course is not against precedent; (10, 11) the fugitives from the battle are not to be preferred to us; (12) we are better than slaves; (13–16) the cruelty of the Carthaginians is an argument for ransom; (17–19) the refusal to ransom would be a disgrace worse than death.

1. **vilīores**: with reference to the story of Regulus, and the willingness of the Romans after the battle of Heraclea, b.c. 280, to leave their captive soldiers in the hands of Pyrrhus rather than to conclude a peace; see on § 18.
NOTES.


4. **extraxissemsus**: the speaker skilfully puts those forward who had been in the battle, as having the most claim to sympathy.

5. **aqua arceremur**: as stated in ch. 52. 1. — **confertos**: an exaggeration; see ch. 50. 9. — **aliquem ... militem**: equivalent to *aliud militum*.

6. **tunc demum, then only**: a little more exact in defining the time than the more common *tum demum*; cf. ch. 56. 1. The asyndeton gives great liveliness to the sentence.

7. **acceperamus**: usually of oral tradition and often joined with *a maioribus*. The pluperfect here implies that they had this in mind, hence, *we knew*. — **a Gallis**: in 390 B.C., when Brennus, the Gallic king, threw his sword into the scales as an additional makeweight to be balanced with gold and uttered the cry *vae victis*; see 5. 48. 8 and 9. — **illos ... tamen, they who were ... yet; ille** is often strengthened by *quidem* when followed by an adversative clause (A. & G. 195, d.; G. 292, R. 4; H. 446, n. 1). — **legatos**: at their head was C. Fabricius; see Periocha, Bk. 13.

8. **Atqui**: as those battles were less sanguinary than Cannae, the survivors of the last battle deserved more attention. — **pavore**: applies rather to the disaster on the Allia. The loss of the Romans at Heraclea was stated as 7000 men. — **nec ... nisi, and only those of us survive whom**.

9. **quidam**: in the speaker's view the minority; according to Polybius, 6. 58, the bulk of the prisoners, 8000 men. — **in acie**: commonly *ex acie*, as in § 10; 24. 49. 5, an expression which the speaker purposely avoids. The form is a little harsh owing to the lack of a participle of *esse*. — **refugereunt**: not take to flight, but to withdraw to the camp; cf. ch. 60. 25.

10. **Haud**: the speaker disclaims in advance any invidious comparison. — **commilitonis**: refers to the socii, as *socii* is seldom used in the singular. — **premendo alium, at another's expense**; cf. ch. 12. 12. — **extulisse**: aorist for our present, so used particularly after *volo* and *nolo* and many impersonal expressions. A. & G. 288, d. R.; G. 275, 2; H. 537, n. 2; cf. 2. 24. 5, *nec plebi honestum*... arma non cepisse neque Patribus decorum... consuluisse; 30. 14. 6, *hanc te quoque... adiessisse velim*. — **ne illi quidem**: the
omitted thought is, "but I venture to say"; see § 2 and § 13.—
nisi: ironical; in this sense usually strengthened by forte or vero.
A. & G. 315, b. n.; G. 592, R. 4; H. 507, 3, n. 3; but cf. 21. 40.
7.—pernicitatis pedum: so 9. 16. 13, and Tac. Germ. 46.—qui
plerique, of whom the most or who for the most part; see on 21. 1. 1;
 cf. ch. 60. 9.—gloriatique sint: this tense of the subjunctive
(perfect; here with future perfect meaning) is rare in deponents,
though gloriatus sim or fuerim (28. 41. 6) and miratus sim occur
occasionally.

11. bonis ac fortibus: for the words, see on ch. 35. 7.—ute-
mini: the senate thought differently and degraded the remnants
of the army to garrison service; see on ch. 54. 6.—etiam, still
more ready; this is the classical word used in strengthening a com-
parative; the post-classical writers used adlue.

12. aetate: refers to the praetextati; see ch. 57. 9; fortuna:
refers to the slaves; see ch. 57. 11.—maiore pretio: Hannibal
afterward received from the sale of Roman prisoners in Greece
500 denarii for each man.

13. nam: a comparison may exist in number and price, but not
in character; see § 10.—censeam: the modest form of statement
is appropriate to the speaker’s position; cf. 21. 18. 6.—si iam...
velitis, if you actually wished.—quod: the antecedent is duriores esse.
—merito: a vox media like our "deserts," here "fault." The abla-
tive is modal, though it may be regarded as abl. abs.; cf. nullo...
spatio, ch. 47. 2.—cui...sitis: join with animadvertendum.

14. hospitum: Dio Cassius, frag. 40. 23, says that Pyrrhus pro-
vided most carefully for his prisoners, and in general his noble,
chivalrous character is renowned.—numero: this with a genitive
of the person, like loco with a genitive of the person or thing, corre-
sponds to our "as"; cf. 30. 42. 9, hostium numero habere; 8. 24. 4,
obsidum numero habere.—habuit, treated, regarded.—barbaro: in
opposition to the semi-Grecian Pyrrhus.—avarior an crudelior:
see on ch. 50. 6, and 21. 4. 9. For the double comparative, cf. ch.
38. 8; 47. 3; A. & G. 192; G. 314; H. 444, 2.

15. squalorem: for the meaning, see on 21. 39. 2. Note the
asyndeton and the assonance, and the double instance of the
latter in § 16.

16. Intueri: through the open doors of the senate house; see
ch. 60. 1.
17. *me dius fidius*: a formula of asseveration, elliptical and corrupt for *ita me Diovis (Δίος) filius* (i.e. *Hercules*) *invet*. Varro, De Ling. Lat. 5. 66; Tertull. Idol. 20; cf. *hercule*, 21. 38. 9. According to others *dius = ζεῦς, fidius* from *fidere*. A. & G. 240, d. n. 2; H. 152, footnote 4. — *mitis*: should he be willing to dismiss them without ransom; see ch. 58. 2. — *indigni ut*: the relative *qui* is more common. In 23. 42. 13 both uses occur. A. & G. 320, f.; G. 556, R. 2; H. 503, II. 2.

18. *capti = captivi*: according to Dio Cassius, frag. 40. 32, they came only to celebrate the Saturnalia and to bring about a treaty, but on their failure they were forced to return. — *redeam*: follows the order of the foregoing clause (*anaphora*), otherwise *ego, and ...* I, would have been necessary at the beginning of the sentence.

19. *Suum ... habet*: opinions may differ. — *Scio ... magis*: the disconnected form of the sentence marks the excitement of the speaker. — *ne ... abeamus*: explanatory of *periculum*.

60. 2. *necessitas, want*; since their support depended in many cases upon the prisoners. Their presence in public was proof of the great excitement; see ch. 7. 7; 55. 3 and 6. — *in foro*: including in its wider application the *comitium*. — *submotis*: for the meaning, see on ch. 56. 1. — *arbitris*: the ten representatives of the prisoners. — *consuli*: the individual members were asked to give their views; see 2. 29. 6; cf. 3. 39. 2, *priusquam ordine sententiae rogarentur*.

3. *de publico*: like *ex aerario*, § 4. — *nec, yet not*; cf. 21. 44. 5. — *redimi*: the pass. inf. is but rarely found with the gerundive of *prohibere*, since *prohibeor*, like *videor*, is usually construed with a personal subject and an infinitive. — *praesentia*: ablative; see on 21. 57. 4.

4. *praedibus*: properly *praeridibus*, a compound of *praer* and *vas, radis*, ablative of means. The people would be secured by bondsmen, who must be citizen freeholders, and by mortgages on their estates, *praediiis* (related to *praedia, i.e. prae-had-a*, the same root as *prehe(n)do*), which would be sold if need be; cf. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. 2. 17. 4, *praedes pecuniae publicae*.

5. *Manlius*: *qui bis consul et censor fuerat*, 23. 34. 15. Severity was a characteristic of the Manlian house; one received the name *Imperiosus*, and *Manliana imperia* were proverbial; see 8. 7. 22. —
severitatis: genitive of quality joined directly with a proper noun, as in 21. 1. 4.—interrogatus sententiam: so 26. 13. 3; 33. 6; 36. 7. 1, but oftener rogatus sententiam, as 37. 14. 5.—fertur: Livy thus allows himself free play in the composition of the speech, as in 21. 43. 1, and cf. ch. 7. 13. The speech is thus divided: (6, 7) Introduction; (8-14) the conduct of the petitioners after the battle in neglecting and even preventing opportunities for escape shows that they were regardless of their country and unworthy of regard; (15, 16) they are already slaves, and may therefore not be restored; (17-21) their treatment of their comrades proves them unworthy of citizenship, and (22-26) their cowardly surrender of their camp destroyed the hope of future bravery; (27) conclusion, that they should not be ransomed.

6. sine . . . eorum, without reflecting upon any one of them.—sententiam peregrissem: used absolutely in 9. 8. 4, paucis peragam.

7. Quid . . . aliud quam: also quid aliud nisi. The former answers to "what else than?" the latter to "what else than?" in which the negative is more prominent; cf. 4. 3. 3; 26. 41. 11. Similarly nihil aliud quam; see on ch. 12. 11. The whole expression is adverbial, only.—morem traditum a patribus: the mos maiorum was an important factor in the conservative politics of the Romans. —Nunc autem: for nunc in conclusions, see on 21. 13. 2.—praeferrique: supply se, depending on aecum censuerint. —captis: not mentioned in ch. 59. —pervenerunt: concealing the actual flight. The exaggerations and unfair statements are as marked as in the preceding speech.

8. Atque utinam: emphatic addition; cf. 21. 41. 13.—apud . . . exercitum: in a contio.—ignaviae cuiusque: for the two genitives, see on ch. 22. 8, and cf. 26. 44. 8, testis spectatorque virtutis ignaviae cuiusque.

9. tum victoria laetis: as if preceded by cum hostibus cum plerisque fessis.—plerisque: since according to ch. 50. 8 f. the Roman camp was surrounded only by troops of Numidians.—per confer- tos: the preposition is inserted in accord with § 27 and ch. 50. 8.—per se, of their own accord.

10. Nocte prope tota: exaggeration; see ch. 50. 6 f.—monere adhortari: see on 21. 10. 3:—pervenire: without the introduction of the person (eos).
11. *Si, ut:* as in 34. 2. 7. The conditional sentence is resumed in § 12. — *avorum memoria:* the exploit of Decius was in 343 B.C. (7. 34. 3 f.); that of Calpurnius in 258 (Periocha 17); Manlius was consul in 235. If he held the office *suus anno,* he must have been born in 278, and died at the age of 76 (30. 39. 6). He could thus have heard the account, *memoria,* of Decius' exploit from those living at the time, and his own youth would have witnessed that of Calpurnius. — *priore:* the speaker knew of only two Punic wars; cf. 21. 50. 9. Livy speaks from his own standpoint of *primum bellum;* cf. ch. 23. 6; 42. 9. — *hostis:* belongs to *inter medios.* The beginning of the clause is similarly ill-arranged.

12. *si . . . diceret,* if *P. Sempronius* were saying this. He vividly transfers the scene to the present, just as he addresses the prisoners, *vos,* as if they were present; cf. 21. 5. 11. — *nec . . . equidem:* recalling the thought of ch. 59. 10. — *nec Romanos:* "much less."

13. *Viam,* but it was the road, not to glory more than to safety, that you spurned; the adversative asyndeton is very forcible. — *de monstrat:* a strengthened *monstrare;* cf. 23. 33. 8; see on ch. 49. 3.

14. *servemini:* middle use, the verb corresponding to *salutem,* since *salvere* is vulgar and late Latin. — *si . . . non movent;* cf. 5. 5. 1, *si nos tam iustum odium nihil movent, ne illa quidem movent?*

15. *incolumes:* in the unrestricted possession of all civil rights, in opposition to *abalienati iure civium.* — *immo:* a sarcastic term; cf. 21. 40. 9. You should have longed for your country while you were entitled to do so; now your country does not exist for you, and your desires are too late, *sero nunc.* — *deminuti capite:* a citizen's *caput* included his freedom, civic rights, and membership in (or leadership of) a family. *Capitis deminutio maxima* implied the loss of all these possessions, *media deminutio* the loss only of civic and family rights, and *minima deminutio* the loss only of family rights, as in cases of adoption, etc. Slavery and surrender to an enemy with the arms in the hands brought about *capitis deminutio maxima;* cf. Hor. Od. 3. 5. 41 f., and indeed the whole speech of Regulus, ll. 13–40. — *abalienati:* Livy oftener uses this word with a dat. or abl. with *ab;* cf. 3. 3. 4. — *iure civium:* commonly *civitate.*

16. *post paulo:* like *post modo, post aliquando:* cf. 5. 55. 1; 28. 24. 13. Note the similar beginning and ending of the clauses.
17. scelus: beyond cowardly indifference was the crime of insubordination, § 21, though this did not appear in the first account; see ch. 50. 10. — conati sunt ni . . . submovissent: the indicative is often used as an apparent conclusion of an unfulfilled past condition to denote that which is a fact, but a fact whose operation has been in some way prevented. We may supply the thought et re vera retinuissent, as the real conclusion; cf. 2. 10. 2; 50. 10; for submovisset, ch. 56. 1. A. & G. 308, b.; G. 549, R. 3; H. 511, 1.

18. Hos cives, and such citizens. — Quorum si: the relative precedes, the indefinite follows, the conditional word; cf. 21. 43. 16.

19. hostes: commonly tot milia hostium, but the opposition lies not in the numbers of the Romans and the Carthaginians, but in the implied necessity for a vigorous advance from the camp, and in the actual fact that the enemy did not block the road, but only made a demonstration on the flank; see ch. 50. 11.

20. duarum prope legionum: reckoned at 4000 foot-soldiers each. — fortia fidelia: for the words, see on 21. 44. 2; joined with milia, 21. 55. 4. For the asyndeton between two adjectives independently modifying the same word as in Jupiter optimus maximus, see on ch. 37. 12. — boni fidelesque: for the words, see on ch. 37. 4, and cf. ch. 59. 11.

21. favisse: apart from their lack of bravery they do not deserve the credit of good-will, since they did not follow those who dared to break through the enemy, with vows and wishes for success (ch. 50. 5), but even stood in their way. — invidere: the inseparable accompaniment of cowardice is envy of another's success.

22. silentio noctis: cf. silentio proximae noctis, 2. 7. 2; also ch. 17. 1. — At: introduces ironically the excuse some might offer for them. The reply begins at Ab orto sole. — defuit: parataxis with habuerunt; we should commonly say "while . . . yet." — vallum armis: so § 26.

23. subsidia vitae: provisions were doubtless scarce, as well as water; see ch. 52. 1.

24. Ab orto sole: immediately after sunrise, as shown in § 22; sharpens the opposition to ante secundum horam (reckoned from sunrise); see ch. 7. 14. The speaker exaggerates, as shown by comparison with ch. 51. 5. — accessit: purposely chosen, instead
of *aggredi*, to show that the enemy did not make an attack; their approach was sufficient.

25. *vobis*: ethical dative. A. & G. 236; G. 351; II. 389. — *pro vallo*, for the defence of the rampart (see on 21. 41. 14) or *forth from the rampart* (see on 21. 7. 8).

26. *oportet... necesse*: the former expresses what it was their duty to do, the latter what it was natural for brave men to do. — *e castris*: the preposition is wanting in the Mss., but is suggested by comparison with §§ 22, 27; but elsewhere Livy, as well as Caesar and Sallust, frequently uses *erumpere* with the simple ablative, especially with *porta*. — *cunctamini*: the speaker vividly renews the form of personal address as if the prisoners were present. Note the climax *et... et... et* of the next clause. — *manere, castra tutari*: the asyndeton between these two words is strange, since they are not synonymous or necessarily united; cf. § 10. Perhaps *cum* has fallen out before *castra*.

27. *istos*: contemptuous, in opposition to *illos*. The whole speech is but a rhetorical setting forth of the traditional Roman pride, since the actual grounds of the senate’s action in ch. 61. 1 and 2 are not mentioned in it.

61. 1. *iam inde antiquitus*: so in 9. 29. 8; but elsewhere *iam inde ab initio*. — *minime... indulgentis*: see on ch. 59. 1. — *hominès*: the senators, those whose votes determined the question.

2. *armandos*: the Roman citizen provided his own weapons; this of course the slaves could not do. — *rei*: money. — *locupletari*: a weak reason, since Hannibal received from the sale of the prisoners more than he would have received as their ransom; see on ch. 59. 12.

3. *non redimi captivos*, *captives are not ransomed*; the general principle whose application each would make to the present case. — *magnis*, *loud*; see on 21. 43. 3. — *prosecuti sunt*: for the omission of the subject, see on 21. 11. 9.


5. *fama*: according to § 10 more than oral tradition; see on 21. 1. 4. This version of the story, which is a union of Appian’s state-
ment, Hann. 28, that three delegates were sent to Rome, with the better known story of the ten delegates, is probably that of Coelius, who followed Aelius. His version is given in Cic. de Off. 3. 32. 115. — primo: in opposition to § 6, deinde, alios tris. — ita, only under the condition; tamen is drawn into the final clause instead of admissos esse, ita tamen, ne, etc.

6. morantibus: abl. abs.; see on 21. 57. 3. — longius: often with a temporal meaning, especially in the comparative. — insuper: to find out what had become of the others.

7. tum demum: when the second delegation was refused a hearing; cf. ch. 56. 1; 59. 6. — tribuno: the first instance of a relatio by a tribune of the people. Mommsen.

8. tris: as in § 6 and ch. 6. 1, but this form is only in the accusative. — per causam, under pretence. — ex itinere: after they had begun their journey, not in itinere; cf. ex fuga, ch. 55. 4. — paucis sententiiis, by a small majority or the majority of a few votes.

9. proxumis censoribus, under the next censors; abl. abs. Agency would have been expressed by ab with the ablative. — notis ignominiisque: hendiadys; the disgraces resulting from the censor’s brand; viz. degradation to the rank of aerarii, exclusion from a tribus, and the taking away of the horse provided by the state. — confectos, so completely undone. Cicero says notatos, “branded.” — foro . . . caruerint: they voluntarily kept away from the forum and all public places since they had lost the right to vote and all participation in active citizenship. — deinde: used adjectively, “in all their subsequent life”; see on 21. 7. 5.


10. discrepare: impersonal, as in ch. 36. 5. — vel ea res: emphatic, as in 21. 13. 3. — firma: see ch. 13. 11. — de imperio: of the continuance of the state, as in ch. 51. 4; 55. 5; for the more common re publica of § 14.

11. populi: Livy omits to mention the Campanians (Capua) that he may not forestall his account of their defection in 23. 2 f., though the defection of Capua led to that of Atella and Calatia, since these three were probably allied. — Hirpini: see ch. 13. 1. — Pentros: their capital was Bovianum. — Bruttii omnes: except Petelia, see 23. 20. 4; and Consentia, see 23. 30. 5.

ora: Magna Grecia. — Galli: these had previously gone over; see 21. 55. 4.

13. clades: disasters, battles; cf. § 10. — usquam: the following words would have led us to expect unquam, yet local idea is as appropriate as the temporal; cf. Eutrop. 3. 10, in quibus malis nemo tamen Romanorum pacis mentionem habere dignatus est. — Romam: analogous to the Greek construction and dependent upon a verbal substantive, hence prepositive.

14. quo in tempore, in this crisis. — causa, occasion; see on 21. 21. 1. — ordinibus: including the senate, since it was at their urgency that Varro had ventured the battle; see on ch. 36. 5. The greatness of Roman character was never more nobly displayed than in this act.

15. ductor: used by Tacitus, especially of the leaders of other than Roman troops. Livy says, 38. 48. 13, that the Carthaginians crucified their unsuccessful generals.
CRITICAL APPENDIX.

P = codex Puteaneus in the National Library, Paris, 5730, of the 6th century (according to Chatelain, the 7th according to Luchs) containing ch. 20, 8, -ius aridissima to ch. 21, 13, copias partim; ch. 29, 6, -tegro bello to ch. 39, 11, quae adiri; ch. 41, 13, satute esset to the end of book xxi., and book xxii.; C = codex Colbertinus in the National Library, Paris, 5731, of the last of 10th or first of the 11th century; M = codex Medicus in Florence, Laurentine Library, plut. 63, 20, of the 11th century. Other and later Mss. need not be mentioned separately.

Editions: Ald. = Aldus; Alsch. = Alschefski; Bk. = Bekker; Crev. = Crevier; Drak. = Drakenborch; Duk. = Duker; ed. = editions before Aldus; Fr. 1 = Froeben, 1531; Fr. 2 = Froeben, 1535; Glar. = Glareanus; Gr. = Gronovius; Hwg. = Heerwagen; Htz. = Hertz; H. J. M. = H. J. Müller; Kr. = Kreyssig; Mog. = editio Moguntina, 1518; Mg. = Madvig; Mms. = Mommsen; R. = Riemann; Rhen. = Rhenanus; Sig. = Sigonius; Wfl. = Wölflin; Wsb. = Weissenborn; Wsbg. = Wesenberg; Mg. Em. = Madvig's Emendationes Livianae.

BOOK XXI.

1, 2 conferebant] after ed. Venet, 1777, cf. Mg. Em. 210, conserebcmit C M.

2, 2 cui] Hwg., qui C M, quae Mg.

2, 6 obtruncati interfecit] Wfl., interfecit obtruncati C M, cf. Val. Max. 3. 3. ext. 7, servus barbarus Hasdrubalem, quod . . . dominum suum occidisset graviter ferens, subito adgressus interemit; also the past interfecit corresponds better than obtruncat with the following com-presusque . . . (fuit); interfecit . . . obtruncat C² M² and later Mss.

3, 1 qua] C² and later Mss., quam C M. — sequetur] C², seque-batur with lacuna before favor Wfl.

4, 2 momentum] later Mss., monumentum C M.

4, 6 voluptate] later Mss., voluntate C M.

4, 10 audendaque] the reading of later Mss. for videndaque agrees well with the usage of Livy, 25. 16. 19; 23. 15; 26. 7. 6; 35. 35. 16; Tac. Hist. 1. 21, agendum audendumque, but notwithstanding
the preceding plurimum audaciae it does not well accord with the training of the magnus futurus dux. Other combinations, 22. 14. 14; 53. 7.

5, 10 inpeditum] Hwg., peditum C M; cf. 42. 59. 8, where inpeditum of the Mss. is to be changed to peditum.

5, 13 at ex] Wfl., as in 10. 29. 3, Galli torpere; at ex parte altera pontifex Livius vociferare vicisse Romanos; cf. Catul. 64. 251; Verg. Aen. 10. 362, at parte ex alia; et ex.

5, 16 a tanto] Hwg., tanto C M; see note.

6, 1 belli causa], Mg. punctuates belli causa. certamina.

6, 6 intenderant] later Mss., intendebant C M.

7, 2 Zacyntho] ed., Sagunto C M.

8, 4 coepti] Wsb., coepti sunt C M. Wsb. says that the asyndeton coepti sunt; non sufficiebant, indicating here a result and not an explanation, would be very harsh.

8, 5 prociderant] after later Mss. since the clause is parallel to the preceding, as shown by multae, unae, tres, and epexegetic to una...urhem; cf. ch. 14. 2.

8, 7 conserti] later Mss., consciri C M.

8, 9 conferti] C M, Mg. with Gr. reads conferti, but Wsb. remarks that in such cases the adj. usually precedes the adv.; cf. 2. 30. 12; 23. 24. 3; 25. 11. 4; 36. 23. 4; but cf. also 37. 54. 5; Cic. de Fin. 5. 88.—pugnabant] later Mss., pugnabatur C, oppugnabat M.

10, 1 sunt] later Mss., non sunt C M.

10, 2 adversus] Alsch., adversum C, adversu M.—non] lacking in most of the Mss. which in § 1 have auditique non sunt, but ceterum haudquaquam might have fallen out after suam, or parum in opposition to magnum.

10, 3 ne bellum] bracketed by Wfl. because P, 5736 has in the margin oratio Hannonis suadentis senatum obtestantis ne...bellum, and these words taken into the text by an added vacat are to be regarded as spurious; moreover, the same thought recurs in § 10. See Hermes, 1874, p. 368. Perhaps the words senatum obtestans are also to be stricken out.

10, 6 repetunt; ut] A. Perizonius, repetuntur C M.

10, 9 di homines] Mg., see Leutsch, Philol. 30, 523 dii hominesque Romani, after 5. 51. 3.
10, 12 _deposcat_] later Mss., _deposcit_ C M.
11, 9 _quam qua_] Alsch., _quaqua_ C, _quamqui_ M.
12, 4 _inscriis_] later Mss., _inconscriis_ C M. — _victore_ ed., _auctore_ C M.
13, 2 _venissem; nunc_] Wfl., _veni_; _sed_ Mg., _venissem_ C M. Cf.
besides the note on the place, 1. 28. 9; 26. 29. 7; 32. 21. 1; 34. 31.
2 and 34. 3; _nunc vero_, Sall. Jug. 14. 16; Cic. Cat. 2. 7. 16; _nunc cum_, Cic. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 17. 50.
13, 5 _audietis_ Gr., _audiatis_ C M. — _et_ Wsb., _sed_ C M.
13, 7 The objection to _binis_ is unfounded; cf. the surrender of
Nuceria, 23. 15. 3; Dio Cassius, 57. 30, _μεθ᾽ ενδιαφέρον_; on the
other hand Appian Pun. 63 [σῖν δόο _μαρίσθω_].
13, 8 _rebus_] to be bracketed since in M the second syllable is
dotted below, the _re_ appearing by a dittography; besides _his_ agrees
better with _omnia_, _aliquid_, _haec._
14, 2 _imperatori_] Valla, _imperator_ C M.
16, 5 _durissimum_] suggested by Rühl, Rhein. Mus. 1877, p. 327.
17, 8 _insto_] stricken out by Usener, Rhein. Mus. XIX. p. 146.
18, 10 _icit_] later Mss., _icet_ C M, so in § 11. — _ex_ added after
Luchs (Acta Erl. III. p. 188).
19, 1 _excisa_] Heräus suggests _excissa_. See his note on Tac.
Hist. 2. 38 appendix, _excidium_, ch. 16. 1; 39. 8.
19, 6 _et in_] Mg., _ut in_ C M.
19, 9 _[Saguntini]_ attracted to the relative from the causal clause,
and _Saguntinos_, an emendation, weakens the force of _Saguntina
clades_, § 10; the speaker therefore is more effective by leaving it
indefinite.
20, 4 _avertere_] later Mss., _advertere_ C M.
20, 9 _expectatione_] Hwg., _in expectatione_ P. — _transisse_] P 2 C M,
_tramississe_ P.
21, 8 _aut iam_] later Mss., _aut etiam_ P.
21, 9 _prospere_] _prospere_ P C M.
22, 1 _id eo minus_] Döring ( _ideo minus_ Gr.), _ideo || (erasure)_ C,
_ideo _laud _minus_ M.
22, 2 _firmat_] Linsmayer, _firmatque eum_ C M; the _eum_ is probably
spurious, since _firmare_ does not take a person as object (Wsb.);
see n.; _firmatque eam_ (as ch. 21. 10) is less probable from the
preceding _eam provinciam destinat._ — _Baliaribus quingentis_] Sig., _baliaribus_ C M.
22, 3 _quadringenti quinquaginta_] Gr., _CCCCC_ C M; cf. Pol. 3. 33.
15. — *trecenti*] Wfl. after Pol. 3. 33. 16, *ducenti* C M.—*quod*] ed., *quid* C M.

22, 4 *ad tuendam maritumam oram*] an early correction in C, *ad tuende maritime ora* C¹, *ad tuendae maritumae orae* M. Mg. *tuendae maritumae orae* with later Mss.; cf. Alsch.

22, 5 *redit*] C, *rediit* M, so Mg. and Frigell. — *Onussam*] M. Müller, *omissam C M. — maritumam oram* bracketed by Wfl. The words, if genuine, must be joined immediately to *praeter urbem*, as a nearer definition of way, and the abl. of direction does not accord with Livy’s style; ch. 31. 9, *per oram*; 22. 19. 3, *in lictore ducit*; different from *adversa ripa* (ch. 31. 2), where the direction is implied in the adj.; cf. Wölflin’s essay, Antiochus of Syracuse, 1872, pp. 24, 25. H. J. Müller (Historical Investigations, Bonn, 1872, p. 156) conjectures *atuque inde profectus per maritumam oram Dertossam urbem ad Hiberum ducit.*

23, 2 Instead of *Lacetaniam* Hübner conjectures *laccetanium*, after Strabo, 3. 4. 10, but with this the expression *ora* does not well accord, since Iacea, the chief town of the district, lies nearer the Cantabrian sea, and Hannibal could hardly have extended his conquests so far.

23, 4 *inexsuperabili*] Wfl. with Mg., *insuperabili C M*. Cf. Wfl. On the Criticism and Diction of Livy, 1864, p. 27.

24, 3 *et vel*] C M, *rel* Mg. with later Mss.

25, 4 *pro Annio Servilioque M*, *Acilium*] Wsb., *pro aulo servilioque m acilium C M.*

25, 5 *incertum est*] Heräus, Wfl. The Mss. have *dubium est* (spurious repetition from § 4), and in the following line *incertum an in triumviros*, where the adjective is to be regarded as a misplaced marginal explanation originally belonging to *dubium*.

25, 9 *praecepitatur*] Gr., *praecepitatus C M*, Mg. reads *praecepi-tat*; cf. Em. 143.

25, 10 The lacking *sescentos (= DC)* of the Mss. may conjecturally be supplied from the doubling of the two nearest letters; perhaps *ad quingentos*, the reading of H. J. Müller after Gr., is sufficient.

25, 11 The reading of C and M *cum apparuit* is probably a combination of *apparuit* and its variant *comparuit*, which Livy seldom uses of persons.

26, 2 *consule*] later Mss., *consulibus C, consulis M¹, consulibus M²*; cf. Pol. 3. 40. 14.
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26, 6 annis] bracketed with Voss and others; the word, independent of the cacophony, is corrupted from armis, and is superfluous, since ripa already in apposition to ora indicates the bank, and if the rare combination, ripa annis, fluminis, is allowed (27. 48. 2; 31. 39. 6), yet here the preceding Rhodanum makes any addition unnecessary.

27, 4 latiore] Bauer, latiorem C M.

27, 7 transisse], Mg. says, "fortasse transisse [se]" and so Frigell2.

27, 8 naves] Mg., nantes C M.

28, 2 terrebat] C, terrebat M.

28, 5 sequeretur, nantem] Heräns, inde nantem sequeretur Mss. Similar transpositions, ch. 2. 6; 34. 5; 36. 3, velut cum for cum velut; ch. 37. 6, etiam for iam et; 40. 10, ne quam for quam ne; 44. 7, antem; 49. 7, extemplo et circa prattore a civitate.

28, 8 tum] Mg., ut cum C M, sex tum et Harant.

29, 5 Scipioni] later Mss., scipionis C M.

29, 6 Magali] C, macali M.

30, 2 terrae] Alsch., terrae (= terras) P1, terras eas P2 C M.

30, 5 tantum] later Mss., iam tum P.


31, 4 ibi Isara] Cluver, ibisarar M, ibiarar C. and so (as in C) Sil. It. 3. 452 appears to have read anget opes (Rhodani) . . . mixtus Arar, but in four days Hannibal could neither have reached the Arar (Saône) nor from there taken the route described in § 9, Wsb.

31, 7 delegata] Wfl., delecta C M.

31, 11 gignit] added after Kiderlin.


32, 6 a Druentia] Wfl., abadruentia, C1 M, and later Mss., abruentia C2, cf. Wfl. Criticism and Diction of Livy, p. 11; Antiochus of Syracuse, p. 97; a Drepanis, 28. 41. 5.

32, 7 torpida] Wfl., torrida Mss. Even if Nonius 452. 8 cites from Varro, frigore torret, yet Livy (ch. 37. 3; 22. 43. 10; 4. 30. 8;
and other classical writers use *torrere* only of heat. Cf. M. Hertz, Jahn's *Iahrb.* 1872, p. 852. On the other hand *praewustus* (ch. 40. 9) and *ambustus* (Tac. *Ann.* 13. 35) are not seldom used of frozen limbs.—*inanimaque* Valla, *inanilmalique* C M.


33, 4 *diversi* later Mss., *perversi* C M; Mg. writes *per diversis rupibus inuia ac devia assueti decurrunt*, saying, “significatur milites per loca ob rapes diversas non minus inuia quam devia decurrisse, ordine verborum contorto, sed Liviano et a quonque alii quidem scriptores abhorrerint”; *Adver. Crit.* II. 514; *Sen. de Clem.* 1. 18. 3.

33, 7 [deruptae] Turnebus, *diruptae* C M.

33, 11 *cibo* is lacking in the Mss., indicating perhaps a large lacuna whose substance may be supplied from Polybius ἐκοιμησατο πλήθος ἵππων καὶ ὑπομνήμων καὶ τῶν ἀμα τοῦτος ἐκλαγότων ἀνδρῶν.—*a montanis*] Bauer, *montanis* Mss., which Mg. retains though saying that *a* is probable.

34, 5 *circumspectans omnia sollicitusque*] Wfl. The reading of the Mss., *circumspectans sollicitusque omnia*, is impossible for Livy, since of the so-called Greek acc. he used *cetera* (ch. 8. 10), and that but rarely; similarly *alia* appears in Sallust, while the poetic *omnia* appears only in the prose of later writers like the African Apuleius, Tertullian, and Aurelius Victor. For the inversion, cf. on ch. 28. 5, *circumspectans sollicitus omnia* Mg.

35, 3 *praecipites*, Mg. reads *praecipitésume*.

35, 12 *adflixit*] Mss., *adfixi*, Drak.—*occiderant*]; Mg. reads *succiderant*.

36, 5 *circumspectans omnia sollicitusque*] Wfl., see on ch. 23. 4, app.

36, 7 *lubrica*] Mg., *uta lubrica* C M. The common reading, *via lubrica*, is harsh from the association of the two ablatives, of which one, *glacie*, must equal *propter glaciem*, and at the same time it is not clear to which substantive the adjective belongs.—*pedes*] Drak.; *pede se* C M.

36, 8 *etiam*] Mg., *etiam tamen* C, *etiam tam* M.

37, 5 *apricosque*] Wfl. from *apricos || qum* C,—*prope*] Mg. reads *et prope*.

37, 6 *iam et*] Crev., *eciam* C, *etiam* M; Harant reads *est iam*.

38, 3 *maxime me*] Mg.; *me* is wanting in the best Mss.
38, 5 *Taurini Semigalli*] Wfl. with Mg., taurinisnegalli Mss., Taurini sane Galli Harant.

38, 7 For Salassos (Lipsius; saltos M, saltus C) Mg. conjectures alios. — Montanos as a proper name according to the citations from Pliny in the note; earlier montanos. — deduxissent] ed., si duxerint C, dedererint M.

38, 9 *Seduni Veragri*] Gr., sedunovelacri C M; Mg. says "fortasse Sedurni Veragrique," but see note. — nomen norint]; Frigell., Mg. reads nomen ferunt, Em. (220).

39, 1 *proximae genti*] bracketed by Wfl. since the words are not limited by a dative as in ch. 38. 5. — armare]. Mg. says num (ad) arma (voca)re exercitum?

39, 2 *enim*] later Mss., enim erat C M; cf. Wsb. ad loc.

39, 3 *et in*] perhaps *et ut in*, which would restrict trepidatatis to the limits natural to expect under the circumstances; ch. 7. 7; 12. 4; 31. 1; Wfl.

39, 4 *volens . . . veniebat*] Wfl. after Mg., volentes . . . veniebant Gr.; cf. Antiochus of Syracuse, p. 98; volentis . . . veniebat C M.

39, 5 *ac iuxisset*] Wsb., iuxisset C M, et iuxisset Mg.

39, 8 *Hannibalis et*], Mg. reads *et Hannibalis*.

39, 9 *Hannibali*] Gr., hannibali C M.

40, 5 *a quibus*] ed., quibus C M.

40, 9 *torpida*] Lipsius, torpentia membra, Silius Ital. 4. 68; cf. above ch. 32. 7; torrida C M.

40, 10 *hostium*] M, hostis C. — quam ne, cum vos] Mg., necumquam vos cum C M; H. J. M. conjectures quam ne cui, vos cum.

40, 11 *decuerit*] Wfl. (others decuit) since only in the first book has Livy joined *forsitan* and *forsan* with the indicative, afterwards like all classical prose writers he joined it only with the subjunctive.

41, 4 *quia adsequi terra nequiram regressus ad navis*] Wfl. The reading of the Mss., *quia adsequi terra non poteram neque** regressus nequi* *ad navis*, arose from a correction, *non poteram (= nequieram)*, as also Ammianus. 15. 10. 10, Hasdrubalem adsequi nequiens, shows. *regressus* is not a verbal substantive as in 24. 26. 15, but a participle corresponding to § 3, *in terram egressus*.

41, 5 *inprovidus*] Wfl., inprovisus C M, but Livy does not use this of persons; cf. the quotations in the essay Antiochus of Syracuse,
p. 92; Curtius, 8. 1. 4, ut inprovidum ad insidias praedae perduceret; Pseudo Frontin Strateg., 4. 5. 4, inprudens incidit in manus Gallorum. Livy at least must have written inproviso.

42, 3 legeret, cuiusque] Wfl. regards cuius as a rel. pron.; the legeret et cuiusque of the Mss. is a dittography; et ut cuiusque Mg.

43, 4 maior Padus] Mg. brackets Padus.

43, 6 essent; nunc] Wfl. in accordance with Livy’s constant usage; see on ch. 13. 2.

43, 18 cum laudatis a me] later Mss., tum laudatis me P. — in aciem] C² and later Mss., aciem P C¹ M.

44, 2 pro patria] Wsb., patrim P.


44, 7 adimis? etiam in Hisp.] Mg., adimis etiam spanias P, ademisti? adimis etiam Hispanias? Hwg. — inde si decessero] H. J. M., inde cesserò P, while the copyist of the archetype passed from the de of inde to the de of decessero. — transcendes autem? transcendisse dico] Gr. and Mg., transcendisse autem dico P. — vindicaremus P, perhaps vindicarimus should be read with the older editors, Mg. and H. J. M.

44, 8 mortemve] P, mortemque Wsbg.

44, 9 si destinatum] Hwg., destinatum P, Mg. brackets destinatum and reads fixum omnibus in animo est. — animo] Wfl., in animo Mss. (cf. 6. 6. 7), where, according to the Veronese palimpsest, sibi destinatum animo instead of in animo is to be read. — contemptu mortis telum] Stroth., contemptum P.

45, 3 Victumulis] Stroth., vico tumulis P.

45, 5 velit], Mg. reads with Wsbg. velit.

46, 3 ex peditibus] Wfl., expeditis P. — ex propinquus copiasque] Gr., ex quo propinquus copias P.

46, 4 hominum et equorum]. The connective lacking in the older Mss. is perhaps not necessary since the two substantives form a contrast; cf. ch. 28. 2.

46, 6 pugna venerat] Gr., pugnaiverat P, according to Alsch.; pugnaverat according to Frigell.

46, 8 erit] P and M, erat C; erit is demanded by appellatus, for hic erat iuvenis, Africanus . . . appellatus is not appropriate.

47, 3 ad sescentos] Gr., ad haec P; cf. Pol. 3. 66. 4. — ripa Padi] Gr., rapidi P, according to Alsch., ripidi according to Frigell.
47, 5 fuerunt] Gr. after a later Ms., fuerint P. The subjunctive arose from the preceding fecerint and traexerint, but peritis implies that Livy was in a position to give a definite judgment.

47, 6 et] Wsb.

47, 7 circa] probably citra after Mog., and Mg. in opposition to traicit, as ch. 48. 6 ; 54. 4.

48, 4 in loca alta nostra colisque] Valla, loca alta nostra colisque P.

49, 6 perscribit] later Mss., praescribit P. — monetque] Wfl., monetque ut M, monetque et P, where et is to be taken as a correction of the following tenerae (= teneret and the reading of M, tenere C).

49, 7 et a praetore circa civitates] Mg., praetore P M, praetorem C, ad civitates later Mss., a civitate P C M. — intendere, et], intendere, Sauppe, et, Harant, intenderent P. — appetitu] M², appetitum P M¹. Wsb. conjectures that a participle had dropped out and that it should read (instructum) appetitu belli.

49, 8 dimissis] Wfl., dimitti, Harant, simili, P.

49, 9 morati] P; moderati, H. J. M. after Hänisch, “regulated,” 26. 42. 5, moderatum cursum navium ; 28. 30. 8, since the Carthaginians approached the shore under full sail, but not by the shortest way.

49, 10 signum] Alsch. — [in] stationibus] Wfl. supported by Mg. and H. J. M., since the preposition is not usually repeated with the second of two words closely connected by que. Criticism of Livy, p. 27.

50, 3 adfatim] later Mss., adfatim minus P.


51, 4 iam forte], Mg. reads nam forte.

52, 2 minitus] ed., animi minitus, Frigell, others deminutus or admonitus, etminutus P M.

52, 6 consules] Drak., consulem P.

52, 7 obsolevissent] Wfl., absolvissent P C, the marginal correction ob is perhaps wrongly inserted, since the same Mss. have obutilia for ut alia.

52, 8 primos qui egressissent] Gr., primosque qui coissent P.

52, 9 conlega cunctante] Ussing, cum conlegam cunctantem P, others read tam conlega cunctante.

52, 10 inopinato] Mg., inopinatos P.

53, 3 quid enim ultra differri] Mss., pugnam ultra differri, Riemann; Luterbacher regards differri as an impersonal infinitive like differtur; cf. ch. 21. 2, nihil ultra differendum ratus.

54, 1 praebatis] later Mss., peraltus P. — equites], Mg. says, “scribendum videtur cum codd. quibusdam rec. equiti quoque tegendo.”


54, 6 ad destinatum] P, a destinato Mg.

54, 9 esset] P, et bracketed with Gr., essent later Mss.

55, 2 signa] P, signa ac Glar., Luterbacher says that Wfl.’s note seems to show satisfactorily that the reading of the Mss. is correct and that the error is Livy’s.

55, 5 diducta . . . armatura est] Mg., deducet . . . armaturae sunt P, Drak. suggests diductae . . . armaturae sunt.

55, 8 quas] later Mss., quam P.

55, 10 in tot] Mg. says “fortasse tollendum in ante tot.”


56, 3 decernere] perhaps discernere (Wfl.) as in older editions.

56, 8 sauciorum] Hwg., relicum P, ex fuga sauciorum Luchs, invalidorum Frigell., integrorum Luterb., ex magna parte aegrorum Wfl. (cf. 37. 24. 5), as magna ex parte often precede the adjective; cf. 24. 1. 4 ; 34. 14 ; 25. 1. 6.

57, 1 [a]] bracketed after later Mss., qua portis P.

57, 2 alterum . . . revocatum] Mg., altero . . . revocato P.

57, 4 Flaminius iterum] Glar., see note.

57, 5 et ut] Fabri, et P.

57, 9 Victumulas] Mss., victumvias P.

58, 5 capti] later Mss., captis P.
58, 9 attollere (8. 7. 11) from P according to the latest collation by A. Luchs; cf. Hermes XIV. p. 141. — torpentibus] later Mss., torrentibus P.

59, 4 exspectare] Fleckkisen, spectare P.


60, 2 Emporias] Luchs, temporis P.

60, 3 Lacetanis] see note.

60, 4 clementiae] later Mss., clementiaeque P, a second genitive may have fallen out, H. J. M. reads clementiae iustitiaeque.

60, 7 Cissis] Alsch., scissis P.

61, 6 toto cis] later Mss., stoicosis P, hostico cis, Fabri.

62, 3 in foro] later Mss., ino P.

62, 4 pulvinari] Wfl. and Mg. after a later Ms., pulvinarium, never used by Livy, could only indicate by analogy with apiarium, granarium, columbarium, vestiarium, vinarium, the place where the cushions were displayed. For the whole chapter, see Luterbacher, der Prodigienlaube und Prodigienstil der Römer, Burgdorf, 1880.

62, 7 iam primum] Mg. reads nam primum.

62, 8 Inonon] later Mss., et inonon P.

62, 9 Inventati] Mg. reads with later Mss. inventuti.

63, 3 adversus senatum] Mg. reads with Gr. adverso senatu.

63, 9 paludatus] later Mss., paludatis P.

63, 14 in omen] Mg. and Gr. object to the preposition, but it accords with Tac. Ann. i. 14; 6. 12; though it may be omitted; cf. Tac. His. i. 62; Ann. i. 28.

To the Periocha.

BOOK XXII.

1, 1 itaque] Wfl., cf. his Criticism and Diction of Livy, p. 5; qve P.


1, 8 tenuerat] H. J. M. conjectures tenuerit.

1, 10 cecidisse] Val. Max. 1. 6. 5; Orosius, 4. 15.


1, 17 donum] bracketed by Pluygers, Mnemos., 1881, p. 13 f.— et] Wfl.'s Criticism, etc., p. 10.

1, 19 et eum lectum], Mg. and R. eum lectum; cf. similar parentheses, 27. 1. 2; 14. 5; 48. 6; 28. 2. 4; 40. 39. 4.

2, 2 paludes] Wfl. in Hermes, 8, 363, as in the Periocha of book 22, paludem R.

2, 3 et omne] Mg. after P id omne veterani erat robur exercitus, but R. rightly considers erat (arising from erant) as a dittography of (veter)evani.

2, 6 nec aut] Wsb., aut P.

2, 9 aut] Hertz.

3, 1 de paludibus emersisset] an uncommon construction, not elsewhere in Livy, though common in late Latin, which replaces the decaying ex with de; Minuc. Felix Octav. 1, de profundo emergere; Tertull. cult. fem. 1. 7, emergere de luto, and de anima; 53, de somnio emergere; in the classical time only in common language as Bell. Afric. 11, de navibus egredi; Cic. de Off. 1. 13. 40, exire de castris is either borrowed from the sermo castrensis or is spurious, since the words are lacking in most Mss.

3, 9 auxiliisque] 600 Cretan archers, 24. 30. 13. — proposuisset] Hwg. ; cf. ch. 4. 5; 45. 5.

3, 13 obtorpuerint] C, obtorpuerit P.

4, 1 Trasumenum] the most trustworthy forms of the name are for the first half trasu or tarsu (thraisy falsely recalls θασός, Plut. Fab. 3, and transu, the support of the Latin preposition); i also is found instead of n; in the second half at all events the double n, Ritschl, Rhein. Mus., 22. 603.

4, 2 id] ed. — insurgunt] Mg., ad insurgunt P.
4, 4 haut dispectae] N. Hell, Observat. Livianae, Marb. 1870; Alex. Tittler, Critical contributions to Livy, Briege. 1873, p. 16, deceptae M, decepare Wsb. with the remark "perhaps neglectae."
5, 3 ordines et] Mg., ordineusd P.— noscerent] later Mss., nosceret P.
5, 4 vulneratorum] Ruperti, vulnerum P.— mixtos terrentium] Heusinger, mixtostrepentium P.
5, 8 adeo, etc.] adeoque intentus pugnae, with erasure of animus, Mg. and R., Revue de philol., nouv. sér. t. IV. 126.
6, 3 en] Wsb.
6, 5 super alium alii] P, super alium alius, R., which is against the following plural praccipitantur; super alios alii, II. J. M., cf. 26.
4, 7; 41. 17; 30. 5. 10. M. Müller in appendix to Livy, i. 25. 5.
6, 6 umerisve] Wsb., umeribus P, umeris C, humerisque Mg.
6, 12 coniecti] ed., coniecit P.
7, 2 diversis] later Mss., adversis P.
7, 3 utrimque] bracketed (Perizonius) as a repetition of that in the next line, like magna ex parte, ch. 46. 4.
7, 4 auctum] Walch, austum P.
7, 10 distracti] Wsb., as in Cic. de Off. i. 3. 9, animi in contrarias sententias distrahuntur, dispraeci P, dispertitii vulg.
7, 13 filii] bracketed by H. J. M.
7, 14 quibus copiis] later Mss., copiis quibus P.
8, 3 in valido] Drak. and Wfl., valitudo P.
8, 5 praetor] Wfl.; cf. Criticism, etc., p. 13, populo P, Plut. Marcell. 24. 9, τῶν υπάτων τις ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν... λέγει δικτάτωρ is incorrect unless he found a different reading in Livy, perhaps nec dictatorem populus creare poterat... dictatorem praetor creavit; Mss. regards nec... poterat as a gloss; Mg. reads nec dictatorem populo (non consulo senatus) creare poterat.
8, 6 dictatorem... creavit], predictatorem... creavit vulg.
8, 7 pro urbe ac penatibus] Fabri, ac penatibus pro urbe P.
9, 2 haut [minus] prospere] Wfl., haut maxime minime Mg., haud satis prospere Pauly, minue P C, minus M.
9, 5 quietis] Gr., quieti P.
9, 6 factis] Gr., actis P.
10, 1 conlegium praetore] Lipsius, conlegio praetorum P.
10, 2 sicut velim eam salvam, servata erit] Wfl., sic velim eamque sal-
vam servaverit P. In the sic of the Mss. is sicut, as often velut in vel; ch. 42. 6; 44. 6; 26. 37. 5. servaverit, however, raises doubts, because one would have expected servassit (cf. i. 18. 9; 29. 27. 3), and the fut. perf. pass. in the parallel place (36. 2. 4) has better support. One might conjecture sicut velim eam (sc. salvam), salva servata erit, as Cato, de agri cultura, 141. 3, salva servassis; Plaut. Trin. 1076; Cic. Cluent. 12. 33. Mg.’s alliterative association of velim voreamque is elsewhere unknown, and the second subjunctive is strangely used for voveoque.—tum] Mg., datum P.—[da] tum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium stands in P after hisce duellis, and is placed by Lipsius after qui cis Alpes sunt.


10, 6 antidea] later Mss., ante id ea P.—ac stands in P after fieri, and by Stroth is placed after antidea.

10, 10 editum] Fr. 2, edictum P.

11, 1 deque re] later Mss., reque de P M, reque C.—quotve], Mg. reads quotate with a later Ms.

11, 5 ut ii] Gr., uti P.

12, 1 diem] a later Ms., die P.

12, 4 [quos], quos martios P; Wsb. reads illos after Haupt; R. reads antiquos after Jenicke, but these are unpleasing from the repetition of os; quamvis Pauly.—concessum] ed., concessumque P.

12, 6 novi] Gr., non vim P.

12, 8 necessarii cogerent] Wsb., necessari cogeret P.

12, 12 premendoque superiorum] Gr., praemendanturque superiorum P.

13, 1 ducem] mentioned in note, is recommended by Wsb. and Pauly.—ac Wsb.


14, 1 seditione accensa] Lipsius, cf. Wfl.’s Criticism, etc., p. 14; seditione accensi P.

14, 4 spectatum huc], spectatum est hoc P. H. J. M. transfers this est to § 3 after ventum.—ut] Mg.

14, 6 nuper] Wsb., per P, struck out by Mg. and R. after Fr. 1, which also omits suam as an explanatory addition to quam oram.

14, 7 laeti] P., lenti Mog.
14, 8 nos], Mg. reads nostram after a later Ms.
14, 11 quae . . . sunt] a gloss, according to Wsb. and others;
quae later Mss., q. P, que C, quae M.
14, 14 arma] Mg., armari P.
14, 15 ducem] Gr., duci P.
15, 5 prospectit] Heräus; cf. ch. 11. 5; 14. 11; 21. 49. 8; viditMg., prospectavit, R., cf. Philologus, 26. 115.
15, 10 rursus] cf. Wfl.’s Criticism, etc., p. 16.
16, 4 silvas] Wsb., situas P.
16, 7 praeligantur] Mg., praeliganturque P.
16, 8 nocte] Wsb., primis tenebris P (repetition of ch. 17. 1)noctem; Wsb. conjectures per noctem, “under the cover of night,”not “during the night,” 23. 44. 6; cf. per tenebras, Tac. Hist. i. 54and 81.
17, 6 tumultu] Gr., multiple P, metu Alsch.
18, 2 supervenisset] Gr., pervenisset P.
18, 10 ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus] Luchs, ab continuis cladi-bus ac resperasse P.
19, 2 adiectis] Luchs, P. followed by Mg., adiecit R., but this doesnot well accord with the following present tradit.
19, 3 navis] Ruperti, navibus P.
19, 11 turbati] later Mss., turbati et P.
19, 12 tum] Luchs, tam P.
20, 1 in litore] Mg. and R. omit in.
20, 4 profecti] Mg. after later Mss., proiecti R., Wsb., after P.
20, 6 erat] Mg.
20, 7. praelecta est ora] Wsb., periectas oras P.
20, 10 cis] Gr., accolunt for incolunt without cis, Mg., and R.
20. 11 fuere] P., fuerent arising from fuerint.
21. 4 tribuni militum] Mg., who in his præfatio suggests with R.,
duo tribuni militum; tribus militibus P.—mille hominibus and captis]
Mg., momnis (second-hand momnibus) and captisque P.
21. 7 miserant] Gr.
21. 8 ad] Hwg., ac P.
22. 6 sollertii] Fr. 1, sollertia P.
22. 10 ea] Gr., ex P.
22. 13 momentum] Mg., nomen R., Wsb. with P.
22. 15 expromit] Fr. 2, exprimit P.
22. 18 peracta eodem ordine] Luterbacher, acta per eundem ordinem
(not Livian according to Wulsch) P, acta per eum eodem ordine Wsb.
23. 4 omnem hostilem] later Mss. and Crev., omnium hostium P,
Mg. and R. retain hostium.
24. 5 se] added by Geist as having easily fallen out before
sciret.
24. 10 iam fame] the corrupt and also misplaced words cannot
with certainty be reproduced, since Livy does not exactly follow
Polybius; and we may conjecture quia tanta paucitate . . . nam pars
exercitus aberat . . . vix castra tutari poterat, whether the parenthesis
was Livy’s, or owed its origin to an explanation of paucitate. For
artibus Fabii, which cannot well be separated from sedendo, etc., cf.
ch. 32. 1; 34. 7.
24. 12 quingentos ducentem] Gr., adducentem P, H. J. M. con-
jectures DC ducentem.—utrique] later Mss., utriusque P.
25. 3 Metilius] Sig., metellus P.—id enimvero] Wex., id enim P.
25. 6 quarum] later Mss., quorum P.—provincia] bracketed by
H. J. M.—in custodia] Ascensius, in custodium P.
25. 12 popularis], populari Mg.—inscitant] Luchs, scientiam P,
perhaps arising from scitiam.
25. 13 et] Mg.
26. 3 quaeesturaeque] Gr., quaestura quoque P, unsuitable, since the
so-called magistratus minores are not to be reckoned in the honores,
and therefore quaestura, etc., particularize the foregoing, but add
nothing new.
26, 4 *dictatoria*, *dictatoris* Mg. from later Mss.
26, 6 *saevientis* Ascensius, *sevientem* P.
26, 7 *senatusque consulto*] Gr., *s. c.* P; *senatus* Mg. and R. with Lipsius; cf. 21. 51. 5.
27, 4 *secuturum*] later Mss., *secuturumque* P. *— si dictator in cunctatione*] Gr., *se dictatoris cunctationi* P.
27, 8 *eam fortunam habitura, quaecumque*] Mg., *enim (eram M) habituram . . . quaecumque (quecumque C) P C M*; cf. 29. 8. 3. *— alio* Mg. reads *illo*; one would have expected *altero*.
27, 11 *quoque se*] Wsb., *se quoque* P.
28, 4 *procursurum*] Mg., *perocursurum* P.
28, 10 [*dimittit*] bracketed by Gr. and Mg.
28, 12 *ex*] Mg., who also suggests *subsequentem* for *succeedentem*.
28, 13 *ac recta*] Wfl., who brackets *si*; Criticism, etc., p. 20; *ac si recta* P, *ac directa* Mg., *ac derecta* R.
29, 11 *ac*] Mg., *arma dexterae* P, which, after the analogy of 28. 37. 8, must be regarded as a regular asyndeton of the archaic Latin.
30, 1 *ad*] ed., *di || catoris* P, Mg. reads *per*.
30, 4 *sum*] Wsb.
30, 5 *magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos*] Gr., *ma˘g. equitum hos ordinibus suis* P.
30, 8 *pari*] Paulikovski, *par P. — demum*] after this R. reads *hi*.
30, 9 *famam*] Mg., *eam famam P*.
31, 3 *in*] Wsb.
31, 4 *et ignari ab locorum gnaris*] Wsb., *ad locorum et ignari gnaris* P.
31, 5 Heräns conjectures, *ad mille hominum cum Ti. Sempronio Blaesoque amissum*.
31, 7 *Cincio*] Hertz, *circi P1, circa P2*.
31, 10 *tertia*] Lentz.
31, 11 *creatus esset, dictator fuisse*] Wfl., believing that the copyist skipped from *creatus* to *credetur*; *fuisse, dictator* Mg.
32, 1 quod reliquom] Mg., quom P, the same spelling (reliquom) in P ch. 15. 1; 21. 1; for the expression, cf. ch. 51. 1; 59. 4; 33. 2. 9; 34. 22. 3. In P §§ 1 and 2 stand after § 3; reversed in Fr. 1.
32, 3 ad eoque inopia est coactus] eoque inopiae est coactus (redactus Mg.) R. — ei fuisset] Mg., timuisset P.
32, 5 proferri] Mg., proferre P, which as the matter was dependent entirely upon the Romans was not appropriate to Pineus.
33, 6 longinquae] after C (longinque), longinquua P.
34, 2 extrahere] later Mss., et extrahere P.
34, 9 non] Gr., non id P.
35, 2 nobilium] Freinsheim, nobilibus P. — plebeiis H. J. M., plebei P.
35, 6 L.] later Mss., a P.
35, 7 non iam] Mg., iam non P.
36, 4 The bracketed words appear as a gloss, since fuisse is indispensable, and in supplying it after Romanis (Perizonius and Mg.) the lack of connection with auctas is still harsh; also in castris, for in acie, is suspicious even if one remembers the 10,000 left as a guard to the camp. On quidam, etc., see note.
36, 7 Caere aquas in fonte calido] Luterbacher, cædes aquas fonte callidos P C M (callido C).
37, 7 armorum] Gr., armatorum P.
37, 10 regis] regis P, regis legatis Luchs.
37, 13 ad **) Gr., ad navium P, Mg. reads ad (centum viginti) navium. — T.] Ald., in P. — erat P] later Mss., erant P.
38, 1 ab sociis ac] Mg., socii ab P.
38, 2 iussu . . . abituros] in P these words follow milites.
38, 4 repetendi] Crev., petendi P, or sumendi aut is a gloss. — aut hostis] Mg. after Ussing, et aut hostis P.
38, 5 ac] Wsh., ad P.
38, 8 urbe] R., in urbe P, second-hand, ab urbe M.
38, 9 *qui*] Haupt, *quodnequi* P, *quiam* Heräus, the superfluous syllables *quodne* arose from a variant *quod dur*, and in *ne* is the remnant of a superscribed *nam.* — *togatus*] Muretus, *locatus* P.

38, 13 *et tua*] Gr., *id sua* P.

39, 2 *fideque*] Perizonius, *fide* P.

39, 3 *claudente republica*] Mg. after Ussing, *claudet reip P.*

The rhetorical antithesis demands that *consiliis bonis* should form a direct contrast to *virum bonum*, but in the earlier reading, *claudet reipublica*, the first part of the protasis does not give the desired antithesis, and at the same time is not joined with the second part (*erit*).

39, 4 *maneat te*] Mg., *maneat et P*, R. adds *cum tu*.

39, 5 *sís certaturs, et*] Bk., *si certaturs est P*; cf. Em. p. 249.

39, 7 *qui*] later Mss., *quia* P.

39, 14 *absupti*] Hwg., *absumpsit P.* — *victus*] later Mss., *victum P.*

39, 16 *sedet*] Perizonius; but perhaps the reading should be *sedet! ne* (without *sed*). — *quidem de me*] Alsch., *quidem e P*.

39, 17 *Servilius*] Luchs, *p. Servilius P*, which does not agree with *Atilius*, and moreover the nomen of the consul was *Cn æ us*.

39, 18 *sí*] Mg.

39, 19 *vanam*] Muretus and Mg.; cf. Wfl. Criticism, etc., p. 19; for the position of the adj., § 18, and 25. 39. 16.

39, 21 *moneó*] later Mss., *suadeo R*, and Wsb. after Mg.

40, 1 *consulis oratio*] R. with Alsch. places the genitive before *oratio*, as the consul is contrasted with the dictator; *oratio consulis oratio P*.

40, 2 *sed sí*] Hwg., *etsi P*, H. J. M. suggests *si*.

40, 4 *dignitates deessent*], *dignitas deesset* Mg.

41, 4 *gaudere*] Pluygers, *credere P*.


41, 7 *convallem*] Gr., *cornvallem P.* — *median*] Mg., *medium amnem P C1, medium agmen M*.

42, 2 *tum*] P C, in second-hand *tam* P.

42, 6 *in hostem*] later Mss., *adinspescit P C1, ad hostem M C2*; cf. P 22. 4, 2, *adinsurgunt*, and Wfl. Criticism, etc., p. 11.

43, 5 *ut, quo*] Ascensius, *quod P*.

43, 9 *ex . . . sententia*] Luchs, *sententia P*. 
43, 11 *offuso*] Walch, *effuso* P.
44, 5 *Paulo*] Wsbg.
44, 6 *velut*] M, *vel* P C.
44, 7 *prompta*, *tam prompta* Mg. with C.
45, 3 *in*] ed.
45, 4 *adeo*] Wfl. on account of the following *ut*; cf. 38. 31. 3, and Wfl. Criticism, etc., p. 27.
45, 6 *instruant aciem*] Wsb., *instructa acie* P.
45, 7 *cum ceteris*] Drak., *ex ceteris* P; Em., p. 306.
46, 4 *magna ex parte* bracketed by Wfl.
46, 5 *ante alios*] Mg., *antetalius*; *abii sane et alius* P.
46, 6 *steterunt*] perhaps better *stetere* Gr., *statere* P, *starent* later Mss.
47, 1 *ab*] ed.
47, 4 *par, dum*] Mg., *parum* P.
47, 5 *consi, obliqua*] Lipsius, *consiliaequa* P.
47, 6 *institere*] Gr., *insistere* P.
47, 10 *et* before *adversus*, bracketed by Mg. R. Wsb. after Crev. and later Mss.
48, 1 *Romano*] later Mss., *romani* P.
48, 5 *quia*] C, *qui* P; R. brackets *qui . . . praeerat* as a gloss.
49, 3 *denuntianti*], Mg. and Gr. read *renuntianti*.
49, 7 *et*] Walch.
49, 10 *Aemilium*, Mg. with Mog. reads *L. Aemilium*, but the praenomen seems unnecessary on account of § 7. — *et vixisse*] Alsch., *et vixisse et* P.
49, 11 *memet*] Alsch., *me | et* P, Mg. reads *me in*.
49, 12 *eos*] Mg., *ex (eos ?)* P. — *obruere*] Mg., *obruerent* P, cf. ch. 1. 2.
49, 15 *et tantadem*] Mg., *etanta* P.
49, 16 *undetriginta*] Gr., *vigiinti unducce* P. — *consul*] Gr.
50, 1 *Cannensis, Alliensiclade*] Gr., *aliensi clade* P, *cannensi clades* C.
50, 9 *disicias*] Gr., *visscias* P; R. conjectures *dissicias* from *secere = secare*.
50, 12 *quos*] Bauer, *quod* P (in uncial writing *d* and *s* are very similar), *quem* Mg.
51, 5 insistunt], spectanda in strage | insistunt P, exeunt Mg.
51, 7 succisis] later Mss., succisos P.
51, 9 substratus] Fr. 1, subtractus P, which perhaps is preferable, and accepted by Mg. R. and Wsb.—Before manibus, H. J. M. inserts ille.

52, 1 objecto flumine] Gr., flumine objecto P.
52, 4 et animi] Wsb., ut nimir P.
53, 3 adulescentem et ad] after later Mss., but doubtless correct, since Pseudo Frontinus in the note quoted employs Livy; admodum iuvens, Val. Max. 5. 6. 7.
53, 5 L.] as in § 12; M. H. J. M.
53, 6 Scipio] perhaps originally a marginal gloss, and accordingly lacking in the late Mss.
53, 8 nulla] Bauer, nullo P.
54, 6 certe eti C, cernei | eisi P, certe si Mg. with Fr. 1.
54, 7 consulibus] Gr., Luterbacher reads ducibus for duobus, rendering consulibus unnecessary.
54, 8 ne] Voss.
54, 11 compares aut] Alsch., comparesset P, corrupt from the preceding esset, compares scilicet Mg. — et vectigalis] Mg., in vesti gallis P.
55, 3 per] Mg. with later Mss., et paene P. — in malis] later Mss., in aliis P.
55, 7 After curent perhaps ut has fallen out. Its insertion would prevent the harsh change of the subject.
55, 8 urbe] Mg., urbem P. — recte is fitting neither to conticuerit nor to revocandos, and is perhaps a dittography.
56, 1 per] Ascensius.
57, 1 lectis, etc.] supplied in later Mss. by conjecture, perhaps better recitatis.—praetorem M. C.] Gr., marcium claudium P.
57, 6 terram] Duker, terra P.
57, 11 et alia formam] Luchs, et alia formam P, aliam formam Mg.
59, 1 M. Iuni vosque] Harant. Revue de Philol. 1877, 50; m iuninusq P.
59, 8 ad] Gr., Aliam P, the preposition in P has been drawn into the preceding line.
59, 10 nobis], P. nobisătē (after Luchs), earlier nobismet.
59, 13 iam] Valla, iam P.
59, 17 sed] omitted by Mg., set || si P, si C. — vobis] Mg., a vobis
P. — simus] Muret, sumus P.
59, 19 habet] ed.
60, 5 videbatur] C, videatur P¹, videvatur P².
60, 11 si ut . . . si ut] Mg., sicut . . . sicut P.
60, 12 equidem . . . ducerem] Koch, quidem . . . duceret P.
60, 13 demonstrat, reduces] Lipsius, demonstraret duces P.
60, 15 abalienati] used perhaps by Livy for symmetry; abalienato
Mg.; Heraeus regards abalienati iure civium as a gloss. — estis
bracketed by Phylgers, Mnemos. 1881.
60, 17 quamquam] Ussing, quam P. — quid.] Wsb.
60, 19 sescentis hostes] Mg., sescenta milia hostes P. The mistake
is common in the Mss. since the horizontal line over the Roman
numerals indicates both the thousands (Perioc. 22, lines 31, 39),
and also that the character beneath is to be regarded as a numeral
and not as a letter.
60, 21 aut favisse] Mg., fuisse ut P.
60, 22 at] Wex.
60, 24 ab orto sole hostis] Wfl., orto sole ab hostibus P.
60, 25 istorum] Wsb., ipsorum P. — in castra] Luchs, cum in castra
P. — redimamus] Luchs, redimam P.
60, 26 manere], manere et Mg., Wfl. conjectures manere cum.
61, 2 quia] later Mss., quam P. — exhauriri] Heraeus, Mg., R.,
Wsb., exhaurire P.
61, 5 primo] Wfl. R. Wsb., primos P. The words of Polybius,
déka toûs ópiafaneutátous, afford no support to the view that primos
equals nobilissimos, since from § 5 Livy no longer follows his
authority.
61, 10 indicio est, quod fides sociorum] Alsch., indiciorum P.

To the Periocha.

1. 8. ab Atherbale] Marharbale; ch. 6. 11. — 14. territos supplied
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— 20 [discrimine] bracketed by Wfl., repeated from l. 19, since the same word precedes in both lines; cf. Periocha 49, castellum paucis equitibus invenitibus liberatum est. — 24. clusus for inclusus, also Periochae 40; 110. — 27. circumposita] so Periocha 50. — 31. XC] octoginta ch. 49. 17. — 42. Florentia]; Floronia, ch. 57. 2.
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